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**Oppositions in News Discourse:
the ideological construction of 'us'
and 'them' in the British press**

Vol I of II

MATT DAVIES

A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Huddersfield

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Abstract

This thesis seeks to explore textually-instantiated oppositions and their contribution to the construction of ‘us’ and ‘them’ in specific news texts. The data consists of reports of two major protest marches taken from news articles in UK national daily newspapers. The aim of the thesis is to review and contribute to the development of existing theories of oppositions (often known as ‘antonyms’), in order to investigate the potential effects of their systematic usage in news texts and add an additional method of analysis to the linguistic toolkit utilised by critical discourse analysts. The thesis reviews a number of traditional theories of opposition and questions the assumption that oppositions are mainly lexical phenomena i.e. that only those codified in lexical authorities such as thesauruses can be classed as true opposites. The hypothesis draws on Murphy (2003) to argue that opposition is primarily conceptual, evidence being that new ones can be derived from principles on which opposition is based. The dialectic between ‘canonical’ and ‘non-canonical’ oppositions allows addressees to process and understand a potentially infinite number of new oppositions via cognitive reference to existing ones. Fundamental to the discovery of co-occurring textually-constructed oppositions are the syntactic frames commonly used to house canonical oppositions, which, this thesis argues, can trigger new instances of oppositions when used in these frames. I conduct a detailed qualitative analysis of textually constructed oppositions in three news articles, and show how they are used by journalists to positively and negatively represent groups and individuals as mutually exclusive binaries, in order to perpetuate a particular ideological point of view. The final section is an examination of how critical discourse analysis studies into the construction of ‘us’ and ‘them’ in news texts can be enhanced by a consideration of constructed oppositions like those explored in the thesis.

**I'm good at love,
I'm good at hate,
It's in between I freeze**

© Leonard Cohen

***The Fall -*
They are always different
They are always the same**

© John Peel

Acknowledgements

When Cruse (1986) introduced his chapter on opposites by noting there is a thin line between *love* and *hate*, it would not be surprising if he was referring to writing a PhD thesis. That this thesis became a labour of love much more than a labour of hate (on a gradable rather than mutually exclusive dimension of difference) is down to the unwavering support of a number of people as well as the fascinating subject matter.

I am hugely grateful to PhD supervisor and friend Lesley Jeffries, whose original research proposal kick-started many of the ideas in this thesis, and which I adapted and distorted with reckless abandon. Lesley's constant encouragement, enthusiasm and shared belief in the fluid meaning of the concept DEADLINE meant that it all happened with the minimal of Permanent Head Damage, which my other supervisor Dan McIntyre believes PhD stands for. I also therefore have to thank Dan, who expertly hides the injuries inflicted by his own PhD, for giving me advance warning of similar traumas and also, along with Lesley, for his expert guidance.

Thanks also to all my other colleagues in the University of Huddersfield English department, especially those with whom I have shared coffee and offices and had to cope with my distracted mumblings and mad stares. The University itself has provided the much needed financial resources for this research for which I am much obliged, and it is gratifying to see that the number of PhD students in the English department has blossomed since I started on my lonely course in January 2005. This shows the seriousness with which the Faculty takes its research commitment. We are all treated with great kindness and given the flexibility to conduct our research in ways which encourage a great deal of innovation.

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My two boys, Oscar and Alfie deserve a special mention, not only because they are beautiful, but because they've had to endure a turbulent couple of years. One day they will understand. Thanks also to my parents who have gone well beyond the call of duty in supporting the son who one day will, I promise, stop being a student.

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Oppositions in News Discourse: the ideological construction of 'us' and 'them' in the British press

Matt Davies

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Symbols and typographical conventions

X / Y	indicates X and Y (representing words, phrases, clauses) are in an oppositional relationship.
Bold	indicates all co-occurring examples being treated as oppositional pairs both in and out of context, e.g. 'The oppositional pair 'hot' / 'cold' are equivalent as examples of temperature', or 'I like my coffee hot not cold '.
<i>Italic</i>	indicates syntactic triggers for oppositions, e.g. 'the negator <i>'not'</i> acts as an oppositional trigger in the previous sentence' 'I like my coffee hot <i>not</i> cold'. Also occasionally used for <i>emphasis</i> (where not put in single quotes).
Bold italic	indicates words or phrases which are both syntactic triggers and a member of the X / Y of an oppositional pair, e.g. ' <i>Yesterday I wanted</i> coffee but <i>today I wanted</i> tea'.
CAPITALS	indicates concepts treated on their own e.g. 'Hot and cold' are both equivalent as examples of TEMPERATURE.
<i>ITALICISED CAPITALS</i>	indicates concepts which act as the plane(s) of difference for an oppositional pair, e.g. 'What separates hot and cold is their position on a scale <i>TEMPERATURE LEVELS</i> '.
BOLD CAPITALS	indicates two concepts which are being placed in a position of opposition, e.g. 'Fire and ice stand in a position of opposition as representative of the canonical conceptual oppositions HOT / COLD '.
'Single quotes'	indicate the word(s) is/are being quoted from a text

An example using all of the above might be:

In the example '*Yesterday it was sunny but now its freezing*', the oppositions '**sunny**' / '**freezing**' represent the higher level canonical superordinate concepts **HOT / COLD**, triggered by the contrastive '*but*' and the ancillary opposition of '*Yesterday*' and '*now*' in the parallel structure 'A *it was* X, B, *it was* Y' '**Sunny**' and '**freezing**' relate on the plane of equivalence TEMPERATURE and on the plane of difference *TEMPERATURE LEVELS*.

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Introduction

1.1 Introducing constructed opposition in the news media

The aim of this thesis is to investigate how binary oppositions are constructed discursively and the potential ideological repercussions of their usage in news reports in the British press. The focus will be particularly on the positive presentation of groups and individuals subsumed under the first person plural pronouns ‘us’ and ‘we’ and the simultaneous marginalisation of groups designated as ‘they’ or ‘them’, although at times other uses of binary oppositions in the press will also be explored. My primary data¹ is taken from the national British press and their reporting of two major anti-government demonstrations, in 2002 and 2003 (see Section 1.3.2).

Studies of ideology in the media include Hartley (1982), Bell (1991), Hall (1997), MacDonald (2003), Wayne (2003), Williams (2003), Allan (2004), Coe et al (2004), Bailey and Harindranath (in Allan, ed. 2005), Sonwalker (in Allan, ed. 2005) and Cottle (2006)². These outline in broad (mainly non-linguistic) terms some of the ways that news media representations not only reflect a version of social reality, but also, according to Bailey and Harindranath (2005: 275) ‘actively construct meaning [...] through the active processes of selection, presentation, structuring and shaping of events’. Sonwalker (2005: 263) in turn argues that mainstream journalism ‘is predicated on [the] key binary of ‘us’

and ‘them’.’ In media and cultural studies the ideological repercussions of polarised representations of groups and events is typically treated in terms of race, gender, terrorism and nationalism. These studies provide an essential guide to the relationship for instance between media practices, ownership, cycles of production and news values. They rarely however adopt a linguistic approach involving a detailed analysis of particular news texts.

Fowler (1991), van Dijk (1991, 2006), Hodge and Kress (1993), Fairclough (1995), Wodak (1997) and Achugar (2004) are amongst those who *have* taken a linguistic approach to the ways that events and the groups involved in them are often treated by the news media as polarised. This occurs through a process described by Riggins (1997: 1-30) as the ‘rhetoric of othering’ or what Achugar (2004: 291) labels ‘the demonization of the Other’ i.e. the contribution of discourse to the marginalisation and subsequent stigmatization of groups considered subversive, dangerous, and / or illegitimate, from the perspective of reporters of the news. Often this involves presenting events and social actors ‘in dichotomous ways that oppose good and evil forces’ (Achugar 1997: 291). For instance van Dijk (2006: 374) - discussing George Bush and Tony Blair’s justifications for the invasion of Iraq in 2003 by the USA and the UK - claims they attempted to legitimize their actions by ‘emphasizing ‘Our’ fundamental values (freedom, democracy, etc) [in order to] contrast these with the ‘evil’ ones attributed to Others’. The approach taken by those who follow this linguistic methodology is generally regarded as that of critical linguistics and/or critical discourse analysis (CDA) and will be summarised in Section 1.2.1.³

One of the aims of this thesis is to consider the ways in which news texts attempt to align readers with the point of view of newspapers in which these groups appear, for instance by using inclusive pronouns such as ‘**we**’ / ‘**us**’, whilst simultaneously distancing the reader from groups and opinions they disagree with using ‘**they**’ / ‘**them**’. Much of this

involves the artificial categorization and polarisation of groups and events into simple ‘**good**’ and ‘**bad**’, the representation of the world - according to Coe et al (2004: 234) – ‘as a place of polar opposites’ which consists of ‘no shades of grey’.

Critical discourse analysts, whilst seeking to draw attention to the complex relationship between discourse, discourse practices and social relations, have done little work specifically on the linguistic realisation of oppositions, especially the contribution of unusual textually-specific oppositions and their involvement in the process of othering. This thesis develops a linguistic framework which practitioners of CDA and other related fields (such as media/cultural studies) can utilise to provide more systematic and coherent evidence regarding the nature and role of textually specific oppositions in creating ‘us/them’ dichotomies. It is another linguistic domain – lexical semantics – that provides much of the theoretical grounding for the following study.

Important studies of lexical semantics include Lyons (1977), Cruse (1986, 2000), Jeffries (1998) and Murphy (2003). These explore the nature of oppositions (sometimes labelled ‘antonymy’) as one of a group of lexical and/or semantic relations⁴ which include synonymy (X is *similar to* Y in meaning), hyponymy (X is a *kind of* Y) and meronymy (X is *part of* a Y). However, so far, there have only been two major works whose sole focus is the study of textual oppositions⁵. These are Mettinger (1994) who explored opposites taken from a corpus of crime novels, and Jones (2002) who categorised common syntactic frames (e.g. *either X or Y*) in which opposites from a corpus of news texts co-occurred. Both studies claim to shed new light on theories of opposition by basing their findings on ‘opposites in context’ i.e. co-occurring oppositional pairs taken from their respective corpora. They both do however rely on a the classic Saussurian qualitative distinction between language as a system (‘langue’) and language in use (‘parole’), putting unjustified emphasis on the former when it comes to determining what constitutes a viable opposition.

Key to this thesis is exploring the *dynamic* relationship between the linguistic system (as described by lexical semanticists) and language in context (in this case news texts) in defining what constitutes opposition and our understanding of oppositions we may not have previously encountered as consumers of texts. One of the central tenets of CDA is to treat language for instance as ‘a material social practice [which] consists of both behaviours and texts, texts that are the traces of semiotic and social action, and behaviours that are not only known through texts but are themselves a species of text’ (Hodge and Kress, 1993:203). It is the role of linguists, according to Hodge and Kress, to infer the sets of rules which users of language draw from when interpreting and generating texts. This involves rejecting the traditional view of linguistics which objectifies ‘language’ as if it exists as a coherent entity independent of those who employ it in acts of communication. Where there are regularities, they are ‘contingent and provisional, not a higher order of fact but a second order of inference’ (ibid: 203). The issues raised in the following claim by Hodge and Kress are ones that reappear throughout this thesis, and it is worth quoting them in full:

[...] it is not possible to accept in an unproblematic way the notion of a ‘language system’, presumed to consist of a coherent ‘core’ of common features plus a peripheral set of permissible variants. In the same way, it becomes difficult to accept the notion of a linguistic rule as a constraint whose force comes not from society but from the language itself, as a mere condition of entry into the language itself. On the contrary, all the rules and norms that govern linguistic behaviour have a social function, origin and meaning.

(Hodge and Kress, 1993: 203-4)

This thesis does however address what lexical semanticists *claim* to be the linguistic system that governs the definition and role of opposites specifically, both at the lexical and

conceptual level. This is because when language use deviates from what might be considered ‘standard’ examples, users and consumers of language must still rely on some linguistic common ground for meaning to be generated. This thesis explores many examples of ‘constructed’, ‘non-systemic’, non-conventional, ‘non-canonical’ oppositions (mainly in news texts), however it also argues that addressees draw for their understanding of these examples from the common ‘canon’ of oppositions they have inherited from the linguistic community they inhabit. The crucial distinction between this approach and that of many of the lexical semantic studies outlined in the following chapters, is the belief that the ‘core’ is a fluid and ever-changing entity influenced and constantly updated by the novel instances of oppositions generated in texts.

Considering the ideological significance accorded to the categorisation of groups which are aligned as ‘**us**’ or ‘**them**’ in news discourse, it is surprising that there is no detailed study which synthesises lexical semantic studies of opposites with investigations into their potential ramifications when clustered in news (and other) discourses. Although the corpus approaches of Mettinger and Jones are rigorous and helpful to this study, they go no further than categorising the contexts of *pre-selected* antonymical pairs and hence miss an opportunity to use the syntactic frames to discover *other* kinds of oppositional pairings, including those which consist of whole phrases and clauses. Their work is mainly quantitative whereas the following study will attempt to provide a qualitative exploration of the potential significance of opposites in discourse.

The rest of this chapter will outline in more detail the aims of this thesis, briefly summarising the theoretical frameworks utilised, and outlining the data collection and methodology. The chapter is concluded with an explanation of the way the thesis is structured.

1.2 Thesis aims

This section provides a summary of critical discourse analytical (CDA) approaches to the study of the construction of the ‘Other’ in news texts, and some of the key concepts of opposites as outlined in theories of lexical semantics. I will introduce the claim that a ‘canon’ of opposites exists, and also the possibility that oppositions are far more varied and wide-ranging in their form and function than lexical semanticists take account of. This will then form the focus of much of Chapter Two.

1.2.1 CDA and the construction of the ‘other’

The overriding concern for critical discourse analysts is to examine the relationships between discourse and power. Discourse can refer to all types of semiotic activity such as spoken or written language, non-verbal gestures and visual imagery such as still photography, film and diagrams. For the purposes of this thesis, as the data is that of news reports, I will be using the term ‘discourse’ to refer mainly to *written* language, and spoken language only where it is used as reported speech in news stories. Crucially, for practitioners of CDA, discourse is a form of social practice i.e. according to Fairclough (1995: 54) a ‘socially and historically situated mode of action’ which is shaped by social and historical conventions but also in turn is socially *constitutive* in that it can contribute to the shaping of events and ideas. In terms of being socially constitutive Bishop and Jaworski (2003: 246) argue that this means ‘it is through discourse that social realities are articulated and shaped: people’s perceptions of the world, their knowledge and understanding of social situations, their interpersonal roles, their identities, as well as relationships between interacting groups of people.....’. The structures and content of news articles in the press therefore are based on conventions established over time through a complex relationship between the historical events being reported, the historical events

shaping the development of the newspaper industry itself including patterns of ownership, the relationship between press and readership including the political allegiance(s) they adopt, and the forms of language (discourse) available to them in representing the events they report. A critical discourse analytical approach takes for granted that reality is refracted through the lens of language as opposed to merely being reflected as if language were a mirror. Therefore a reader of several newspapers can experience a number of representations of what each paper might purport to be just one reality. For instance, the same group of Countryside Alliance supporters of fox-hunting might be described as ‘decent, honourable and law-abiding people’ in one newspaper (*Daily Mail* 23rd September 2002) and ‘pro-hunting fanatics.....bloody-thirsty anarchists’ in a different paper (*Daily Mirror*, 23rd September 2002) reporting the same event on the same day (see Chapter Six for a detailed analysis of these two articles). Crucially, this is not simply a crude matter of *bias*, often involving the conscious rhetorical manipulation of language, but the embedding of an ideological point of view in social practice and convention. Fowler (1991) emphasises this point in *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*. He argues that the concept of bias in news reporting can be a dangerous one in that it ‘assumes the possibility of genuine neutrality, of some news medium being a clear undistorting window. And that can never be’ (1991: 12). And according to Fairclough, the systems of values and beliefs expressed in language – that is, *ideologies* – are far more subtle and implicit in texts and ‘embedded in ways of using language which are naturalized and commonsensical for reporters, audiences and various categories of third parties.....taken for granted as common ground between reporter and/or third parties and audience, without recourse to rhetorical devices’ (Fairclough, 1995: 44-5). An analysis of the reproduction of social relations of domination and exploitation through discourse are fundamental to the CDA approach, although it is important to note that discourse can, according to Fairclough,

be used in ‘creative ways’ (1995: 55) to help transform social relations. Fairclough claims that ‘whether the conventional or the creative⁶ predominates in any given case will depend upon social circumstances and how the language is functioning within them’ (1995: 55).

It is worth quoting at length Fowler’s view of the relationship between discourse, ideology and the press, as it informs much of the approach taken in this thesis. Discussing a *Sun* editorial on the end of the British miner’s strike in 1985 he says:

‘It should be clear that linguistically constructed representation is by no means a deliberate process, entirely under the control of the newspaper. The newspaper does not select events to be reported and then consciously wrap them in value-laden language which the reader passively absorbs, ideology and all. Such a ‘conspiracy theory’ would give the newspaper too much, and the reader, too little, power.....the practices of news selection and presentation are habitual and conventional as much as they are deliberate and controlled. And as for value-laden language, the crucial point is that the values are in the language already, independent of the journalist and of the reader. Ideology is already imprinted in the available discourse.....in selecting the required style, the journalist ceases to be an individual subject, and is constituted as something more impersonal, a writer. The fundamental principle is that.....*the writer is constituted by the discourse*. Discourse, in the present usage, is socially and institutionally originating ideology, encoded in language’ (emphasis in original).

Fowler (1991: 41-42)

I emphasise this point because the data used throughout this thesis often relates to the way that certain groups are portrayed in a positive or negative light according to the orientation of the news article in which it appears. As the focus is specifically on opposites, and where these occur in clusters the style often involves utilising various levels of rhetoric, one could easily draw the conclusion that these are simply the conscious manipulative techniques skilfully employed by individual journalists with the backing of

the newspaper editor. However, my analysis adopts the perspective that oppositional techniques are embedded in journalistic practices as part of discourse conventions. Whilst the rhetorical techniques employed are those of writers with considerable experience and expertise their ideological significance is not necessarily a conscious ploy to condition the reader into a particular viewpoint. Part of the CDA armoury involves delving into the syntactical, lexical and phonological choices available to language users and the ways these are involved in structuring the way we perceive people and events. The majority of the data analysis in this thesis entails studying patterns of syntax involved in the framing of oppositions. I will argue that these are mostly embedded in discourse practice rather than conscious rhetorical manoeuvring. Indeed, even in the writings of many of the academics quoted in this thesis, and in my own notes, there are utilised many oppositional syntactic frames whose effect might be to represent the subject matter in binary terms. This however is likely to be the result of the available language structures. For instance the sentence before last on this page uses the structure *X rather than Y* (**‘discourse practice rather than conscious rhetorical manoeuvring’**) which may give the impression that oppositions themselves can only be used in one of two ways.

The next section introduces theories of opposites from the perspective of lexical semantics.

1.2.2 Lexical semantic theories of opposites

Chapter Two deals in detail with lexical semantic approaches to opposition. The aim here is to outline some of the fundamental issues, questions and controversies which will then be developed in that chapter.

Theories of lexical semantics deal with systematic relations between words and word meanings. Cruse (1986: 16) claims that words only have meaning in relation to other

words, ‘that the meaning of a word is fully reflected in its contextual relations’. One of the fundamental relations amongst words is that of oppositeness – sometimes labelled ‘antonymy’. Cruse argues that of all the sense relations (e.g. hyponymy, synonymy, meronymy) ‘that of oppositeness is probably the most readily apprehended by ordinary speakers’ and that the ‘basic notion is well within the grasp of three-year-olds’ (1986: 97). Similarly, Lyons (1977: 271) declares that ‘binary opposition is one of the most important principles governing the structure of languages’, commenting on ‘what appears to be the human tendency to categorize experience in terms of dichotomous contrasts’ (1977: 277). Murphy (2003: 169) concurs, calling binary opposition ‘the archetypal lexical semantic relation’. There is less clarity however on whether the phenomenon of oppositeness is a relation between words, or a relation between concepts, or both. Neither is it clear cut whether lexical or semantic oppositeness reflect independent binary relations in the material world. Some of these issues will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 2.

Common pairs of opposites would include ‘**hot**’ / ‘**cold**’, ‘**long**’ / ‘**short**’, ‘**near**’ / ‘**far**’. What seems to be uncontroversial is that opposites tend to come in pairs and that members of a pair evidently have as much in common with each other than they do difference. In the examples above what they have in common is TEMPERATURE, LENGTH and DISTANCE respectively. They differ in terms of measurements on two ends of a scale. ‘**Man**’ and ‘**woman**’ are also arguably opposites, their common features being that they are HUMAN ADULTS, but differing in terms of *SEX* or *GENDER*. They are not however measurable in the same way that the previous examples are. These relationships of equivalence and difference are fundamental to the approach taken in the analysis later in this thesis.

1.2.3 *Opposites in the news*

It is unsurprising that in an industry whose output thrives on conflict situations, opposites are endemic in news stories. According to Cottle (2006) ‘historically and to this day, journalism remains the principal convenor and conveyor of conflict images and information, discourses and debates’ and it is through the news media ‘most of us come to know about the conflicts and contests waged in the world today and this daily infusion is delivered into the rhythms and routines of our everyday lives’ (2006: 3). Sometimes this conflict is manifested in terms of what moral stance or groupings the newspaper chooses to align itself with and/or against⁷. Also, given the restrictions of time and space in news production (see for instance Bell in Goodman and Graddol 1996: 3-26) the treatment of conflict is handled most easily as that between just *two* mutually exclusive opposing forces, whether it be between aeroplane passengers experiencing delays at Heathrow Airport’s new Terminal Five and the Terminal management, striking school teachers and the UK government, or the US and UK governments’ ‘war’ against terrorists.

The following examples from news texts all contain examples of words (highlighted in bold) which would easily be recognised as opposites in most contexts. Examples 1.1 and 1.2 are from Jones’ (2002) corpus of opposites taken from *The Independent* newspaper 1988 – 96⁸. Examples 1.3 and 1.4 are taken from my own data, in this case reports of the Countryside Alliance demonstration against a ban on fox-hunting (see Section 1.3.1 for a further explanation of the data).

1.1 ‘Well, without the combination of an arms race and a network of treaties designed for **war**, not **peace**, it would not have started.’

(Jones 2002: 88)

1.2 ‘Why the champions of A-level cannot get it into their thick heads that the exam guarantees **low** standards, not **high** standards, is beyond me.’

(Jones 2002: 89)

1.3 **Country invades town** in a show of force.

(Headline in *The Independent*, 23rd Sept 2002, page 1)

1.4 Let **us** show **them** that it is **they**, *not us*, who belong to a different planet.

(*Daily Mirror*, 23rd September 2003, page 6)

In each case the choice of words in bold⁹ are unlikely to prove uncontroversial in relation to their status as opposites. In three of the examples (1.1, 1.2 and the second pair of 1.4), the second of the pair is fronted by the negator ‘*not*’, unsurprising considering a typical feature of opposites is that one is often defined by the *absence* of qualities contained in the other. In each case however, whether reported speech (as in 1.1), headline (1.3) or journalistic comment (1.2 and 1.4), the issues under discussion are treated uncritically as if they exist as mutually exclusive givens i.e. with no other alternatives in between these two extremes. It is difficult to comment precisely on Jones’ examples without further contextual information, however the implication is that in 1.1 the treaties being commented on do not have one iota of content designed for *peaceful* means, and that the commentator in 1.2 thinks that A-levels contain absolutely nothing which might guarantee anything above ‘low’ standards. In 1.3 the headline which refers to Countryside Alliance protestors arriving in London for a mass demonstration against a ban on fox-hunting assumes that there is a strict division between ‘**country**’ and ‘**town**’, and that one can either live in one or the other communities, but not in between. The fact that London of course is *not* a town but the capital *city* of England, suggests that the headline writers recognise the power of opposites and chose to draw on ones more conventional than

country / city. The division of social actors into ‘**us**’ and ‘**they**’ / ‘**them**’ in 1.4 employs another typical opposition - this time between groups defined by the use of first and third person pronouns respectively. In this case the writer is aligning himself *against* the rural-based protestors and constructing reality into two opposing forces in such an extreme way that he assigns negative other-worldly qualities to those he wishes to distance himself from, presuming no possibility of any reconciliation or that it is possible to support some but not all of their aims (see Chapter Six for a detailed analysis of this article).

1.2.4 The ‘canonicity’ of opposites

In the discussion of Examples 1.1 – 1.4 above the impression may be given that the treatment of the words in bold as opposites is unproblematic. This stance assumes that some pairs of words are ‘good’ opposites and others are not. Cruse (1986: 262) concludes his third and last chapter on opposites with a sub-heading ‘What makes a good opposition?’ and attempts to answer this. Mettinger (1994: 61-83) devotes a chapter attempting to differentiate between what he calls ‘systemic’ and ‘non-systemic’ opposites. Jones (2002: 117-8) also discusses the notion of ‘good opposites’. For everyday purposes this may not be a contentious claim. If I conducted an informal survey of students and asked for the opposite of ‘**war**’ it is likely that in most, if not all, cases the response would be ‘**peace**’¹⁰. It would then be a struggle trying to convince them that they were wrong and that the opposite was, for instance ‘**tea**’¹¹. This does however raise the issue of what criteria, other than intuition, can be used to determine whether certain pairs of words are ‘better’ opposites than others. Options include referring to lexical authorities such as dictionaries and thesauruses, studying the frequency of the co-occurrence of opposites in corpora, and analysing the components of similarity (equivalence) and difference which make up the meanings inherent in the words.

1.2.4.1 Lexical authorities and the status of opposites

Dictionaries and thesauruses are often treated as the ultimate arbiters in any dispute around word meanings. Whilst dictionaries attempt to provide lexical *definitions*, a thesaurus deals particularly with two key types of lexical *relations* – synonymy and antonymy. A thesaurus should therefore provide confirmation of the opposite of a word or the oppositional status of a pair of words. A typical thesaurus would be Fergusson (ed) (1986) *The Penguin Dictionary of English Synonyms and Antonyms*. The ‘blurb’ on the back of the book describes it as ‘a classic reference book.....completely revised and updated’ (from the 1943 original), and that it can answer the question ‘what is the opposite of ‘sluggish’ ’? In this text the entry for ‘sluggish’ lists synonyms such as ‘slow, torpid, inert, inactive’ and at the end of the list in capitals the antonym ‘QUICK’ (1992: 374). We can therefore also check the status of the examples given in Section 1.2.3. The antonym for the noun ‘**war**’ is indeed listed as ‘**peace**’ (1992: 434) and conversely one of the antonyms listed for ‘**peace**’ (p304) is **war**. ‘**Disturbance**’ is also listed as an antonym of ‘**peace**’ under a separate list of synonyms in the sense of ‘**peace**’ as ‘calm, calmness, tranquillity’ and so on. ‘**Low**’ (p263) and ‘**high**’ (p216) are also listed as antonyms of each other, although again, the range of meanings of the two words also generates other entries such as ‘**loud**’ for ‘**low**’ (in its sense of levels of noise). Minor difficulties start to arise however when we consult the reference book for consistency in pairing ‘**town**’ and ‘**country**’ as opposites. Although ‘**town**’ is listed as the antonym for the noun ‘**country**’ in its sense of ‘countryside, farmland, provinces’ (p99) the entry for ‘**town**’ (p406) provides *no* antonym. One could speculate that this is a simple mistake, or that the status of ‘**town**’ / ‘**country**’ as opposites is not as strong as the previous two examples. Neither ‘**us**’, ‘**them**’ or ‘**they**’ appear as entries anywhere in the book, even though the ‘**us** / ‘**them**’ pair is clearly a conventional oppositional pair in that it is enshrined in idioms such as ‘it was an **us** and

them situation'. The omission *could* be because the book does not include pronouns amongst its entries.

Sticking to the assumption that the ultimate guide to 'good' antonyms does exist the conclusion might be drawn that the Penguin reference book and its 11,000 entries is incomplete, flawed, or obsolete, having not been updated since 1986. The online thesaurus, www.thesaurus.com on the other hand which is based on *Roget's New Millenium Thesaurus* and claims 18,000 entries, is updated constantly. Provided by Lexico Publishing Group they describe the site as 'our award-winning online version of Roget's Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases' (see www.lexico.com). They list one of the antonyms of '**war**' as '**peace**', but curiously '**agitation, conflict, distress**' are listed as antonyms under the entry '**peace**' and not the entry '**war**'. Similarly, '**high**' is listed as one of the antonyms of the adjective '**low**' (in its sense of 'poor grade'), but '**low**' does not appear as the antonym of '**high**', in *any* of its definitions. They list the antonyms of the noun '**country**' not as '**town**', but as '**city, metropolis, urban area**'. Confusingly, neither '**town**' nor '**city**' are listed as having antonyms, and '**us**' / '**them**' are not listed at all. Clearly, if lexical authorities sometimes clash with each other, and even seem to be contradictory within their own system of entries, the question of what makes two words opposites is more challenging than it might initially seem, if indeed there is an answer.

The effectiveness of methods to determine the status of opposites will be dealt with in Section 2.6 and a discussion of lexical and conceptual relations of equivalence and difference forms the focus of Chapter Four.

1.2.4.2 Recognising unconventional oppositions

Challenging the assumed stability of opposites is fundamental to the approach taken in this thesis. Not only will I argue that opposites deemed relatively conventional, such as

'town' / 'country', can contribute in news texts to the construction of a reality as polarised, but that *any* pairs of words, phrases and even clauses can also be treated as oppositional, given the appropriate syntactic environment.

The following examples are taken from my data.

1.5 "Leave **us** with **our cows***** *and* we will leave **you** to **your city bulls*****".

(*The Sun*, 23rd September 2002, page 4)

1.6 "**Clotted cream** *not* **ruptured spleen**".

(*Independent on Sunday*, 16th February 2003, page 4)

1.7 Dozens of causes were represented. The **professionally-produced placards of the protest groups with their fierce messages** – "**Blair and Bush – Wanted for Murder**" – *contrasted* with **cobbled-together banners. Notts County Supporters say Make Love Not War**", said one.

(*Sunday Mirror*, 16th February 2003, page 4)

1.8 The **country people came to London to join in a well-organised, well-behaved march through the streets**. They *contrasted* dramatically with the **crowds who sat down for CND, or marched against the Vietnam war, in the days when the amplified voices of Michael Foot and Tony Benn filled Trafalgar Square and sent leftwing pulses racing**.

(*Daily Mail*, 23rd September 2002, page 39)

It is proposed in this thesis that the words in bold contribute in each case to a pair of oppositions. This time there is also a word in italics which, I argue in Chapter Three, contributes to the *triggering* of an opposition.

Examples 1.5 and 1.6 are slogans carried by 'Countryside Alliance' and 'Stop the War Coalition' protestors respectively. Apart from the first and second person pronouns in

example 1.5, the words ‘**cowshit**’ and ‘**bullshit**’ (the asterisks are in the original text) are also being treated as opposites owing to the parallelism of the syntactic structure (see Section 3.3.7). In view of the fact that ‘**cow**’ and ‘**bull**’ are conventionally oppositional in the sense that they refer to the female and male of the bovine species, this does not seem to be particularly problematic until one considers that 1) it is likely that the excrement of bovine creatures is rarely, if ever treated in terms of opposites, and 2) obviously we are meant to interpret ‘**bullshit**’ in its idiomatic sense as meaning ‘nonsense’ or ‘lies’. Hence we have a literal and a metaphorical comparison, the aim of which is to (humorously?) warn the government to stop interfering with the traditions of country folk.

Example 1.6 is even more idiosyncratic in that it contrasts ‘**clotted cream**’ with ‘**ruptured spleen**’, triggered by the negator ‘*not*’ (see section 3.3.1). It is unlikely that there will be any lexical authority which will include ‘**cream**’ as the opposite of ‘**spleen**’ or ‘**clotted**’ with ‘**ruptured**’, yet I will argue in Section 4.4.4 that in this context they are very much opposites.

Examples 1.7 and 1.8 pose other challenges, not least the fact they consist of whole clauses. Thesauruses tend to treat oppositional pairings in terms of pairs of individual words, as do most of those who theorise about lexical and semantic relationships (see Chapter Two). Example 1.7, taken from a report on the demonstration against war in Iraq, could arguably be separated out into at least four separate oppositions, including for instance ‘**professionally-produced**’ / ‘**cobbled-together**’ and ‘**placard**’ / ‘**banner**’. It is evident that the aim of the journalist is to represent the groups written about here in terms of being at two ends of an oppositional scale because of the word ‘*contrasted*’ which divides them syntactically (see Section 3.3.6). In Chapter Five I will show how this paragraph contributes to a news report whose concern is often to negatively represent a certain kind of anti-war protestor in favour of positively representing another type.

The word '*contrasted*' is also used in Example 1.8 in a report whose main aim is to encourage sympathy with supporters of the Countryside Alliance on their demonstration against a proposed ban on fox-hunting. In this case however it is difficult to separate out individual words on either side of this divide which act as obvious oppositional pairs. Nevertheless the intention of the writer is to contrast two groups of protestors in terms of a number of implied *conceptual* oppositions. If one group of protestors is '**well-organised**' and '**well-behaved**' then we are likely to infer that a contrasting group are '**DISORGANISED**' and '**BADLY BEHAVED**'. As these words are not used, we are left to connect the groups and individuals involved (CND protestors, Tony Benn etc.) with these concepts and are thus encouraged to look with disfavour on their activities. The point here is that these are oppositions which cannot be checked for authenticity in a thesaurus, although, as I argue in Chapter Four, our processing of them as opposites may require cognitive reference to higher level, more abstract conventional concepts which *can* be expressed in terms of individual words such as **ORGANISED / DISORGANISED, MODERATE / EXTREME, RIGHT WING / LEFT WING, QUIET / NOISY** and so on. The question of whether opposition is mainly a lexical relationship 'canonised' for instance in thesauruses or a conceptual relationship, or a fusion of both is therefore one of the issues to be dealt with throughout this study.

Murphy (2003) uses the term 'canonicity' (rather than 'conventional' or 'systemic') to refer to those opposites which seem to be the most firmly established in a culture but which are also subject to a reinforcement or diminution in status through time. Murphy also recognises that 'any two words can be opposed antonymically in a natural language context' (2003: 204), such as the pairing **soup** and **nuts** in the phrase '*from soup to nuts*'¹². She briefly discusses Jones' study of syntactic frames common to canonical oppositional pairs as a method of discovering less canonical ones such as the '**soup**' / '**nuts**' example,

quoting the frame ‘*from X to Y*’ as one of these (see Section 3.3.2). Note however that Murphy refers to ‘any two *words*’ being treated antonymically (my emphasis) seeming to suggest that it is only individual lexical items which tend to be treated as opposites, paying little attention to phrases or clauses which can act in an oppositional fashion, such as example 1.8 above.

The next section provides an outline of the data collected and the methods used to disclose non-canonical oppositions, whether single or multiple-word, in the particular news data analysed. Non-canonical oppositions can contribute, along with other phenomena often explored in CDA methodology, to the construction of a polarised reality which can have significant ideological repercussions.

1.3 Data and methodology

This section gives reasons for the type of data collected and background to the news stories reported in the data. This is followed by a description of how the data was collected and the approaches used in its analysis.

1.3.1 News data

The data used for this thesis consists of news reports of two major protest marches (one organised by the Countryside Alliance, the other by the Stop the War Coalition) which took place in London six months apart, and have been cited in those reports as the two biggest anti-government demonstrations to occur on British soil.

These specific events were chosen for analysis for a number of reasons:

- 1) They were given widespread coverage in the national press. For instance the *Sunday Mirror* devoted the first nine pages of its 16th Feb 2003 edition to reports

of the anti-war demonstration. There was therefore an opportunity to collect an extensive range of data which reported the same event from different angles and viewpoints.

- 2) The historic nature of the protests, dealing as they did with major national and international events provoked strongly expressed opinions and emotions, represented in direct quotes from the protestors themselves and in the opinion columns of journalists. This was likely to generate a good range of examples of oppositions used to strongly promote one side over another.

- 3) It was likely that there would be considerable differences in the ways that each protest was treated in the same newspaper. The Countryside Alliance were campaigning to prevent the loss of a tradition prevalent in rural areas for hundreds of years, often associated with the sport of the leisured, landed aristocracy. Their cause was therefore more likely to be treated sympathetically by newspapers and journalists with a more 'conservative' outlook. The aim of the Stop the War Coalition however was to prevent a US and UK military invasion of Iraq to remove its leader Saddam Hussain, an intervention which was likely to be supported by those traditionally aligned with a 'conservative' outlook. The more right-wing press would therefore not be sympathetic to this demonstration. The differences in attitude towards the demonstrations is best exemplified by comparing the way the *Daily Mirror* and its sister paper the *Sunday Mirror* reported the Countryside Alliance (see Chapter Six) and the Stop the War Coalition (see Chapter Five) marches respectively. Useful comparisons could therefore be made between the ways the two demonstrations were reported.

- 4) Contemporary CDA approaches to the study of binary oppositions used to positively and negatively represent in-groups ('us') and out-groups ('them') tend to focus on representations of race, nationality or culture. There has however been little coverage of the ways that individuals within the same national culture and even the same social class are 'othered' by the British press using binaries. That this does happen became quickly apparent in the analysis of the *Sunday Mirror* report of the anti-war protest, analysed in detail in Chapter Five. The use of textually constructed oppositions to marginalise certain types of protestors by a process of stereotyping seemed to be a focal point of the report, even though its primary aim might have been to present a positive portrayal of the demonstration which the *Mirror* editorial board openly backed. It was therefore intriguing to investigate whether the same techniques used to create in and out-groups were utilised in other reports of both demonstrations.

1.3.2 Background to the news events reported

In each case the reports used for the data are those which were published the day after the demonstrations took place. Brief details of these are given below.

1.3.2.1 Countryside Alliance demonstration

The 'Liberty and Livelihood' march through London organised by the Countryside Alliance on 22 September 2002 was attended by an estimated 400,000 people and according to *The Guardian* newspaper was 'the largest demonstration in Britain since the 19th century' (*The Guardian*, page 1). Its purpose was to oppose a proposed government ban on fox-hunting and to increase awareness of other rural issues such as low incomes

and poor services. The demonstration was extensively reported, dominating the front pages of every major national daily newspaper in the UK, which all devoted several pages of eye-witness reports, comment and analysis of its aims and potential impact. Many of the newspapers took an overt political stance *in favour* of the aims of the demonstration, a position made unambiguously clear for instance by a glance at their headlines. For example, an article in the broadsheet *Daily Telegraph*, written by its editor Charles Moore was introduced by the headline ‘Were you listening Tony Blair? We were talking to you. Charles Moore, Editor of the Daily Telegraph, explains what made the British take to the streets of London in the biggest march in our history’ (*Daily Telegraph*, page 22). The tabloid *Daily Mail*’s position was similarly explicit with one headline declaring ‘Save Our Countryside: Ignore this mighty army at your peril’ (*Daily Mail*, page 22). The *Daily Mirror*, on the other hand was less complimentary, as evidenced by the headline and sub-heading to an article written by columnist Brian Read – ‘Vermin, cunning vermin. And no I’m not talking about the poor foxes. Brian Reade on how the fox-hunters hijacked the countryside protest’ (*Daily Mirror*, page 6) (see Chapter Six for a detailed analysis of this article).

1.3.2.2 Stop the War Coalition demonstration

The 15th February 2003 Stop the War Coalition demonstration against a proposed military intervention in Iraq broke the Countryside Alliance record in terms of strength of numbers by a significant margin. According to a BBC report: ‘Police said it was the UK’s biggest ever demonstration with at least 750,000 taking part, although organisers put the figure closer to two million’ (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/2765041.stm>). Again, unsurprisingly, the protest dominated the national Sunday papers, including for instance the first nine pages of the *Sunday Mirror*. Headlines ranged from ‘Listen to Us: The

People's March, a Tide of Protest' (*Sunday Mirror*, page 2) hence taking an overt stance in favour of the aims of the demonstration, to 'Why I wasn't marching to stop the war' (*News of the World*, page 8) expressing cynicism at the aims of the demonstrators. Others focused on what they claim was the unusually broad cross-section of society represented on the demonstration. One *Independent* headline for instance states 'The day Middle England marched with the militants' (*Independent*, page 4). The representation of groups in the categories 'Middle England' and 'militants' as if they were groups of people with definable attributes which in normal circumstances would be antagonistic, but here colluding for a common aim, is one of the characteristics of both sets of data. The *Sunday Mirror* article analysed in Chapter Five makes especial use of opposites to simultaneously show inclusiveness among and differentiation between groups of protestors.

1.3.3 Data collection

In each case I used the *Proquest*¹³ news database to search for all references to the demonstrations in national UK papers published the day after the event took place. This involved inputting the relevant dates (23 September, 2002 and 16th February 2003) and an instruction to search all of the newspapers listed below. This generated a list of all of the articles published in these newspapers on these days. Each article was then skim-read to determine whether it reported the relevant demonstrations. The newspapers are as follows:

- *The Sun*
- *Daily Mirror / Sunday Mirror*
- *Daily Mail / Mail on Sunday*
- *Daily Star*
- *The Guardian*
- *The Independent / Independent on Sunday*

- *The Times / Sunday Times*
- *Financial Times*
- *The Observer*
- *Daily Telegraph / Sunday Telegraph*
- *News of the World*

‘Countryside Alliance’ articles - dated 23rd September 2002

Newspaper	No. Articles retrieved	Total words
Daily Mail	5	5843
Daily Mirror	3	2811
Daily Telegraph	7	6964
Financial Times	2	999
Guardian	4	2887
Independent	6	3572
The Sun	5	2136
The Times	9	5900
TOTAL	41	31,112

‘Stop the War Coalition’ articles - dated 16th February 2003

Newspaper	No. Articles retrieved	Total words
Independent on Sunday	4	2583
Mail on Sunday	7	5466
Observer	7	6322
News Of World	5	2720
Sunday Mirror	5	3454
Sunday Telegraph	6	5763
Sunday Times	4	4668
TOTAL	38	30,976

Table 1.1 – a summary of the data collected for the investigation

The only national UK daily and Sunday newspaper not represented is the *Daily Express* and *Sunday Express* whose texts are not available on *Proquest*. As the analyses are

qualitative the omission of the representation of these newspapers has not been deemed an obstacle in this study. Table 1.1 (above) show the number of articles retrieved and the total number of words written about each demonstration in each newspaper

1.3.4 Initial data analysis

One of the main purposes of the thesis was to examine the function of constructed co-occurring oppositions in news texts, so a method had to be found to locate these in the first place. The cataloguing by Mettinger (1994) and Jones (2002) of syntactic frames common to co-occurring canonical oppositions was initially invaluable to this process, for instance ‘X not Y’ where ‘X’ and ‘Y’ represent each of the pair of opposites¹⁴. The hypothesis was that syntactic structures common to housing canonical oppositions would in turn also trigger an opposition where used to frame words, phrases, and clauses not conventionally treated as opposites¹⁵. However, it soon became apparent that there were other forms of the same frame which they had not logged, or those which they had either chosen not to include or had not realised their oppositional function (e.g. ‘while X, Y’)¹⁶. This necessitated the simultaneous logging of frames which it was hypothesised might also act as oppositional triggers. The data was then studied a second time to ensure that the new frames were taken into account.

Some of the news reports contained no examples of co-occurring oppositions, or one or two fairly banal ones with no obvious rhetorical or ideological significance. In others however, a whole range of constructed oppositions were endemic and played a significant role in the overall polemic of the article. This was, unsurprisingly, especially the case in those in the form of editorial or comment columns, whereby the voice of the particular writer and their stance towards the demonstrations was prominent.

A choice was made therefore to conduct a qualitative analysis of those news articles deemed to contain a number of oppositions significant enough to make an impact on the overall tone of at least part, if not all of the text. There was of course, an element of subjectivity about these decisions. However as the purpose of the study was to develop qualitative analytical tools for the identification and explanation of oppositions, rather than quantifying the prevalence of certain frames or uses of opposites, this method of selection has proved sufficient.

To be able to make comparisons across the news reports according to syntactic frames, and semantic content of oppositions, a table was created for each news report in which was placed the following details, (in the following order from left to right in the tabular columns). These tables are reproduced in the appendix:

- **Syntactic Frame(s)** - i.e. the structure in which the oppositions appeared (e.g. ‘not X but Y’).
- **Semantic Triggers** – these referred to those oppositions which were already semantically primed because they were deemed as canonical and therefore likely to be treated as oppositions out of context. As it happened, there were far fewer of these than originally expected.
- **Oppositions** – i.e. the words, phrases, or clauses being treated as opposites in that particular instance.
- **Context** – the complete sentence(s) which housed the oppositions so it was possible to view them at a glance in at least some minor contextual.

- **Provisional Category** – the provisional labels given to the kind of syntactic frame/trigger utilised e.g. ‘negated opposition’, ‘concessive’, ‘syntactic parallelism’ and so on. Some of these terms were initially borrowed from Jones (2002) but were, and to a certain extent still are, provisional, as there is still work to be done to determine how secure these category boundaries are.
- **Superordinate** - this referred to the higher level conceptual canonical oppositions on which each example might rely for its oppositional meaning. Often there were a number of these which applied to just one opposition which provided rich avenues to explore. Also, it became clear that there were several which consistently made an appearance, such as **GOOD / BAD, RURAL / URBAN, PAST / PRESENT, MODERATE / EXTREME** and so on, which did demonstrate some common purpose between reports.
- **Comment / purpose** – this was used to make initial informal comments and speculations about each example.
- **Location** – a simple coding method was used to log each example so that it could be easily re-located in the context of each article when necessary. So, for instance ‘AW/SM/2/4’ meant that the article was reporting on the anti-war demonstration (AW), reported in the *Sunday Mirror* (SM), the page number (2), and the fourth (4) example identified (written next to the examples as they appeared in the original articles so they could be found easily).

These tables were headed with the name of the newspaper plus the headline of the article as the latter often gave an instant reminder of its orientation. All of the tables produced are in the Appendix alongside the articles they are based on. As will become evident, much of the initial data analysis never made an appearance in the thesis for reasons of space¹⁷.

There was potential for quantitative analysis, if a different kind of study of oppositions was undertaken. The techniques associated with corpus linguistics which usually involves the input of linguistic text - often millions of words - into computer programmes with a view to interpreting the statistical data produced, were considered unsuitable for the particular approach adopted here. This thesis does consider problematic some aspects of existing quantitative approaches to the study of oppositions, specifically those of Mettinger (1994) and Jones (2002), whose corpus studies provide useful classifications of syntactic structures, but very little, if any, analysis of the potential meanings of any specific examples in the contexts in which they appear. A more detailed discussion of the limitations of these specific corpus approaches will be related in Chapter Two and Sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2 of Chapter Three.

1.4 Thesis structure

As the aim is to develop and apply a new approach to oppositions to the analysis of news texts with a view to examining their function in context, this thesis is structured in the following way.

Chapter Two explores some of the major theoretical perspectives on opposites as a lexical/semantic relation, including various definitions of opposites, attempts to categorise them, the notion of ‘canonical’ and ‘non-canonical’ opposites and the ways

that one of a pair is often privileged over another. The overall aim here is to challenge some of the preconceptions of what opposites are in order to open up the possibility of considering unconventional or ‘non-canonical’ examples.

This is followed in Chapter Three with a consideration of opposites as they co-occur in a range of common syntactic frames, rather than in the context-less realms often hypothesised in a variety of studies of lexical/semantic relations. This involves an evaluation of the syntactic frames already catalogued by Mettinger (1994) and more systematically by Jones (2002), including notes of caution and additions to these. These can then be used in the identification of non-canonical oppositions in the news texts analysed later in the thesis.

Chapter Four explores the meaning relations between each of a pair of oppositions, and attempts to provide a firm basis on which to treat pairs of words and phrases as opposites which would not conventionally be treated so. This necessitates examining to what extent oppositions are a lexical or conceptual relation i.e. whether their existence is based on the arbitrary relation between words as defined and catalogued in dictionaries and thesauruses, or a set of cognitive rules from which new oppositions based on these rules can be generated? I argue that the latter should be given much more prominence than it is in studies of meaning relations and am indebted to Murphy’s (2003) pragmatic approach to provide some justification for this. The relations of equivalence and difference which constitute oppositions are examined, as will a theory of the contribution of higher level (superordinate) canonical conceptual oppositions to the processing and understanding of unconventional, textually-specific ones. In these early chapters I will draw mainly on the news data described in Section 1.3 to exemplify the points being made.

The second half of the thesis then uses these theoretical foundations to explore the data in a number of ways.

Chapter Five involves the identification of oppositions in a news report of the anti-war demonstration, using the syntactic frames discussed in Chapter Three. The function of these mainly non-canonical oppositions are analysed in the context of the purpose of the article, and the ideological nature of the binary construction of groups and events is explored, specifically in the construction of ‘us’ versus ‘them’.

Chapter Six adopts a similar approach, but this time compares the use of oppositions in a news text from each of two newspapers reporting the same demonstration (Countryside Alliance) but with very different perspectives on the event.

Chapter Seven then provides a brief overview of some of the common functions of the oppositions across some of the other data analysed in the tables mentioned above, also focussing on the construction of in-groups and out-groups.

And finally, Chapter Eight provides evidence that the approach adopted in the thesis can make a valuable contribution to the tools used by scholars to analyse texts using a critical discourse analysis approach. Contemporary studies of the use of binaries in news texts used to positively and negatively represent certain groups are examined and compared. The methodology for identifying and examining the role of oppositions in this process is applied to some of the examples given in these studies with a view to showing how the already detailed analyses undertaken can be further enhanced by this approach.

The conclusion makes some suggestions for further research into this area.

Notes

¹ The data is reproduced in the Appendix (Volume II) of this thesis (pages 338-596).

²This is a very small selection of ‘media studies’ works which explore news media representations and discourse in a general sense. These have been mentioned specifically because they deal with issues of ‘othering’, one of the themes of this thesis and/or issues of ideology and hegemony.

³For ease of description I am going to use the term ‘critical discourse analysis’ to refer to the approach also of those who call themselves ‘critical linguists’. Although there may be an argument that they may come from two slightly different schools of thought, for the purposes of this thesis, they can be treated as equivalent (i.e. not as constructed opposites....).

⁴Whether oppositions are a relation between words, word meanings or concepts, or a combination of some or all of these, is a moot point. The difficulty, if not an answer, is addressed in Chapter Four.

⁵I am looking forward to the publication of Jeffries (forthcoming, 2009) *Opposition in Discourse: The Construction of Oppositional Meaning*, London: Continuum

⁶Fairclough’s decision to use the phrase ‘the conventional or the creative’ is one of many binary constructions used in the academic readings which have contributed to this thesis, as well as expressions I have used myself in the thesis. This does therefore beg the question of whether binary constructions are unavoidable in most discourses and therefore entrenched in the very syntax of English, if not all languages.

⁷Common targets who are constructed as ‘other’ by the British press include Muslim ‘terrorists’ and by implication all Muslims, also at various times ‘travellers’, ‘illegal immigrants’, ‘asylum seekers’ ‘chavs’, ‘hoodies’, anti-social teenagers, and a range of others depending on the topical news climate.

⁸Unfortunately, dates cannot be provided for examples 1.1 and 1.2 as they are not given in Jones’ study.

⁹The bolded words are in Jones’ original study to indicate words which are antonymous. Bold words in my data have been similarly inserted to indicate oppositions, and the words in italics represent what I believe to be involved in the triggering of oppositions. Those later in the thesis which are in bold italics indicate that they might simultaneously contribute to the triggering of an opposition whilst being part of one of the pairs.

¹⁰I have indeed inflicted several informal word association tasks on students in seminars. Where they understand that their task is to respond with an opposite, the vast majority will respond with ‘peace’ as an ‘opposite to ‘war’. Also, where they are asked to respond with the first word that comes into their head from a list of 20 words read out, over 90 % of them can easily be attributed to one of the key lexical relations (synonymy, hyponymy etc) and approximately 75% of these are antonymous. This seems to confirm the claims of several of the studies mentioned here (such as Cruse 1986, Jones 2002, and Murphy 2003) that oppositions hold a special status in lexical/semantic/conceptual relations.

¹¹This might seem like a bizarre choice of lexical item to contrast with ‘war’ but Section 4.4.2 confirms the use of ‘**tea**’ and ‘**war**’ as opposites.

¹²It is a pity Murphy gives no indication where she found this example.

¹³*Proquest* is an on-line information service. See www.proquest.co.uk.

¹⁴I am indebted to Mettinger (1994) and Jones (2002) for providing a strong foundation for categorising the syntactic frames associated with canonical oppositions. However I am wary of the inflexible nature of some of these categorisations and the lack of qualitative analysis of them applied to the examples they give. These points are discussed further in the relevant sections in Chapters Two and Three.

¹⁵The triggering of non-canonical oppositions through the use of syntactic frames common to canonical ones is the main focus of Chapter Three.

¹⁶The likelihood is that a number of frames, such as ‘X *but* Y’, ‘*while* X, Y’ and ‘*despite* X, Y’ were not catalogued by Mettinger and Jones because they can only be utilised to house whole clauses, whereas their studies treat antonymy as mainly a lexical relation between individual words.

¹⁷ This is of course frustrating, but the decisions about which data to use could only be made after the analysis was undertaken. It is of course possible that the unused data analysis can be used for other research purposes.

Lexical semantic approaches to opposition

2.1 Introduction

This chapter builds on the previous one by reviewing some of the major approaches to the study of opposites. The main studies drawn on will be Lyons (1977), Cruse (1986, 2000), Jones (2002) and Murphy (2003). However others such as Justeson and Katz (1992), Murphy (1993), Graddol et al (1994), Fellbaum (1995) and Jeffries (1998) will be referred to. I will firstly demonstrate the importance attached by linguists to opposition as a lexical and semantic relation. This will be followed by an assessment of the attempts to both define opposition as well as create categories of opposites, and the difficulties involved. The semantic relations between an oppositional pair are touched on only briefly as this forms the basis of Chapter Four. Then follows a section which provides an overview of the inclination of some linguists to rate some oppositional pairs as preferable to others, and a critique of this in terms of how it can limit the identification of more context-bound oppositions. Finally, there is a brief section on the tendency of one of a textual member of an oppositional pair to be privileged over another from the point of the speaker / listener.

2.2 The omnipresence of opposites

Of all the lexical and semantic relations, that of oppositeness seems to provide the most fascination for linguists (see Section 1.2.2.).

Lyons (1977: 270) for instance is unequivocal in his declaration about the importance of opposites in his chapter on sense relations, claiming that ‘from its very beginnings structural semantics....has emphasised the importance of relations of paradigmatic opposition’. Lyons paraphrases the German linguist Trier (1931) who opens his book *Der Deutsche Wortschatz im Sinnbezirk des Verstandes* with the claim that ‘every word that is pronounced calls forth its opposite....in the consciousness of the speaker and hearer; and this statement can be matched with similar assertions by other structural semanticists’ (1977: 270).

Cruse (1986) opens his chapter on opposites by commenting on the ‘unique fascination’ of opposites, and how often the power of uniting opposites ‘is a magical one, an attribute of the Deity, or a property of states of mind brought about by profound meditation...’ (1986: 197).

Murphy (2003: 174-5) argues that antonymy is the most prototypical of all the meaning relations. She claims that ‘antonymy’s central position amongst the lexical relations is part of the reason why canonical antonyms are far more common than canonical hyponyms or synonyms or homonyms....’ (2003: 175). She draws on Chaffin and Herrmann’s (1984) study in which they find that ‘the distinction between contrasting and non-contrasting semantic relations is the most general distinction made by language users’ (2003; 175-6). Part of Murphy’s evidence for the archetypicality of oppositeness is the claim that it seems to be found in all languages and hence, as a lexical relation, seems to be universal, although the specific nature of these relations varies across cultures. So, for instance,

whereas in the United States the context-free opposite of '**mountain**' might be '**valley**', in Japan, the opposite is more likely to be '**ocean**', as most Japanese live between mountains and an ocean. Murphy concludes that 'the universality and pervasiveness of antonymy underscores the human cognitive bias toward binary contrast' (2003: 215).

Jones (2002) claims that his book will examine 'the prominence of antonymy in contemporary society and discuss why it seems to have transcended its role as a mere sense relation' (2002: 1). He notes how children readily grasp the concept of oppositeness at an early age and how word association tests often elicit antonyms when informants are asked to respond instantly to a word.¹ Jones describes antonyms as 'omnipresent' claiming that 'antonymy holds a place in society which other sense relations simply do not occupy.....our exposure to antonymy is immeasurable: we memorise 'opposites' in childhood, encounter them throughout our daily lives, and possibly even use antonymy as a cognitive device to organise human experience' (2002: 7).

This omnipresence of antonymy is illustrated by Jones with examples such as signs on toilet doors indicating '**ladies**' and '**gents**', or instructions on doors telling you to '**push**' or '**pull**'. However, as Section 1.2.4 tries to illustrate, there may be more to opposites in context than the straightforward use of those which might be confirmed by thesauruses. The ubiquity of opposites in our everyday lives extends beyond those typically documented in reference books. For instance many cafes in Britain these days offer the choice of drinks in cups labelled 'regular', 'grande' and 'tall' (or versions of these), to mean in more traditional terms, '**small**', 'medium' and '**large**', implying that in this context at least, '**regular**' is the opposite of '**tall**', with '**grande**' somewhere in the middle. Even more challenging is that of a coffee outlet in the student refectory of the University of Central Lancashire which offers only a choice between sizes labelled as '**large**' and '**big**', whereby '**large**' is the smaller of the two. Hence to order what would traditionally be a

‘small’ coffee bizarrely involves using a term conventionally associated with its opposite. The creeping removal of the lexical item ‘small’ from many food outlets in order to change our perceptions of the size of the portions we receive is a simple example of how the opposition is not only a fundamental element of our linguistic environment, experimentation and manipulation of them can, in certain situations, have more than trivial repercussions. The context-specific oppositions quoted in the introduction (see Section 1.2.4.1), such as ‘**cream**’ / ‘**spleen**’, ‘**cowshit**’ / ‘**bullshit**’, ‘**placard**’ / ‘**banner**’, have all been used by people either involved with or reporting on situations concerning heightened national or international conflict, some involving life or death situations. A study of opposition therefore needs to include an exploration of how to manage those oppositional pairs that appear in unusual formations in specific situations and moreover explore their ramifications, discussed in Chapters Five to Eight. However, firstly it is necessary to provide some definitions of opposition, and explore some of their sub-categories.

2.3 Defining opposition

Opposition is a notoriously slippery concept to pin down, not least because there are so many different terms synonymous with or associated with it. The same or similar terminology which is used to refer to opposition in linguistic studies includes ‘antonymy’, ‘opposition’, ‘complementariness’, ‘contrast’, ‘contrariety’, (see for instance Lyons 1977, Cruse 1986, 2004, Lehrer & Lehrer, 1982, Justeson and Katz, 1992, Mettinger 1994, Fellbaum 1995, Jeffries 1998, Kriedler 1998, Jones 2002, Löbner 2002, Murphy 2003). Studies that focus less on the linguistic elements of opposition and more on their broader significance, such as politics, media and cultural studies tend to use terms such as ‘polarisation’, ‘dichotomy’, ‘difference’ (and ‘differance’), ‘otherness’, and ‘binarism’ (see

for instance Derrida 1972, Hall 1997, Carr and Zanetti 1999, McDonald 2003, Royle 2003, Wayne 2003, Coe et al 2004, Currie 2004, Sonwalker in Allan 2005). Although the choice of which to choose partly depends on the extent to which the study is a linguistic one, this would not be so problematic if the terms listed above were perfect synonyms and could hence be used interchangeably when the mood suited. However, their meanings vary according to the writer and so when trying to provide a solid definition of what opposition might be - i.e. whether a pair of words (or phrases) are actually being treated as what are to be regarded as opposites - it is difficult to know if the conditions that apply for instance to an X/Y pair being 'antonyms' in one study, are the same as those being for instance treated as 'oppositions' in another. Even the titles of the two major book length studies so far published on this subject - Mettinger's *Aspects of Semantic Opposition in English* (1994) and Jones' *Antonyms* (2002) - reflect this difficulty.

Lyons initially points out that 'antonymy' is the 'standard technical term for oppositeness of meaning' (1977: 241), but later on in his chapter decides to restrict the term to *gradable* opposites, as opposed to non-gradable 'complementaries' (see Section 2.4 for a discussion on the gradability of opposites). Cruse follows Lyons and notes that the term 'antonymy' 'will be used [...] with the restricted sense defined by Lyons, rather than with its other most frequently encountered sense as a cover term for all types of lexical opposite' (1986: 204), (see also Cruse 2004: 164 where he maintains the same stance). Löbner calls two expressions antonyms 'iff² they denote two opposite extremes out of a range of possibilities' (2002: 88), hence limiting them to gradable opposites, the blanket term being 'oppositions' (2002: 87). Kreidler (1998: 100) however uses the term 'antonymy' to cover most kinds of opposition including converse, gradable, and complementary oppositions (the latter he labels as 'binary' and 'non-binary' antonyms respectively). Fellbaum (1995) in an article entitled 'Co-occurrence and Antonymy' also

seems to use the terms ‘opposite’ and ‘antonym’ interchangeably, regardless of their potential for gradability. She explains for instance how ‘*dead* and *alive* are contradictories, whereas *hot* and *cold* are gradables’ (1995: 285), whilst ‘there are many antonymous pairs that denote opposing or complementary states or properties: life-death, beauty-ugliness...’ (1995: 284). She also seems to use the terms ‘semantic oppositions’ and ‘semantic relations of antonymy’ to mean the same thing (see for instance 1995: 283-4). Justeson and Katz (1992) call their article ‘Redefining Antonymy’, and again seem to use the term ‘antonymy’ to mean opposites in general. This however is confused by the fact that their opening line, paraphrasing Cruse (1986: 197) states that a ‘semantic opposition along a single dimension is the traditional criterion for antonymy’ (1992: 177), whereas, Cruse, as mentioned above, defines ‘*antonymy*’ in a much narrower sense than they seem to do. Jones makes it clear from the outset that he is going to use the term ‘antonymy’ to mean all opposites (2002: 1-2). Murphy (2003) calls ‘antonymy’ a ‘subtype of contrast in that it is contrast within a binary paradigm’ (2003: 9). She differentiates between ‘binary opposition’ (antonymy) and ‘contrast sets’, the latter occurring in groups of more than two such as ‘**solid**’ / ‘**liquid**’ / ‘**gas**’ or colour sets such as the prototypical colours of the rainbow. She, like Jones, includes gradable opposites and non-gradable complementaries under the term ‘antonymy’.

Most popular reference books such as thesauruses tend to refer to all opposites as ‘antonyms’ so it could make sense to refer to all opposites with this term. However as these deal in the main with *canonical* pairs, this begs the question of whether a pair like ‘**cream**’ and ‘**spleen**’ – unusual textually specific opposites (see Section 1.2.4.1) - should be referred to as ‘antonyms’. To do so may involve having to interfere with the mainstream use of the term ‘antonym’, and imply there is really no difference between a canonical and non-canonical opposition. Also, the very nature of the lexical items ‘opposites’ and

‘antonyms’, which treats them as countable nouns, and hence individual lexical items, causes difficulties when having to deal with data such as this example discussed in 1.2.4.1:

The **country people** came to London to join in a well-organised, well-behaved march **through the streets**. They *contrasted* dramatically with the **crowds who sat down for CND**, or **marched against the Vietnam war**, in the days when the amplified voices of **Michael Foot and Tony Benn** filled Trafalgar Square and sent **leftwing pulses racing**.

(*Daily Mail*, 23rd September 2002, page 39)

It is difficult to talk about the words in bold, separated by the italicised verb ‘*contrasted*’, as being antonyms, when there are no obvious individual items on either side of the divide which fit the description. Here, as I will argue in Chapter Four, these clauses represent groups of overlapping oppositional *concepts* such as **ORGANISED/ DISORGANISED, ORDER / CHAOS, PEACEFUL / NOISY** and so on, which have no exact equivalent as individual lexical items in the text. To avoid confusion therefore I will use the term ‘opposition’ to refer to any textual instance where individual words, phrases and clauses are being treated in an oppositional manner.

The next section will further explore definitions of opposition by examining the various categories and sub-categories which have been proposed by writers on lexical semantics in the past three decades.

2.4 Categorising opposition

Categories and sub-categories of opposition abound. They are treated extensively for instance in Lyons (1977), Cruse (1986, 2004), and Murphy (2003), and it is the intention in

this study to describe and assess them only briefly. Categorisations are often problematic in that it is tempting to treat the terms and concepts that lie within them as fixed in these categories. Chapter Three for instance will demonstrate how Jones (2002) overemphasises the importance of his syntactic frame categories, producing some startling and untenable conclusions. Murphy provides a suitable warning against the tendency to be fixated on the classifications, specifically oppositions:

A complete logical taxonomy of opposite relations does not exist, both because some opposites do not fit into categories proposed and because those categories sometimes overlap, as in the cases of gradable complementaries (which have some properties of contraries) and of directional antonyms (which may belong to any number of other categories)

(Murphy, 2003: 201)

She does however make the equally valid point that some labels for oppositional sub-types ‘can be very useful in describing the semantic consequences of opposing certain types of word meanings’ (2003: 201). It is these consequences which I will be particularly concerned with in my data analysis. The distinction between, for instance, gradable and non-gradable oppositions *can be* an important one, especially in terms of the news data analysis in the later chapters; where terms usually classed as gradable, are treated as if they are non-gradable, this can have interesting repercussions. Most of the major studies of oppositional categories are indebted to Lyons (1977), so the next section provides a brief review of these. This will be followed by a summary of additional sub-types proposed by Cruse.

2.4.1 Lyons' oppositional types

Lyons' work *Semantics* (1977) provides a flexible overview of the types of oppositions that might exist. Figure 2.1 below provides a schematic outline of Lyons' typology, with some common examples (in bold) of those types. He uses the umbrella term 'contrast' to cover all possible claims to oppositional status, and divides this into 'binary' and 'non-binary contrasts'. It is the *binary* contrasts that are mostly considered archetypal oppositions so the focus will be specifically on these, although the non-binary ones do also provide food for thought. Of all the different categories and sub-categories, the distinction between gradable and non-gradable oppositions (see Section 2.4.1.1) and the deictic implications of 'directional' oppositions are the most important for this study (Section 2.4.1.3).

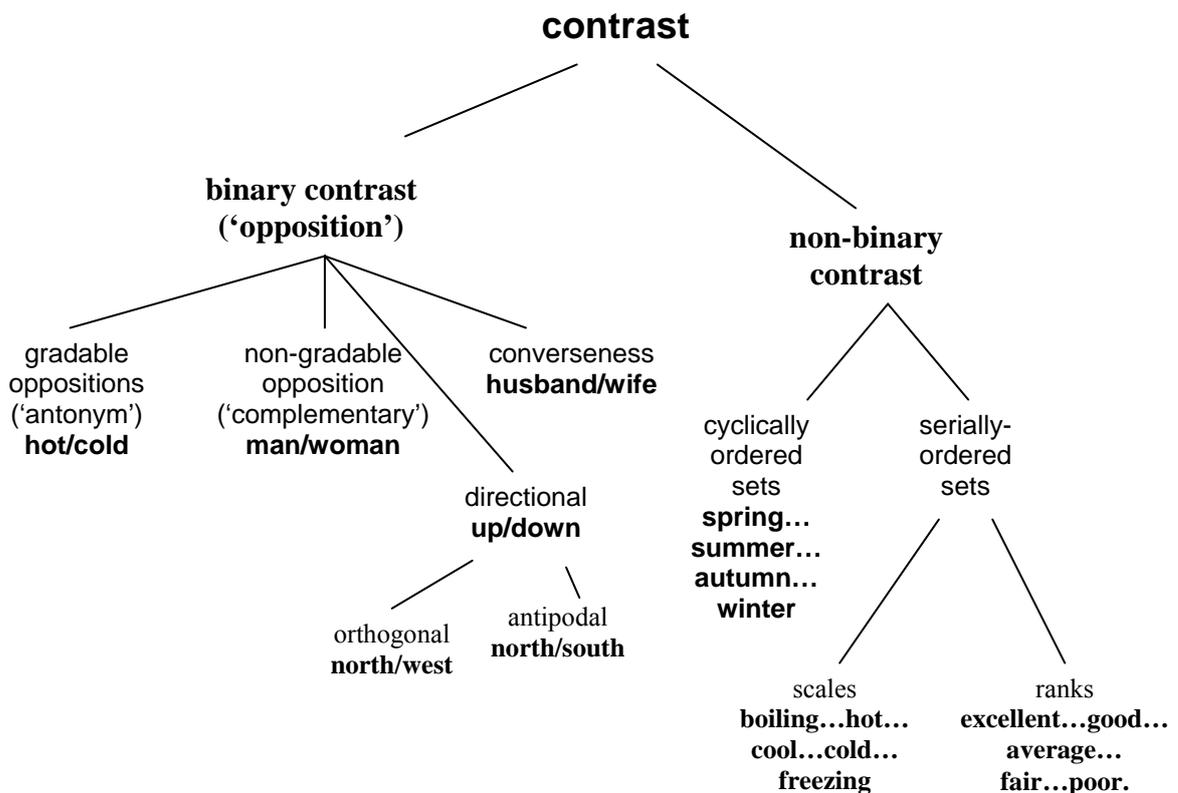


Fig 2.1 A diagrammatical representation of Lyons (1977) categories of opposition

2.4.1.1 Gradability

One of the key distinctions Lyons makes, drawing from Sapir (1944), is that between ‘gradable’ and ‘non-gradable’ opposites, and their relationship to the concepts of complementarity, contradictories, contrariety and antonymy.

Gradable opposites are those which often have measurable and comparable qualities. To demonstrate this Lyons uses the gradable pair ‘**hot**’ / ‘**cold**’ and compares it to the pair ‘**man**’ / ‘**woman**’ which he claims are non-gradable. ‘**Hot**’ and ‘**cold**’ can be measurable, using a temperature scale (whereas ‘**man**’ / ‘**woman**’ cannot), and are not absolute properties of the things they might refer to. There are *levels* of hotness and coldness and one thing can be considered ‘hot’ but another even ‘hotter’ in, for instance, the construction ‘X is hotter than Y’. However, there are no levels of maleness or femaleness on a scale of gender, only ‘**male**’ and ‘**female**’. So the construction ‘X is more female than Y’ would be considered unfeasible³. A human deemed ‘male’ is logically ‘not female’ and vice versa. However, although an entity described as ‘hot’ means ‘not cold’, being ‘not hot’ does not necessarily entail being ‘cold’. It could be ‘warm’ or ‘nearly hot’ or ‘approaching hot’. This distinction, according to Lyons, seems to correlate fairly closely with that between contraries and contradictories in traditional logic:

A proposition *p* is the contradictory of another proposition *q*, if *p* and *q* cannot both be true or both false; e.g. “This is a male cat”: “This is a female cat” (as well as such corresponding affirmative and negative propositions as “The coffee is cold”: “The coffee is not cold”). A proposition *p* is the contrary of another proposition *q*, if *p* and *q* cannot both be true (though both may be false); e.g., “The coffee is hot”: “The coffee is cold”

(Lyons, 1977: 272)

Contraries however have a much broader application than simple gradable opposites. For instance, two colours taken out of a colour set would not be placed in a dichotomous position if the same principles as Lyons' formula above apply. The statements 'the ball is red' and 'the ball is blue' cannot both be true if applied to the same ball. Both may be false. But this does not entail, unlike 'hot' and 'cold', that the ball must be a colour in a range between red and blue. It could be any colour, including black or white. Lyons also points out that the pairs 'tree' / 'dog' and 'square' / 'abstract' could be regarded as contraries, when it is apparent that these would not generally be regarded as opposites. Although Lyons does not develop this point any further, it does in fact have a major bearing on one of the main themes of this thesis – i.e. constructed oppositions. It is obvious that the statement 'this is not a dog' does not automatically entail 'this is a tree'. However, in a context where somebody claims 'this is a **dog**, *not* a **tree**'⁴, the implication is that somebody has a choice of treating an entity as either a dog or a tree with no other options. They are therefore being treated as non-gradable mutually exclusive complementary opposites in this specific context. The frame 'X *not* Y' contributes to the triggering of this opposition, (see Chapter Three). If, as I will argue in Chapter 4 (see also 1.2.2) opposites need to have something in common with each other – a relationship of equivalence – then in the 'tree' / 'dog' example it would be that they are both something that could be decorated by a child. This does of course open up the prospect that potentially any two words or concepts could be treated as opposites, which will be borne out by much of my data.

Lyons also explores how gradable opposites commonly occur in comparative sentences such as 'our house is bigger than yours' (1977: 273) (see Section 3.3.3 for a discussion on comparative opposition). Perhaps more interesting is Lyons' claim (again borrowed from Sapir) that 'the use of a gradable antonym always involves grading, implicitly if not

explicitly' (1977: 273). In other words we do not necessarily need the inclusion of both of an oppositional pair in a sentence to trigger opposition. So the statement 'my car is big' implies that the car is 'not small' in relation to other types of car, whilst not ascribing any particular quality to the car in itself. It could still be a small car in relation to e.g. a Landrover, but in the context in which it might be uttered, presumably the hearer could infer what kind of (smaller) car the speaker is comparing it against. However, the statement 'our car is red' assigns a specific non-relative (and non-gradable) quality to the car. Notwithstanding that there are many shades of red, the car could not be both 'red' and 'non-red' at the same time, whereas it could be simultaneously '**big**' compared to a Mini and '**small**' compared to a Landrover.

Lyons claims that failure to differentiate between gradable and non-gradable contrary properties helps explain why philosophers such as Plato struggled to reconcile the fact that objects can seem to have two contradictory qualities like **TALLNESS** and **SHORTNESS** at the same time. Perhaps more importantly however, Sapir noticed that contrasts such as '**large**' and '**small**' and '**little**' and '**much**' 'give us a deceptive feeling of absolute values within the field of quantity comparable to such qualitative differences as 'red' and 'green' within the field of colour perception' (Lyons, 1977: 274). The fact that this feeling is an illusion goes some way to explaining how the statements 'X is six feet tall' and 'X is good' are often treated in the same way. In other words we often treat the qualities of **GOODNESS** and **BADNESS** as if they were absolute rather than relative qualities of a person who might otherwise be categorised as 'normal' or 'average' in the middle of a '**good**' / '**bad**' scale. The significance of this will become clearer in the subsequent chapters, especially those which deal with the ideological repercussion of constructed oppositions, such as those which ascribe subjective gradable qualities (e.g. '**good**' / '**bad**') to individuals and groups and treat them as if they were mutually exclusive non-gradable

absolutes. Lyons quotes Sapir - one of the pioneers in examining the significance of the relationship between language and thought: ‘ “To the naïve, every person is either good or bad; if he cannot be easily placed, he is rather part good and part bad than just humanly normal or neither good nor bad” ’ (1944:101, in Lyons 1977: 277). In other words people are judged either positively or negatively against what are two artificially designated ‘poles’ rather than against a neutral region in the middle of a scale on which at either end lie the two extremes. So when George Bush announced to the US Congress nine days after the 11th September 2001 attack on the twin towers that ‘You are *either* with **us** *or* you are with the **terrorists**’, (my emphasis) the implication is that ‘**us**’ (**good**) and ‘**terrorists**’ (**bad**) are non-gradable and encourages listeners to view the world as one made up of ‘goodies’ and ‘baddies’.

It is worth quoting Lyons at some length here as his comments have a very strong bearing on some of the data examples later in this thesis:

Although gradable and ungradable opposites may be distinguished in terms of their logical properties, it must also be borne in mind that gradable antonyms are frequently employed as contradictories rather than contraries. If we are asked *Is X a good chess player?* and we reply *No*, we may be held by the questioner to have committed ourselves implicitly to the proposition that X is a bad chess player....For most practical purposes we can usually get along quite well by describing things, in a first approximation as it were, in terms of a yes/no classification, according to which things are either good or bad, big or small, etc. (relative to some relevant norm). If we deny that something is good or assert that it is not good without qualifying our statements in any way or supplying any further information relevant to this dichotomous yes/no classification, it is reasonable for the other participants to assume that we are satisfied with a first approximation in terms of which gradable antonyms are interpretable as contradictories. The proposition “X is not good” obviously does not of itself imply “X is bad”, but under the operation of this principle it may be held to do so on particular occasions of

the utterance of a sentence expressing it. If the speaker did not wish to be committed to the implication, he could have been expected to make it clear that a first approximation was insufficiently precise, by saying, for example, *X is not good, but he's not bad either: he's fair/pretty good/just about average*'.

(Lyons, 1977: 277-78)

The extent to which gradables being treated as non-gradables is partially a result of the structures and conventions available to language users ('**yes**' / '**no**', '*X not Y*') is important and fascinating (see Section 1.2.1). Even Lyons himself may not have been aware that when he says in the quotation above that '**gradable antonyms are frequently employed as *contradictories rather than contraries***' the '*X rather than Y*' structure he uses may encourage a reader to see contradictories and contraries as mutually exclusive, whereas as Lyons points out in this section, there are grey areas where gradables can be treated as non-gradables and vice versa. It is possible therefore that the categorisation of opposites into what seem to be mutually exclusive categories (gradable and non-gradable) is itself an artificial construct. Indeed Lyons (1977: 277ff) subsequently discusses ways in which complementaries like '**dead**' / '**alive**' can be treated as gradable in certain contexts in phrases such as 'Bill is very much alive'.

The gradable / non-gradable distinction is the most significant in terms of the aims of this thesis. A summary of the other categories follows but will be kept to a minimum.

2.4.1.2 *Converses*

The phenomenon of converseness is instantiated by examples such as '**husband**' and '**wife**', whereby 'X is the husband of Y' logically involves 'Y is the wife of X'. Lyons says that these are 'especially common in areas of the vocabulary having to do with reciprocal social roles' (1977: 280) such as '**doctor**' / '**patient**', or '**father**' / '**son**'.

2.4.1.3 Directionals

The connection between directional opposites and the system of personal pronouns is a fascinating and important one. Directionals, according to Lyons, involve ‘the implication of motion in one of two opposed directions with respect to a given place, P’ (1977: 281). These include pairs such as ‘**up**’ / ‘**down**’ and ‘**come**’ / ‘**go**’. Lyons distinguishes however between those like ‘**up**’ / ‘**down**’ which are based on both directions moving away from a fixed point P, and pairs like ‘**come**’ / ‘**go**’ and ‘**arrive**’ / ‘**depart**’ which involve on the one hand movement *towards* P (‘**come**’ / ‘**arrive**’) and on the other movement *away* from P (‘**go**’ / ‘**depart**’). He further sub-divides these last two examples into ‘deictic’ and ‘non-deictic’ opposites. In other words ‘**come**’ / ‘**go**’ involves movement towards or away from P from the perspective of a speaker - located as the ‘deictic centre’ - who themselves have a certain distal or proximal relationship with P. So the statement ‘he *went* to Huddersfield last night’ assumes the speaker was not in Huddersfield when the statement was made, whereas ‘he *came* to Huddersfield last night’ does assume this. The pair ‘**arrive**’ / ‘**depart**’, however act differently in that we can say ‘he **arrived in** / **departed from** Huddersfield last night’, regardless of whether the speaker was in Huddersfield or not at the time of the utterance. These specific types of directionals bear only minor relevance to the data in this thesis, however their *deictic* element is crucial to the way that newspapers orientate readers towards or way from specific ideological vantage points, especially with the usage of pronouns such as ‘**us**’ / ‘**them**’, ‘**we**’ / ‘**they**’. The use of first person plural pronouns (‘we’, ‘us’, ‘our’) assumes that any statements made include at least one other person within the remit of the perspective of the speaker. For instance, the addressees in the analyses in Chapters Five and Six are being directed in terms of an ideological point of view rather than a physical place. In the George Bush example quoted above – ‘**You** are either with **us** or **you** are with the **terrorists**’ – deixis is manipulated to encourage listeners

to agree with US foreign policy, through the use of first and second person pronouns and an implied third person. The listeners who include members of the Congress, but more importantly US citizens and those of other English-speaking countries, are addressed as ‘you’, but asked to make a choice between joining Bush and falling under the remit of ‘**us**’, or moving in the other ‘direction’ and supporting ‘**terrorists**’ (implied ‘**them**’). Sticking to the directional analogy, the Bush appeal assumes that on a (metaphorical) path between ‘**us**’ and ‘**terrorists**’, the addressee (*you*) has no option of remaining situated at any points in the middle ground of this path, but has to be located at one end or the other. Figure 2.2 is an attempt to represent this diagrammatically. If the dotted line represents a path, then Bush has positioned the addressee *initially* somewhere on the path whilst simultaneously pulling or pushing them towards or away from him (represented by the arrows) so that they have to sit on one of the stable ‘platforms’ (represented by the thicker line) rather than remaining at any point in between.

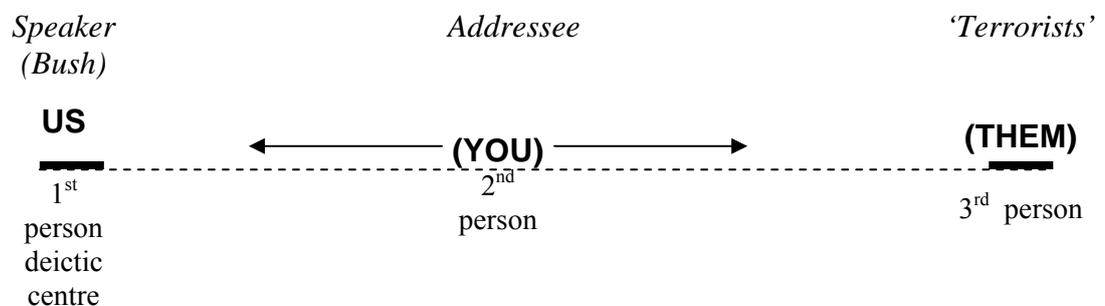


Figure 2.2 – a diagrammatic representation of George W. Bush’s attempt to position addressees as either ‘us’ or ‘them’

Lyons recognises the broader philosophical implications of directional oppositions:

It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of directional opposition, both deictic and non-deictic, as a structural relation. It is all-pervasive in both the grammatical and the lexical structure of languages; it is central to the analysis of the grammatical categories in tense, aspect and case and the personal and demonstrative pronouns, and it is the basis of much that we might think of as metaphorical in the use of particular lexemes and expressions. Furthermore, it may well be that our understanding, not only of directional opposition, but of opposition in general, is based upon some kind of analogical extension of distinctions which we first learn to apply with respect to our own orientation and the location or locomotion of other objects in the external world'.

(Lyons, 1977: 282)

So although standard physical directional oppositions have little application for the purposes of this study, their metaphorical extension in the sense of their deictic function through the pronominal system can have profound implications. For instance, the conclusions drawn from the data analysis in Chapters Five and Six are based substantially around the newspapers' positioning of themselves in relation to readers, protestors and 'others', in which the usage of 1st, 2nd and 3rd person pronouns plays a fundamental role.

2.4.2 Cruse and other minor sub-categories

Cruse (1986, 2004) introduces finer differentiations, distinguishing between for instance 'polar', 'equipollent' and 'overlapping' antonyms. These will not be specifically referred to in the data analysis but are briefly summarised here as they illustrate the notion that within oppositional pairs there often exists a privileging of one of the pair over the other (again from the perspective of the addresser), so that rarely are both of the X/Y pair treated equally (see Section 2.7 for an exploration of this phenomenon).

2.4.2.1 Polar antonyms

Polar antonyms (such as **'large'** / **'small'** or **'deep'** / **'shallow'**) are gradable, normally occur in the comparative and superlative forms, and can usually be measured in units. The comparative forms are impartial in that 'X is longer than Y' does not entail that X is actually long, and one of the terms is neutral in the construction 'how X is it?' So the question 'how deep is it?' could be met with a response that the object in question was either deep or shallow (or in between), but 'how shallow is it?' presupposes that the thing being referred to is already shallow.

2.4.2.2 Equipollent antonyms

With equipollent antonyms such as **'hot'** / **'cold'** or **'painful'** / **'pleasurable'**, according to Cruse, 'neither term yields a neutral how-question' (2004: 166), so if you ask 'how painful was it?' there is already a presupposition that pain exists in some form, and similarly if you substitute **'painful'** for **'pleasurable'**, pain is automatically ruled out.

2.4.2.3 Overlapping antonyms

One of the qualities of 'overlapping' antonyms is that they tend to be evaluative and the one of the pair which tends to be positive also has an impartial use, for instance **'good'** / **'bad'**, or **'clever'** / **'stupid'**. To ask the question 'how good was it?' is asking for a general non-committal evaluation, whereas 'how bad was it?' assumes a certain level of badness already. Cruse also makes further distinctions between 'morphological', 'logical', 'privative' and 'evaluative polarity' (see for instance 2004: 169-70). However the further these categories are sub-divided the harder it is to find some ways of applying them in any meaningful way to the analysis of texts

2.4.3 Syntactic frames

Another way of viewing oppositions is that adopted by Mettinger (1994), Jones (2002) and to a certain degree Fellbaum (1993). These are less concerned with categorising types of relations between the oppositional pairs themselves, but instead group together the kinds of syntactic frames in which they tend to appear in specific discourse. These are the focus of Chapter Three and are applied substantially to the data analysis in Chapters Five and Six so require no further examination here.

2.4.4 The value of categories

As explained in the introduction to this section, assigning categories to opposites has a number of benefits (such as the '**gradable**' / '**non-gradable**' distinction) but also has to be handled with caution. The preference in this thesis is to see pairs of opposites as conventionally (canonically) gradable or not. However where a pair usually perceived as gradable is being treated as non-gradable, this demonstrates their flexibility of meaning and use. There are also some for which in practical usage it is very difficult to decide whether they could ever be categorised as one or the other in terms of gradability. For instance, it is hard to decide if the oppositional pair '**town**' / '**country**' are gradable or non-gradable if used as nouns, or as modifiers in the phrases '**town folk**' / '**country folk**'. In terms of physical space, where the boundary between '**town**' and '**country**' is drawn is undoubtedly fairly arbitrary. If some people resisted being categorised as living in one or the other but felt they were a bit of both (if they lived in the suburbs for instance), then undoubtedly gradable qualities exist here. But in the headline '**Country invades town** in a show of force' (see Section 1.2.3) - two mutually exclusive opposing forces are implied. The potential repercussions of treating them as complementaries rather than as gradable are significant.

Another essential component of the study of opposites, regardless of our ability to categorise them according to a variety of criteria, is determining what semantic relationship has to exist between the pair for them to be deemed oppositional. This is the subject of the next section.

2.5 Oppositions and their dimensions of equivalence and difference

A *detailed* exploration of the role of semantic relations of equivalence and difference in the construction of opposition is the focus of Chapter Four where some examples from the news data will be examined. It is necessary here to make some initial observations as they inform the later discussion on the status of opposites.

2.5.1 Minimal difference in meaning

Where there is most agreement amongst lexical semanticists is that the concept of oppositeness does *not* simply involve maximal difference in meaning between an oppositional pair. If this were the case then '**guitar**' would be a better opposite for '**war**' than '**peace**', as the latter both involve human relations whereas a '**guitar**' does not and is therefore further away from '**war**' in meaning than '**peace**'. Fundamental to opposition therefore is the notion that according to Lyons 'opposites are drawn along some dimension of similarity' (1977: 286).

Cruse (1986: 197) concurs, describing the seeming 'paradox of simultaneous difference and similarity' encapsulated in the common idea that there is a thin dividing line between '**love**' and '**hate**'. Opposites are therefore typically *equivalent* in meaning, apart from contrasting on one dimension of meaning where 'they occupy two opposing poles, hence the feeling of difference' (1986: 197)⁵. Cruse claims that 'opposites typically differ along

only *one* dimension of meaning' (my emphasis) (1986:197). This implies that the more dimensions of meaning that divide a conceptual pair, then the weaker they are as opposites. This has important repercussions for assessing to what extent it is worth evaluating oppositional pairs according to their strength (e.g. as 'good' opposites) as some linguists do (see Section 2.7).

Murphy also discusses the view that the smaller the difference in meaning between an oppositional pair, the stronger they are as opposites, claiming 'the basic relation criterion for the relation is *minimal* difference, the more similar two items are, the better they suit an oppositional relation' (2004: 45).

She argues that *all* semantic relations (synonymy, meronymy, hyponymy, and antonymy) rely on minimal difference, i.e. 'the words involved should only differ on one relevant criterion. For synonymy, the relevant difference is form; for hyponymy it is level of categorisation' (2003: 44). She calls this the 'Relation by Contrast' principle which she defines as: 'The contrast relation holds among the members of a set iff: they have all the same contextually relevant properties but one' (2003: 44). What differentiates antonymy from the other semantic relations is that there is also an important *lexical contrast* element.

2.5.2 Lexicalising 'dimensions' of equivalence and difference

With some conventional opposites, the dimension which separates the pair can be described by a simple concept which is reflected in the language by one word. For instance, as we saw in Section 1.2.2, the concept *TEMPERATURE* encapsulates that which expresses the scale on which at either end sit the pair '**hot**' and '**cold**'. *TEMPERATURE* also expresses that which makes them equivalent. However, '**boiling**' and '**freezing**' are also at two ends of a *DEGREES OF TEMPERATURE* scale, although invariably treated as further apart from each other than '**hot**' and '**cold**'. If this is the case, to differentiate the

pair ‘**hot**’ / ‘**cold**’ from the pair ‘**boiling**’ / ‘**freezing**’ (and ‘**warm**’ / ‘**cool**’), we may have to designate EXTREMES OF TEMPERATURE and MODERATE TEMPERATURES respectively as the levels of equivalence whilst *DEGREES OF TEMPERATURE* remains that which differentiates them. However, ‘**hot**’ and ‘**cold**’ can also express both moderate and extremes of temperature, and so the other pairs (‘**boiling**’ / ‘**freezing**’, ‘**warm**’ / ‘**cool**’) might be seen to be lower level subordinates of the superordinate concepts **HOT** / **COLD**.

The dimensions on which ‘**war**’ and ‘**peace**’ or ‘**town**’ / ‘**country**’ lie are difficult to designate. ‘**War**’ and ‘**peace**’ might exist on two ends of a dimension labelled STATES OF SOCIAL RELATIONS (see also Section 4.4.2) and ‘**town**’ / ‘**country**’ on a dimension we might call LANDSCAPES DEFINED BY THEIR PRINCIPLE MEANS OF PRODUCTION. Both of these sound clumsy and open to adjustment, not least because they are attempts to lexicalise what are in effect dimensions at the *conceptual* level. Cruse himself comments on the difficulties with ‘**town**’ / ‘**country**’ (and ‘**work**’ / ‘**play**’) claiming both of these pairs are ‘relatively weak opposites ...[because of]... the difficulty of establishing what the relevant dimension or axis is’ (1986: 262).

This phenomenon might be dealt with in terms of what Lyons calls ‘lexical gaps’ i.e. ‘the absence of a lexeme at a particular place in the structure of a lexical field’ (1977: 301). By lexical field, Lyons is referring to the ways in which words and their meanings are structurally related in terms of, for instance antonymy, synonymy and hyponymy. The relationship between an oppositional pair and the lexeme used to express their equivalence is a hyponymous one. For instance, ‘**hot**’ and ‘**cold**’ (and ‘**boiling**’ / ‘**freezing**’, ‘**warm**’ / ‘**cool**’) are co-hyponyms of a superordinate TEMPERATURE. Lyons asks the question: ‘Is it ever the case that two or more lexemes are in contrast without there being any superordinate lexeme of which they are immediate hyponyms?’ (1977: 302). His answer is

in the affirmative, quoting examples such as ‘**come**’ / ‘**go**’, ‘**teacher**’ / ‘**pupil**’, and ‘**buy**’ / ‘**sell**’, amongst others, and claims that ‘the non-existence of certain superordinates [...] is related to the important notion of codability’ (1977: 302). In other words, some concepts, such as the superordinate that might be the common factor linking ‘**war**’ and ‘**peace**’, do not have *coded* relations of equivalence in the sense that one cannot easily summarise them in one word. Nevertheless, the relationship is there at a conceptual level, otherwise the claim that opposites relate on equivalent dimensions breaks down.

The argument in this thesis is that opposites that are textually constructed for the purposes of a specific discourse must have some relation of equivalence for them to count as oppositions. However, it is often not possible to code that relationship in simple terms. For instance in example 1.7 in section 1.2.4.1, the words ‘**placard**’ and ‘**banner**’ are shown to be placed in a relation of opposition (see also Section 5.4.1), this being partly triggered through the verb ‘*contrasted*’. Placards and banners perform almost all of the same functions of being a medium often held by protestors on which brief and typographically large slogans can be written and hoisted aloft so that others can read them. We might summarise this further as SIGNS HELD BY PROTESTORS, but this certainly is not a definitive encapsulation of their relationship (see Section 5.3.1 for more detail). When it comes to the dimension of difference, we would again struggle to produce a term which provides an adequate summary.

It is possible therefore that those who judge the *status* of oppositional pairs may be taking into account our ability to lexicalise their relationship of equivalence and difference as a major factor in determining whether some are ‘better’ or ‘stronger’ than others. This is what Cruse seems to be suggesting in the quote above.

Section 1.4.2.1 introduced the concept of the *canonicity* of opposites and the role that lexical authorities like thesauruses might play in this. My argument in the next section is

that some linguists over-emphasise the importance of evaluating the status of opposites, at the expense of identifying textually-specific created oppositions whose meaning is generated by similar criteria to those classed as so-called ‘good’ opposites.

2.6 The status of opposites

The tendency amongst linguists to evaluate the strength of oppositions is not a trivial one. Cruse concludes the third of his three chapters on opposites with the sub-heading ‘What makes a ‘good’ opposition?’ (1986: 262). Similarly, Jones (2002: 117) has a sub-heading titled ‘Good opposites’ in his study of antonyms. To be able to judge the soundness of an oppositional pair, presumably there have to be criteria against which to judge their status. The extent to which opposition relies on lexical/semantic or conceptual relations (or both) is one of the factors which for some linguists seems to determine their acceptability.

2.6.1 Lexical or conceptual relation?

As Section 1.2.4.1 has demonstrated, there are those unusual textual oppositions which can only be expressed conceptually because they couldn’t possibly exist in a lexical canon of opposites (see examples 1.7 and 1.8), for the simple reason that they are whole clauses. There are no lexical authorities to refer to which can confirm or deny the status of the oppositions claimed in these examples, as much as anything because these authorities tend to treat oppositions as represented by single lexical items only. The relationship between words (lexical items) and concepts (what words can represent in the mind) is a minefield and not one on which there is much space to elaborate here. In simple terms however, part of the discussion around what constitutes an opposition (and other lexical relations) is whether it is a *lexical* or *conceptual* relation. In other words, does the opposite of ‘**big**’

equal ‘**little**’, just because in most cases they might co-occur together in texts, or can synonyms for ‘little’ which express similar concepts (‘**small**’, ‘**tiny**’, ‘**miniscule**’, ‘**minute**’, ‘**microscopic**’ etc), be equally valid as an opposite for ‘big’ if they express the same concept of ‘NON-BIGNESS’?

Murphy comments on this dilemma, arguing that the conceptual relations are paramount when it comes to determining what constitutes synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy and so on. Factors such as rhyme, alliteration, morphological and syntactic relations ‘may affect judgments of how well, say, synonymous words exemplifies the synonym relation, but the *meanings* of the words make or break the relation’ (2003: 9) (my emphasis)⁶.

She contrasts her position with that of Gross, Fischer and Miller (1989). According to Murphy:

They distinguish between antonym pairs like *big/little* and other semantically opposed pairs, such as *gigantic/tiny*, claiming that the former are lexical antonyms (i.e., intralexically related) as well as conceptual opposites (semantically related), while the latter are only conceptually opposed. For them, this means that the *big/little* contrast must be represented in the mental lexicon, but the relation between *gigantic* and *tiny* is not part of those words’ representation in the lexicon.

(Murphy, 2003: 9)

This difference of opinion as to whether to emphasise the lexical or conceptual components of oppositions seems to influence to what extent oppositional pairs are judged as ‘better’ or ‘worse’ examples than others.

For instance, Justeson and Katz (1992) claim that ‘antonymy is not only a semantic but also a lexical relation, specific to words rather than concepts’ (1992: 176). Their evidence is based on a study of adjectives in a 25 million word corpus through which they claim to

show that certain lexical oppositional pairings co-occur within the same or between adjacent sentences more frequently than others. These:

[...] patterns of co-occurrence between antonyms induce the formation of the specific lexical link between them during language learning..... and it is this link, together with their semantic opposition, that makes them antonyms. These patterns therefore provide the lexical criterion we propose for antonymy.

(Justeson and Katz, 1992: 180)

They claim for instance that despite the fact that '**large**' and '**big**' are both semantically very similar, '**little**' and '**big**' are a 'better' antonymical pair than '**small**' and '**big**', because they occur at higher rates in their data. So, according to Murphy⁷ and Andrew 'words that have fairly close synonyms don't necessarily have the same antonyms' (1993: 303). This view is supported by Jones (2002) whose aim at the end of his study is to find 'an accurate and workable definition of 'antonym' ' (2002: 178). This 'must account for the fact that antonymy is both a semantic and a lexical relation. Antonymy is lexical because only some word pairs on a given scale are identifiable as 'opposites' (on the scale of height, this lexis is *tall* and *short*, not *lofty* and *petite*)' (2002: 178).

Murphy and Andrew question this view, arguing that 'the conceptual basis of antonymy is primary' (1993: 305). Their own research shows that *context* can change the kind of antonym given as a result of respondents being presented with the same word. Adjectives like '**fresh**' may elicit the opposite '**frozen**' when combined with fish (e.g. 'fresh fish') and '**dirty**' when combined with '**shirt**'. One way of explaining this might be that the senses of '**fresh**' in each case are in fact different and hence being polysemous have different lexical antonyms (just as the opposite of '**old**' can be '**new**' or '**young**', depending on which context it is used)⁸. Murphy and Andrew counter this by claiming that

although words which have the same form but entirely different senses are likely to have separate lexical entries in dictionaries – e.g. homonyms like ‘bank’ - ‘there is little agreement on whether the two meanings of *fresh* ... are separate senses associated with the same entry or are simply two different uses of a more general meaning’ (1993: 309). They go further and draw on Lyons (1977) and Cruse (1986) who both believe that each lexical form can potentially have unlimited numbers of senses, and Nunberg (1979) ‘who argues that every lexical entry has an indefinitely large number of possible meanings, no one of which can be shown to be the primary one’ (1993: 309).

According to Murphy and Andrew:

These linguistic controversies point out that it is by no means a foregone conclusion that the different uses of *fresh*, for example, should be separately represented in the lexicon, each with its own antonym. Given that every word has a large number of possible senses (an infinite number, according to some writers), it would seem greatly wasteful of memory space (or impossible) to represent each sense, with a separate antonym, synonym, hypernym, etc. for each one. Instead many of the senses may be constructed from a more general meaning as a function of context.

(Murphy and Andrew, 1993: 309-10)

The fluid and context-dependent nature of meaning is crucial to the approach taken in my data analysis and to that of critical linguistics / critical discourse analysis in general. However an essential attribute of the non-canonical oppositions in my data, (such as the examples discussed in Section 1.2.4.1) is that they do *not* have a purely arbitrary basis. I will argue in Chapter Four that not only do they have to relate on planes of equivalence and difference, but that our understanding of them as oppositions may also depend on more canonical conceptual oppositions. Therefore the dialectic between the language system and

language use (*langue* and *parole*) is a crucial dynamic in the construction and processing of them.

The dangers of taking a static approach to the relationship between the language system and actual language in use is neatly summarised by Murphy and Andrew. The argument that frequency of co-occurrence should be a method for determining whether pairs of words are opposites or not and antonymy being a kind of *lexical* association only, does not, according to them, explain why antonyms co-occur in the first place. If opposites co-occur because ‘they are associated in semantic memory, then we have formed a completely circular explanation in which co-occurrence is caused by the relation, and the relation is caused by co-occurrence’ (1993: 304). In other words, ‘good’ antonyms are those which are used more frequently than others, and those that are used more frequently are ‘good’ antonyms. Additionally, they claim ‘if antonymy is just a kind of lexical association, then the semantic component would be superfluous, whereas it in fact seems to be the crucial element’ (1993: 304).

2.6.2 *Challenging the concept of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ opposites*

The argument that antonymy is mainly a lexical relation between word forms and not a conceptual relation between word meanings seems to apply especially to those studies which rely solely on corpora or thesauruses for data, the result being that opposites are often evaluated as if they were somehow intrinsically stronger or weaker based on their occurrence rates regardless of any conceptual dimensions and contextual features which might be involved. Indeed some linguists often use a number of clustered evaluative terms to judge opposites as if there were a bank of core oppositions against which to judge them. In the quotations given in this section, all words which display these sentiments have been underlined.

Justeson and Katz, for instance, claim that ‘there is something quite awkward about the conceptually opposite pair *large-little* lacking as they do the ‘clang’ association of clear antonyms’ (1992: 176). They also assert that some speakers judge the pair ‘**sick**’ / ‘**well**’ for instance ‘to be good antonyms, others do not’ and that ‘the varying strength of conviction in judgments of antonymy can be taken as a measure of the relative strength of the relation of antonymy between the two adjectives: adjectives may be more or less antonymous rather than simply antonymous or not antonymous; some adjective pairs are better examples of antonyms than others’ (1992: 182). It may well be that instinct would lead to most respondents feeling that ‘**hot**’ / ‘**cold**’ is a more standard oppositional pair than ‘**hot**’ / ‘**freezing**’. This is undoubtedly owing to the canonical status of the pair which is reinforced by the lexical authorities mentioned in Chapter One. For everyday purposes this is acceptable, however from a linguistic point of view it is unsatisfactory, as it would reduce examples already mentioned such as ‘**cream**’ / ‘**spleen**’, ‘**placard**’ / ‘**banner**’, ‘**cowshit**’ / ‘**bullshit**’ to the status of non-opposites, despite their users’ intentions to treat them this way.

This evaluative approach is taken even further by Jones who uses his taxonomy of common syntactic frames (e.g. ‘X *instead of* Y’) to try and ‘discover’ what he calls ‘emerging antonyms’ (2002: 154) i.e. those such as ‘**gay**’ / ‘**straight**’ which had no obvious oppositional relation in the early 20th century but are now a fairly common pair. This leads him to assume that some opposites are ‘better’ than others and at times almost seems relieved when his own experiments in searching for oppositions through frames turn up mainly with conventional examples.

For instance, he assesses words occupying X and Y-positions reflecting ‘some degree of innate opposition’ (2002: 155), as if pairs of words *in themselves* were ‘good’ opposites, regardless of context. Jones enters the word ‘good’ into his database in the frame both ‘X

and *Y*' whereby *X* is the word 'good', and assesses his results. In the 63 sentences that appeared, 45 contained 'bad' in the 'Y' position. Four sentences returned 'evil' in the *Y* position. Jones declares that 'it is pleasing to find such contexts being retrieved' (2002: 157). In discussing the 14 more unpredictable pairings with 'good', he refers to some of them as being 'very useful contrast terms for *good*. For example, *flawed* and *pathetic* are valid potential antonyms of good, even though ...[they have not]...become enshrined as an 'opposite' in the same way that *bad* has.' Again, he mentions 'it is pleasing to note that *wicked* and *nasty* have also been retrieved' and that the contrast with 'hard' is 'perfectly valid within its given context' and that '*not green*' 'is actually acceptable in its context' (p158). Similarly in discussing the phrase '*both good and true*' he claims 'one would not want to consider these terms as potential antonyms' and on a 'good' / 'great' pairing 'one could not identify *great* as being a potential antonym of *good*' (2002: 158).

Jones' position seems a bit ambiguous here. On the one hand he does recognise the validity of non-conventional context-based antonymy ('good' / 'hard', 'good' / 'green'), but at the same time judges that some ('good' / 'true' and 'good' / 'great') could not be 'potential antonyms'. Without providing any firm *relational* criteria for how one defines validity or acceptability, it is unclear how one could arrive at such conclusions.

One of the missions of Jones' research is to try and define a method for recognising 'good opposites' (2002: 117), whilst at the same time acknowledging that the notion of 'good' opposites is 'largely subjective'. Frequency of co-occurrence is his main criteria, and from this he concludes that six pairs from his data are the most 'hardcore' antonyms in language (or newspaper text). These pairs are 'bad' / 'good', 'female' / 'male', 'high' / 'low', 'peace' / 'war', 'poor' / 'rich' and 'private' / 'public' – 'the kind of everyday 'opposites' that one would intuitively expect to co-occur most forcefully in journalistic corpora' (2002:118). These results are unsurprising; nevertheless one could argue that the

value of the productions of statistics is to confirm educated guesses regarding the most common oppositional pairs.

However, it is difficult to see the benefits of trying to judge valid and less valid oppositions at the expense of examining the potential meanings which might be generated from the pairings in their context. Furthermore, by making a claim for ‘innateness’ and pairs becoming ‘enshrined’ Jones is making a substantial assumption that opposites can exist in some kind of context-less and rarefied idealised ether. It may be the case that one can judge instinctively, or as Jones does, through quantitative data analysis that pairs like ‘**good**’ / ‘**bad**’ are much more common than ‘**good**’ / ‘**pathetic**’, but this does not necessarily negate the value of the latter as an oppositional pair, neither does it contribute to an explanation of what opposition might consist of. Jones’ conclusion – the last paragraph of his book – is an attempt to ‘present a new definition of antonymy’ which he hopes will help future studies of opposition (2002: 179). This is:

Antonyms are pairs of words which contrast along a given semantic scale and frequently function in a coordinated and ancillary fashion such that they become lexically enshrined as ‘opposites’.⁹

(Jones, 2002: 179)

Jones here takes for granted that opposites are pairs of individual words. This is not a finding but a *prerequisite* for the study as he has already selected 56 pairs of words to investigate before the data analysis starts. The quality of being ‘lexically enshrined’ suggests that only certain kinds of lexical pairings are available to us as valid opposites, which means that the investigator has to rule out any oppositions which can’t be found listed in a standard lexical authority, neither does it provide an opportunity for discovering new examples of opposites.

2.6.3 Prototypicality

The temptation to rate oppositional pairings is understandable, especially if one is attempting to provide the ultimate definition of what opposition is. Then all one has to do is judge the opposites being analysed against these oppositional criteria. Cruse follows this line of thinking when he attempts to distinguish between ‘central, or *prototypical*, instances, judged by informants to be good examples of the category...’ (1986: 198). He uses examples such as ‘**good**’ / ‘**bad**’ and ‘**large**’ / ‘**small**’ as opposed to what he calls ‘peripheral’ examples such as ‘**mother**’ / ‘**father**’ and ‘**clergy**’ / ‘**laity**’. He then aims to ‘specify the characteristics which distinguish the good from the less good examples of the category’ (1986: 198) and subsequently proposes features which encapsulate the prototypical opposite (1986: 262). He updates these in 2004 to three main prerequisites: *binarity* – i.e. there can only be two members in a ‘set’ of opposites; *inherentness* – the pair ‘**up**’ / ‘**down**’ is innately oppositional whilst ‘**gas**’ / ‘**electricity**’ or ‘**tea**’ / ‘**coffee**’ are ‘accidental and pragmatic’ lacking logical reasons for oppositeness; *patency* – i.e. ‘**yesterday**’ / ‘**tomorrow**’ are patently oppositional, whilst what could be the same referents ‘**Monday**’ / ‘**Wednesday**’ (if today is Tuesday) are only latently oppositional (2004: 162-63). This thesis assumes binarity as a fundamental quality of oppositeness. Certainly in the data investigated in this thesis it seems that binarity is essentially woven into the fabric of syntactic structures. All of the frames explored in Chapter Three necessitate an X / Y pairing (‘X not Y’, ‘either X or Y’, ‘whilst X, Y’ etc.). If one concludes that syntax plays a major role in restricting oppositeness to binary pairs, then it difficult to discuss what constitutes the phenomenon of oppositeness without reference to the context in which oppositional pairs appear. The assumption that there can be innate decontextualised oppositions may seem like common sense, but without further investigation into whether oppositeness is indeed an inherent natural or cognitive

phenomenon – i.e. whether it exists objectively in the material world external to human thought or wired into the mind - it is difficult to substantiate categorically claims that oppositeness is inherent or patent. ‘Up’ / ‘down’ do seem to be logically directionally opposed, as Cruse claims, but they are *relative* terms (as are ‘hot’ / ‘cold’), in that their meaning still depends on the perspective of the person who uses them in discourse. Cruse is assuming that opposition *is* ‘cognitively primitive’ but does admit ‘it is quite hard to pin down exactly what oppositeness consists of’ (2004: 162). The approach in this investigation does not reject the notion of a kind of *core* oppositeness in that the unusual examples examined (like ‘cream’ / ‘spleen’ and those consisting of phrases and clauses) cannot be explained without reference to what seem to be more prototypical opposites on the conceptual plane. However, this is a method for exploring oppositions, not an attempt to rank them on a scale of best to worst opposites. Those like Cruse, Justeson and Katz and Jones, in making their mission to find the ultimate opposites (Cruse for instance uses the term ‘purity’ in 1986: 262), are using what they regard as prototypical examples as a yardstick against which to judge other less ‘pure’ ones. However, the approaches described above contribute little to explaining how context-specific examples, such as the ones identified in Chapter One, might work. It *is possible* to recognise commonly occurring ‘everyday’ oppositional pairs whilst also exploring textual oppositions which would not occur in Jones’ data, without resorting to prescribing levels of acceptability.

Section 1.2.4 introduced the notion of a *canon* of opposites and some of the problems in finding the ultimate arbiter of what might constitute good and bad examples of opposites. The next section explores this in more detail.

2.6.4 *Canonicity revisited*

For a researcher to firstly *discover* and secondly *assess* the potential consequences of oppositions that might not initially be as apparent as those with more everyday uses, it is necessary that temptations to make value judgements about their relative strengths be put to one side.

Murphy (2003) adopts a different approach in her pragmatic study of semantic relations. She uses the terms ‘canonical’ and ‘non-canonical’ (instead of ‘good’ and ‘bad’) to refer to oppositions that are more or less conventional and systemic and goes some way to recognising the validity of context-dependent opposition. Murphy singles out antonymy as having special status amongst semantic relations in that opposites are culturally familiar and ‘stable’. She draws attention to the ‘**hot**’ / ‘**cold**’ pairing as being canonical whereas ‘**steamy**’ / ‘**frigid**’ (or ‘**boiling**’ / ‘**freezing**’) is not, even though they both indicate opposite extremes on a temperature scale. The non-canonical pairs, she says ‘are less common or more context-dependent’ noting that a complete account of semantic relations must acknowledge both canonical *and* non-canonical types:

The two types are not completely separable – their boundaries are fuzzy and it is not always possible to determine whether a pair is canonical or not. Certainly, *happy/sad* is canonical, but is *happy/unhappy*? If not (on the grounds that morphologically derived antonyms are of a different category than morphologically unrelated antonyms), then why does *happy/unhappy* seem like a “better” antonym pair than *green/non-green* or *straight/unstraight*? *Wet/dry* is canonical, but is *humid/arid*? *Wet/dry* is certainly a more common pair, but cannot uncommon pairs belong to the canon? Language users can intuitively sort “good” (or prototypical) antonym pairs from not-so-good ones and downright bad ones. A complete theory of semantic relations must account for the continuum of relatedness that is revealed by language users’ judgments of “better” and “worse” examples of these relations.

(Murphy, 2003: 10 -11)

It helps to try and differentiate between canonicity and prototypicality. Whereas prototypical opposites are those which conform most readily to a defined set of criteria, such as those prescribed by Cruse in the previous section, a canon implies a repository of codified lexical items that language users draw from to determine the ‘standardness’ of particular uses without necessarily considering the specific semantic qualities of the opposites themselves. One difficulty is in knowing who or what is the definitive arbiter. Thesauruses are obvious places to look, although, as we have seen in section 1.4.2.1, they are often contradictory, and deal only with individual lexical items. Corpora might look at millions of words and their co-occurrence or concordance with other words amongst a variety of genres but this assumes frequency as the only determinant of canonicity. Murphy claims the canon might exist in the same way a cultural canon does, knowledge that we are expected to have ‘as participants in a society’ (2003: 32). This might be handed down through education, or through set phrases like ‘**cruel** to be **kind**’, *and* through frequency of co-occurrence. She also notes that stability across a number of senses adds to their canonical status. So the reason why ‘**black**’ and ‘**white**’ seem to be canonical is that they work as a pair in at least three ways: their basic colour sense; their racial sense; and their metaphorical sense (e.g. ‘**white** magic’ / ‘**black** magic’). The pair ‘**hot**’ / ‘**cold**’ operate in a similar way. Not only are they equivalent in terms of TEMPERATURE, they are also used for instance metaphorically in games like hide and seek to mean ‘**far away**’ or ‘**close**’ (‘you were **cold** but you’re getting **hot**’) or to describe human relations (‘she had the **hots** for him, but she left him **cold**’). This still does not answer why, or even whether, ‘**happy**’ / ‘**sad**’ seems more canonical than ‘**happy**’ / ‘**unhappy**’, neither does it tell us what makes a good opposition other than it is used more frequently than others. Higher frequency, as Murphy point out, does not necessarily equate to the ‘best’ kind of antonymy. She quotes a

study by Herrman et al. (1986) who asked informants to rate pairs of opposites on a scale of one to five. The most perfect example came up as ‘**maximise**’ / ‘**minimise**’, rating higher than ‘**love**’ / ‘**hate**’, ‘**good**’ / ‘**bad**’ (the most common in Jones’ corpus) and ‘**big**’ / ‘**little**’, even though ‘most people would not think of it when asked for an example of antonymy’ (2003: 31-32). She argues that this is because it is being judged not just on semantic grounds but also on their lexical qualities such as being alliterative, rhyming and metrically parallel and ‘these non-semantic facts affect perceptions of how antonymous a pair is’ (2003: 35). Non-semantic issues can undoubtedly influence the ways that non-canonical pairs can be recognised. For instance the ‘**cream**’ / ‘**spleen**’ example (see Sections 1.2.4.1 and 4.4.4) is reinforced to a certain extent by phonological patterning, such as assonance and half-rhyme between the nouns and the identical syllable match. However, these are secondary to the meaning relations, as I will demonstrate later in Chapter Four.

The importance of the concept of canonical and non-canonical oppositions is that it enables us to discuss conventional and unconventional pairings in a non-judgmental way, reflecting the potential for any unusual, textually specific oppositions to be explored, without relying on a view that language is a random, non-rule based system. The concept of a canon provides a touchstone against which to compare unusual oppositions, without negating the existence of the latter. The canon is an ephemeral ideal which assumes some kind of stability, whereas language, and hence the language system (‘*langue*’ in Saussurian terms) is constantly evolving. However, when Justeson and Katz or Jones refer to the equivalent of a canon (although they don’t use this term), they often rely on intuition, or at best frequencies derived from corpus data, to determine the validity of oppositional status and in doing so seem to be wanting a confirmation of the ways lexical items are codified as opposites. This leads Justeson and Katz for instance to claim that ‘**big**’ / ‘**little**’ and ‘**large**’

/ **‘small’** are better antonyms than **‘large’** / **‘little’** and **‘big’** / **‘small’** which lack ‘the ‘clang’ association expected of clear opposites’ (1992: 176), when it would be more useful to examine under what circumstances one might use one pairing over another. Murphy uses the principle of ‘minimal difference’ (see 2003: 38 – 40) to try and explain why **‘large’** / **‘little’** are less satisfactory than **‘big’** / **‘little’** and provides examples which show that **‘big’** / **‘large’** and **‘small’** / **‘little’** are not simply interchangeable. For instance, ‘I have a **large** problem’ is less likely than ‘I have a **big** problem’. Still, although these are deep-seated language conventions, they are not cast iron rules and do not negate the validity of the first example.

A richer approach is to explore how unusual oppositions can be triggered by appearing in syntactic frames common to more canonical oppositions whilst also taking into account the semantic qualities that allow them to make sense as opposites. This is the focus of Chapters Three and Four.

In this section I have shown that the temptation to discover and rate the ‘best’ oppositional pairs by searching for prototypical features or those that occur more frequently is understandable, but of only limited value. Ultimately these rely to a large extent on what Jones often refers to as ‘intuition’, and lead to a limited view of what opposition might entail.

2.7 Privileging in oppositions

One of the common features of contextual examples of opposition is that one of the pair is usually treated as preferential to that of the other from the point of view of the addresser. For instance in the news examples given in 1.2.4.1 (1.5 – 1.8) ‘cowshit’, ‘clotted cream’, ‘cobbled-together banners [...]’ and ‘country people [...]’ are arguably favoured by the writers / sloganeers over the other of the pair. This phenomenon is dealt with in very little

detail by writers on lexical semantics, either because examples of opposites are not taken from specific examples of discourse, or even when they are (e.g. Mettinger, 1994, Jones 2002) the data is used quantitatively in the formation of categories rather than analysed qualitatively as examples taken from a broader context.

Differentiating between the members of a pair is usually treated in terms of asymmetry or markedness. This was briefly referred to in Section 2.4.2 in Cruse's sub-categories. An unmarked member of a pair is the one seen as having a neutral value. For instance, according to Graddol et al (1994: 113), 'if we want to ask about someone's age, we ask them how *old* they are; if we want to know if there is headroom for our bus or pass under a bridge we ask how *high* the bridge is'. By asking in this way we are making no assumptions about the age of the person or the height of the bridge.

They continue:

If the other member of the pair is used, however, then assumptions are made. If we ask how low a bridge is, then we imply that it is low rather than high. Similarly a *bitch* is unquestionably a female animal; people sometimes speak of a *female dog*, but they would be most unlikely to speak of a *male bitch* [...]

'[...] Some pairs of words that are 'opposite' in meaning are **formally marked**. For example, *truthful* and *untruthful* can be analysed as complementary in meaning.....and in this case the opposition is formally marked by the prefix *un-*.

(Graddol et al, 1994: 113)

(See also Lyons 1977, Cruse 1986 & 2004, Jones 2002, and Murphy 2003 for more on markedness).

However, these kinds of examples tend not to deal with *co-occurring* opposites and the privileging between them is much more conventionally cultural entrenched – for instance

‘**good**’ in most senses of the word is bound to be preferable to ‘**bad**’ (unless ‘**bad**’ is meant in its street slang sense of ‘**great**’). There is no inherent markedness between the pair ‘**placard**’ / ‘**banner**’, however in the context in which they appear one is being preferred over the other. The ‘**us**’ / ‘**terrorists**’ example used by George Bush is another clear example. This hierarchical relation between the two is dealt with more in politics, psychology and media / cultural studies than in linguistic studies of oppositions. For instance Carr and Zanetti in an article on ‘The psychodynamics in work organisations’ claim:

‘Western thought is imbued with a style of thinking based on dichotomy and binary opposition... Embedded in this fundamental style of thinking, however, are not only oppositions but also hierarchy, in that the existence of such binaries suggests a struggle for predominance. If one position is right, then the other must be wrong’ .

(Carr and Zanetti, 1994: 324)

Similarly, Currie in *Difference* (2004) describes post-structuralist approaches to opposition which:

[...] tend to introduce the notion that one term enjoys some privileged or assumed authority over the other.....this importation of power into the opposition gives difference a decidedly political inflection, or a structural logic for the description of established hierarchies and their revolutions.

(Currie, 2004: 14).

The attempt to assert the authority of one of an oppositional pair over another commonly takes the form of an ‘**us**’ / ‘**them**’ binary in a variety of guises. These will be dealt with in

more detail throughout the data analysis sections of this thesis, and specifically in the last section where a broader overview of their ideological ramifications are discussed.

2.8 Conclusion

In this section I have tried to show both the central role of oppositions in lexical and semantic relations, but also some of the problems in delimiting them. Definitions and categories are essential if we are to be able to explore what is a common concept not only amongst linguists but also to most language users. However if we are over-focused on category boundaries, lexical authorities, frequency statistics, prototypes and the evaluation of oppositional pairs as *better* or *worse* examples, we are in danger of over-looking the potentially awesome range of constructed oppositions which appear in all manners of discourse and the effects on text consumers these might have.

Chapter Three investigates syntactic frames (discussed briefly in Section 2.4.3) common to oppositions in context, drawing specifically on the work of Mettinger (1994) and Jones (2002), and shows how recognising these can help reveal a world of oppositions well beyond those explored in the studies mentioned in this chapter.

Notes

¹ See Note 10 of Chapter One.

² ‘If and only if’.

³ There are of course, instances where this could be feasible, as gender is a social construct, and the concept of transgender demonstrates that it could be treated gradably.

⁴ Perhaps when an overzealous child has been putting Christmas decorations on the family pet!

⁵ I will be using the term ‘dimension’ for the purposes of this chapter but in Chapter 4 they will be called ‘planes of difference’ (PoDs).

⁶Much of Chapter Four is concerned with whether opposition is in the first instance a lexical or conceptual relation. There is also some confusion about whether ‘semantic’ relations are equivalent to ‘conceptual’ relations.

⁷This is Gregory Murphy, not *Lynne* Murphy (2003).

⁸See Jeffries (1998: 114-9) for a useful exploration of the phenomena of homonymy and polysemy.

⁹The concepts of ‘co-ordinated’ and ‘ancillary’ antonymy are dealt with in Chapter Three.

The role of syntactic frames in opposition triggering

3.1 Introduction

Section 2.4 outlined some of the ways different linguists have tried to categorise oppositions, for instance by their gradability. This often involves trying to ascertain certain apparently inherent semantic characteristics of oppositions, regardless of the contexts in which they might appear. However, where both of a pair of opposites co-occur in discourse they do so in stretches of text which join or ‘frame’ the oppositional pair in certain systematic ways. These syntactic frames have gone largely unrecognised in studies of oppositions, with two main exceptions – Mettinger’s *Aspects of Semantic Opposition in English* (1994) and Jones’ *Antonymy: a corpus-based perspective* (2002). In these studies, both researchers utilise pre-selected canonical oppositional pairs from a restricted genre-specific corpus – novels and news texts respectively – in order to log the commonest syntactic environments in which they occur.

Although the ultimate aim of this thesis is to explore the ways that textually constructed non-canonical oppositions can be employed by news texts to represent events (especially groups of people) as if they were mutually exclusive binaries, to get to that stage, there has

to be an investigation into some of the main ways these oppositions can be discovered and triggered.

This chapter therefore consists of a critical comparison and evaluation of central oppositional syntactic frames and their functions as proposed by Mettinger and Jones. I demonstrate the value of using the frames in searching for *non-canonical* oppositions in my own data, whilst also proposing some amendments and additions to the already substantial typology they have provided. Section 3.4 explores some of the difficulties with treating these frames as if they were separate isolated identities, as Mettinger and Jones tend to do. I argue that the frames should be treated as having a dynamic relationship with the semantic elements of the oppositional pairs they house, and also combine in a variety of ways to strengthen the opposition involved. I am critical of Jones' over-reliance on corpus generated statistics to produce conclusions about the relative roles of the frames.

The next section summarises the contribution of Mettinger and Jones in the logging of syntactic frames and introduces the idea that the syntactic environments common to canonical oppositions can be used to generate or 'trigger' non-canonical pairs.

3.2 The importance of syntactic frames

A syntactic frame is a formulaic structure in which grammatical function words such as conjunctions systematically conjoin both members of an oppositional pair. Common structures include 'X *not* Y', '*rather* X *than* Y', and 'X *and* Y'. The insertion of any of a pair of standard one-word opposites into the X/Y positions is unlikely to cause any major difficulties with comprehension. It is also clear that each of the frames above have different functions. The 'X *not* Y' frame expresses a categorical difference between the pair in favour of X, whether it be preference or description. The '*rather* X *than* Y' frame is less categorical, expressing a looser preference for X over Y, and the 'X *and* Y' frame (on

the surface at least) is likely to assign equal value to the pair. These functions will be explored in detail in the sub-sections below.

Murphy (2003) is impressed by Jones (2002) work on categorising these frames and sees great potential for investigating non-canonical oppositions:

Awareness of these frames and their functions gives us a means for recognizing context-dependent cases of antonymy. So, while Jones has used canonical antonyms to demonstrate the existence of these functions, other pairs, including non-canonical opposites and words that are not antonymous in neutral conditions, function as antonyms when in these frames. For example, *soup* and *nuts* act as antonyms in the transitional phrase *from soup to nuts*, as do *London* and *Newark* in the phrase *from London to Newark*. That is, within a particular discourse (or part thereof), *London* and *Newark* are antonyms in that they form a binary contrast set. The speaker highlights their membership in that binary contrast set by presenting them in a frame that contrasts them.

(Murphy 2003: 204)

Murphy does not elaborate much more on this, and neither does she explain where her ‘**soup**’ / ‘**nuts**’, ‘**London**’ / ‘**Newark**’ examples might be found. Crucially however she does see the value in taking the investigation further and does not feel obliged to evaluate antonyms according to their strength, unlike Jones.

It is intriguing that very little work seems have been done on the relationship between syntactic frames and antonym co-occurrence. Apart from Mettinger and Jones, the only other reference to them seems to be Fellbaum’s article (1995), ‘Co-occurrence and Antonymy’ published a year after Mettinger’s (1994) *Aspects of Semantic Opposition in English*. Both seem unaware of each other’s work. Fellbaum mentions syntactic frames more as an aside rather than a central hypothesis, but in doing so does provide Jones with a foundation for his work. She claims that in her data from the one million word Brown

Corpus some ‘noun and adjective pairs do co-occur in what could be termed parallel constructions [...] where the order of the semantically opposed words is fixed.’ (1995: 295). Giving some textual examples she then claims:

The immediate context of the contrasting nouns is a syntactic frame with two variables (*from x to y; x and/or y*), which may be filled by semantically opposed nouns, verbs or adjectives. English has a number of such syntactic frames, expressing conjunction, disjunction, or denoting a temporal or spatial range [...]

(Fellbaum, 1995: 295)

She then cites examples of these frames such as ‘*(both) X and Y*’, ‘*X as well as Y*’, ‘*X and Y alike*’, ‘*neither X nor Y*’, ‘*either X or Y*’, ‘*now X, now Y*’ and ‘*from X to Y*’.

Many of these frames are central to the positioning of co-occurring oppositions as Jones’ work seems to prove. There are many more however, and what my data analysis will show is that the spaces occupied by the X / Y slots need not be restricted to individual words.

The next two sections provide an overview of the way Mettinger (1994) and Jones (2002) use corpora to identify and categorise these common syntactic frames.

3.2.1 Mettinger’s syntactic frames

The aim of Mettinger’s (1994) *Aspects of Semantic Opposition in English* is, according to the writer, to ‘arrive at a coherent description and explanation of a specific type of semantic relation obtaining between English lexemes’ (1994: 2). His attempt to categorise and account for these semantic relations is based around an analysis of a collection of 350 oppositional pairs chosen from the 1972 edition of *Roget’s Thesaurus*, and another 350 pairs chosen from what Mettinger (1994: 2) describes as his ‘opposites in context’ corpus –

i.e. 43 predominantly British crime novels. The majority of these consist of 31 written by Agatha Christie, three by David Lodge and nine others. Of the 350 pairs, 161 were used ‘for a closed-set investigation and classification of syntagmatic relations’ and the advantage of his corpus is that it ‘freed me from having to rely solely on dictionaries and introspection’ (1994: 2). Mettinger draws on the Saussurian distinction between *langue* (the abstract language system), and *parole* (language in use). He is particularly keen to investigate oppositeness on the level of *parole* as in the past ‘the phenomenon as such has always been treated as simply existing, with hardly any consideration as to the actualisation and textual function of semantic opposition on the level of language use [...]’ (1994: 33). Quoting from his data the pairs ‘**life**’ / ‘**literature**’ and ‘**things**’ / ‘**words**’ as examples of contextually generated opposites he aims to address two questions:

(a) are there any contextual/syntagmatic environments favouring the application of opposites; and, if there are, what are their characteristics?

(b) do the opposites used in such contextual/syntagmatic environments share the same status with regard to the linguistic system of English; and, if they do not, what is the basis on which to distinguish various groups?

(Mettinger, 1994: 35)

It soon becomes apparent that what Mettinger calls ‘opposites in context’ involves little or no *qualitative* analysis of the potential *meanings* of the pairs in their context but is mainly a classification exercise. The categories he produces however are important as it is the first time a systematic approach has been taken. Crucially he raises the issue of the relationship between the joint influences of semantic relations¹ between each of an oppositional pair and the syntactic environments in which they occur. Mettinger’s view is that ‘it is virtually impossible to establish a pair of opposites X and Y on the basis of their

syntagmatic distribution' (1994: 34) and that the semantic content must play an equally important role. He takes issue with the claims of Russian linguists Novikov and Kočergan who appear to be asserting that the definable characteristic of an oppositional pair is its regularity in a particular syntactic frame. However, Mettinger does concede that 'opposites in texts are *in many cases* characterized by contiguous arrangement' (1994: 34) (my emphasis) and that contrasts in texts are 'further characterized by the favoured placements of such opposites X and Y in a syntactically definable environment' (1994: 38). To justify this claim he places his selection of 161 examples into one of a number of syntactic frames and attempts to assign a common function to each of them. He divides his examples into 61.5% which are assignable to one of his Frames A – I and 38.5% which he cannot. The former occur as conjuncts linked by a connector (such as 'and'), participating in a 'coordinating structure'. For instance, the frame 'X and Y' (Mettinger's 'Frame A') can have the major textual function of highlighting the 'simultaneous validity of X, Y' or being used as a 'confrontation'. The latter can also occur in the frame 'X, *at the same time* Y'.

Table 3.1 below is my attempt to summarise Mettinger's frames using his own classification system. Each letter from A – I corresponds to a frame type. There are two versions of both frames A and E as the former both function as expressing 'simultaneous validity' and the latter are both forms of 'negation'. Examples of oppositional pairs are given alongside the contexts in which they appear in Mettinger's novels' data. His attempts to summarise the major textual functions are on the right. Notice that there is some overlap here in that function B ('confrontation') can occur in at least three environments – A1, E1 and I1. It is likely that with a greater amount of data, a broader range of environments for this function will be found. The 38.5% of examples which Mettinger cannot assign to a frame are included under the umbrella of instances of 'cohesion', in that 'it is the context that stresses the contrast constituted by the juxtaposition of X and Y' (1994: 41).

A brief evaluation of Mettinger's categories will occur through some of the sub-sections of 3.3, although the majority of this will focus on Jones's more comprehensive classifications. Section 3.4 deals with some of the overall difficulties with Mettinger's analysis.

Frame	Frame Form	Examples	Context	'Major textual function'
A1	X and Y	advantages disadvantages	a) It's a large industrial city, with the usual advantages and disadvantages	A) Simultaneous validity of X,Y
		now then	b) ...seeking to differentiate between what she knew now and what she knew then	B) Confrontation
A2	X, at the same time Y	simplicity complexity	a) I was puzzled by the simplicity and at the same time the complexity	A) Simultaneously validity of X,Y
B	neither X nor Y	stupid intellectual	...she was a rather mediocre child, neither stupid nor particularly intellectual. seem neither old enough nor young enough	A) Simultaneous (<i>non</i>) validity of X,Y
C	X or Y whether X or Y either X or Y	keeping/breaking naturally/artificially rude/friendly	.....most of our moral energy on keeping or breaking the Church's teaching... ... whether naturally or artificially produced it was impossible to tell One has either to be rude or friendly	C) Choice (exclusive)
D	X or (= 'and') Y	pleasant unpleasant	.....in a state of blessed numbedness, incapable of any thought at all, pleasant or unpleasant.	A) Simultaneous validity of X, Y (weak disjunction; non – exclusive}
E 1	not X, (but) Y	command appeal sleepy awake	... Lucy's delicate eye-brows telegraphed not a command ... but an appeal She herself did not feel in the least sleepy . On the contrary she felt wide awake and slightly excited	D) Retrospective Correction B) Confrontation
E 2	X, not Y	faced avoided	.....the trouble must be faced, not avoided	D) Retrospective negation (emphasis) Both E's are negated
F	X rather than Y X-er than Y	usual/unusual nice(nicer)/nasty	But it's the usual rather than the unusual thing to happen. ...to support his argument that nice things are nicer than nasty ones.	E) Comparison

	Y-er than X	short/much longer	Your left hand little finger is short but your right hand one is much longer	
G	X turns (in)to / becomes Y	comedy tragedy	Someone has turned the comedy into a tragedy	F) Mutation
H	from X to Y	large small	...ranged neatly in order of size from large to small .	A) Cumulative validity of X, Y
I1	X, Y connector -less placement	tall/short thin/stout fair/dark light shade	A man is often described as tall-short; thin-stout; fair-dark ; dressed in a dark-light suit; and so on It is a duel between us... He is in the light , I in the shade	A) cumulative validity B) Confrontation
I2	X, Y (Y = 'UNDO' X)	entangled disentangled	He had...got entangled with the local tobacconist's daughter – been disentangled and sent off to Africa.	G) Reversal (of activity)

Table 3.1 A summary of Mettinger's classification of syntactic frames and their functions

3.2.2 Jones' syntactic frames

Jones' (2002) work is important to this study for two reasons. Firstly, as his data comes from a similar source to mine (i.e. newspaper texts), this provides an apt opportunity to compare methodologies for discussing genre-specific textual oppositions. Secondly, Jones has so far produced the largest and most systematic study of the common syntactic environments in which oppositions appear. A corpus of 280 million words taken from the *Independent* newspaper (1988- 96) is used. He pre-selects 56 canonical oppositional pairs and analyses their syntactic frames from a selected 3,000 sentences from the corpus. The result is a detailed classification of oppositional syntactic frames based both on their form and function. I have mapped these onto Mettinger's classification system to produce table 3.2. I have also produced table 3.3 which gives a snap-shot view of all of Jones' categories with Mettinger's mapped onto these. Table 3.3 especially demonstrates how much more extensive is Jones' classification system. He invents labels for each category, such as

‘comparative antonymy’ and ‘transitional antonymy’ and produces a broader range of frames and their functions than Mettinger.

Jones’ frames provide a firm basis on which to investigate non-canonical opposition, although the system of categorisation and the conclusions he draws from his statistics are spurious (as Sections 3.3 and 3.4 will show). Jones does allude to the potential for investigating non-canonical oppositions in a section entitled ‘framework productivity’ (2002: 154-67). He explores the possibility of what he calls ‘emerging antonyms’ appearing in the syntactic frameworks he has categorised. He asks ‘if antonyms occupy certain lexical environments in text, which other words also occupy those environments and could some of those words be seen as new, maturing antonyms?’ (2002: 154). As an experiment he chooses the words ‘good’, ‘natural’ and ‘style’, and inserts them in the X position of three frameworks – ‘*both X and Y*’, ‘*between X and Y*’, and ‘*whether X or Y*’. Some of his results are fascinating. For instance, the word ‘**natural**’ produces a whole range of words in the Y position, other than the expected canonical ones such as ‘**unnatural**’ or ‘**artificial**’. These include ‘**spiritual**’, ‘**violent**’, ‘**vital**’, ‘**coloured**’, ‘**taboo**’, ‘**created**’, ‘**juridical**’, ‘**metal**’, ‘**moral**’, and ‘**electric**’, to name just a few. There is no space here to elaborate here on the rest of his findings, suffice to say that, as Section 2.6.2 tried to show, Jones misses an opportunity to explore how these pairings might function in the contexts in which they occur, and as the quotes above suggest, he seems uneasy with the unusual pairings, unless he can envisage them as being potentially viable canonical antonyms in the future (‘emerging antonyms’). Otherwise, it is implied, they cannot be treated as oppositions. This attitude is exemplified clearly in the following passage:

[...] we know that antonyms can occupy X and Y positions in this framework, but we do not know what other relations might be held by words which occupy these positions. It seems likely that, if we return to the corpus and retrieve further occurrences of *X instead of Y*, the missing words will (*sometimes, at least*) [my emphasis] be contrastive. They may not be familiar antonymous pairs like those included in the database, but context demands that X and Y must be set up in some sort of opposition, even if that opposition is entirely instantial. Such pairs are useful to explore because they reflect all kinds of textual contrasts; they are not just prototypical ‘opposites’. And, of course, *X instead of Y* is just one productive framework of antonymy, dozens more of which could be identified. In this way, new antonyms may be identified, and perhaps, diachronically quantified, so that the process by which a pair of words become ‘opposites’ can be monitored.

(Jones 2002: 154)

Jones here is clearly drawing a not unhelpful distinction between textually context-specific and ‘prototypical’ opposites, however his reasons for doing so are for monitoring how pairs of words *become* opposites (i.e. enter the canon), rather than considering how and why they might be used in these texts. The reason why this point has to be emphasised is that Jones seems to give the impression that the role of non-canonical oppositions is peripheral or even that they are non-viable on a semantic level, despite their occurrence in these frames. At other times however he does acknowledge the existence of what he calls ‘instantial’ (i.e. non-canonical) oppositions, and he gives some examples which are not dissimilar to my own in that they consist of whole phrases and clauses. He restricts these examples mainly under the heading of what he calls ‘ancillary antonymy’ (see Jones 2002: 45-60). This will be discussed in more detail in Sections 3.3.9 and 3.4.

My data however shows that in most, if not all cases where any of the frames associated with oppositions have been identified (not just ancillary antonymy), an opposition can be identified and triggered. And it is the many cases where they are *non*-canonical - either

because they do not appear in lexical authorities like thesauruses, or because they are longer stretches of discourse – that they perform a potent ideological function, partially because the reader might not consciously recognise the pair as being treated in an oppositional manner.

Frame	Frame Form	Examples	Context	'Major textual function'	Jones's Equivalents
A1	<i>X and Y</i>	advantages/ disadvantages now/ then	a) It's a large industrial city, with the usual advantages and disadvantages b) ...seeking to differentiate between what she knew now and what she knew then	a) Simultaneous validity of X,Y b) Confrontation	Coordinated Antonymy Distinguished Antonymy
A2	X, at the same time Y	simplicity/ complexity	a) I was puzzled by the simplicity and at the same time the complexity	a) Simultaneously validity of X,Y	Coordinated Antonymy (inclusive function)
B	<i>neither X nor Y</i>	stupid/ intellectual	...she was a rather mediocre child, <i>neither stupid nor particularly intellectual</i> .	a) Simultaneous (<i>non</i>) validity of X,Y	Coordinated Antonymy
C	<i>X or Y</i> <i>whether X or Y</i> <i>either X or Y</i>	keeping/ breaking naturally/ artificially rude/friendly	.....most of our moral energy on keeping or breaking the Church's teaching... ...whether naturally or artificially produced it was impossible to tell One has <i>either</i> to be rude or friendly	c) Choice (exclusive)	Coordinated Antonymy Coordinated Antonymy Coordinated Antonymy
D	X or (= 'and') Y	pleasant/ unpleasant	.....in a state of blessed numbedness, incapable of any thought at all, pleasant or unpleasant .	a) Simultaneous validity of X, Y (weak disjunction; non – exclusive}	Coordinated Antonymy
E 1	not X, (but) Y	command/ appeal sleepy/ awake/	...Lucy's delicate eye-brows telegraphed <i>not</i> a command ... <i>but</i> an appeal She herself did not feel in the least sleepy . On the contrary she felt wide awake and slightly excited	d) Retrospective Correction b) Confrontation	Negated Antonymy Negated Antonymy
E 2	X, not Y	faced/ avoided/	.....the trouble must be faced, not avoided	d) Retrospective negation (emphasis) Both E's are negated	Negated Antonymy
F	X rather	usual/unusual	But it's the usual <i>rather</i>	e) Comparison	Comparative

	than Y X-er than Y Y-er than X	nice(nicer)/nasty short/ much longer	than the unusual thing to happen. ...to support his argument that nice things are nicer than nasty ones. Your left hand little finger is short but your right hand one is much longer		Antonymy Comparative Antonymy Comparative Antonymy
G	X turns (in)to/becomes Y	comedy/ tragedy	Someone has turned the comedy into a tragedy	f) Mutation	Transitional Antonymy
H	from X to Y	large/ small	...ranged neatly in order of size <i>from large to small</i> .	a) Cumulative validity of X, Y	Transitional Antonymy
I1	X,Y connector-less placement	tall/short thin/stout fair/dark light/ shade	A man is often described as tall-short; thin-stout; fair-dark ; dressed in a dark-light suit; and so on It is a duel between us...He is in the light , I in the shade	a) cumulative validity b) Confrontation	Oblique stroke Parallelism
I2	X,Y (Y = 'UNDO' X)	entangled/ disentangled	He had...got entangled with the local tobacconist's daughter – been disentangled and sent off to Africa.	g) Reversal (of activity)	No equivalent

Table 3.2 A summary of Mettinger's syntactic frames and their functions, with Jones' equivalents added

Jones' categories	Jones' descriptions / functions	Jones' frames	Jones' textual example	Mettinger's textual function
Coordinated Antonymy	inclusiveness and exhaustiveness of scale	X and Y	He took success and failure in his stride.	Simultaneous validity of...
		X or Y	Most Ugandans, married or unmarried , had several lovers.	Choice (exclusive) & Simultaneously validity of...
		neither X nor Y	...we can neither agree or disagree	Simultaneous non-validity of X/Y
		X as well as Y	....another few thousand learned to hate as well as love him.	
		the X with the Y	the good with the bad	
		absence of coordinator	we may succeed , we may fail if it's wet we can play it up front/wide , if it's dry we can play it up front/wide	

		<p><i>X but Y</i></p> <p>they don't encourage it, but they don't discourage it either</p> <p><i>both X and Y</i></p> <p>both listed and unlisted properties</p> <p><i>either X or Y</i></p> <p>either consciously or unconsciously</p> <p><i>neither X nor Y</i></p> <p>neither optimistic nor pessimistic</p> <p><i>whether X or Y</i></p> <p>whether employed or unemployed</p> <p><i>how X or Y</i></p> <p>how well or badly a person plays a game</p> <p><i>X and Y alike</i></p> <p>sought after by young and old alike</p>		Choice (exclusive)
Comparative Antonymy	places words in a comparative context or measures one antonym against another	<p><i>more X than Y</i> (Direct comparison)</p> <p>Sometimes I feel more masculine than feminine</p> <p><i>X is more (adj) than Y</i> (indirect comparison)</p> <p>small monk tails are cheaper than large ones</p> <p><i>X rather than Y</i> (Preferential comparison)</p> <p>people become active rather than passive adjuncts</p> <p><i>X just as likely to be Y</i> (Equal Comparison)</p> <p>educated are just as likely to ...the uneducated</p> <p><i>X no less than Y (EC)</i></p> <p>unsaturated no less than saturated</p> <p><i>X in the same way as Y (EC)</i></p> <p>unmarried couples...should be treated...in the same way as married couples</p>		<p>Comparison</p> <p>Comparison</p> <p>Comparison</p>
Distinguished Antonymy	<p>alludes to the inherent semantic dissimilarity (<i>metalinguistic distinction</i>)</p> <p><i>metaphoric distinction</i></p>	<p><i>The difference /division/ discrepancies/ distinction between X and Y</i></p> <p><i>separating X and Y</i></p> <p><i>polarised between X and Y</i></p> <p><i>gulf/ gap/ clear distance / barriers / no man's land between X and Y</i></p>	<p>The blurred distinction between fact and fiction</p> <p>separating out our masculine and feminine instincts</p> <p>polarised between rich and poor</p> <p>overriding all barriers between old and new</p>	No equivalent

Transitional Antonymy	expresses a movement or change from one location or state to another	<i>from X to Y</i> <i>turning X to Y</i> <i>X gives way to Y</i>	crossing the boundary from straight to gay people Even hard currency has turned soft when the old guard was giving way to the new	Cumulative validity of X/Y Mutation
Negated Antonymy	negates one antonym as a device to augment the other	<i>X not Y</i> <i>X instead of Y</i> <i>X as opposed to Y</i> <i>X if not Y</i> <i>X or rather Y</i>	pessimism not optimism met him alive instead of dead being young and keen as opposed to being old and keen implicitly if not explicitly dressed or rather undressed	Retrospective correction (emphasis)
Extreme Antonymy	unites the outer-most areas of their given semantic scale	<i>the very X and the very Y</i> <i>either too X or too Y</i> <i>deeply / pure / completely X and Y</i>	valuable to the very young and the very old Nothing... was too large or too small a deep hate and a deep love	No equivalent
Idiomatic Antonymy	recognised as a familiar idiom, proverb or cliché	no specific frames	the long and short of it these abstract pieces seemed to glow hot and cold	No equivalent
Conflict	X in direct conflict with Y	<i>X versus Y</i> <i>clash / conflict between X and Y</i>	simply a good guy versus bad guy quarrel clash of masculine and feminine qualities	No equivalent
Oblique stroke	joined by nothing more than an oblique stroke	X/Y	Bell has a love/hate relationship with the classic	No equivalent
Association		<i>association / link / relationship / blend between X and Y</i>	rethink the relationship between male and female .	No equivalent
Specification	Quantification of X/Y	no specific frames	there were 51 male and 140 female prisoners	No equivalent

Simultaneity	dual properties of X and Y may be applicable to the same referent	<i>X could also be / seems/ is Y</i>	But that strength could also be a weakness	Simultaneous validity of X, Y X at the same time Y
Unity	X/Y so close together that that seems almost over-inclusive – function as single multi-word units	<i>X and Y</i>	issues of war and peace questions of good and evil	No equivalent
Equivalence	Contrast being used to reflect underlying similarity	<i>X equivalent / version / antithesis of Y</i>	a feminine equivalent of the current masculine realism the feminine antithesis to this display of steely masculine resolve	No equivalent
Ancillary Antonymy	One antonymous pair responsible for generating another new one - usually instancial between another pair of words, phrases or clauses		Now it denotes high butter mountains and a low boredom threshold.	No equivalent
Parallelism	The most important contrast-generating device of an Ancillary Antonymy sentence		There is praise for success , condemnation for failure	unconjoined placement X,Y Reversal (of activity)
				Confrontation / correction not X (but) Y

Table 3.3 A summary of Jones' syntactic frames and their functions with Mettinger's mapped on

Section 3.3 provides an overview of the ways that the key syntactic frames identified by Jones and variations on these can be used to house words, phrases and clauses not conventionally recognised as oppositions. These frames therefore act as 'triggers' for non-conventional oppositions at the conceptual level. If oppositions are as omnipresent as Lyons, Cruse, Jones and so on believe, then it seems reasonable to assume that the

common frames in which they appear will also structure the way we process non-canonical variations. These might work in the same way as what, in the field of pragmatics, Levinson (1983) calls ‘presupposition-triggers’. Presuppositions are background assumptions built into sentences and utterances. So in the declaration ‘I stopped watching that film *Eraserhead*’, there is an assumption (presupposition) that a) the film *Eraserhead* exists, and b) the speaker actually saw the film. These are triggered by the use of the deictic demonstrative pronoun ‘that’ which metaphorically points to a thing (to demonstrate it) which therefore presumes the film exists, and the use of the verb ‘stopped’ – if you stop doing something you must have been doing it in the first place to be able to stop it. Levinson lists 31 of these triggers (see 1983: 181-5) which consist of a variety of verb-types and clause structures. If presupposition is built into them through convention, then their use will trigger the presupposition. It could be argued therefore that a similar dialectical dynamic exists with those frames common to oppositions.

The next section therefore is an attempt to elaborate on these syntactic frames and the way they might trigger unusual oppositions. Included in these will be a brief critical explanation of the ways they are dealt with by Mettinger but mostly Jones because his work is more substantial.

3.3 A typology of syntactic frames

This next section is structured using many of the categories created by Jones. There are, however, problems with these categories which will be explored throughout 3.3 and additionally in section 3.4.

Most of the examples of oppositional frames were discovered by methodically searching for Jones' own frames and in the process realising that there were others which Jones had not mentioned. The structure of the tables in which the examples were organised and analysed was based on those created initially for the analysis of each news article². Separate tables were made by pasting together all those rows which had common frame categories to make it possible to compare examples with the same types of frames³. It is important to emphasise that the categories are provisional and not fixed.

3.3.1 Negated opposition

Jones claims that what he calls 'negated antonymy' is 'arguably the 'purest' form of antonymy, its primary function being to generate a sharper contrast between the two words by making explicit their inherent antonymity' (2002: 88). He defines negated antonyms as those that operate within a framework 'that negates one antonym as a device to augment the other' (2002: 88). The assertion here is that the meaning of the antonym not being negated is affected or enhanced by the one that is. Common frameworks for this category, according to Jones, include 'X *not* Y', 'X *instead of* Y', and 'X *as opposed to* Y'⁴. Mettinger describes the function of the 'X *not* Y' frame as 'retrospective correction (emphasis)' but offers no explanation other than a list of examples from his data (see 1994: 52-3).

The importance of an opposition based around the negator '*not*' is that if a construction like 'X *not* Y' is used, it implies a mutual exclusivity within the context in which the opposites are instantiated, regardless of whether the pair in X/Y slots would traditionally be treated as gradable. For instance, if you describe or label some thing in terms of one state of being and use something else as a contrast to emphasise it is *not* another state of being, you are likely to choose something which falls at the opposite end of the spectrum

upon which this specific dimension of meaning lies. This is easily exemplified if we apply it to conventional opposites, as in the following examples used by Jones:

3.1 “We are striving for the withdrawal to facilitate the re-establishment of **peace**, not **war**”, he added’.

(Jones 2002: 88)

3.2 “If you look at **employment**, not **unemployment**, that too fell in the first quarter of the year”.

(Jones 2002: 35-6).

The inclusion of the ‘*not Y*’ elements merely acts to emphasise what on one level might be claimed to be tautological statements. For instance, Fellbaum, under the heading ‘Redundancy’ briefly refers to frames such as ‘*X not Y*’, ‘*X rather than Y*’, and ‘*instead of X, Y*’. She says that ‘in many instances the co-occurrence of semantically contrastive words in those frames is arguably redundant; one member of the pair would suffice to convey the intended information’ (1995: 296). This is particularly the case with complementaries, whereby the negation of one of the pair automatically entails the other. With gradables such as ‘**hot**’ / ‘**cold**’ the effect is different, as the negation of ‘**hot**’, does not necessarily mean ‘**cold**’, because there are a range of temperatures between the two (such as ‘**warm**’ or ‘**cool**’). Jones says that ‘negating the antonym of a word is strictly tautological’ (2002: 90). So if we omit the ‘*not Y*’ elements of the sentences above then essentially the same core meaning still logically applies. So ‘employment’ is synonymous with ‘*not unemployment*’, and ‘peace’ with ‘*not war*’. Nahajec (2008) makes the point that in propositions which contain the negator ‘not’ (hence negating the existence of an entity or state, rather than positively confirming the existence of its opposite) that “it appears to

add no positive information to the ongoing discourse [and that] the reader must infer the intended relevant meaning based on the assumption that a negative proposition functions to deny its opposite, positive counterpart” (2008: 2).

However, both Fellbaum and Jones make passing reference to the potential rhetorical significance of those kinds of statements which include both the X and Y of a pair conjoined by ‘*not*’. Fellbaum says that ‘speakers may use semantically opposed words for a variety of rhetorical reasons, such as emphasis or humor’ (1995: 296) however, she does not relate this specifically to the ‘X *not* Y’ examples. Jones claims that:

Negated Antonymy is more common in speech and speech-like, persuasive writing than it is in formal writing [...] The effect of X *not* Y is to create additional rhetorical emphasis, and the immediacy of this emphasis may make it more suited to speech than writing.

(Jones, 2002: 90)

The distinction between speech and writing may be an unnecessary one as writers (especially newspaper columnists and editorials) often rely on rhetorical effects to get their point across. Nevertheless many of Jones’ and my own examples occur in reported speech. The omission of the Y elements in these sentences would arguably detract from their intended rhetorical effect. For instance the following was spoken by Labour MP Kate Hoey, rebelling against her own government’s anti-hunt proposals, at the Countryside Alliance march. In the utterance immediately prior to this she is reported as claiming that if hunting is banned, shooting and fishing will follow:

3.3 “The Government was elected to **create unity** in this country and *not create division.*”

(*The Sun*, 23 September 2002 page 4)

Although at a purely logical level, ‘*not* create **division**’ is unnecessary, in the context of the speech it is an essential tool in Hoey’s attempt to highlight the potential pitfalls of government policy⁵.

Similarly, in the concluding sentence to a highly rhetorical critique of the Countryside Alliance marchers *Daily Mirror* columnist Brian Reade utilises the ‘X *not* Y’ frame to stress the contrast between supporters of the march and the *Mirror* readership he is attempting to distance them from⁶:

3.4 Let **us** show **them** that it is **they**, *not us*, who belong to a different planet.

(*Daily Mirror* 23 September 2002 page 6)

This classic ‘**they**’ (or ‘**them**’) / ‘**us**’ distinction, discussed in Chapter One, is an attempt by the writer to position the reader, himself, and other like-minded people at the opposite ends of a spectrum to those on the march, even though it is highly possible that many *Mirror* readers may support the aims of the Countryside Alliance, and even have attended the demonstration. The inclusion of ‘*not us*’ is necessary for the rhetorical effect as it coheres with a claim made early on in the article by the chairman of the Countryside Alliance that their detractors were from a ‘different planet’.

Because words such as ‘**war**’ / ‘**peace**’, ‘**division**’ / ‘**unity**’, ‘**employment**’ / ‘**unemployment**’ and so on are strongly canonical oppositional pairs, if a writer intended them to be paired with words not conventionally used as their opposite, the omission of the Y of the pair would not work, otherwise the addressee would be likely to automatically assume the conventional opposite.

Examples which move *away* from conventional opposites can demonstrate how unconventional ones might be constructed. So the sentence ‘I like **chocolate**, *not celery*’,

constructs two words as opposites (**‘chocolate’** and **‘celery’**) which are clearly related in terms of them being types of food but have no obvious non-contextual oppositional qualities in themselves. It could be argued however that in the context in which the **‘chocolate’ / ‘celery’** contrast is being posed, the addresser is choosing a food they like over a food they dislike and therefore a **‘like’ / (implied) ‘dislike’** opposite sets up the opposition between **‘chocolate’** and **‘celery’**. But if an informant was asked at random what the opposite of **‘celery’** was, there is no reason why they would choose **‘chocolate’** if they chose anything at all. So **‘I like chocolate’**, would not entail **‘I do *not* like celery’**, unless the second idea was also articulated. This can be clearly exemplified in some of the constructed **‘X *not* Y’** examples taken from my own data.

3.5 “We are *not* a colony, we are an equal and valued part of this nation.”

(Daily Telegraph 23 September 2002 page 2)

This was spoken by Richard Burge, the chief executive to the Countryside Alliance, although it is unclear whether it was a speech to the crowd or spoken to the *Daily Telegraph* reporter. The colonising force he refers to is the government and the oppressed are the rural folk who will be most affected by the new legislation.

In this example we have somebody asserting that they are *not* something, in favour of being something else, using the parallel structure **‘we are *not* X, we are Y’**, treating X and Y as mutually exclusive, hence Y is equal to **‘*not* X’**. This is clearly a non-canonical opposition. Not only is the Y of the pair a lengthy noun phrase and not just one word but also no antonym of **‘colony’** is listed in the thesauruses referenced in Chapter One. If it is possible to conceive of the word **‘colony’** as having any kind of decontextualised conventional opposite it could be something like **‘free or independent state’**. The specific

phrase ‘**equal and valued part of this nation**’ would be unlikely to come up in any survey conducted to elicit responses to the opposite of ‘colony’. However the connection is not overly obscure. The qualities of being equal and valued are not those you might expect in a colony, and so being Y, not X, means being equal and valued, as opposed to being unequal and undervalued, qualities which we might easily associate with being under the rule of some colonising force. So these are in fact more conventional oppositional *concepts* being textually instantiated in a slightly less conventional way, owing to the trigger ‘not’. The implication is that the city-based government representatives are riding roughshod over rural areas as if they were some kind of foreign invader. However, if the speaker had simply declared ‘We are not a colony’ it would be difficult to infer what comes after it, owing to its non-conventionality. One of the features of constructed oppositions therefore is their co-occurrence within a sentence, or at the least, between juxtaposed sentences. Where only one of a pair is textually instantiated, the likelihood is that only canonical oppositions will be inferred.

Slogans used on placards and banners in the two protest marches utilise some of the most unusual and creative ‘X *not* Y’ frames.

3.6 “Notts County Supporters say Make **Love not War**”, said one.

(*Sunday Mirror* 16 February 2003, page 2)

3.7 “Make **tea, not war**,” proclaimed another, over a picture of the Prime Minister with a gun in his hand and a teapot on his head.

(*Sunday Mirror* 16 February 2003, page 2)

3.8 Among the thicket of banners were some reading “Make **tea, not war**” that had been distributed by Karmarama, a group of self- proclaimed “race of late galaxy ecologists”

originally from “a misshapen planet that looks from orbit like a series of throw pillows with pinholes in them”.

(*Sunday Times* 16 February 2003, page 3)

3.9 The family took ages to get out of the station at Waterloo, walking behind a huge, stately puppet of George Bush and a placard belonging to a group called Cornish Ravers that said: “**Clotted cream not ruptured spleen.**”

(*Independent on Sunday* 16 February 2003, page 2)

In all four examples taken from anti-war slogans, the concept that is preferred by their users is clearly the X of the pair – ‘**love**’, ‘**tea**’, ‘**clotted cream**’ - and in all cases stands for the concept of ‘**PEACE**’. This is triggered in the first three examples because ‘**war**’ is in the Y position whereas that in the fourth requires more complex processing owing to the absence of any direct reference to war⁷. The non-tautological nature of these are clear as if we remove the Y of the pair to leave slogans that declared ‘make love’, ‘make tea, or ‘clotted cream’, they clearly would have little meaning to any readers (unless accompanied by explanatory non-verbal signs). Making tea does not logically entail not making war, so the insertion of the Y element is essential in grasping the aim of the message. The inclusion of ‘*not war*’ means that the rhetorical point is not being made through repeating the same point for emphasis, rather it relies on the cultural intuition of the interpreter i.e. that the consumption of tea is a traditionally British pastime and relies for its consumption on a reasonably peaceful environment. There may be also the intertextual reference to the more standard slogan ‘make **love not war**’ so that we might unconsciously associate ‘**tea**’ with either ‘**PEACE**’ (as the conventional opposite to ‘**war**’) or ‘**LOVE**’ (as a conventional collocate in that framework).

Under the category of ‘Negated Antonymy’ Jones also includes the frames ‘*X opposed to Y*’ and ‘*X instead of Y*’. However it is difficult to see why the former should not be placed under Jones’s category of ‘Distinguished Antonymy’ (which I call ‘Explicit Opposition’ – see Section 3.3.6). I also assign the latter frame to a category I call ‘Replacive Opposition’ (section 3.3.4).

Despite ‘*X not Y*’ perhaps being one of the most obvious frames for expressing opposition, Jones is surprised that ‘Negated Antonymy’ (which also included the ‘*X instead of Y*’ and ‘*X as opposed to Y*’ frames) makes up only 2% of his database sentences. Notwithstanding the unreliability of producing conclusions from debateable statistics (see Section 3.4), this would suggest there are a range of other frames which are suitable environments for oppositions. Indeed, in my own data, ‘*X not Y*’ occurs infrequently, except in concentrated clusters in specific texts (such as the article examined in Chapter Six), however it does occur with more regularity alongside other conjunctions such as *but* in formulations such as ‘*not X but Y*’ or ‘*X but not Y*’.

3.3.2 Transitional opposition

When a *Daily Mail* journalist reporting on the Countryside Alliance demonstration claims the fox-hunting bill will ‘*turn the many decent honourable and law-abiding people.....into criminals*’ (*Daily Mail*, 23rd September 2002, page 39) the contrast is exemplified in terms of the *transformation* of what they deem ‘**LEGITIMATE**’ into ‘**ILLEGITIMATE**’ behaviour. Unlike for instance negation, which often shows preference for one state or opinion over another, what Jones calls ‘Transitional Antonymy’ (2002: 85-7) often involves either a past state which has since changed in the present or a present state which has the potential to turn into its opposite in the future. Common frames therefore include ‘*X turns into Y*’ (or ‘*turns X to Y*’), ‘*X gives way to Y*’, ‘*X falling into*

Y', 'X *becomes* Y'. Again both Jones and Mettinger provide examples which show how conventional opposites often appear in such frames. Mettinger calls this phenomenon 'mutation' giving as an example '**Love turns to hate** more easily than you think' (1994: 54).

Jones examples include:⁸

3.10 To this day I have no problem *crossing the boundary from* **straight to gay** people, because I have a gay father.

(Jones, 2002: 85)

3.11 Economic **optimism** has *given way to* economic **pessimism** since the great tax-cutting Budget in March.

(Jones, 2002: 87)

Note that in 3.10 the writer uses the metaphor of 'crossing' to express the change from one position to another, and that this transition is one that is controlled by the addresser. In 3.11 the transformation from a positive to a negative attitude is expressed more as an uncontrollable erosion of 'optimism'.

The examples in my data tend to be clustered together to make specific rhetorical points about social or attitudinal change, as Examples 3.12 to 3.16 show.

3.12 **Confidence in the urban, politically correct New Labour majority in Parliament** has *broken down in* **the countryside**.

(*Daily Mail*, 23 September 2002, page 39)

3.13 **Villages** are *turning into* **weekend rest centres or dormitories for commuting TV executives and merchant bankers**.

(*Daily Mail*, 23 September 2002, page 39)

3.14 In the minutes before the march begins, anyone will tell you why **protest** has *supplanted* **politics**.

(*The Observer*, 16 February, 2003, page 4)

3.15 British marchers have *spurned* **isolation** for **solidarity**, and **fear** for **fury**.

(*The Observer*, 16 February, 2003, page 4)

3.16 **Mass meetings** have been *supplanted* by **leaks and soundbites**.

(*The Observer*, 16 February, 2003, page 4)

Examples 3.12 and 3.13 use transitional frames to emphasise changes between past and present states, exemplified by the loss of confidence in New Labour in the countryside, thus implying a deepening divide between ‘**country**’ and ‘**city**’ life. The same writer also bemoans the encroachment of city values into rural areas epitomised by ‘**villages**’ becoming ‘**weekend rest centres**’ for the wealthy⁹. *The Observer* writer has used three transitional frameworks to show the change in the attitudes and activities of people who have now decided to take to the streets to protest against the invasion of Iraq (3.14 and 3.15). The pairs ‘**politics**’ / ‘**protest**’, ‘**isolation**’ / ‘**solidarity**’ and ‘**fear**’ / ‘**fury**’ have been constructed which exemplify for instance the canonical oppositional concepts of **PASSIVITY / ACTIVITY, FEAR / COURAGE, INDIVIDUALISM / COLLECTIVISM** and show more clearly the movement from one state to an oppositional one. The increasing distance of politicians from the public they represent is also treated as a transition, in the case of Example 3.16 ‘**mass meetings**’ is contrasted with ‘**leaks and soundbites**’ representing **CONSULTATION / IMPOSITION**. That the theme of this

specific article is the changing social and political landscape is embodied in the headline to the report – ‘Iraq crisis: The great unheard finally speak out’ – exemplifying the movement from **PASSIVITY** to **ACTIVITY**.

3.3.3 Comparative Opposition

Jones’ own definition of what he calls ‘Comparative Antonymy’ is ‘the co-occurrence of an antonymous pair within a framework that places those words in a comparative context or measures one antonym against the other’ (2002: 76). He cites typical frameworks as ‘*more X than Y*’, ‘*X is more [adj] than Y*’ and ‘*X rather than Y*’.

Jones’ examples include:

3.17 ‘And it is possible to accept both that Dr Higgs was a lot *more right than wrong* in her diagnoses, but that it is now impossible for her to return’.

(Jones 2002: 77)

3.18 ‘Training would be based upon rewarding good behaviour, because behaviourists, Skinner argues, had found that **reward** is *more effective than punishment*’.

(Jones 2002: 78)

He calls the ‘*more X than Y*’ framework an example of ‘direct comparison’, a framework which is ‘used to identify the point on a semantic scale which most fittingly characterises that which is being described’ (2002: 77). However, the second (‘*X is more [adj] than Y*’) is ‘*indirect comparison*’ because ‘the sentences above compare antonyms against a separate, specified scale’ (2003: 78). Mettinger does not have these sub-

categories but assigns the function ‘comparison’ to the frames ‘X *rather than* Y’, ‘X-*er than* Y’ (and ‘Y-*er than* X’) (1994: 53-4).

Jones’ distinction between indirect and direct comparison is interesting as it allows us to explore semantic as well as syntactic relations. As the former are the subject of Chapter Four, the discussion here will be kept to the minimum. An initial point to be made however is that Example 3.17 involves a semantic scale or dimension on which at either end sit the oppositional pair ‘**right**’ and ‘**wrong**’, whilst in Example 3.18 there is a scale – *EFFECTIVENESS* – which is separate to that on which the actual oppositional pair ‘**reward**’ and ‘**punishment**’ sit.

Where comparative frames differ to the negated ones is the presumption that the qualities expressed in the X/Y pair, or those expressed in the scale against which they are measured, are *gradable*. It is difficult to assign comparative qualities using ‘*more*’ or ‘*less*’, to words or phrases conventionally assumed to be complementaries, although, as I am arguing, *any* words or phrases regardless of their gradability, can be treated as complementaries or gradable in specific contexts. It is a matter of debate to what extent for instance ‘**right**’ and ‘**wrong**’ can actually be gradable. For non-canonical oppositions, the reader has to process the gradable scale which has been created specifically to make a point in the context in which it is used.

The following is an example taken from *The Daily Telegraph’s* report on the Countryside Alliance protest march in which **bemused** and **offended** are contrasted in the frame ‘*more X than Y*’.

3.18 Perhaps a hundred anti-hunting protestors had gathered in Parliament Square, yelling abuse and banging drums, but there was no trouble, and the marchers seemed *more bemused than offended* by the occasional shouts of “Go home, scum”.

(*Daily Telegraph* 23 September 2003, page 1)

‘Offended’ does not have an entry in the on-line thesaurus, although if we use a rough synonym such as **‘angry’**, antonyms listed include **‘calm’**, **‘happy’**, **‘joyful’** – nothing close in meaning to **‘bemused’**. Similarly **‘bemused’** (as a synonym of ‘absent-minded’) is given a list of antonyms which take in **‘alert’**, **‘sharp’**, and **‘watchful’**, amongst others. In this context however, what unites the adjectives is their role in describing the REACTIONS of the protestors. The journalist implies that one would expect them to be offended by the verbal abuse hurled at them but instead we get a contrasting reaction. This is on a scale which registers the *INTENSITY* of the protestors’ reactions as well as the concepts **‘EXPECTED’** versus **‘UNEXPECTED’**. The journalist sets up a scenario in which anti-hunting protestors are ‘yelling abuse and banging drums’ and, using another oppositional trigger *‘but’*, (see Section 3.3.8) notes that the opposite to what might be expected to happen occurs, i.e. ‘there was no trouble’. The reaction of bemusement is therefore used to build on the way it is implied that in other circumstances protestors would take offence and hence trouble may ensue. So the opposition the reader is being asked to consider is that between a *MILD* and *STRONG* reaction judged against what might be expected in that specific situation.

An example of an unconventional *indirect* comparative would be the following:

3.19 But *more important than* **the fate of Labour** is **the fate of mankind**.

(*News of the World* 16 February 2003, page 8)

This is part of a 500-word column in the *News of the World* written by the leader of the Scottish National Party Alex Salmond, a vocal opponent of military intervention in Iraq. Whereas the previous example presents an interpretation of protestors’ reactions which are

gradable, here it is the evaluative quality of *IMPORTANCE* which is being graded to help present a stark choice between ‘**Labour**’ and ‘**mankind**’, treated as if they are mutually exclusive complementaries. So even though theoretically *IMPORTANCE* can be measured subjectively as if it was a gradable quality, when there are only two things being measured, in effect there are no intermediate levels. The rhetoric (reinforced by the parallelism of ‘*the fate of*’) contributes towards persuading people to abandon their support for Labour, and in Scotland at least, support the Scottish National Party who they compete against to be the biggest party.

One final example helps to illustrate some of the unusual constructions in my data whilst also exposing some of the difficulties in categorising the frames under individual headings. The *Daily Telegraph* journalist Richard Evans is criticising the television station Channel Four’s caution in not giving any publicity to the Countryside Alliance demonstration during their coverage of horse racing.

3.20 To my mind, Channel 4's draconian action owes *more* to the **tender feelings of media luvvies rather than a stand on a point of principle.**

(*Daily Telegraph* 23 September 2002, page 11)

Both Jones and Mettinger label the frame ‘*X rather than Y*’ as ‘comparative’. Jones creates a sub-category called a ‘preferential comparative’. It does seem logical to treat the meaning of ‘*rather than*’ as a common way to express preference, and the example above would seem a legitimate example of a comparative. However I would argue that the comparative meaning in the example above is triggered by ‘*more*’ and that ‘*rather*’ is mainly redundant. Omitting it makes little difference to the meaning of the constructed opposition which relies on a contrast between emotional and rational motives for taking

action. The comparator '*more*' relates to the motives for Channel Four taking action and makes them gradable on a scale with '**tender feelings of media luvvies**' at one end and '**a stand on a point of principle**' at the other (i.e. **SUBJECTIVE, EMOTIONAL-BASED MOTIVES** versus **OBJECTIVE RATIONAL MOTIVES**). The extent that the motives influence their decision is somewhere between halfway and the '**media luvvies**' end of the scale, but not necessarily at the end. If *more* is omitted and the sentence adjusted to 'Channel 4's draconian action is a result of the tender feelings.....' then '*rather than*' which has much in common with the negator '*not*', means the X/Y pair are being treated as complementaries, and no comparative is being triggered. Hence, although '*X rather than Y*' is an oppositional trigger, it does not fit comfortably under Jones' heading of 'comparative antonymy', having more in common with what I call 'Replacive Oppositions', which are covered in the next section.

3.3.4 Replacive opposition

Examples of unusual opposition in my data using the '*X rather [than] Y*' frame have more in common with negation than comparison, as will be demonstrated in this section. However, I have found it useful to create a further category which sits functionally somewhere in-between the negations and comparison. I call these 'Replacive' oppositions, borrowing the term from Quirk et al's (1972) *A Grammar of Contemporary English*. According to them a replacive 'expresses an alternative to what has preceded [it]' and that conjuncts such as 'rather' 'indicate that the proposed alternative is preferable' (1972: 671-2). I have also included '*X instead of Y*', (and '*X in place of Y*') in this category. Jones includes this latter frame under 'Negated Antonymy' whereas Quirk et al note that 'instead' might also be treated as a replacive 'but more strongly implies a contrast' (1972: 672).

The ‘*rather than*’ frame can, as Jones claims, trigger a preference between two options as the following examples demonstrate:

3.21 One, two, three, four. We *don't* want your bloody **war** (we'd *rather* have a nice cup of **tea**).

(*Sunday Mirror* 23 September 2003, page 5)

3.22 That they had made **tea** – and coffee – *rather than* **war** was borne out last night by Scotland Yard which praised the marchers' behaviour.

(*Sunday Times* 23 September 2003, page 3)

We can compare these examples to the ‘**tea**’ / ‘**war**’ oppositions used as anti-war slogans as discussed in the ‘Negated Opposition’ section. It seems clear that they are being presented as stark mutually exclusive alternatives rather than gradable comparisons. There is no implied *gradable* scale with ‘**tea**’ at one end and ‘**war**’ at the other, and indeed, the artificially constructed nature of the pair makes it difficult to imagine that this could be the case in any context. Jones expresses misgivings about his categorisation here but his reason for assigning it a comparative function is not very persuasive:

‘*X rather than Y* still reflects some sort of comparison, especially when considered in its literal sense. It also features *than*, the most reliable lexical signal of Comparative Antonymy. Arguably, this makes it more analogous with sentences belonging to this class than sentences belonging to the class of Negated Antonymy. The *rather than* part of the sentence is not there to make the opposition more extreme, but to highlight that a choice between antonyms has been necessary.’¹⁰

(Jones 2002: 79)

It is unclear what Jones' means by the 'literal sense' of this framework, and in what way 'X not Y' and 'X as opposed to Y' (both in Jones' 'Negated Antonymy' category) are 'more extreme'. It is true that 'X rather than Y' seems to express some kind of preference. For instance if I state: 'I'd like **chips** rather than **boiled potatoes**', then I am expressing a preference for one kind of cooked potato over another. It would be difficult to argue however that there is a qualitative difference between this and 'I'd like **chips** not/as opposed to **boiled potatoes**'. I am still expressing a preference. However, 'more than' expresses a qualitatively different meaning compared to 'rather than'. Substituting 'more' for 'rather' alters the meaning substantially or does not make sense. For example, if I state: 'I'd like **chips** more than boiled potatoes', the comparative *more* puts the preference somewhere between midway and extreme on a semantic dimension which links and differentiates chips and potatoes in terms of my liking for them. It leaves open the option that I might still consider boiled potatoes if pushed and is treating my preference as if it is gradable. However the frame 'rather than' (similar to 'not' and 'as opposed to') is much more categorical. There is no gradability suggested by 'rather than'. 'More than' is not synonymous with 'rather than', as substituting one for the other in one of Jones' conventional examples shows:

3.23 'If it has, you will be forced to dig a hole in rock-hard ground and plant the thing, where it will die **slowly** rather than **quickly**.'

(Jones 2002: 79)

Substituting 'rather than' with 'more than' produces 'die **slowly** more than **quickly**' which clearly makes little sense, as although a plant can die 'more **slowly** than **quickly**' which expresses the *rate* at which something might die on a dimension of SPEED, the first formulation implies that it can die slowly sometimes and quickly at other times which

plainly lacks logic as something can only die once. Also, a plant does not choose a slower way to die over a quicker one, so even the preferential function does not always relate to this frame.

In terms of their function in the context in which they appear, the created oppositions in Examples 3.21 and 3.22 (reproduced again here for ease of reference) do contrast significantly with ‘make **tea not war**’.

3.21 One, two, three, four. We *don't* want your bloody **war** (we'd *rather* have a nice cup of **tea**).

(*Sunday Mirror* 23 September 2003, page 5)

3.22 That they had made **tea** – and coffee – *rather than war* was borne out last night by Scotland Yard which praised the marchers' behaviour.

(*Sunday Times* 23 September 2003, page 3)

Firstly they are not actual slogans used by protestors, but light-hearted wordplay used by the writers to portray the protestors in a certain light. Example 3.21 is a headline which adapts a potentially aggressive-sounding anti-war protest chant which is then qualified with the words in brackets. In example 3.22 ‘war’ becomes a metaphor for the potential behaviour of the protestors themselves rather than what they are protesting about. In both cases the inference is that not only are they against the war in Iraq, they are protesting peacefully, represented as if they literally wanted or made tea (a cultural index of fraternity?) and are expressing a preference as if there actually was one. It is possible the intended effect here is to show how, although they are very angry on this specific demonstration, normally they would be peaceful law-abiding tea-drinking citizens, unlike

those who usually attend protest marches. The latter example especially implies there are two types of protestor – those who are peaceful and law-abiding, and those out to cause trouble (e.g. see Chapter Six) The use of the X *rather than* Y frame does imply that they are choosing between in 3.21 *peace* in the global sense and in 3.22 to behave peacefully. Although, the distinction between that and the use of an ‘X *not* Y’ frame is subtle, the latter suggests a more categorical and perhaps less discerning choice between the two.

Take for instance the following examples:

3.24 He urged the alliance to help the Government **make the forum a success, rather than "diverting energy" into a new rural council.**

(Daily Telegraph September 23, 2002, page 2)

3.25 There has been speculation that Mr Michael may propose introducing a **licensing system rather than an outright ban in certain areas.**

(The Guardian September 23, 2002, page 4)

3.26 He predicted his plans would be published "in **weeks rather than months**" and that the divisive issue could finally be settled within a year.

(The Independent September 23, 2002, page 4)

3.27 If Bush and Blair throw away the UN rulebook then we are left with the doctrine of **might is right instead of the rule of law.**

(News of the World 16 February 2003, page 8)

3.28 On a Saturday afternoon they might **usually have been doing the shopping, but instead** they had packed their ramblers' backpacks, taken the 6.45am train from Birmingham, and **become a part of the biggest tide of mass protest that has ever swept through the capital.**

(*Sunday Mirror* 16 February 2003, page 6)

3.29 *In place of a charismatic leader*, they have **the belief that politicians are lying**.

(*The Observer* 16 February 2003, page 4)

In the first three examples this preferred choice between two alternatives is again evident. Example 3.24 is indirect speech representation of a statement by Alun Michael, the Rural Affairs minister at the time of the Countryside Alliance demonstration. He was calling on the Alliance to work with ministers to help rural communities through a Rural Affairs Forum, set up earlier in the year. Note that the choices are presented as *either/or*, in the sense that they are between a successful forum and a new rural council, the implication being that the construction of the latter will lead to the failure of the former, and hence both cannot work together, there being no third or fourth options mooted. Similarly with 3.25 the choices are presented as between two mutually exclusive options - '**licensing**' or '**outright ban**'. Note however that the '*X rather than Y*' frame which places '**weeks**' / '**months**' in opposition in example 3.26, expresses less a preference and more a statement of fact, that one situation as opposed to another is likely to happen. In this sense it is much closer in meaning to the negator '*not*', being used more rhetorically by Alun Michael to demonstrate the speed at which he intends to recommend a ban on hunting with hounds. He is not choosing between '**weeks**' and '**months**', but including '**months**' to emphasise the speed at which his plans will come to fruition. This involves the artificial creation of a dimension of difference¹¹ consisting of a timescale with months at one end and weeks at the other, whereby the publication of his plans will happen at the '**weeks**' end of the scale. The subtle distinctions in meaning and function between triggers of the same form makes categorisations problematic when conducting a close qualitative analysis such as this,

casting doubt on the value of producing statistics for proliferation of triggers in certain categories over others, as Jones does.

Examples 3.27 and 3.28 employ ‘*instead*’ which performs similar functions to ‘*rather than*’. However whereas ‘*rather than*’ seems to imply a choice between two potential future states, neither of which previously were fixed in place, the use of ‘*instead*’ implies that one of the pair is, or already has been, in place in the past. In 3.27 ‘**the rule of law**’ is being replaced, and in 3.28 the normal lifestyle represented by ‘**usually have been doing the shopping**’ is replaced by the much more dramatic activity of joining the ‘**biggest tide of mass protest that has ever swept through the capital**’. These two examples demonstrate how writers can *construct* alternative choices, presenting them as opposites in specific contexts.

In Example 3.27 for instance, the Scottish National Party leader, Alex Salmond, is railing against George Bush and Tony Blair’s decision to invade Iraq, and presenting their choices as between a slogan which usually signifies that those with the greatest claim to moral righteousness are those who hold the most power, and *legal* power as exemplified by decisions made by the United Nations. He is therefore presenting any decisions about the future of Iraq in terms of no more than two choices – military (**UNAUTHORISED**) power or legal (**AUTHORISED**) power as exemplified by *the UN rulebook*, hence ruling out any other options such as the power of the Iraqi people to take control of their own affairs. At this stage, because of the conditional ‘*if*’ clause, that decision has not yet been made so there is an implication that Bush and Blair still have the choice of one over the other. However in example 3.28 the choice between shopping and protesting has already been made by those on the anti-war march. Here, of course, the first of the pair is clearly constructed, more as a symbol of normality or passivity rather than what all the protestors would have been doing if they had not been at the march. The journalist, qualifying herself

with the low modality marker ‘*might*’, is using the trigger ‘*instead*’ (in conjunction with *but*) to emphasise the choice between making a stand to prevent the government invading Iraq and being passive.

The replacive in Example 3.29 takes the form of ‘*in place of*’, contrasting charismatic politicians with those that lie (which presupposes you cannot be charismatic and lie at the same time). This trigger seems to act as a more specific instance of *instead of*, perhaps possessing a more deictic function, referring to a particular place, in this case the position of leadership. Examples 3.21 – 3.26 are to a greater or lesser extent replacives in that they express how one of a pair of opposites either is or could be ‘replaced’ by the other, whether it be by choice or presented as a *fait accompli*. In these examples ‘*rather than*’ expresses alternatives whose fate is not yet determined, whereas in Examples 3.27 – 3.29 which use ‘*instead of*’ or ‘*in place of*’ to join oppositional pairs there is a sense that the choices have already been made. It is of course pointless to generalise from this handful of examples. A much larger corpus sample would be needed from a variety of genres to be able to draw firmer conclusions about the range of functions these specific forms might have.

3.3.5 Concessive opposition

One kind of syntactic feature which is largely ignored by Mettinger and Jones is what Quirk et al (1972) call the ‘concessive conjunct’. Examples of these include ‘*while*’, ‘*despite*’, ‘*yet*’, ‘*(al)though*’ and ‘*however*’. The ‘concessive clauses’ in which these conjuncts feature, according to Quirk et al, ‘imply a contrast between two circumstances; ie that in the light of the circumstance in the dependant clause, that in the main clause is surprising (1972: 745). Elsewhere they claim that concessives ‘signal the unexpected, surprising nature of what is being said in view of what was said before that’ (1972: 674). The major studies on opposition tend to focus their attention on individual lexical items,

i.e. one word which can be checked against lists of antonyms in lexical authorities such as thesauruses, or those which elicit one-word responses in, for instance, word association tests. However, the concessive conjuncts listed above involve the triggering of contrasts between *circumstances* expressed usually through whole phrases and clauses. In fact it is difficult to conceive of sentences in which they could possibly relate single words. So ‘I want tea *not* coffee’, ‘tea *rather than* coffee, or ‘tea *more than* coffee’ are perfectly understandable, whereas ‘tea *despite/while/although* coffee’ make little sense. Nevertheless the concessives are important opposition-generating conjuncts, and the canonical concepts which underlie the words in the X and Y positions can often be expressed in terms of single-words.

The following extracts all include examples of concessive opposition:

3.30 *Despite the presence of 150 anti-hunt protesters in Parliament Square, the march was peaceful.*

(The Daily Mail 23 September 2002, page 1)

3.31 *Despite the numbers, the march was peaceful.*

(The Financial Times 23 September 2002, page 1)

3.32 From the time the first marchers began arriving to the moment when the columns of people filling the streets finally started to move off towards Hyde Park, **it was a bone-chilling three-hour wait.** *Yet* it was **always good-humoured.**

(Sunday Mirror 16 February, page 6)

3.33 It is trying to settle old scores by taking on "**the toffs.**" *But* **the** countryside marchers were *not* **toffs** - they were **real people, hard working people, genuine people.** *Yet* New Labour thinks it can **ignore them all.**

(*The Sun*, 23 September 2002, page 8)

3.34 *Although* the demonstrators **included rich landowners and rosy-cheeked farmers in green wellies and waxed jackets**, they were joined by an amazing array of **like-minded folk such as poverty-stricken labourers and humble craftsmen**.

(*The Sun*, 23 September 2002, page 4)

3.35 *While* it was true that **militants, anarchists, anti-capitalists and anti-Americans** - what one weary PC called "**the great unwashed**" - were **out in force**, the **heart and mind** of the protest was **ordinary people**.

(*Sunday Mirror* 16 February, page 2)

These examples often rely on the reader inferring – as Quirk et al suggest – that the information given in the main clause is unexpected considering the circumstances, and this can have ideological significance. For instance 3.30 and 3.31 both include in their reports of the Countryside Alliance demonstration a subordinate clause starting with ‘*despite*’ with the main clause exactly the same in each case i.e. ‘the march was peaceful’. Both examples involve the reader inferring that trouble could easily break out in other similar circumstances, relying on the conceptual oppositions of **EXPECTED** and **VIOLENCE** in the first clause and **UNEXPECTED** and **PEACEFUL** in the second. The implication is that this is not like the kinds of demonstrations the newspapers are used to reporting, in that the protestors are law-abiding and worthy of support. In each case the phrase or clause connected to the subordinating conjunction expresses a concept which opposes that in the dependant clause which taken out of context would not have the same meaning i.e. numbers of protestors on their own do not signify the opposite of ‘**peaceful**’ without the concessive trigger. The subordinating conjunction ‘*yet*’ works in a similar fashion in 3.32

whereby the ‘bone-chilling three-hour wait’ on the anti-war protest is met with good-humour against expectations. Concessives are also used in text which differentiates both protests from others in terms of categorising the protestors into two opposing groups, for both inclusive and exclusive purposes. In example 3.33, a frame combining negated and contrastive opposition (see Sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.8) preceding the concessive *yet* – ‘*but not X, Y*’ – constructs protestors into ‘**toffs**’ and ‘**real people, hard-working people, genuine people**’. *The Sun* implies that it would be OK for the government to ignore the demonstration if it just consisted of the rural gentry. However the report attempts to presumably align its readers with those who are not ‘**toffs**’, and the function of the concessive *yet* at the beginning of the next sentence helps trigger the idea that given the grass roots nature of the protest, it would be expected that Labour would feel obliged to listen to their objections. In this way an opposition based on the concepts **ACKNOWLEDGE / IGNORE** is constructed which represents the government in a negative light. This support by *The Sun* for the Countryside Alliance demonstration is exemplified in 3.34 by the use of another concessive in a different report. Again they rely on categorising the protestors into a stereotype of the rural landowner and farmer in the subordinate clause – this time using the conjunction ‘*although*’ – who are joined less expectedly by lower class rural folk in an alliance. As introduced in Chapter One, the focus on polarised ‘**us**’/ ‘**them**’ group stereotypes which are then utilised to emphasise inclusiveness or exclusiveness is a common feature of my data. Example 3.35 is a classic example of the latter whereby the conjunct ‘*while*’ is used to contrast a list of protestors pigeon-holed as ‘**militants**’, ‘**anarchists**’ and so on who usually frequent anti-war demonstrations, against those portrayed as ‘**ordinary people**’¹². Quirk et al state that conjuncts like ‘*while*’ and ‘*whereas*’ are sometimes used to point a contrast between comparable things (1972: 749). The comparability of the X/Y expressions joined by the

concessives is crucial in understanding how they can be treated as opposites. In 3.34 and 3.35 this is unproblematic as both X and Y consist of groups and people in both cases. However in 3.30 – 3.33 the oppositions are not obviously comparable without one of the pair being processed on a conceptual level different from that with which it is contrasted. For instance in 3.31 the noun ‘**numbers**’ is treated as indexical of the concept VIOLENT, which then contrasts more readily with the adjective ‘**peaceful**’ which is exemplified as a lexical item in the actual text. This issue is dealt with in more detail in Chapter Four.

The omission by Jones of a specific category which includes words such as ‘*while*’ and ‘*although*’ is surprising, considering that he does at least acknowledge their existence. In his section on ancillary antonymy (see Section 3.3.9 below), he gives the example: ‘While **success** is *sexy*; **failure** is *on par with cheesy feet*’ (2002: 58)¹³, and comments that ‘the opposition is marked overtly by while at the start of the sentence’ (2002: 58). One effect of this, he claims, is that it signals ‘that the first clause contains ‘given’ information, *while* that contained in the new clause is ‘new’” (2002: 59) (my emphasis). The fact that Jones himself uses the subordinator *while* in the quotation above (my underlining) to help him differentiate ‘**given**’ and ‘**new**’ information, clearly shows its importance in triggering oppositions, which makes it even more apparent that perhaps Jones has made a vital omission in his system here.

3.3.6 *Explicit opposition*

Occasionally, texts utilise oppositional pairs through triggers which *explicitly* draw attention to their contrastive function. In my data, again the contrasts are often between whole scenarios rather than just individual words. The clearest examples are those which use phrases such as ‘X *contrast(ed) with* Y’ or ‘X *opposite/opposed to* Y’. Take for instance the following two examples which were briefly mentioned in Section 1.2.4.1.¹⁴

3.36 **The country people came to London to join in a well-organised, well-behaved march through the streets. They *contrasted* dramatically *with* the crowds who sat down for CND, or marched against the Vietnam war, in the days when the amplified voices of Michael Foot and Tony Benn filled Trafalgar Square and sent Leftwing pulses racing.**

(Daily Mail 23 September, page 39)

3.37 Dozens of causes were represented. The **professionally-produced placards of the protest groups with their fierce messages - "Blair and Bush - Wanted for Murder" - *contrasted with* cobbled-together banners. "Notts County supporters say Make Love Not **War**",** said one.

(Sunday Mirror 16 September 2003, page 2)

In example 3.36, the columnist John Mortimer, writing for the traditionalist *Daily Mail* and an overt supporter of the aims of the pro-hunting Countryside Alliance demonstrators, is trying to draw a clear distinction between the current demonstration and those which the *Daily Mail* is unlikely to have supported in the past. It is possible that the paper, not noted for supporting mass protests against government policy, is making a determined effort to prove to their readership that this support is the exception rather than the norm. Some evidence for this can be seen in the previous paragraph where Mortimer describes how to the farming community, up until this protest ‘marching seemed for political hotheads interested in remote events in distant countries.’ As the contrast is made explicit through the trigger, the reader is left to interpret in what ways the Countryside Alliance protest is *not* like others. If the former is ‘well-organised’ and ‘well-behaved’ then we are to presuppose that the others were not. These others were those which marched against nuclear weapons (CND) or against war, and were led by former high profile left-wing Labour MPs (Foot and Benn), whose voices were ‘amplified’. So the *Daily Mail* reader is re-assured that support for this particular march is legitimate as it is as unlike other kinds

of protests as it is possible to be. Example 3.37 also draws unconventional oppositions between e.g. **‘placard’** / **‘banner’** and **‘professionally-produced’** / **‘cobbled-together’**, again using an explicit contrast marker *contrasted with*. This example and the article in which it appears is analysed in detail in Chapter Six.

The closest equivalent to the explicit opposition category in Jones’ system is what he calls ‘distinguished antonymy’¹⁵ which involves an oppositional pair co-occurring ‘within a framework that alludes to the inherent semantic dissimilarity of those words’ (2002: 81). These sentences are ‘metalinguistic in the sense that a distinction between antonyms is overtly referred to...’ (2002: 82). Many of the examples he quotes utilise the frameworks ‘[noun phrase] between X and Y’, with the noun phrases including ‘*difference*’, ‘*division*’, ‘*discrepancies*’, ‘*distinction*’, or ‘[verb phrase] between X and Y’ such as ‘*distinguish*’ and ‘*discriminate*’. More obscure ones include ‘*the gulf between*’, ‘*the gap between*’, ‘*a clear distance between*’, ‘*barriers between*’ and ‘*no man’s land between*’. When these noun phrases are used, according to Jones, the opposition is already presupposed, as in this sentence, taken from his data:

3.38 ‘But it made the point that the division between **gay** and **straight** is one of the many rifts in our society.’

(Jones, 2002: 81)

Here the writer takes the **‘gay’** / **‘straight’** distinction for granted in order to make a broader point about social division. The noun phrases in Jones’ data are often followed by a predicate involving a form of the verb *to be* and then a complement, hence the writer is trying to describe this presumed distinction in some way. It is also worth noting that in all of Jones’ own examples these noun phrases are pre-modified by a definite determiner like ‘*the*’ or ‘*this*’ which act to reinforce the presupposed nature of the distinctions, and hence

reaffirm their conventionality. As Jones has already pre-selected the pairs of opposites for his study, based on their canonical status, it is unsurprising that *'the between X and Y'* frameworks feature significantly in this way. In my data however where there are frameworks which involve some kind of metalinguistic contrast between an X/Y pair - *'X contrasts/ed with Y'*, *'divided into X and Y'*, *'X and Y polarised'*, *'different strategy between X and Y'*, *'X is different from Y'*, and *'X against Y'* – in many of these cases it is the context which determines how the contrast can be made clear, otherwise the distinction would not be obvious to the reader.

The following is taken from the *Daily Telegraph's* report on the Countryside Alliance march¹⁶:

3.39 The **Liberty and Livelihood** March began ostensibly *divided into two camps - those whose primary concern was liberty and the hunting issue, and those whose livelihoods depended on farming and a healthy rural economy.*

(Daily Telegraph 23 September, page 4)

The writer has deemed it necessary here to explain why the organisers of the protest have felt compelled to split the march initially into two separate units under the banners of **'Liberty'** and **'Livelihood'**. The organisers themselves have therefore seen fit to construct a non-canonical opposition, and the writer has drawn attention to that differentiation with the trigger *'divided into'*. The uninitiated reader needs the further information, in the form of the post-modification after the hyphen, to understand how it is that the two concepts can possibly be treated as opposites. Even then, to fully process the opposition the reader would have to understand how the concepts of **PRINCIPLE** and **NECESSITY** are interwoven with **FREEDOM / RESTRICTION** and possibly **WEALTHY / POOR**.

Daily Mirror journalist Brian Reade uses a variety of overt contrastive devices in a particularly rhetorical, opinionated anti-Countryside Alliance protest eye-witness report. This could be because he makes no pretence to objectivity and is revelling in the oppositions he constructs. The following examples form part of a fuller analysis of the whole article in Chapter Six, however it is worth making some initial points here.

3.40 Thanks to £1 million worth of backing, which saw them charter 37 trains, 2,500 coaches, close 22 roads, erect five giant screens and take over the Institute of Directors building for the day to pump out their propaganda, they had succeeded in creating **the illusion** that their *march was a democratic uprising against the oppression of ordinary, decent rural folk* by a **spiteful urban elite**.

IN truth it was simply a desperate demonstration against the imminent ban on murdering animals with dogs, backed by rural pressure groups after even more hand-outs, and right-wing political forces who want to see this Labour government removed. It was the unspeakable in pursuit of the undemocratic.

3.41 I was on the **last Countryside Alliance march four years ago** and much had changed. **Last time they made the mistake of being honest.**

By encouraging hunts to turn up with their **horns in sporting dress**, and hold a rally in Hyde Park which allowed their odd-ball spokesmen to rant bile against the government, they had scored an own goal. Us townies had seen their **loutish aims** for what they were. *Yesterday there was a different strategy.*

It was a **human sea of comfortable respectability, dressed in Barbours, tweeds, paisley caps, shirts, ties and strange red trousers**. Nowhere to be seen were the **packs of hounds, or horses, or even the traditional red jackets.**

They had been cast aside for the day to show this was about everything but the "H" word.

3.42 Let us *pull back the veil of deception* and see the **smiling country bumpkins** as the **bloodthirsty anarchists** *they truly are*.

(*Daily Mirror* 16 September 2003, page 6)

Reade's central argument is that the Countryside Alliance are cynically trying to portray themselves as protesting about the way country people are treated by the government in general, when they really just oppose a ban on fox-hunting. Explicit oppositions in the examples above include 'X *against* Y', 'the *illusion* of X' / 'the *truth* of Y', 'X *different* [to] Y'. Note that explicit oppositions consist of lexical items with overt semantic oppositional content such as nouns and verbs rather than those with a grammatical function such as conjunctions and prepositions. Example 3.40 is particularly interesting as Reade constructs what he considers an illusory opposition against a truthful opposition. He accuses the Countryside Alliance of pretending to reject oppression in favour of democracy ('democratic uprising'), a conventional opposition using the frame 'X *against* Y'. Reade tries to destroy this illusion which he contrasts with what he sees as the '**truth**', a different kind of opposition ('**desperate demonstration** *against* the **imminent ban on murdering animals**'). So within this, by association, there lies '**democratic uprising**' (ILLUSION) contrasted with the '**desperate demonstration**' (TRUTH), and similarly '**oppression of ordinary decent rural folk**' (ILLUSION) as opposed to, to paraphrase, supporting the '**murdering**' of animals with dogs.

The TRUTH / ILLUSION conceit is continued in Example 3.41 when Reade contrasts a similar demonstration four years ago ('**last time**') with the current one, using a whole sentence as a trigger – '*Yesterday there was a different strategy*'. On either side of this frame Reade uses the contrast between the outfits of the protestors as an index of their HONESTY on the first demonstration and their DISHONESTY on the current one. Reade

rounds off his polemic in example 3.42 – the penultimate sentence of the article – with a reformulation of the same explicit oppositional device (**ILLUSION / TRUTH**), by using the metaphor ‘*pull back the veil of deception*’ to represent ILLUSION and in doing so creates an opposition between two stereotyped group categories – ‘**smiling country bumpkins**’ and ‘**bloodthirsty anarchists**’.

Jones’ category of ‘Distinguished Antonymy’ is an important one. However it makes sense to subsume his frames under a heading which more precisely exemplifies their metalinguistic functions (‘Explicit Oppositions’), taking into account others, such as those above, which use different techniques to differentiate between pairs which can’t be taken for granted as oppositions out of context. In Jones’ section on ‘Distinguished Antonymy’ (2002: 81-5) 16 out of the 18 examples he gives utilise the ‘[insert noun/verb] *between* X and Y’ frame, which, because he relies on canonical one-word antonyms, seems not to fully explore the possibilities of this way of constructing oppositions.

3.3.7 Parallelism

Syntactic parallelism involves the repetition of certain structures within which specific lexical items are foregrounded, inviting the addressee to relate them in some way. This usually involves relations of equivalence or difference between the foregrounded items. Parallel structures according to Short (1996) ‘invite the reader to search for meaning connections between the parallel structures, in particular in terms of the parts which are varied’ (1996: 14).

The ubiquity of the *three*-part list in political speeches and rhetoric in general is well-documented and usually involves a repetitive structure whose variable lexis are treated as equivalent, sometimes synonymous. This is because lists of three by definition cannot be binary contrasts. A typical example would be Conservative Party Leader David Cameron’s

speech to his party's 2007 national conference where he calls on Labour Leader and Prime Minister Gordon Brown to let the electorate decide who should rule the country:

Let the people pass judgement on 10 years of broken promises, *let people* decide who's really making the arguments about the future of our country. *Let people* decide who can make the changes that we really need in our country.¹⁷

Wooffitt (1996) argues one of the reasons that three-part lists are effective is that 'their structure allows speakers to amplify and strengthen more general points' (1996: 126). When used as contrast devices however, the repetitive structure is understandably restricted to two to create antithetical pairs. Possibly the most famous example of a parallelism being used to generate a contrast are Neil Armstrong's legendary words when he became the first person to step on the moon – 'that's one small step for man, one giant leap for mankind'. Here the repetitive structure involves 'one + pre-modifying adjective + head noun + *for* man[kind]. The repetition of 'one' and the potentially synonymous 'man' / 'mankind' and the contrasts between '**small**' / '**giant**', and '**step**' / '**leap**', in the same syntagmatic slots, contribute towards emphasising the momentous symbolic nature of that one step.

Short (1996) in his study of the stylistic features of literary texts makes the key point that parallelism 'has the power not just to foreground parts of a text for us, but also to make us look for parallel or contrastive meaning links between those parallel parts' (1996: 15). Many parallel structures 'push readers towards perceiving semantic relations between words and phrases which do not exist as such in the language system as a whole' (1996: 67-8). These effects are not restricted to poems, plays and literary prose as Jones' and my own news data shows.

Jones describes parallelism as ‘an important contrast-generating device’ (2002: 56). However he includes the phenomena as a sub-category of ‘Ancillary Antonymy’ (see Section 3.3.9), and in doing so limits the examples he finds to parallel structures which contain at least *two* pairs of opposites – one pair being ancillary to the other and sometimes unconventional. One of his examples is as follows:

‘He leans forward and quotes from a piece of writing in French by Samuel Ullman, which roughly translates as: ‘You are as **young** as your *faith*, as **old** as your *doubts*’.

(Jones 2002: 56)

Here the conventional ‘**young**’ / ‘**old**’ pairing placed in the parallel structure of ‘as X[adj] as your A [noun]’ creates a slightly less standard, but totally comprehensible contrast between ‘**faith**’ and ‘**doubts**’. However parallelism can also create unusual contrasts in conjunction with common opposition triggers such as ‘*not*’ and ‘*but*’, without having to rely on ancillary pairings, as my data demonstrates. This casts doubt on Jones’ system of categorisation and hence the statistics from which he draws weighty conclusions¹⁹.

It is no surprise that the five examples of parallelism included here are all highly rhetorical, spoken or written by either politicians, campaigners or the journalists themselves²⁰.

3.43 “The Government was elected ***to create unity*** in this country and ***not to create division.***”

(*The Independent* 23 September 2003, page 4)

3.44 "*Leave us with our cow s*** and we will leave you to your city bulls***.*"

(*The Sun* 23 September 2003, page 4)

3.45 Jones, who lives in Hertfordshire and shoots, said: "The message we want to give to the Government is that *they can walk over our lands but they can't walk over us.*

(*The Times* 23 September 2003, page 4)

3.46 *It wasn't a march, it was an invasion* – central London taken over by a million or more peace-lovers.

(*Independent on Sunday*, 16 February 2003, page 4)

3.47 *If Mrs Thatcher presided over the collapse of heavy industry, Tony Blair has watched the slow death of farming.*

(*Daily Mail* 23 September 2003, page 39)

Example 3.43 is the reported speech of Labour minister Kate Hoey, who supported the demands of the Countryside Alliance. In this specific instance the conventional opposition of 'unity' / 'division', the parallelism of 'to create X/Y', and the negator *not* combine to make a stylised appeal for people to support the aims of the demonstration. Another rich example is the slogan on one of the Countryside Alliance banners in 3.44 (also discussed in Section 1.2.4.1) which uses the 'us' / 'you', 'our' / 'your' opposites and the frame 'leave [us / you] with [our / your] X/Y' to create the ingenious distinction between 'cowshit' and 'bullshit' (asterisks in originals) which in themselves look conventional except they are being used as metaphors for a COUNTRY / CITY contrast.

In 3.45, the actor/footballer Vinnie Jones combines a negator and contrastive ('X *but not* Y') with the parallelism of 'they can [not] walk over X/Y' to create an opposition

between ‘**us**’ and ‘**lands**’ utilising a contrast between the literal and metaphorical meanings of ‘to walk over’ to express his resistance. The *Independent on Sunday* headline in 3.46 again contrasts individual lexical items ‘**march**’ / ‘**invasion**’ in the simple parallel structure ‘it was [not] a[n] X / Y’ to emphasise the size of the anti-war protest. In example 3.47 the *Daily Mail* writer relies on the reader’s cultural intuitions to process Mrs Thatcher and Tony Blair as former (Tory) and current (Labour) Prime Ministers, who oversaw slumps in the economic fortunes of urban and rural areas respectively. The parallelism here relies much more on a repeated syntactic structure than the repetition of the same lexical items, apart from ‘*the*’ and ‘*of*’. The writer has reformulated the section pertaining to Tony Blair using near-synonymic expressions and so there is no actual repetition of non-grammatical words. So ‘presided over’ becomes ‘watched’ and ‘the collapse of’ is ‘the slow death of’. ‘**Heavy industry**’ and ‘**farming**’, being treated as opposites here, become indexical of an **URBAN / RURAL** binary. The parallel structure can be expressed as something like:

Mrs Thatcher	presided over	the	collapse	of	heavy industry
<i>Prime Minister</i>	<i>stative verb phrase</i>	<i>determiner</i>	<i>abstract noun</i>	<i>preposition</i>	<i>noun phrase</i>
Tony Blair	has watched	the	slow death	of	farming

The two clauses themselves are linked by the subordinate conjunction *if*, which in these case acts much like a concessive, itself an important oppositional trigger. The two clauses are very symmetrical in that they begin and end with oppositional pairs whilst held together by two pairs of synonyms in the middle.

The range of parallel structures which can trigger oppositions is likely to be vast, so this section has only been able to offer a description of a tiny proportion of those which might exist. There is much scope for further research on this phenomenon.

3.3.8 *Contrastive opposition*

Another oppositional trigger which is largely ignored by Mettinger and Jones is the coordinating conjunction '*but*', which sometimes works as an oppositional trigger on its own ('X *but* Y') and sometimes alongside the negator '*not*' ('*not* X *but* Y', 'X *but not* Y'). Being a coordinating conjunction it is surprising that Jones seems to have almost completely ignored it in his major category of 'Coordinated Antonymy' whereby he focuses mainly on the role of '*and*' and '*or*'. Again, it is possible that because '*but*' tends to act to conjoin phrases and clauses rather than individual words (see the examples below), then they have not made a significant appearance in Jones' data. However, grammarians cite '*but*' as a well-established contrastive device. For instance Quirk et al (1972) state in categorical terms in the first line of a section entitled 'Semantic implications of coordination by *but*': 'But denotes a contrast. The contrast may be in the unexpectedness of what is said in the second conjoin in view of the content of the first conjoin' (1972: 564). There is much overlap here between this and the function of concessives like '*while*' and '*although*', the main difference being that the former occur as subordinating conjunctions. The functions however are similar, again demonstrating difficulties with hard and fast rules for categorisation. The function of '*but*' is referred to by Jones but only as an aside in his section on 'Ancillary Antonymy' (see Section 3.3.9) where he asserts that 'the word *but* acts unambiguously as a signal that what comes next should be contrasted with what went previously' (2002: 57). Given this, it is surprising that Jones does not assign it any more importance and does in fact dismiss its significance,

declaring that ‘traditionally, the adversative conjunction was thought to be a powerful signal of contrast [...], but corpus evidence suggests that this is perhaps the most dispensable contrast-generating device’ (2002: 60).

However, the role of ‘*but*’ to signal unexpectedness in that to which it is joined is of major significance in the protest data (see especially Chapter Seven). Again, often the unexpectedness is from the point of view of the writer who assumes the reader will adopt their position and hence their system of values and beliefs. For instance the unusually large turnout for the two demonstrations often stimulates writers to differentiate them and the people who make them up from previous more maligned protests.

3.48 There was plenty of **passion** *but* the marchers remained **good-natured**.

(Financial Times, 23 September 2002, page 3)

3.49 Guy Butler had ***never been on a protest march before in his life***. Finance Directors from the Surrey broker belt ***don’t do that sort of thing***; *but* yesterday he found himself marching ***behind a black anarchist flag in the middle of a vast crowd of angry people who were chanting anti-government slogans***.

(Independent on Sunday, 16 February 2003, page 4)

3.50 The **usual suspects** were there - *but* so were many, many **others like himself who had come up from the leafy lanes of suburban England to shout their disapproval of war**.

(Independent on Sunday, 16 February 2003, page 4)

3.51 Susie Plant, 27, Georgie Denham, 22, and Arthur Godsal, five today, were all **London born and bred**, *but* felt **compelled to join the protest**.

(The Times, 23 September 2002, page 4)

3pp The Liberty and Livelihood March began ostensibly **divided into two camps** - *those whose primary concern was liberty and the hunting issue, and those whose livelihoods depended on farming and a healthy rural economy.*

But long before the two processions converged on the heart of Government at Whitehall, it was clear that yesterday's demonstration signified a **great spiritual coming together of rural-minded people.**

(Daily Telegraph, 23 September 2003, page 4)

Example 3.48 contrasts '**passion**' / '**good-natured**' to imply that passion can at times spill over into less good-natured activity, but in this case does not, reassuring readers that the demonstration can be legitimately supported by the *Financial Times* and its readership without being aligned with more undesirable elements. A variation on this theme is the way the *Independent on Sunday* in example 3.49 uses the conjunction '*but*', reinforced by the negators '*never*' and '*not*', to show how unexpected it is for a Surrey-based Finance Director to be marching alongside black flag-wielding anarchists. This is maintained in the next paragraph in example 3.50 where the experienced protestors labelled derogatorily as the '**usual suspects**' – a phrase often connoting criminality - are joined unexpectedly by people like himself, hence giving the demonstration credibility. This focus on the inclusiveness and variety on the demonstrations is also utilised in 3.51 whereby the reader is led to understand that it is a surprise that three people who join the Countryside Alliance demonstration are actually '**London born and bred**'. A considerable amount of inferencing is required on behalf of the reader to understand the **URBAN / RURAL** dichotomy being signalled here. Unity of purpose amongst diversity is also expressed in 3.52. Here the phrase '**divided into two camps**', itself an explicit opposition trigger (see Section 3.3.6), is qualified by '*but*' to show that the division is in fact an illusion, and that the two physical demonstrations signal a '**great spiritual coming together of rural-**

minded people'. All of these examples in different ways use '*but*' to imply that the words(s) in the Y position are unusual or unexpected in relation to those in the X position, and in these cases contribute to the implication that these protests draw from a vast variety of support and are peaceful, as opposed to previous ones and/or against expectations.

3.3.9 Jones' '*ancillary antonymy*'

A reference was made in Section 3.2.2 to what Jones calls 'Ancillary Antonymy'. In terms of this thesis, of all Jones' categories this concept is the most interesting in that it is the only occasion – other than the 'framework productivity' section mentioned in Section 3.2.2 - that his corpus consistently produces examples of non-canonical opposition. This is unsurprising given that Jones has *pre-selected* his oppositional pairs on the basis of their canonicity. Those generated as a result of ancillary antonymy are an accidental by-product of the canonical ones, their specific form and function being impossible to predict.

According to Jones ancillary antonymy is a phenomenon whereby pairs not usually perceived as opposites are attached to those that are within the same sentence. In these kinds of sentences, according to Jones, 'a familiar antonymous pair is effectively acting as a lexical signal that we should interpret a non-antonymous pair contrastively' (2002: 38). He labels these 'A-pairs' and 'B-pairs' respectively. The function of the canonical A-pairs is to 'oppose concepts which might not otherwise be interpreted contrastively' (2002: 46). The A-pair are hence ancillary to the B-pair, the latter having 'less innate opposition than the A-pair' (2002: 47).

A simple example, taken from Jones' data, is the following:

3.53 Then, and now, the Royal Festival Hall is a cool, rather clinical building that it is **easy** to *respect* and **difficult** to *love*.

(Jones 2002: 51)

Here, the canonical opposites ‘**easy**’ and ‘**difficult**’ (the ‘A-pair’) help create a contrast between ‘**respect**’ and ‘**love**’ (the ‘B-pair’). According to Jones, the latter operate along similar points on a scale of ‘affection’. He gives no further analysis of this or any other of his examples in terms of the semantic properties that might link the B-pair. But in this example in any case, it is evident that the scale of affection is perhaps a section of what in more conventional cases would have ‘**love**’ at one end and ‘**hate**’ at the other. The crude diagram below shows how *respect* might lie more than halfway between the two ends of the conventional scale, and how the writer of the *Independent* article has created their own textually specific scale (represented by the solid line) which has **respect** as the opposite of **love**. *Respect* in this instance is therefore equivalent to *not-love*²¹.



There are three claims about ancillary antonymy which need to be commented on here.

Firstly Jones suggests that some B-pairs in his data are almost conventional oppositions in themselves, in which case the A-pair ‘merely help to affirm an opposition between a pair of concepts which already have a well-established contrastive profile’ (2002: 53), such as in the following examples²²:

3.54 He also suggests discipline should be tailored differently, saying **extroverts** are most motivated by **reward** while **introverts** respond more to **punishment**.

(Jones 2002: 46)

3.55 As the old adage put it, *oppositions* do not **win** elections; *governments* **lose** them.'

(Jones 2002: 53)

The first example features two pairs of oppositions which would be considered conventional (hence Jones puts both in bold) and according to Jones 'contribute to a larger contrast' functioning 'in some kind of symbiotic relationship' (2002: 47). The latter example consists of the B-pairing '**oppositions**' / '**governments**' which are almost conventional oppositions (but not enough to merit bold type) which are strengthened by the '**win**' / '**lose**' A-pair. Notwithstanding Jones' decision to rank B-pairs according to their conventionality, this is an uncontroversial assertion, as is the claim that 'some antonyms actively create an opposition between a pair of concepts which would not otherwise be considered contrastively at all' (2002: 53) However where the B-pairs are highly unusual Jones seems to imply that in some cases there can be no semantic relationship between them at all as in the following example:

3.56 In this account, the **rich** get to *choose*, and the **poor** get the *queues*'

(Jones 2002: 52)

Here Jones argues that examples like the pair '**choose**' / '**queues**' 'are not linked by any semantic properties, but by the phonetic, morphological and visual constitution of the words themselves' (2002: 52). Undoubtedly the phonetic similarities of the words do have a bearing on strengthening the link between the pair i.e. they both consist of single syllables and three phonemes, the last two of which are exactly the same in both cases (/u:/

and /z/). But even without any further context it is not difficult to describe some kind of semantic connection between the two as well, that is that they both involve levels of *CHOICE* (and freedom?) presumably in the purchasing of certain goods. If ‘**choose**’ and ‘**queues**’ are being placed in a position of opposition by the ancillary A-pairs, it is in fact difficult to see how they could not be semantically linked. In this case the ancillaries force us to look for an opposite of ‘choose’ to make sense of the sentence. Choice is often associated with FREEDOM and being in queues is a restriction of freedom, so the connection at a conceptual level is not difficult to make. This is an important point because I will be arguing that all oppositions, regardless of their conventionality, ultimately rely on conceptual relationships of equivalence and difference²⁴. Jones’ quantitative approach means he neglects a close analysis of some of his examples and draws mistaken conclusions.

Secondly, Jones is right to stress the diversity of the nature of the ‘B-pairs’ in his examples, representing a variety of word classes, semantic fields, and most crucially taking the shape of either single words or ‘multi-word expressions’ (2002: 47). Clearly, as Chapters One and Two of this thesis have asserted, many of the examples from my data consist of oppositions which consist of more than one word. One of Jones’ examples of ‘multi-word expressions’ is the following:

3.57 Robin Cook, Labour’s Health spokesman, demanded: ‘How can it be **right** to limit the hours worked by *lorry drivers and airline pilots*, but **wrong** to limit the hours of *junior hospital doctors undertaking complex medical treatment*?’

(Jones 2002: 45)

Here, Robin Cook is using the ancillary ‘A-pairs’ ‘**right**’ and ‘**wrong**’ to contrast two groups of professions in terms of the hours they work as prescribed by government

legislation. The opposition is clearly very context-specific, nevertheless fulfilling the requirements of opposition, being equivalent in terms of profession and differing in hours they work. Unfortunately, owing to Jones' methodology, multi-word expressions only occur as a by-product of ancillary antonymy and his analysis is taken no further.

The third issue concerning ancillary antonymy which I will comment on briefly here but which will be developed further in Section 3.4, is related to the importance Jones attaches to ancillary antonymy.

Evidently, the 'A-pairs' do play a role in triggering less conventional oppositions, but it is possible that Jones is overplaying their significance. Note for instance in the example mentioned above, the opposition is also triggered by the parallelism of 'X/Y to limit the hours' and the contrastive '*but*' which links the two clauses. In fact the contrast could work just as well without the ancillary effect provided by '**right**' and '**wrong**'. If Cook had asked: 'How can we limit the hours worked by **lorry drivers and airline pilots** *but not* those of **junior hospital doctors undertaking complex medical treatment?**', arguably the opposition still stands, triggered by '*but not*'. Jones does refer to this, noting the role of parallelism and that in six out of nine sentences he gives as examples in one section of his book 'employ overt markers of contrast' – four of these use '*but*', and '*not*' and '*while*' are used once each. This being the case, it is curious that Jones does not register either '*but*' or '*while*' as playing any major oppositional role in any other of the syntactic frame categories. One likely reason for this is that it is difficult to place individual words acting as opposites on either side of a '*while*' or '*but*' frame. What it also means however is that the statistics Jones produces from his data and the conclusions he draws from this are inaccurate. On what grounds for instance would the sentence 'It is meeting **public need**, not **private greed**' (2002: 46), be counted as ancillary antonymy, when the negator *not* which joins the two noun phrases also plays a role and could also be seen as 'Negated

Antonymy’? The choice of which category to assign this sentence when producing statistics seems fairly arbitrary. This is not so trivial a point as it might seem, and will be taken up in the next section.

3.4 Some problems with categories

In the sub-sections of 3.3 I have tried to stress that whilst each type of frame outlined plays an important role in the triggering of oppositions, the categories themselves are not watertight, being merely a set of descriptive tools rather than fixed category classes inherent to the language involved. Many textual oppositions involve a *web* of triggers, sometimes two or three syntactic ones working together, plus the semantic elements that make up the words involved in the X / Y oppositional pairings themselves. The meanings of any given pair of oppositions will be governed by the context in which they appear.

This last section provides a summary of some of the pitfalls with both Mettinger and Jones’ categorisation systems.

3.4.1 Mettinger’s categories

As explained in 3.2.1 and exemplified in Table 3.1 Mettinger organises his frames under the headings of ‘major textual function’, so that the frames ‘X *and* Y’ and ‘X, *at the same time* Y’ are assigned the function ‘simultaneous validity of X, Y’. His classification is a starting point but no more than this, in that he provides almost no comment on how the individual examples might work in each context, and (like Jones), assumes that each example can fall under only one category, ignores other potential opposition triggers in the examples he chooses, or fails to identify them.

This latter point especially can be easily exemplified by analysing the six examples he gives of those 38.5% which he cannot assign under any frame, and which he puts under the catch-all heading of ‘cohesion’ (1994: 41):

These are as follows²⁴:

3.58 ‘She shook his head. *‘He’s a **bad loser.**’*

*‘But you, Mademoiselle, are a **good loser.**’*

3.59 *‘You’ve got to **break down** and destroy before you can **build up.**’*

3.60 ‘Its title – ‘Sanitation in Victorian Fiction – seemed **modest** enough; but... the **absence of reference to sanitation** was as significant as the **presence of the same**, and his work thus embraced **the entire corpus of Victorian fiction.**’

3.61 ‘I can’t make that child out,’ said Mrs Allerton. ‘She varies so. *One day she’s **friendly**; the next day, she’s positively **rude.***’

3.62 ‘What have they looked for in Ellis’s room? *Evidences of his **guilt.*** We shall look for *evidences of his **innocence** – an entirely different thing.*’

(taken from Mettinger 1994: 41)

Firstly, as Mettinger makes clear, he has chosen his opposites as those which exist ‘systemically’ (i.e. canonical opposites) yet it is difficult to see how ‘**adventurous**’ / ‘**peaceful**’ and ‘**friendly**’ / ‘**rude**’ can be classed as canonical opposites, even though there are obvious semantic relations between them. This casts doubt on his proposed distinction between systemic and non-systemic oppositions (see Chapter Four).

Secondly, it is evident that Mettinger has not been very thorough in the identification of syntactic frames in his own data, nor their ability to generate oppositional meaning from less conventional pairs. For instance, out of the six examples he gives, four of them contain syntactic parallelism to some degree or other (see Section 3.3.7)²⁵.

Mettinger puts the oppositional words in bold. I have also however used italics to indicate syntax which has some kind of *parallel* structure. For instance in 3.62 the opposites ‘**guilt**’ and ‘**innocence**’ fill the X /Y slots in the structure ‘*evidences of his (X/Y)*’. It was argued in Section 3.3.7 that these are significant oppositional environments, which Mettinger seems to have missed entirely. In this example he has also neglected the reinforcing role of the ‘explicit opposition’ (see Section 3.3.6) ‘*an entirely different thing*’, through which the character in the novel makes it explicit that we are to contrast ‘**guilt**’ and ‘**innocence**’. In 3.58 the opposition between ‘**bad**’ and ‘**good**’ is placed in the syntactic structure ‘*he /you are a X/Y loser*’. In 3.60 there is a parallelism of sorts although use of ellipsis means that some of the structure is missing – ‘*the X of reference to sanitation / the Y of [the same]*’. In 3.61, the parallel structure is aided by adverbial contrast of ‘*One day she’s X, the next day she’s [positively] Y*’.

It is not only the parallelism and the explicit opposition trigger which Mettinger has missed. There are also two examples of the contrastive trigger ‘*but*’. In example 3.58 it stands between the two parallel structures. In 3.60 however, it acts independently of the ‘**absence**’ / ‘**presence**’ pairing and generates *another*, less canonical opposition, this time between ‘**modest**’ and ‘**the entire corpus of Victorian fiction**’, drawing on a more canonical opposition between **SMALL** and **LARGE** for our understanding of it. Mettinger therefore misses a great opportunity to use his syntactic frames to discover new and potentially more interesting oppositions.

To be fair, much of Mettinger's study is not attempting a fully worked out classification of frames in the way that Jones does but is an exploration of the semantic relationships between the pairings. This aspect of his work is discussed in Chapter Four.

3.4.2 Jones' categories

Despite occasionally alluding to the fuzzy boundaries between categories, Jones' method is to treat them as closed sets. This becomes startlingly apparent in the very last sentence of Jones' book when he presents 'a new definition of antonymy', based on the statistics he has gathered from his corpus data. His conclusion is:

'Antonyms are pairs of words which contrast along a given semantic scale and frequently function in a coordinated and ancillary fashion such that they become lexically enshrined as 'opposites'.'

(Jones 2002: 179)

As a definition of antonymy this rather rash conclusion is based on the fact that according to Jones' statistics, 38.4 per cent of his corpus consists of those pairs he classes as examples of 'Coordinated Antonymy' and 38.7 per cent as 'Ancillary Antonymy'.

One obvious flaw here is that a sizeable number of his examples utilise more than one syntactic frame. Many of the examples of ancillary antonymy for instance also rely on other triggers such as '*but*', '*while*', and '*and*', as pointed out in Section 3.3.9, and may also contain parallelism which, as explained in 3.3.7, is another common method by which to frame oppositions. The reason for assigning them to the category of ancillary antonymy rather than coordinated (or vice versa) seems arbitrary, as the following examples taken from Jones' section on ancillary antonymy show.

3.63 Since then, of course, they've all had knighthoods, usually when they're too **old** to play *Hamlet* but too **young** to play *butlers in Hollywood movies*.

(Jones 2002: 45)

3.64 It is meeting **public need**, not **private greed**.

(Jones 2002: 46)

3.65 *Kennedy* **dead** is more interesting than *Clinton* **alive**.'

(Jones 2002: 49)

Presumably the examples above are included in the ancillary antonymy statistics, yet as the underlined words show²⁷, they could also be classed as examples of 'Coordinated Antonymy' ('Contrastive' in my typology), 'Negated' and 'Comparative Antonymy' respectively, according to Jones' criteria.

Another problem is with Jones' category of 'Coordinated Antonymy'²⁸. Under this heading he includes the frames 'X and Y', 'X or Y', 'both X and Y', 'either X or Y', 'neither X nor Y', 'X and Y alike', and 'whether X or Y'. The difficulty here is that such a range of frames provide hugely diverse functions.

For instance 'either X or Y' is offering a choice between two alternatives, such as 'either you are with **us** or you are with the **terrorists**' (discussed in Section 2.4.1.1). However, an 'X and Y' frame suggests that the X / Y pair are to be treated as equal, not showing a preference of one over the other. Also, in my own data, where an 'X and Y' frame occurs, the oppositional pair tends to be canonical because there is little in the coordinator 'and' to trigger opposition, unlike 'or' which is a highly potent oppositional trigger. For instance, when the *Sunday Mirror* attempts to show the diversity of protestors on the Stop the War Coalition march, in one article they describe:

3.66 They came from **left**, centre *and* **right**. They were **old**, middle-aged *and* **young**. **Rich** *and* **poor**. **Lords, ladies, gentlemen**. Students, housewives, **bosses** *and* **workers** from every sphere of British industry.

(*Sunday Mirror* 16 February 2003, page 4)

In this example, the pairs ‘**left**’ / ‘**right**’, ‘**old**’ / ‘**young**’, ‘**rich**’ / ‘**poor**’, ‘**bosses**’ / ‘**workers**’, rely mainly on their canonical status for their oppositional meaning. The coordinator ‘*and*’ is important in conjoining what are two ends of a variety of scales – *POLITICAL IDEOLOGY, AGE, WEALTH, RELATIONSHIP TO THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION* – respectively, but it does not act as an oppositional trigger in the same way that ‘*or*’ might. If, for instance the writer had described some of the protestors as ‘young and poor’, it is unlikely we would interpret ‘young’ and ‘poor’ as oppositional. What Jones seems to have done is put the coordinating conjunctions ‘*and*’ and ‘*or*’ under one heading precisely because of their grammatical function as coordinators linking words and phrases but ignored their semantic function, which, one could argue are actually opposite themselves – one having an *inclusive* function and the other an *exclusive* function. This would not matter as much if he had not drawn such an emphatic conclusion.

There are several differences between Jones’ approach and the one undertaken in this thesis.

Firstly, Jones is, in the main, treating his frames as environments in which to *house* co-occurring pairs rather than as *triggering* oppositions. This is because the pairs he has chosen are canonical and hence the semantic content itself is enough. The value of his quantitative approach is that he has confirmed or even revealed the existence of many of these frames. The existence of a high proportion of examples of co-ordinated and ancillary antonymy is significant but not to the extent that the categories could be treated as given,

or from which categorical conclusions can be drawn. My data, limited though it is compared to Jones' in numerical terms, reveals very few examples of significant 'X and Y', 'X or Y', or ancillary antonymy pairings. To give a full account of textual opposition, both quantitative and qualitative approaches are needed.

My approach on the other hand, has been to explore the triggering potential of the frames, which involves a much closer analysis of their functions – leading to some refinement of Jones' categories – with a view to examining how the oppositions triggered in the frames might be processed in their context.

Jones's treatment of antonymy as a single-word phenomenon for classification purposes also leads to some difficulties. It means that his results are unlikely to include many examples of those which tend to be used in longer stretches of text, such as '*but*', '*while*', '*although*', and '*yet*'. It also shows up more contradictions in Jones system for, as Section 3.3.9 showed, some of his examples *do* include what he calls multi-word expressions, but only when they are triggered by ancillary A-pairs. The triggers such as '*while*' and '*but*' however are treated as if they had little bearing on the meanings of the X/Y pair.

3.5 Conclusion

This section has provided an overview of some of the main frames in which co-occurring oppositions appear in texts. Table 3.4 (below) contains a summary of the syntactic structures used in this investigation, and how they might be employed in framing canonical oppositional pairs and triggering oppositional meaning between non-canonical pairs. Much of the terminology has been drawn from Mettinger and Jones, but the categories have been refined and adjusted to take into account their specific functions in context. I have added some new categories ('contrastive', 'replacive', 'concessive'),

removed some of Jones' categories which in my opinion have unreliable status (e.g. 'co-ordinated antonymy'), changed category labels to give a clearer indication of their function ('distinguished antonymy' becomes 'explicit opposition'), and put some of Jones' frames categories considered more appropriate to their function (e.g. *X rather than Y* suits 'replacive' rather than 'comparative' opposition).

The data for this chapter is drawn from Mettinger's corpus of novels, Jones' corpus of news texts and my own collection of news articles based on two news events. I have drawn on the work of Mettinger and Jones who have provided a valuable starting point for the identification of frames for the co-occurrence of canonical oppositions. I argue however that these frames can also *trigger* oppositions in words, phrases and clauses which would not conventionally be treated as opposites in a context-free environment. The frames work in conjunction with other frames and the surrounding text and it is unhelpful to assign a single classification only to each example. I have sub-divided my triggers according to their potential functions but it is certainly not intended to be exhaustive, nor are the categories closed.

As most language events usually involve spoken utterances or written text (parole), the value of exploring context-free oppositions is limited. The potential for discovering new, unusual and potentially ideologically loaded oppositions is much more exciting, and beneficial.

The examples so far have focussed little on the meaning relationships between the oppositional pairs. The next chapter therefore deals mainly with this issue. Subsequent chapters will show that the identification of oppositions through their triggers and an examination of their relations of equivalence and difference can contribute to revealing the ways that news texts often divide the world they represent into artificial binaries, with ideological consequences.

Category	Common syntactic frames/ triggers	Canonical Textual examples	Non-canonical textual examples	Function(s)
Negated Opposition	X not Y not X, Y	“The government was elected to create unity in this country and <i>not</i> create division ”	“ Clotted cream <i>not</i> ruptured spleen ”.	Emphasises already inherent mutual exclusivity in canonical examples, and constructs mutual exclusivity in non-canonical ones. Often expresses preference for one state over another. Often combined with the contrastive ‘but’ (e.g. <i>not X but Y</i>).
Transitional opposition	X turns into Y X becomes Y	[...] <i>turn</i> the many decent, honourable and law-abiding people [...] <i>into</i> criminals .	Villages are <i>turning into</i> weekend rest centres or dormitories for commuting TV executives and merchant bankers .	<i>Transformation</i> from one state to its opposite
Comparative opposition	more X than Y X is more A than Y	Dr Higgs was a lot <i>more</i> right than wrong [...] [...] reward is <i>more effective</i> than punishment .	[...] the marchers seemed more bemused than offended [...] [...] <i>more important than</i> the fate of Labour is the fate of mankind .	Measures X against Y by comparing them either <i>directly</i> (using the same relations of equivalence and difference) or <i>indirectly</i> , judged against another scale of equivalence and difference.
Replacive Opposition	X rather than Y X instead of Y X in place of Y	Wanting to be happy <i>rather than sad</i> , I accepted [...] (in Jones, 2002: 79). [...] the whole concept of managing by punishment <i>instead of reward</i> [...] (in Jones, 20032: 90)	There has been speculation that Mr Michael may propose introducing a licensing system <i>rather than</i> an outright ban [...]. <i>In place of</i> a charismatic leader , they have the belief that politicians are lying .	Expresses an alternative preferred <i>option</i> to that which it is opposed.
Concessive opposition	despite X, Y while X, Y	[Not applicable as applies to phrases and clauses rather than individual canonical lexical items.]	<i>Despite</i> the numbers, the march was peaceful .	

	although X, Y X, yet Y		<p><i>While</i> it was true that militants [...] were out in force, the heart and mind of the protest was ordinary people.</p> <p><i>Although</i> the demonstrators included rich landowners [...], they were joined by [...] poverty-stricken labourers and humble craftsmen.</p>	Implies a contrast between two circumstances. The information given in the main clause is usually unexpected given the circumstances in the subordinate clause.
Explicit opposition	X contrasted with Y X opposed to Y the distinction/division/difference/between X and Y X against Y	<p>Being young and keen <i>as opposed to</i> being old and keen [...] (in Jones, 2002: 90)</p> <p>[...] <i>the division between</i> gay and straight [...] (in Jones, 2002: 81).</p> <p>This blurred <i>distinction between</i> fact and fiction [...] (in Jones, 2002: 81).</p>	<p>The professionally-produced placards [...] <i>contrasted with</i> cobbled-together banners.</p> <p>The Liberty and Livelihood March began ostensibly <i>divided into two camps</i> [...]</p> <p>“House music <i>against war</i>”</p>	Where a linguistic item within the syntactic frame makes an explicit metalinguistic reference to either a presupposed or a constructed contrast between X and Y.
Syntactic parallelism	[No specific frames. Relies on repetitive structures]	“You are <i>as young as your faith, as old as your doubts</i> ” (in Jones, 2002:56)	<p>[...] <i>they can walk over our lands but they can't walk over us</i>.</p> <p>“<i>Leave us to our cows*** and we will leave you to your city bull***t.</i>”</p>	Repetition of a range of syntactic structures within which specific lexical items are foregrounded, inviting the addressee to relate them as oppositions. Often combined with other syntactic triggers such as ‘but’ or other more canonical oppositional items. Often contain canonical oppositions which in Jones’ (2002) terms makes the second X/Y pair examples of ‘ancillary antonyms’.

Contrastive opposition	X but Y	[Unlikely to conjoin individual canonical lexical items unless expressing simultaneously contradictory states e.g. “I was happy <i>but</i> also sad ”.]	[...] were all London born and bred , <i>but</i> felt compelled to join the protest . There was plenty of passion <i>but</i> the marchers remained good-natured .	Creates contrast between two conjoined phrases or clauses, often relating the <i>unexpectedness</i> of what is said in the second conjoin in view of the content of the first conjoin.
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Table 3.4 A summary of the syntactic frame categories and their functions as employed in this investigation

Notes

¹These relations will be dealt with mainly in Chapter Four.

² See Section 1.3.4 for an explanation of this process.

³These tables are included in the Appendix.

⁴In Sections 3.3.4 and 3.3.6 I will argue that the latter frames could belong in a separate category.

⁵Syntactically parallel structures are also important here but they are treated in the relevant Section 3.3.7.

⁶This example and the news text it appeared in are explored in detail in Chapter Six.

⁷These examples and others like them are discussed in detail in Chapter Four which deals with the oppositional relations on the conceptual plane.

⁸The oppositional pairs are in bold in Jones. The italicised syntactic frames have been inserted by me.

⁹Chapter Six examines this article in detail, and shows how these rural / urban comparisons are integral to the writer’s overall polemic.

¹⁰Where Jones states: ‘The *rather than* part of the sentence is *not* there to **make the opposition more extreme**, *but* to **highlight that a choice between antonyms has been necessary**’ he is himself using a constructed opposition employing a ‘*not X but Y*’ framework, combined with high modality to make a categorical statement about the nature of ‘*rather than*’!

¹¹The concept of a dimension of difference is explored in Chapter Four.

¹² A detailed analysis of this example forms part of the analysis in Chapter Five.

¹³ I’ve retained Jones’ own bold and italics system here. The bold items are canonical oppositions and the italicised ones are what Jones calls ‘ancillary’ (See section 3.3.9) which are placed in a position of opposition by connection to the canonical ones.

¹⁴ These two examples are also included in reports which form the basis for the analyses in Chapters Six and Five respectively.

¹⁵Mettinger has no category for this.

¹⁶The words in bold italics act as both part of the oppositional pair and the trigger – in this case examples of parallelism.

¹⁷Taken from the BBC website http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/7026435.stm.

¹⁸The relationship between ‘man’ and ‘mankind’ is debatable – they could be seen as contrasts if ‘mankind’ is interpreted as more all-encompassing as ‘man’

¹⁹See Section 3.4.2 for a critique of some of Jones’ categories and the conclusions he draws from them.

²⁰The specific words being treated as oppositions are in bold, the standard conjoining triggers are in italics, and the parallel structures which contribute to the triggering of the opposition, which themselves are part of the opposition (by being on either side of one of the conjunctions), are in bold italics.

²¹This example probably requires some refinements.

²²All bold and italics here are in Jones’ originals.

²³This is one of the main themes of Chapter Four.

²⁴I have added the italics and the underlinings. The oppositional words in bold are provided by Mettinger.

²⁵These examples are slightly edited and the numbering system differs from Mettinger’s to fit in with the format of the thesis. Examples 3.58, 3.59 and 3.61 are from pages 214, 78 and 79 of *Death on the Nile* by Agatha Christie respectively. Example 3.60 is taken from *The British Museum is Falling Down* by David Lodge, page 40, and 3.62 from page 72 of Agatha Christie’s *Three Act Tragedy*.

²⁶For instance Jones says that ‘the classification process sometimes requires subjective choices to be made’ (2002: 70).

²⁷Underlinings not in Jones.

²⁸I have not included this category here in Section 3.3 because of the problematic nature of the Jones classification system.

The role of conceptual relations in the triggering of oppositions

4.1 Introduction

Chapter Three examined how syntactic frames which commonly house canonical oppositional pairs can also trigger unconventional ones when placed in similar slots. This chapter explores ways of making sense of an unconventional pair as opposites, culminating in a detailed analysis of examples taken from the news reports on protest marches. This involves examining how we can make connections between the oppositional pair which in most cases would never be regarded as opposites, based on rules for the formation and processing of oppositional meanings. My hypothesis is that whenever any pair of words (or phrases or clauses) is put into one of the syntactic frames discussed in Chapter Three, if it makes sense to the reader in its context, then it is possible to relate them according to some oppositional principles, however bizarre the pairing might look out of context: for instance **‘clotted cream’ / ‘ruptured spleen’**.

The work of Mettinger (1994) and Murphy (2003), whose approaches to semantic relations vary quite considerably, provide some theoretical grounding for the theory and analysis that follows. Mettinger’s structuralist distinction between ‘systemic’ and ‘non-systemic’ oppositions and the differing relational basis on which he believes they rest, will be challenged. I will argue that Mettinger’s work does provide a useful platform from which to build theories around how all types of oppositions are understood, especially as

regards the principles of equivalence and difference as they relate to opposites. However the lack of qualitative analysis in Mettinger's study and the inattention to contextual factors will be shown to be unhelpful.

More beneficial is the pragmatic, contextual approach to semantic relations taken by Murphy. She starts from the premise that antonymy and all other semantic relations (synonymy, hyponymy etc), are in the first instance conceptual phenomena rather than a relationship between words as represented in the lexicon, although the latter do play a subsidiary role in the formation of opposites. She also argues that semantic relations are based on firm principles and can be 'derived' (i.e. new instances can be generated) from the rules which govern them. Evidence for this is that 'we can recognise or propose that words are semantically related although we may not have experienced those words in relation' (2003:28). Consequently, the contexts in which both canonical and non-canonical oppositions appear offer their own unique semantic flavour, providing grounds for limitless new oppositional meanings. Murphy's distinction between 'canonical' and 'non-canonical' oppositions (see also Section 2.6.4) and the dynamic relationship between them are fundamental to the approach taken in this chapter. This, along with her other theories mentioned above, demonstrate the potential for any words, phrases or clauses to be treated as opposites, without dismissing the role played by context-independent oppositions.

In Section 4.4 I propose the terms 'Planes of Equivalence' and 'Planes of Difference' to describe the two types of relation on which oppositions are based. As introduced in Section 2.5, one of the basic principles regarding what constitutes opposition is its reliance on both the differences and the similarities between the pair. The concept that binds the oppositional pair - such as TEMPERATURE for '**hot**' / '**cold**' - is analogous to a superordinate in hyponymous relations in that '**hot**' and '**cold**' are kinds of temperature. The oppositional pair therefore have a co-hyponymous relation in most cases, and often

differ on just one fundamental level – *TEMPERATURE LEVELS* in the case of ‘**hot**’ / ‘**cold**’. However, as we have also seen, even with simple canonical oppositional pairs such as ‘**come**’ / ‘**go**’ or ‘**life**’ / ‘**death**’, there is a lexical gap when it comes to the superordinate concept that expresses the relation of equivalence. In other words it is difficult to express precisely (especially as one word) what categories these belong to. One way round this would be to restrict a definition of opposition to that which only has a lexicalised superordinate. However this would rule out some of the most canonical oppositional pairings, such as the ones above and others like ‘**private**’ / ‘**public**’, ‘**active**’ / ‘**passive**’, ‘**peace**’ / ‘**war**’, all of which are amongst Jones’ sample of 56 antonymous pairs in his corpus study, chosen for their conventionality (see Jones 2003: 33 for a full list of the pairs). Similarly, what Cruse calls the ‘dimension of meaning’ (1986: 197) on which the opposites *differ* is not always easily summarised. If we therefore accept that the relationships of equivalence and difference which form oppositions occur fundamentally at the conceptual level and that these relations cannot necessarily be lexicalised under a pithy heading, this opens up the possibility of examining a whole range of constructed oppositions which previous studies of opposites have avoided.

My argument will be that co-occurring constructed textual oppositions can be understood when taking a range of converging contextual factors into account. These include the syntactic frames which help trigger the opposition (where there are no canonical lexicalised opposites to relate to), the elements of comparability which bind them together (planes of equivalence), the elements of differentiation which keep them apart (planes of difference), reference to higher level conceptual oppositions of which they may be representative, the surrounding text, the genre and purpose of the text involved, and the cultural knowledge and expectations implied by the text and brought to it by the reader.

4.2 Mettinger's 'Aspects of Semantic Opposition'

This section is a critical examination of Mettinger's approach to oppositional relations. It starts with a description of his belief in inherent differences between 'systemic' and 'non-systemic' oppositions and the problems with this view. This is followed by a justification for a more qualitative approach to the data analysis that Mettinger provides. The final section uses an example from Mettinger's own data to show how we might understand oppositional relations in a much richer way than Mettinger himself explores.

4.2.1 'Systemic' and 'non-systemic' oppositions

Although Mettinger's attempt to categorise common oppositional syntactic frames is far less satisfactory than Jones', nevertheless, he does offer a basis for examining the relationships of equivalence and difference between oppositional pairs that are both what he calls 'systemic' (context-independent) and 'non-systemic' (context-dependent). 'Systemic' ones are those which exist independently of use, in so-called 'neutral' contexts, if such things exist¹. These are fixed and are presumably equivalent to the Saussurian concept of 'langue' whereby 'among all of the individuals so linked by language [ie language] a sort of mean will be established: all will reproduce – doubtless not exactly, but approximately – same signs linked to the same concepts' (Saussure 1915: 29, quoted in Thibault 1997: 67). The non-systemic ones are, according to Mettinger, 'contrast on the level of parole' (1994: 69) and their understanding 'requires recourse to encyclopaedic and pragmatic knowledge' (1994: 62), depending on the textual environment in which they appear. He therefore draws a clear boundary between opposites which all users of a language have access to as part of the collection of language resources available to them

(‘langue’), and those which have to be interpreted from the context by drawing on other individual non-systemic resources (‘parole’).

Mettinger is transparent about his reluctance to tackle ‘non-systemic’ opposites, maintaining that ‘this is not the main objective of this study’ (1994: 74). He does however concede that it ‘could be a profitable field of research for any kind of conceptual approach towards the study of meaning-relations’ (1994: 74). In rejecting this as his *own* objective he devotes Chapter Three of his study – ‘Semantic Opposition: Systemic versus Non-Systemic’ – to finding ways of delimiting what counts as systemic opposition. The title itself suggests he strongly believes in a firm boundary between the two and ironically does raise the question of whether Mettinger himself has constructed a context-dependent opposition between two kinds of opposites, triggered by the explicit contrastive *versus* (see section 3.3.6). He is critical of the linguist Agricola (1983) for ‘blurring the distinction between relatively stable, context-independent meaning relations anchored in the semantic structure of a given language (i.e. in the language-system) and strongly context-dependent instances of contrast’ (1994: 62). Mettinger consequently tries to set out his criteria as to what constitute the different qualities of each. These are examined in Sections 4.2.1.1 and 4.2.1.2.

4.2.1.1 ‘Archisememes’ and systemic oppositions

According to Mettinger, a prerequisite for a *systemic* opposition is two common bases of ‘comparison’ – properties the X and Y of the pair have in common and those along which they differ. Mettinger calls the former an ‘archisememe’. This is the equivalent of what in lexical semantics is commonly called a ‘hyperonym’ or superordinate term, placing the oppositional pair in the role of co-hyponyms (see e.g. Lyons 1977, Cruse 1986, Jeffries 1998, Murphy 2003), whereby each is a more specific example of that broader

category. The example given by Mettinger is that of CHILD² for the lexemes ‘**boy**’ and ‘**girl**’, i.e. they are both *types* of child. This archisememe is distinct from the property that *differentiates* a **boy** from a **girl** - *SEX* or *GENDER*. He calls this dimension of difference the ‘semantic dimension’ which he defines as, quoting Coseriu (1975: 36) ‘what is common to the differences between these terms, i.e. to their distinctive features’ (quoted in Mettinger 1994: 65).

Contrasting pairs of lexemes are therefore systemic opposites ‘if they can be traced back to an archisememe that fulfils the task of acting as basis of comparison, and if they differ with regard to one semantic dimension which acts as a basis for the differences between them’ (1994: 66).

In Figure 4.1 I illustrate the two relations in figure 4.1 using Mettinger’s terminology³:

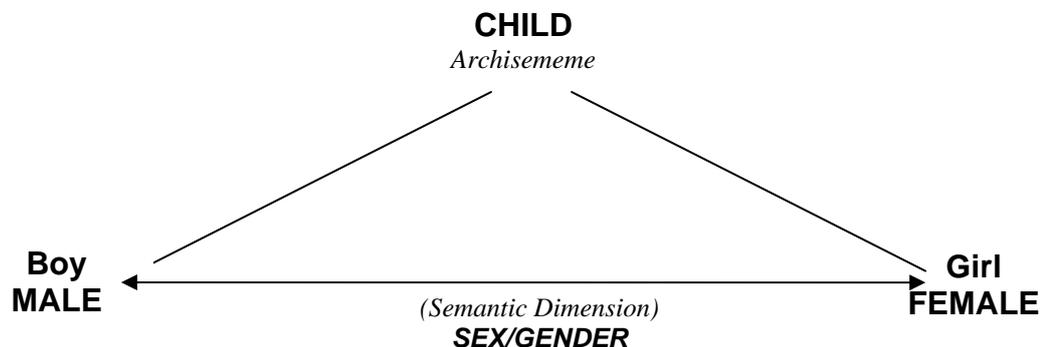


Figure 4.1 – the relationship between archisememe and semantic dimension in a systemic opposition according to Mettinger

We can easily exemplify the difference between the archisememe and semantic dimension by retaining the semantic dimension of *SEX / GENDER* and changing the words at either end of the dimension to ‘**brother**’ / ‘**sister**’ or ‘**man**’ / ‘**woman**’. This would change the archisememe to SIBLING and ADULT of which they are both examples respectively.

4.2.1.2 'Common integrators' and non-systemic opposites

'Non-systemic' opposition does not, according to Mettinger, utilise the archisememe as the basis for comparison. Instead, the X/Y pair can be regarded as 'conjuncts in coordinate structures' which have a 'common integrator, which fulfils the task of acting as the basis of comparison' (1992: 71). The difference between an archisememe and a 'common integrator' is that the former is 'established on intralinguistic, functional grounds' and the latter can 'take recourse to various sorts of pragmatic information as well' (1994: 71). Mettinger borrows the term 'common integrator' from Lang (1984) who argues that when a word like 'book' enters into a co-ordinate structure as a conjunct, the two words will be bound by the common integrator, and in doing so 'the semantic interpretation of *book* will be richer than the one specified in the lexicon' (Lang 1984: 29, quoted in Mettinger 43). Although no example is given, presumably what he means is that in the examples 'I'd like that book', and 'I'd like a book *not* a computer game', in the latter example 'book' takes on additional meaning over and above its dictionary sense because it is conjoined with 'computer game' by '*not*'. The common integrator might therefore be LEISURE ACTIVITY GOODS, with the sense of book specifically as something to use for leisure rather than for a range of other functions which books can have. Lang argues that the connectors (like '*not*') have the 'language-bound capability of triggering a certain sequence of mental operations' on the conjunct-meanings, and as a result a common integrator is established (1984: 69, in Mettinger 1994: 44). The common integrator is:

[...] a conceptual entity which encompasses the conjunct-meanings in that the entities represented therein are deemed to be exemplifications of this CI [...] within the domain defined by the CI, the entities represented in the conjunct-meanings are brought into a specific relationship with each other according to the particular meaning of the connector.

(Lang, 1984: 72, in Mettinger 1994: 44).

Furthermore, the common integrator relies on ‘operations supplying contextual information or providing evaluations and frames of reference from general knowledge of the world, from belief-systems etc’ (Lang, 1984: 72 in Mettinger 1994: 44).

Mettinger argues that ‘in contradistinction to systemic opposites, where the archisememe acts as the basis of comparison, non-systemic opposites display a wide variety of possible common bases’ (1994: 69). Unfortunately, although Mettinger provides 25 data extracts (mainly from Agatha Christie novels) in the section entitled ‘Non-systemic Semantic Opposition’ (1994: 69-74), nowhere does he actually describe what the common integrators that relate non-systemic oppositions, or ‘contrast on the level of parole’ (1994: 69) might be, despite the claim that his study is one of ‘opposites in context’ (1994: 36).

4.2.1.3 A false dichotomy

The distinction between systemic and non-systemic oppositions is unhelpful, especially if no concrete evidence is given for the differing bases of equivalence which bond members of a pair. The implied qualitative semantic differences between them rest on the assumption that semantic relations and indeed the senses of words can exist outside of and independently of spoken and written language. This does of course beg the question of how words and word meanings ever change if language use (‘parole’) does not interact with the system it draws from. Thibault (1997) attempts to draw attention to those who he claims oversimplify Saussure’s ‘**langue**’ / ‘**parole**’ distinction by drawing a false dichotomy between them. He says that Saussure never claimed that the social (exemplified by ‘langue’) and the individual (‘parole’) were opposed to each other (1997: 113). Society consists of individuals who draw from the available resources in the language system and in turn the system is modified through use. Mettinger oversimplifies the distinction

presupposing that ‘langue’ and ‘parole’ inhabit different universes, so that the oppositions that exist in each are constructed from different material. However it cannot be denied that what is compelling about his argument is that most users of a language (English in this case) will instantly agree that the opposite of ‘**boy**’ is ‘**girl**’ and the opposite of ‘**hot**’ is ‘**cold**’, and probably have no difficulty in articulating the relations of equivalence as CHILD and TEMPERATURE, if asked in lay language. On the other hand, it is unlikely that anybody would respond with ‘**ruptured spleen**’ as the opposite of ‘**clotted cream**’, unless they had participated in the anti-war demonstration of which this was a slogan (or read the news report of the protest) and then stored it in memory.

The stance taken in this thesis, supporting that of Murphy (2003), is that *all* instances of opposition are based on the same principles regardless of their systematicity (or canonical status). However, canonical relations do play a key role in our processing of non-canonical oppositions, as Section 4.3 will show.

4.2.2 The necessity for a qualitative approach

The approach adopted by Mettinger has produced a valuable list of syntactic frames for the triggering of oppositions, which has been built on by Jones (2002) (see Chapter Three). However, the overemphasis on logging these frames as well as the assumed context-less semantic features of the oppositional pairs has been at the expense of any kind of qualitative analysis of the potentially rich data Mettinger provides. Indeed, the fact that his data is taken from crime novels seems to be incidental. Replacing them with the sleeve notes from music CDs or any other genre could produce the same results but shed no further light on how we might understand individual instances of oppositional pairs, without taking a detailed look at some of the examples in context. Consequently, the results of Mettinger’s thesis, a chapter entitled ‘Central Oppositeness of Meaning:

Analyses' (1994: 94-147), consists of 161 oppositional pairs randomly taken from the 1972 edition of *Roget's Thesaurus*. Moreover, he cannot provide instances of all of these pairs in his crime fiction data. Of those that he *can* find, many of them do not even co-occur in the same extract, existing on their own and hence not being triggered into opposition by an appropriate syntactic frame. In the main there is no comment on the role of the pairs in the examples which do provide them and the only additional information given that is of any real value is his attempt to lexicalise the semantic dimension on which they lie. So for instance, on the pairing '**order**' / '**disorder**', the semantic dimension given is 'IRREGULARITY OF ARRAY', the pair is classed as gradable ('scalar'), and the following textual example is given: 'The room was in a state of **wild disorder**, clothes were flung about right and left, a suitcase and a hat box, half-packed, stood in the middle of the floor' (emphasis in original) (1994: 133). Note that 'order' does not appear in the example and no further comment is given. Curiously, despite the lengths to which Mettinger had gone to differentiate between systemic and non-systemic oppositions on the basis of archisememes or common integrators, none of these is logged (only the semantic dimensions are described), possibly highlighting the difficulty in articulating the relation of equivalence in some instances, especially with abstract nouns like '**order**' / '**disorder**'.

The next section therefore is an attempt to fill that gap with an analysis of just one example from Mettinger's own data. From this we can start to draw some conclusions about which are the most useful models in tackling the news data in the rest of this thesis.

4.2.3 *Using Mettinger's data*

One of the examples of a non-systemic opposition given by Mettinger is the following, taken from Agatha Christie's novel *A Pocketful of Rye*:

4.1 ‘Mind you, I don’t think Rex would have actually murdered MacKenzie, but he might have left him to die. The same thing before the **Lord**, but not the same thing before the **law**. If he did, retribution’s caught up with him[...]’.

(from Mettinger 1994: 69)

This section utilises Example 4.1 to show how it is possible to understand the pair ‘**the Lord**’ and ‘**the law**’ as oppositions in this case. It is a good example of a pair which fit into the X/Y slot of an ‘X [but] not Y frame’. Mettinger would describe the commonalities between the pair as a ‘common integrator’ (as opposed to an ‘archisememe’). Unfortunately, the absence of comment by Mettinger on this or any other of his examples means we are left to draw our own conclusions as to what this might be. Neither is there any recognition of other possible oppositional triggers, and indeed other possible oppositional pairings which may contribute to the meanings of ‘**the Lord**’ and ‘**the law**’ as opposites.

4.2.3.1 *The conceptual basis of ‘the Lord’ and ‘the law’ as opposites in context*

Taken out of context it would be difficult to ascertain the semantic basis for treating as opposites **the Lord**, as a synonym for God and **the law**, an institution that deals with legal matters, although it is possible to see how they are related as authorities with power over individuals.

However, we need to ascertain relations of similarity and difference to be sure they can be a genuine opposition. Sticking for now to Mettinger’s terminology, and taking them in their context, it is possible to surmise that one ‘common integrator’ would be the power of each to hold judgement over those who have committed a crime, in this case ‘Rex’ who it seems the speaker is considering responsible for murder or negligence leading to murder. For want of a better description, we could call this common integrator JUDGEMENTAL

AUTHORITIES of which ‘**the Lord**’ and ‘**the law**’ act like co-hyponyms. The level at which they differ – the ‘semantic dimension’ (again, using Mettinger’s terminology) – is based on the fact that ‘**the Lord**’ inhabits a world other than earth (heaven), and the law is very much a constituent of earthly matters. This is difficult to lexicalise precisely but it could be described as *MATERIALITY*, whereby ‘**the Lord**’ is defined by his absence of materiality and ‘**the law**’ is a material force based in the real world. I will argue later on that it might be possible we may only process ‘**the Lord**’ and ‘**the Law**’ as opposites in this context if we recognise them as sub-categories of the more canonical oppositions **HEAVENLY** and **EARTHLY** (forces), both which have the power to judge the behaviour of humans. These higher level concepts mediate between the textual examples and the common integrator, acting as co-hyponyms in relation to the common integrator, and hyperonyms in relation to the text. Diagrammatically the relationship might look something like that in Figure 4.2:

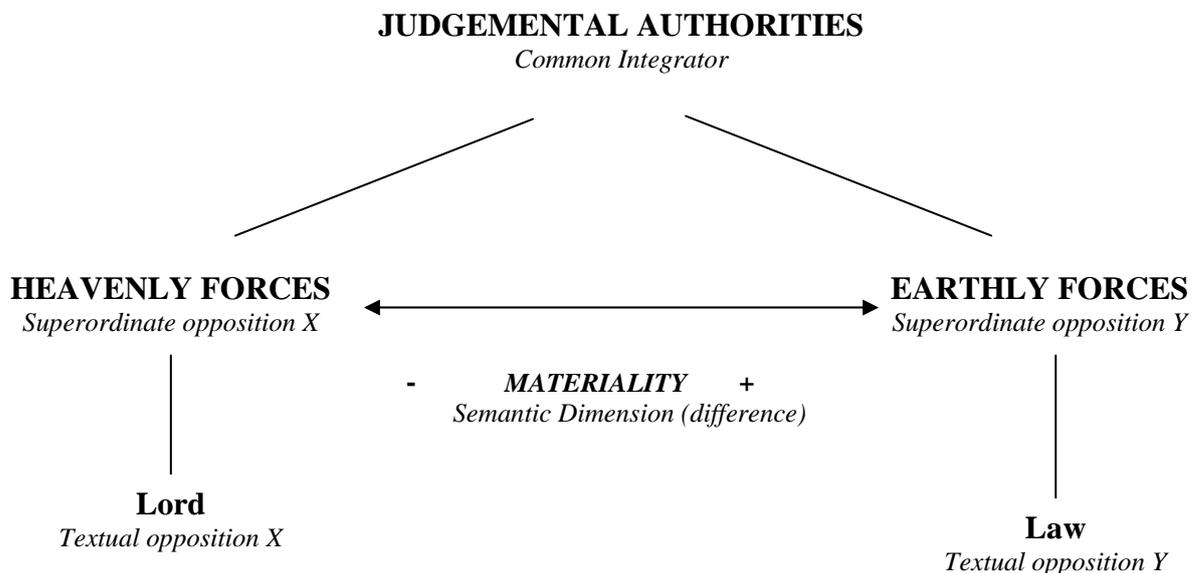


Figure 4.2 – a diagrammatic representation of the ‘**Lord**’ / ‘**law**’ opposition

It is difficult to decide whether the common integrators in Figures 4.2 and 4.3 are actually worth separating into two as one could argue that the METHODS FOR EVALUATING AND ENFORCING DECISIONS is automatically subsumed under the category of JUDGEMENTAL AUTHORITIES as this is what the latter usually entails. Nevertheless it is clear that there are at least two clear semantic dimensions, the level at which the authority is material, and the level which determines to what extent the decision made should be institutionally determined. This does of course problematise claims made that opposition is based on just *one* dimension of difference, but also raises the question of how possible it is to quantify dimensions which are ultimately an imperfect linguistic expression of what occurs in the mind. There is no space here to deal with this issue, suffice to say that it must be emphasised that the conceptual levels described here can only be linguistically expressed very imprecisely, being only an interpretation of how they might operate. This is based on the widely-attested view that there is not a simple one-to-one correspondence between words and concepts. The number of concepts is potentially limitless whilst there are only a finite number of words to represent them. This will be examined in more detail in the discussion on Murphy's views in section 4.4.

This section has tried to show how we can apply Mettinger's concept of a common integrator and semantic dimension to one of his own non-systemic examples introducing the idea that we might process them by assimilating layers of more prototypical conceptual oppositions and the relations of equivalence and difference which comprise them. This approach relies on treating systemic and non-systemic oppositions (canonical and non-canonical) as having fuzzy boundaries and in a dialectical relationship with each other, rejecting Mettinger's belief that their basis is qualitatively different.

4.2.3.2 Phonological triggers of 'the Lord' and 'the law' as opposites in context

So far we have dealt with the meanings of the words in a contrastive relationship and the concepts they refer to. However, there are properties other than semantic ones which can also influence the strength of an opposition and to which Mettinger pays little attention. This 'semi-semanticity' is one of nine properties of semantic relations outlined by Murphy (2003). This includes the grammatical and morphological form of the words and also their phonological nature. She claims:

If we look hard enough at the semantics of the related words in these examples, we might find that semantic properties are sufficient to explain some of the preferences for one antonym or synonym over another. But the non-semantic factors may still have a role in making the words seem more semantically similar [...] a theory of semantic relations must explain why non-semantic factors sometimes play a role in allegedly semantic relations. In a principle-based account, this means that the rules for word relation need to have access to the form and grammatical properties of the words as well as their semantic properties...'

(Murphy 2003: 35)

This is clearly the case in '**the Lord**' / '**the law**' example analysed in the previous section, where the phonological relationship between the pair is not difficult to detect. This example is replicated again below:

4.1 'Mind you, I don't think Rex would have actually murdered MacKenzie, but he might have left him to die. The same thing before the **Lord**, but not the same thing before the **law**. If he did, retribution's caught up with him...'

(from Mettinger 1994: 69)

We can apply some of the same principles to the phonological qualities of the words as that of the *semantic* relations between them, such as the relationship of equivalence and

difference. They are equivalent in that the first two phonemes of each word are /lo:/ therefore functioning like a common integrator. The only phoneme that separates them is the addition of /d/ in ‘Lord’, so we could argue that the dimension of difference (not semantic in this case) is ‘USE OF /d/’ (see Figure 4.4). The pronunciation does not directly contribute to the opposition at a conceptual level, as the sound-meaning correspondences are purely arbitrary – i.e. there is nothing inherently Lord or law-like in the syllable /lo:/. However the reader is likely to make an additional oppositional connection between them owing to the context in which they are used, including being in an ‘X [*but*] not Y’ frame, and so the validity of the opposition is strengthened further.

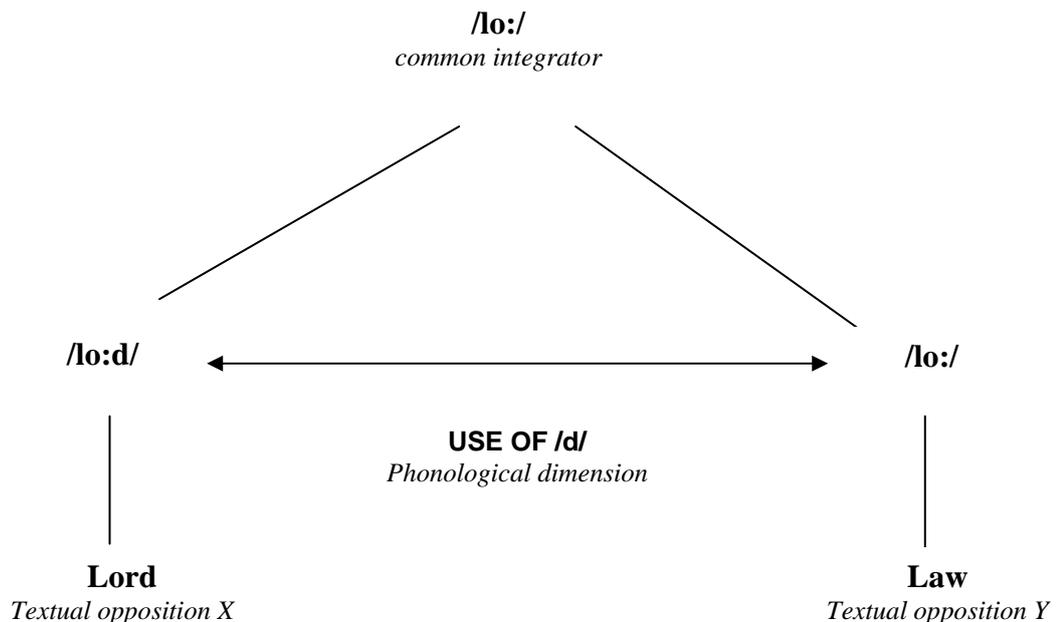


Figure 4.4 - a diagrammatic representation of the ‘Lord’ / ‘law’ opposition at the phonological level

4.2.3.3 Other contextual influences on ‘the Lord’ and ‘the law’ as opposites

It is debatable to what extent it is possible or necessary to take other contextual factors into account in processing the opposition. Maybe text which is further away from the pair is less likely to have an influence, although if novels are the genre as they are here,

The significance of this opposition occurring in the sentence before ‘**the Lord**’ / ‘**the law**’ pairing which Mettinger highlights is two-fold.

Firstly ‘**left him to die**’ has more negative resonance by being associated with ‘**murder**’ as it places it in the category of WAYS OF KILLING A HUMAN. If the speaker had said: ‘I think Rex might have left him to die’, the responsibility on Rex for the death of this person becomes less clear as the common integrator would not exist.

Secondly, the ‘**Lord**’ / ‘**law**’ sentence would make little sense without the previous opposition to refer to, as the speaker of the dialogue is him/herself commenting on the fact that morally the two actions are equivalent to the extent they are the same in the eyes of the Lord (therefore *not* opposites) whilst legally they differ on at least one semantic dimension (*DEGREES OF ACTIVE CONTRIBUTION [...]*). So they are opposite before the law but not opposite under God. So part of the meaning of the ‘**Lord**’ / ‘**law**’ opposition is that the latter believes in an opposite whereas the former does not.

4.2.4 Blurring the boundaries

The analysis of Mettinger’s example above is an attempt to demonstrate that the principles that determine relations between a pair comprising a ‘systemic’ opposition and those of a ‘non-systemic’ one are not fundamentally different. This may seem like unnecessary hair-splitting. However, the implication of separating them by claiming their relation of equivalence is qualitatively different (‘archisememe’ versus ‘common integrator’) is that the former have more viability as opposites and are therefore somehow ‘better’ examples of them. As shown in Section 2.6, some studies of opposites insist on this kind of evaluation and in doing so ignore the wealth of context-dependent oppositions that exist in language use.

Mettinger's distinction is also tautological in that he is claiming that what constitutes a systemic oppositional pair is that they share an archisememe, and an archisememe is that which binds a systemic pair. If this is the case, there can be no room for new oppositions to become systemic. However, if one accepts that language is fluid and dynamic and that new oppositions can enter the canon (as undoubtedly must be the case), then according to Mettinger's distinction the relationship of equivalence on which it rests must shift from one ('common integrator') to one of a different nature ('archisememe'), which lacks logic.

It is far more productive to work on the basis that there is a seamless cline from canonical to non-canonical oppositions (although this is very likely unquantifiable) and assume the same semantic principles apply to them all. This means that new and obscure ones triggered by a variety of syntactic frames are equally viable and worthy of analysis. In fact, by their very nature, non-canonical oppositions are unlikely to be permanently stored in the memory.

Murphy's (2003) belief in the context-based nature of semantic relations is particularly pertinent to the 'single principle' approach. This is summarised in the next section which is followed by an analysis of examples from the news data adopting much of the outlook to which she subscribes.

4.3 Murphy's contextual approach to oppositional relations

Murphy's work on semantic relations attempts to establish that whilst word meanings in context and the relations they exhibit between them are potentially infinite, they are also guided by general principles and conventions. In doing so she manages to describe the dynamics between the language system and language use. And although she applies these

to all the key semantic relations (synonymy, hyponymy, meronymy) she takes a particular interest in antonymy owing to the controversy it generates.

It is impossible to summarise all the complexities of her work here, but the issues she deals with which are relevant to this study are: the extent to which antonymy is mainly a relation among words or among concepts (or ‘word-concepts’); whether it is possible to generate an infinite number of new non-canonical oppositions or simply learn them from the canon and store them in memory; how we might generate these non-canonical examples from a universal principle; the flexible nature of word senses and the influence of context on their individual meaning and their meanings in opposition to others.

It is noticeable that the questions Murphy poses are treatable themselves as if they were a choice between two sets of incompatible principles. These might be crudely summarised in Table 4.1 below:

Issue dealt with	Approach 1	Approach 2
Where do semantic relations lie?	words	concepts
How do we assimilate semantic relations?	memory	derived from rules
What are the principles which help describe semantic relations?	number of bounded categorisable principles	one general principle
To what extent do semantic relations rely on context?	context-independent	context-dependent
Which examples are viable as representative of those relations?	canonical	all types – canonical and non-canonical

Table 4.1 –two approaches to lexical semantic relations

These two approaches might be even more simplistically summarised as ‘closed system’ (Approach 1) versus ‘open system’ (Approach 2). The value of Murphy’s work is that she avoids the temptation to subscribe to the absolute primacy of one over the other, perceiving

(unlike Mettinger), how they both feed into each other. She does however, emphasise the value of Approach 2 over Approach 1.

Key to Murphy's theory of semantic relations is that they are a *predictable* relation among word meanings and the concepts they represent from which it is possible to generate new ones, rather than just an arbitrary relation among words in the lexicon, stored in the memory and re-articulated at the appropriate time. Those that are stored in the memory are more likely to be canonical as they are those which are regularly used amongst a speech community as part of their shared language resource. It is worth quoting Murphy at some length here:

The contrast between canonical and non-canonical relations is easily accounted for if one assumes that these relations constitute knowledge about words. Our conceptual representation of the world (and hence our concepts of words as part of the world) is dynamic and composed of both remembered facts and derived inferences [...] Canonical antonyms (like *up* and *down*) and similar relational sets (like *gin* and *tonic*) may exemplify the type of remembered fact that is represented in the conceptual store. Nevertheless these relations are still consistent with Relation by Contrast (RC). So, I may know the fact that *up* is the antonym of *down* either because I was taught this fact once and now remember it, or because I initially derived the antonymic relation between them myself – by realizing that the two words stand for things that are minimally different – and I may then have stored this information about those words. The *up/down* relation became part of my antonym canon when my first experiences of its antonymy (either independently derived or taught) were reinforced by further experience of *up/down* antonymy, including antonym lessons in kindergarten and exposure to co-occurrences of the words in utterances (including my own).

(Murphy 2003: 47-8)

We might therefore treat ‘**up**’ and ‘**down**’ as oppositional because they are stored in a canon of set phrases and learnt and labelled ‘antonyms’, or we can consider them conceptually as examples of VERTICAL DIRECTIONS, differing on the dimension of *VERTICAL DIRECTION IN RELATION TO A BODY*. In the first example we remember ‘**up**’ and ‘**down**’ as opposites because the phrase is in common use, in the second we apply a principle which demonstrates how they are oppositional. Murphy is critical of those such as Charles and Miller (1989) and Justeson and Katz (1992) (see Section 2.6) who argue that we learn opposites from their regular co-occurrence alone. This however ‘fails to explain why the pairs originally began occurring’ (2003: 48).

The ‘Relation by Contrast’ principle which Murphy refers to in the quote above is applicable to *all* semantic relations. When applied to opposition, the principle is that ‘a lexical contrast set includes only word-concepts that have all the same contextually relevant properties but one’ (2003: 170). This goes some way towards explaining how words such as the colour ‘red’ have no one specific canonical opposite, but can be put into a number of context-specific oppositional relations which would not be particularly controversial. ‘**Red**’ for instance could contrast with ‘**green**’ in a set of traffic lights, ‘**white**’ when a type of wine and ‘**blue**’ when a political point of view. In each case the sense of the word varies according to that which it is contrasted with. However, as Murphy says, this information ‘is irrelevant to determining antonyms for *red* in other contexts’ (2003: 45). The reasons this happens are not arbitrary because we can apply the ‘Relation by Contrast’ rule. In the case of ‘red’ therefore the contextually relevant properties it share with the other colours would be TRAFFIC SIGNALS, WINE, and POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS respectively. The one property they do not have in common would be *TYPE OF INSTRUCTION*, *TYPE OF WINE*, and *IDEOLOGY*. As a general theory of opposites this matches the views of Lyons (1977), Cruse (1986), and even to a certain

extent Mettinger. The difference however is that the Relation by Contrast principle applies to *any* words which are placed in a position of opposition in context regardless of their canonical status.

What distinguishes antonymy from other relations such as hyponymy and meronymy, according to Murphy, is that ‘it can be as much a relation among words as it is a relation among concepts or denotata’ (2003: 169). This can be exemplified by the fact that antonyms appear in thesauruses, but hyponymy and meronymy are not really represented in lexical authorities to the same extent, if at all, and therefore do not tend to be seen as having canonical status. The oppositional relations among words specifically are generally taken to be those which are represented in the canon. However, although individual words are equivalent to certain concepts, there are an infinite number of concepts which cannot all be represented by individual words. This partially accounts for polysemy – the same word taking on a different but related sense. We use old words to represent new concepts. According to Murphy:

[...] the polysemy of words is limitless, and so the full array of word senses cannot be intralexically represented. Thus the number of possible antonyms [...] for a word is also potentially limitless, and so relations cannot be represented in the lexicon.

(Murphy, 2003: 30).

The implication of this for this study, although Murphy does not really cover this in any detail, is that some concepts can only be expressed linguistically as phrases or whole clauses, and whole phrases or clauses can represent a context-specific concept which consists of more general canonical concepts fused together. In the latter case this ‘novel’ concept relies on its meaning from the context in which it appears and the more general ones that comprise it cannot simply be separated out and matched against the individual

words which make up the phrase/clause. This is apparent in ‘**left him to die**’ in Example 4.1, which when contrasted with ‘**murdered**’, expresses the concept of PASSIVE (OR INDIRECT) WAY OF KILLING A HUMAN. We may even add to this ‘WHICH MAY BE JUDGED BY GOD AS MURDER BUT NOT BY THE LAW’.

However, if Murphy is correct and we have the capacity to potentially understand any words or phrases as oppositions because we have assimilated the rules that govern what constitutes oppositional relations, we are also constrained by the fact that whoever constructs oppositions, whether it be authors, journalists or politicians, draw on the same language resources as their addressees, otherwise their texts would make little sense. So when Agatha Christie wrote the dialogue which contrasted ‘**Lord**’ with ‘**law**’, she had to rely on the fact that her readers would have to have a shared set of oppositional concepts of which ‘**Lord**’ and ‘**law**’ were representative, for instance **HEAVEN / EARTH, SPIRITUAL / MATERIAL, INSTINCTIVE / RATIONAL, INDIVIDUAL / SOCIAL** and so on. This might help explain the dynamic between canonical and non-canonical oppositions. We can generate new instances of opposition, but they can only be understood as representative of oppositional concepts we can relate to. This is a similar principle to the one which determines that almost all new words are derived from morphemes which have already existing meanings. So if I claim somebody is a ‘spiderist’ (a word I have just made up), anybody hearing or reading it could have a good guess that I am either referring to somebody who discriminates against spiders (as in ‘*racist*’, ‘*sexist*’, and so on) or somebody with an interest in or subscribes to a philosophy relating to spiders (*socialist*, *capitalist*, *Buddhist*, *philatelist*, etc.). If however I had formed the concept, for instance, of somebody who discriminates against spiders and wanted to communicate this fact by referring to it as ‘spladmerge’, they would have great difficulty working out its meaning.

Murphy's work does not extend to examining the kind of complex and unusual examples examined in this thesis as hers is a more theoretical overview of all semantic relations, however the analysis partially stems from the general principles she espouses. The following quote provides an apt summary of some of the principles outlined here:

[...] semantic relations are not necessarily fixed in our minds, but can be generated as needed. Given the metalinguistic, conceptual nature of these relations, we should expect that the principles for deriving semantic relations are general cognitive principles rather than specifically linguistic principles [...] since some relational pairs are canonical, we must also have a means for storing some relations among words. However, such fixed representations must not interfere with the generation of new relations involving the same words. So, even though *wet* and *dry* are canonically opposed, we must allow for other context-specific antonymic pairings of these words, such as *dry/productive* in the description of coughs or the opposite of *wet* and *seasoned* in comparing novices and experts in the field.

(Murphy, 2003: 42-3)

One of the repercussions of the opposites in context studied in this thesis is whether unusual oppositional concepts themselves can be canonised, or at least intermittently popularised through for instance continual use in the media – e.g. **MUSLIMS / EVERYBODY ELSE**.

The next section is a brief explanation of my use of terminology and this is followed by an attempt to apply some of the principles outlined above to my own data.

4.4 Planes of Equivalence and Difference (PoDs and PoEs)

Before an analysis of five key examples from the news data it is necessary to clarify the terminology to be used.

The rejection of Mettinger's distinction between 'archisememe' and 'common integrator' necessitates adopting more appropriate terminology which encapsulates the commonalities between oppositional pairings. From this point onwards the term 'Plane(s) of Equivalence' (or 'PoE') will be utilised. This implies that the pair can co-exist in the same conceptual domain without the inflexibility that archisememe implies. Sometimes only one plane can be identified, but in others there are several planes which interact dynamically to produce very distinctive meanings. I prefer the term 'Plane of Difference' (PoD) over Mettinger's 'semantic dimension', as the latter does not make clear that this is the level on which they can be *differentiated*. For every PoE there is a corresponding PoD for each oppositional pair in the context in which they appear, although at times these are difficult to lexicalise for reasons previously explained. And it is the dynamic interrelationship between all of these which contribute towards how they might be understood and the influence they might have.

There is also a dynamic relationship between the semantic and *syntactic* properties which can trigger the oppositional meaning. Undoubtedly, owing to their canonical status, many pairs of words do not require one of the common syntactic frames for their oppositional meaning to be obvious. Take the following example: 'The bathwater is **hot**. Shall I put some **cold** in?' Our conventional knowledge of the two contrasting temperatures means their oppositional status is already clear. If the reply is 'I prefer my bathwater **hot not cold**' then it could be argued the opposition is more strongly emphasised by the syntactic frame 'X *not* Y' (see also Section 3.3.1).

However in the construction '**clotted cream not ruptured spleen**', the 'X *not* Y' frame plays a much stronger role in the triggering of the opposition, encouraging the addressee to treat them as opposites whereas in most other cases they probably would not. The following data has therefore been chosen specifically to give a range of canonical to non-

canonical oppositions which partly rely to greater or lesser extents on the syntactic frames to trigger the opposition.

4.5 News data examples

Below are five examples taken from the protest news data outlined in Chapter One. These provide the basis of the majority of the ensuing discussion on the conceptual relations between oppositional pairs.

In each case the example serves a rhetorical function designed to orientate an addressee towards one particular viewpoint and away from another through constructing oppositional pairings as if they were mutually exclusive. They include the directly represented speech of protagonists supporting their respective protests, slogans held aloft on banners and placards as reported by the press, and text written by the journalists themselves in the representation of the demonstrations. The examples have also been chosen to represent a range of levels of complexity, including the number of conceptual planes of equivalence and difference it is possible to determine and whether the pairs are instantiated as individual words, extended phrase or whole clauses. There is also a range in relation to the canonical status of those that form part of the pair. Some are more canonical than others (however this be determined) or contain one of the pair which has a canonical opposition very close in meaning to a less canonical one given in the text. Others rely on a great amount of inferencing or cultural background knowledge to be able to process the opposition.

Although the privileging of one of the oppositional pair over the other from the perspective of the writer/speaker will be explored in these examples, at this stage the context of the example as regards to its relation to the article as a whole will be largely left alone, as this will be the subject of Chapters Five and Six.

Below are the five textual examples which form the basis of the rest of this chapter:

4.2 “The Government was elected to **create unity** in this country and *not create division.*”

(*The Sun*, 23rd September 2002, page 4)

4.3 “Make **tea, not war**,” proclaimed another, over a picture of the Prime Minister with a gun in his hand and a teapot on his head.

(*Sunday Mirror*, 16th February 2003, page 2)

4.4 “*Leave us with **our cows***** and we will leave you to **your city bulls******.*”

(*The Sun*, 23rd September 2003, page 4)

4.5 The family took ages to get out of the station at Waterloo, walking behind a huge, stately puppet of George Bush and a placard belonging to a group called Cornish Ravers that said: “**Clotted cream not ruptured spleen**”.

(*Independent on Sunday*, 16th February 2003, page 4)

4.6 **The country people came to London to join in a well-organised, well-behaved march through the streets.** They *contrasted* dramatically with the **crowds who sat down for CND, or marched against the Vietnam war, in the days when the amplified voices of Michael Foot and Tony Benn filled Trafalgar Square and sent Leftwing pulses racing.**

(*Daily Mail*, 23rd September 2002, page 39)

4.5.1 Example 1 – ‘unity’ / ‘division’

4.2 “The Government was elected to **create unity** in this country and *not create division.*”

(*The Sun*, 23rd September 2002, page 4)

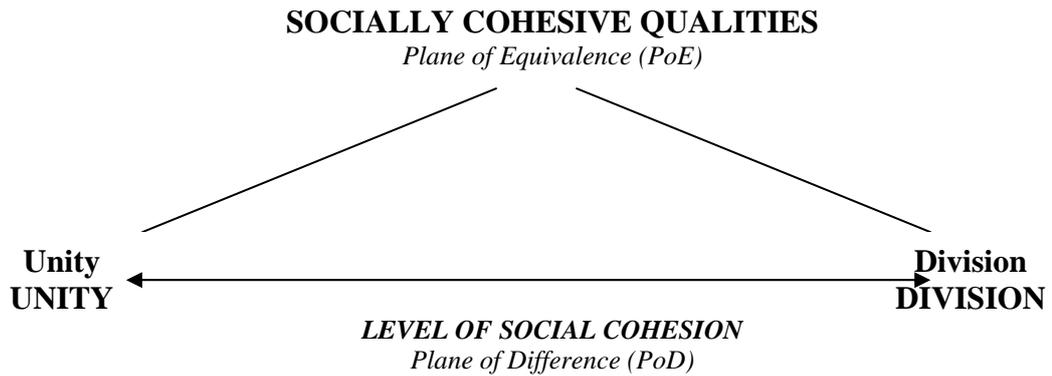


Figure 4.7– a diagrammatic representation of the PoE and PoD for the pair ‘unity’ / ‘division’ in context

There is at least one other PoE/PoD pairing which can be inferred from the context. This is that Hoey is clearly *privileging* ‘unity’ over ‘division’. She is addressing a crowd of Countryside Alliance supporters, warning them of the divisions between urban and rural areas which may result if a ban on fox-hunting (which she opposed) goes ahead. She is therefore indicating that ‘unity’ is far more ‘desirable’ than division, thus privileging unity. We could therefore add DESIRABILITY as a PoE and *LEVELS OF DESIRABILITY* as a PoD as an extra set of relations between the oppositional pair (see Figure 4.8).

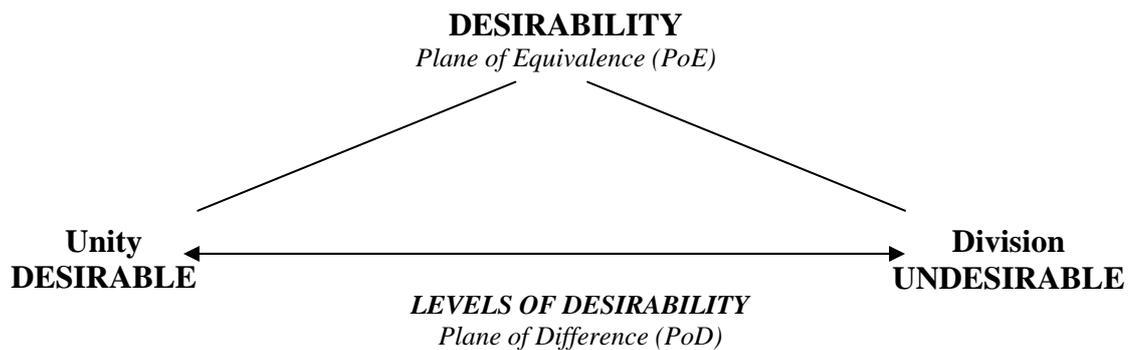


Figure 4.8 - a diagrammatic representation of an additional PoE and PoD for the pair ‘unity’ / ‘division’ in context

To understand the opposition generated, the addressee has to take all layers (represented by the diagrams) into account. We might crudely paraphrase the meaning generated as

‘Social cohesion is desirable. The lack of social cohesion is undesirable’. It has to be emphasised that the diagrams and the oppositional relations they represent are a very crude approximation of the way the opposition can be processed, and indeed it is possible we could add more layers, such as what the social cohesion represents specifically in this instance i.e. relations between the countryside and the government.

Section 2.4 dealt with some of the ways that oppositions have been categorised by lexical semanticists, one of the commonest divisions being that between gradable and non-gradable opposites. Note that ‘**unity**’ and ‘**division**’ are potentially conceptually gradable in that one can imagine partial ‘**unity**’ or ‘**division**’, although being measures of human behaviour, quantifying them objectively is highly problematic. However, what is important here, as with most of the examples represented, is that the two concepts are *treated* as mutually exclusive complementaries by the speaker. The speaker is actually being critical of her own government who are implementing the bill to ban fox-hunting, and is implying that if the bill is not rescinded the only alternative is division (not ‘partial division’). The motivation is clearly to use rhetoric as a kind of emotional blackmail by claiming that if the bill goes ahead, the only consequence will be the endpoint of the PoD scale represented by DIVISION, rather than somewhere in between.

4.5.2 Example 2 – ‘tea’ / ‘war’

4.3 “Make **tea**, *not* **war**,” proclaimed another, over a picture of the Prime Minister with a gun in his hand and a teapot on his head.

(*Sunday Mirror*, 16th February 2003, page2)

In the previous example the opposition expressed is potentially tautological in that ‘**unity**’ might be *equivalent* to ‘**not division**’ and vice versa because of the canonical status of the ‘**unity**’ / ‘**division**’ pair. But of course, as explained in Section 3.1.1, ‘*not Y*’ is included for rhetorical effect. However in the next example which also utilises the ‘*X not Y*’ frame, it is clear that the inclusion of ‘**not war**’ is essential for an opposition to be generated. It is unlikely that ‘make tea’ on its own could act as an anti-war slogan. What is interesting here is that ‘**war**’ does have its own canonical opposition and a slogan stating ‘we do *not* want war’ would more than likely encourage a reader to assume that the slogan writer therefore desires ‘**peace**’.

The slogan on a banner is reported in the *Sunday Mirror*’s report of the Stop the War Campaign’s demonstration against the invasion of Iraq in 2003. The sentence immediately prior to this relates another banner which reads ‘Notts County supporters say Make Love Not War’. The reader is therefore already prompted with the notion that protestors often use alternative words for ‘peace’ when demanding it as their preferred alternative to war. ‘Love’ and ‘tea’ are therefore symbolic of and therefore representative of PEACE in these contexts, triggered by their positioning in the ‘**X not war**’ frame. To fully understand the making of tea as a peaceful activity one has to engage with the resonances this has in British culture with its connotations of sociability and situations of calm.

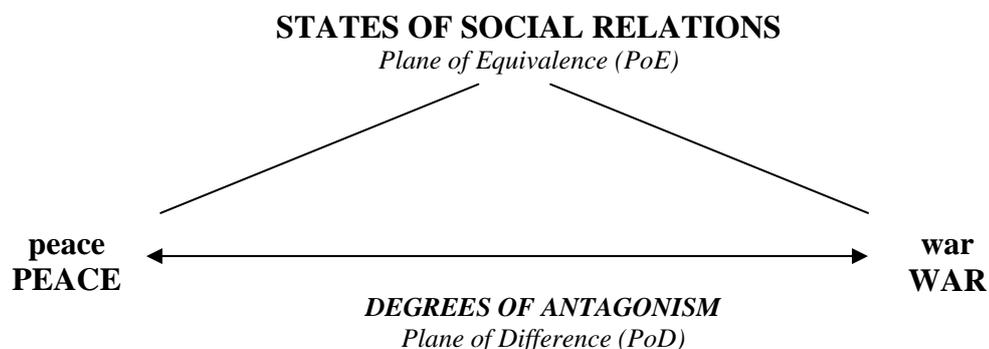


Figure 4.9 - a diagrammatic representation of the PoE and PoD for the canonical pair ‘war’ / ‘peace’

A model of the PoE and PoD for the canonical oppositions of ‘**peace**’ / ‘**war**’ might look something like that in Figure 4.9. However, because ‘**tea**’ is one of many potential substitutes for ‘**peace**’ in this frame it has an asymmetric relationship with ‘**war**’ in a conceptual hierarchy, i.e. **TEA** is in a subordinate role to **PEACE**, which itself is a co-hyponym of **WAR** (see Figure 4.10).

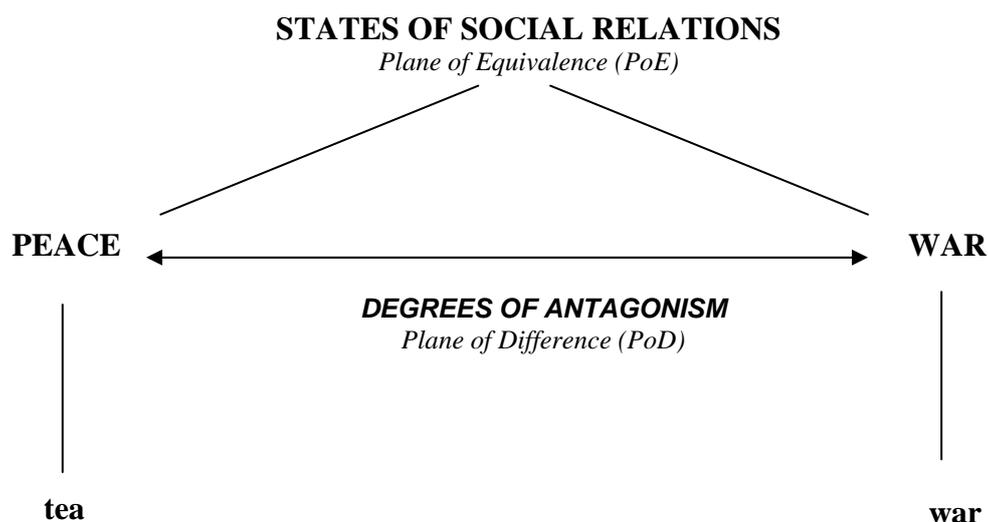


Figure 4.10 - a diagrammatic representation of the relationship between the lexical items ‘**tea**’ / ‘**war**’ and the canonical conceptual oppositions on which they are based

It is debatable whether we could treat TEA as a hyponym of PEACE - it is not *a kind of* peace, but it is a kind of activity *associated* with peace. It might be more fitting to describe it as a meronymic relationship (making tea is *part of* what happens in peaceful situations).

The substitution of ‘**peace**’ with a ritual usually associated with social interaction between individuals might also trigger another kind of opposition at the conceptual level whereby ‘**tea**’ would be at the same hierarchical level as ‘**war**’. This is exemplified in Figures 4.10 and 4.11 which show how ‘**tea**’ and ‘**war**’ can be equivalent and different in terms of the levels of intimacy they express as examples of human relationships, and the scale of the interaction. Expanding the web of meaning by substituting an unusual word in an oppositional pair for a canonical one, may have the effect of intensifying the message

4.5.3 Example 3 – ‘cowshit’ / ‘bullshit’

4.4 “Leave us with **our cows***** and we will leave **you** to **your** city **bulls*****”.

(*The Sun*, 23rd September 2003, page 4)

Example 4.4 consists of a slogan on a banner held by Countryside Alliance supporters and is taken from the same news report as Example 4.2. Unlike the previous example the opposed words are on the same level of the conceptual hierarchy. It is also different from Example 4.1 in that although they contain elements of canonicity (‘**cow**’ / ‘**bull**’), the addition of the morpheme ‘shit’ to these to create the compounds ‘**cowshit**’ / ‘**bullshit**’ make novel oppositions which clearly mean more than a simple contrast between the faecal matter of the female and male of the bovine species. The message is clearly antagonistic towards what the Countryside Alliance protestors perceive as interference by city dwellers and cleverly adapts canonical oppositions for humorous effect. What is interesting here is that ‘**cowshit**’ can be understood in both a literal and metaphorical sense, whilst ‘**bullshit**’, although it can undoubtedly exist in its literal sense, can only be interpreted metaphorically in this context i.e. derogatorily as ‘verbal nonsense’. This is an example of what Murphy calls ‘metaphorical extension’ whereby only one of an oppositional pair has a commonly understood metaphorical meaning, but its conventional opposite can also be used in certain instances to trigger the opposite *metaphorical* meaning. She gives the example of ‘hot’ which can be used colloquially to mean stolen (as in ‘that’s a hot car’). She cites Lehrer who creates the sentence ‘He traded in his **hot** car for a **cold** one’ (Lehrer 2002, in Murphy 2003: 33) (my emphasis).

Murphy says:

In this case, speakers choose not to elect a semantically appropriate opposite for this sense of hot (such as *non-stolen*), but instead to exploit what they and the hearers know about the word *hot*: that it is the canonical opposite of *cold*. Speakers can then use *cold* in a novel way, making an implicature based on the common knowledge that *hot* means ‘stolen,’ that *hot/cold* are antonyms (and are being semantically opposed in this context), and that antonymy involves minimal difference in meaning (thus the most likely relevant meaning for *cold* is ‘not-stolen’).

(Murphy 2003: 49)

So if we take ‘**cowshit**’ in its literal sense, it is clear that its literal opposite ‘**bullshit**’ makes little sense as there is no precedent for its association with the city, just like one is unlikely to talk about a car being ‘cold’ in terms of its temperature in the example given above. To understand it fully we therefore have to process its idiomatic meaning of ‘speaking nonsense’. In doing so, because it is placed in an oppositional frame we infer that ‘**cowshit**’ also means the opposite of nonsense (i.e. sense).

The opposition is enhanced by the syntactic patterning (see Section 3.3.7) and the ancillary pull (see Section 3.3.9) of the pronominals ‘**us**’ / ‘**you**’ and ‘**our**’ / ‘**your**’, to create a recognisable division between **RURAL** and **URBAN** ways of life. The pre-modification of ‘**bullshit**’ with ‘**city**’ underpins the fact that the first person possessive pronoun ‘**our**’ which pre-modifies ‘**cowshit**’ refers to the country dwellers, so the **RURAL** / **URBAN** dichotomy can be accessed. This is reinforced by the fact that ‘**cowshit**’ is a suitable symbol for country life and possibly also an ironic reference to the stereotypes that some urban dwellers might have of it.

So the full meaning of the opposition relies on a number of more conventional and overlapping superordinate oppositions at the conceptual level, including **RURAL** / **URBAN**, **FIRST PERSON** / **SECOND PERSON** and **SENSE** / **NONSENSE** (see Figures 4.13, 4.14 and 4.15).

Note that it is difficult to precisely define the PoE for the **RURAL / URBAN** opposite, as they describe landscapes, ways of life, the type of industry associated with ‘them and so on. However, considering they are canonical to the extent that they feature in Jones’ (2003) data of 56 conventional pairs, it would be interesting to know what in Mettinger’s terms would constitute their ‘archisememe’.

Although these diagrams are an extremely basic approximation of a hypothetical cognitive process, if we imagine them overlapping and interacting we can see how the message is designed to equate rural ways of life with common sense, and urban life with nonsense, again treated as mutually exclusive. The fact that the slogan is a plea to be left alone (‘leave us’) suggests that government interference (in the form of the ban on fox-hunting) is likely to upset the status quo so that ‘city bullshit’ taints the purity of the countryside.

4.5.4 Example 4 – ‘clotted cream’ / ‘ruptured spleen’

4.5 The family took ages to get out of the station at Waterloo, walking behind a huge, stately puppet of George Bush and a placard belonging to a group called Cornish Ravers that said: “**Clotted cream not ruptured spleen**”.

(Independent on Sunday, 16th February 2003, page 4)

This next example is fascinating because none of the words in the two noun phrases contain obvious canonical opposites (unlike the previous three examples), so our understanding of the contrast between them relies even more on contextual factors such as cultural insight and higher level canonical conceptual oppositions.

The knowledge that ‘**clotted cream not ruptured spleen**’ is a slogan on a placard at the Stop the War Coalition protest, makes the underlying anti-war message unmistakable. If,

as I have argued in Chapter Three, two items on either side of the negator ‘*not*’ will be treated as opposites, the challenge here is to show *how* they can be related in this way on a conceptual level by describing the PoEs and PoDs.

If we treat the noun phrases as one unit first, the ‘Cornish Ravers’ responsible for the slogan identifies them as from the South West of England (Cornwall) with which the product ‘**clotted cream**’ is particularly associated (as opposed to other kinds of cream) so this has particular collocational qualities. The fact that ‘**clotted cream**’ is often consumed with tea and scones makes it comparable to the ‘make **tea not war**’ slogan analysed above, being symbolic of pleasurable, sociable, and in this case regionally identifiable pastimes. A ‘**ruptured spleen**’ on the other hand is a painful and potentially life threatening injury. It is not difficult to comprehend therefore that the conceptual pair **PLEASURE / PAIN** are key elements of the way we might process the opposition, and therefore easily associated with peace and war. Their PoE in this case might be SENSATIONS and the PoD *DEGREES of PLEASURE (OR PAIN)*.

However, the pre-modifying adjectives ‘**clotted**’ / ‘**ruptured**’ also contribute as a separate pair in that something ‘**ruptured**’ is in a damaged or broken state, and something ‘**clotted**’ is bound together, so again at the conceptual level we might understand these as representing a **STRONG (STRUCTURE) / WEAK (STRUCTURE)** opposition, with a PoE of COHESIVE STRUCTURAL STATES and PoD as *DEGREES OF STRUCTURAL COHESION*.

Taking this one more step further it is possible to surmise that both ‘**cream**’ and ‘**spleen**’ have further idiomatic cultural references which could add to the positive and negative values being promoted in the slogan. ‘**Cream**’ is often used in the sense of being the best of its type, as in the phrase ‘cream of the crop’, so it could be inferred that its opposite is ‘the worst of its kind’. Additionally, the ‘**spleen**’ is often used as a symbol of

bad feeling or malevolence (e.g. ‘to vent one’s spleen’), so its opposite could be benevolence. We therefore have a kind of overlap of metaphorical extensions, whereby neither have a canonical lexical opposite when used as metaphors - unlike for instance ‘hot’ and ‘cold’ to mean **NEAR** and **FAR** in the game of hide-and-seek – but the oppositional meanings of each triggered by ‘not’ are roughly equivalent to the metaphorical meanings of their counterpart in the sense of having positive and negative connotations.

So far then we could argue that ‘**clotted cream**’ represents the positive concepts of **PLEASURE, SOCIABILITY, STRUCTURAL STRENGTH, QUALITY and BENEVOLENCE**, whilst **ruptured spleen** corresponds to **PAIN, ANTI-SOCIABILITY, STRUCTURAL WEAKNESS, POOR QUALITY and MALEVOLENCE**⁴. To grasp the full potential of the oppositional meaning it is necessary to map at least some or all of these oppositions at the conceptual level onto each other.

It is also worth considering factors of ‘semi-semanticity’ which also contribute to the triggering of the opposition. These exhibit similar characteristics to oppositions in that they consist of relations of equivalence and difference through the parallelism of their syntactic and phonological structures (see also the ‘**Lord**’ / ‘**law**’ example in Section 4.2.3.2)

Syntactically they are equivalent as noun phrases pre-modified by a single verb derived adjective (both ending in ‘-ed’). Phonologically there are equivalences in syllable number (*two syllable adjective + one syllable noun*), and in the nouns the only vowel phonemes in each word (/i:/) are the same. The last phonemes of each noun differ only in place of articulation, being both voiced and nasal, and so also sound very similar. ‘**Cream**’ and ‘**spleen**’ are therefore closely connected and simultaneously differentiated by factors other than their meanings.

To summarise, in this context, ‘**clotted cream**’ and ‘**ruptured spleen**’ are being treated as opposites, triggered by the ‘X *not* Y’ frame and related by a series of higher level canonical conceptual oppositions of which they are representative. Clearly, in the same fashion as some of the other examples, we can superimpose the evaluative qualities of **DESIRABLE / UNDESIRABLE** over the pair to show how it is that ‘clotted cream’, symbolising PEACE, is being privileged and promoted over its counterpart.

4.5.5 Example 5 – ‘country people[...] / [...] crowds who sat down for CND [...]’

4.6 **The country people came to London to join in a well-organised, well-behaved march through the streets. They contrasted dramatically with the crowds who sat down for CND, or marched against the Vietnam war, in the days when the amplified voices of Michael Foot and Tony Benn filled Trafalgar Square and sent Leftwing pulses racing.**

(*Daily Mail*, 23rd September 2002, page 39)

The examples analysed so far have consisted of syntactically symmetrical individual pairs (‘**unity**’ / ‘**division**’, ‘**tea**’ / ‘**war**’, ‘**cowshit**’ / ‘**bullshit**’, ‘**clotted cream**’ / ‘**ruptured spleen**’) whose triggering has been assisted either by ‘*not*’, or in the case of 4.3, a parallel structure. Their economical nature matches their function as succinct slogans suitable for writing in large type on banners and placards, or as soundbites for politicians. Example 4.5 however consists of much more extensive prose, written by the *Daily Mail* journalist John Mortimer and forming part of a 1500 word polemic overtly supporting the aims of the Countryside Alliance⁵. It is substantially more complex than the previous examples in that the pairs are syntactically asymmetrical – one consisting of a complete complex sentence and the other a lengthy complex noun phrase. However, the explicit

oppositional trigger (see Section 3.3.6) '*contrasted*' makes it clear that the writer is urging the reader to treat the information on each side - in this case descriptions of protest marches - as consisting of two extremes. Despite the fact there are no co-occurring canonical oppositional pairs represented on either side of the trigger, there are oppositional concepts which can be triggered, either because individual items do have canonical opposites, or are indicative of concepts which can be understood as oppositional.

The Countryside Alliance supporters who have travelled from rural areas to London to protest against a ban on fox-hunting are described as 'country people' who participated in a 'well-organised, well-behaved march'. This in itself would cast the marchers in a positive light. However in choosing to contrast their actions with that of anti-nuclear and anti-war marches in the past, the implication is that the latter were '*badly* organised' and '*badly* behaved' and this reinforces the support the reader is encouraged to have for the country marchers.. Similarly, describing the voices of Michael Foot, (former Labour Party leader) and Tony Benn (high profile anti-establishment Labour MP) as 'amplified' implies that the Countryside Alliance protestors were quiet. Note also that the 'Leftwing' protestors are referred to as '**crowds**', their anonymity contrasting with the more specific description of the pro-foxhunting marchers as '**country people**'.

Table 4.2 shows how both types of protestors might be perceived, with the textual examples in lower case type and the oppositional concepts which might be triggered in capitals. We can see how it is not only the rural protestors who might be inferred as being identifiable, quiet, calm well-organised/behaved, but also how by association, a way of life (RURAL) and broader ideological outlook (RIGHTWING) is portrayed in the same way. The same associative principles apply to those they are contrasted with, with the additional factor that protesting against nuclear weapons and the Vietnam war are treated with disdain.

The difficulty with this kind of example and others like it, is that other than ‘**country people**’ / ‘**crowds**’ there are no other obviously symmetrically opposed words or phrases. This might seem to be pushing to the limits what can credibly be counted as a viable opposition. However the argument in this thesis, following that of Murphy (2003) has been that although oppositions are most easily explained and comprehended when a) they are canonical and b) they are single lexical items which can be codified in thesauruses, oppositions are largely a conceptual phenomenon whose canonical lexical counterparts through tradition and convention just happen to be represented as individual words. Where there are frameworks with which it is customary to conjoin canonical oppositions represented as individual words, then the same structures will trigger oppositional concepts represented by the words that participate in the frame. Provided that it is possible to find a plane of equivalence and difference in each case, then they can be treated as oppositions.

Countryside Alliance protestors	Previous CND / anti-war protestors
country people (SPECIFIED)	crowds (UNSPECIFIED)
well-organised	BADLY ORGANISED
well-behaved	BADLY BEHAVED
QUIET	amplified (NOISY)
RIGHTWING	Leftwing
(CALM)	pulses racing (VOLATILITY)
RURAL	URBAN

Table 4.2 – the relationship between textually constructed oppositions and canonical conceptual oppositions in contrasting Countryside Alliance with anti-war protestors

In example 4.6 the oppositional concepts triggered are variable ways of representing what amounts to the same type of entity – people who are demonstrating in London against

Again, it is evident which of the pair is designed to elicit a favourable response from the reader. Furthermore, the nature of the opposition – as *constructed* for a very particular polemical purpose, reporting on a well-documented high profile event for a specific newspaper – needs to be stressed here. The country people being reported have been deliberately contrasted with just one of a whole range of protestors which they could be judged against, and treated as a homogenous group. They are treated as if they are one of two mutually exclusive forces, in order to put emphasis on what is already represented as their exemplary conduct and justified moral concern. The ideological significance of this is self-evident.

4.6 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to show how words, phrases and clauses, when placed in a position of opposition, can be processed as opposites at the conceptual level. This has been guided by the theory that all kinds of oppositions, regardless of their canonicity, have their basis in the same principles for opposition-formation – they relate on planes of equivalence and difference. This implies that oppositions are largely conceptual phenomena, although canonical oppositions, which are stored in the lexicon, and therefore refer to equivalent canonical concepts, are necessary for addressees to understand the opposition, sharing as they do, the same language resources. I have also worked on the principle that the canon is an open system, subject to variation, and hence canonical oppositions have no qualitatively different foundation than non-canonical ones.

I have used this hypothesis to analyse a series of textual examples from the news reports of two major protest marches, with a view to showing how oppositions can be constructed textually for rhetorical purposes, in ways that can privilege one of the pair over the other.

This is often achieved by creating artificial mutual exclusivity between groups of people and other concepts and entities, thereby pushing them into positions of extreme negativity or positivity.

The ideological repercussions of this will be taken up in the next two chapters which involve a detailed analysis of the reporting of the two protests in three news reports, and the ways that people and situations are represented in a dichotomous fashion by the use of non-canonical oppositions.

Notes

¹CDA tends to take the position that there is no such thing as a ‘neutral’ context.

²Concepts indicating relations of equivalence are in upper case, and those indicating relations of difference in upper case italics. Where these concepts are indicated as part of a co-occurring oppositional pair they are also in bold.

³Later on in the thesis I change these terms to Planes of Equivalence (PoEs) and Planes of Difference (PoDs).

⁴The creation of a PoD and PoE diagram for every example is unnecessary – the same principles apply across the board.

⁵A full analysis of this article forms part of Chapter Six.

The role of clustered oppositions in the representation of anti-war protestors in a news report

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapters focused on general theories of opposition, such as the type of phenomena it is, how it might be triggered contextually, and the relationship between canonical and non-canonical ones. Although the examples explored so far have been analysed taking all immediate aspects of their context into account, as yet the significance of constructed oppositions as regards a complete text has not yet been investigated. The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate how clusters of oppositions concentrated in a news article can make a fundamental contribution to the ideological viewpoint underlying the rhetoric of the text (in the case of news articles). It also provides the opportunity to test the approach to oppositions expressed in the previous chapters. For instance, one of the advantages of cataloguing common syntactic frames is that the analyst can search a text for the frames and in doing so find unusual oppositions which may not have been apparent initially owing to their non-canonical nature. This has certainly been the case with the news article analysed here. The opportunity is also provided to investigate whether the canonical oppositional concepts which seem to contribute to a reader's understanding of

non-canonical oppositional text, reappear throughout the text and so contribute to rhetorical and therefore ideological cohesion.

This chapter therefore consists mainly of an analysis of six related examples of context-dependent oppositions taken from one news report whose role, it will be argued, is to construct groups of protestors into two distinct mutually exclusive types. There is also an interpretation of the way one type of group is consistently privileged over the other and aligned with the dominant ideological view expressed by the text, utilising the common ‘us’ / ‘them’ binary (briefly explored in the introduction to Chapter One). These broader issues will be developed further in Chapter Eight.

5.2 Summary of the *Sunday Mirror* report

The data itself consists of a 1,400 word report on the Stop the War Coalition anti-war demonstration taken from the 16 February 2003 edition of the UK newspaper the *Sunday Mirror* (this article is reproduced at the end of the chapter, and also in the appendix). The demonstration of the previous day, at the time (and still to date) was the largest ever recorded protest on British soil and inevitably dominated the news, including all the national press reports (further background to the demonstration is provided in Section 1.3.2.2.).

Whilst the broadsheet newspapers *The Guardian* and *Independent* gave space for opinion which was critical of the proposed US and UK intervention in Iraq, the *Mirror* newspaper was unusual in that it took a *consistent* editorial stance against going to war and thereby publicly backed the aims of the demonstrators. For instance, its front page headline the day before the demonstration on Valentines Day (14th February) was ‘Make Love not War’ alongside a mocked up photograph of Tony Blair and George Bush locked in a

passionate kiss. However, as I will show, the article analysed here, which was the main news report of the demonstration, takes great pains to avoid aligning the writer, and hence the *Sunday Mirror* editorial board and its readership, with groups of protestors whose aim it is implied, may be to see the demonstration as a means of bringing down the Blair government (who the *Daily Mirror* previously consistently backed) rather than the more modest aim of opposing the government on this one issue.

The report is on page 2 of the *Sunday Mirror*, is supported by a whole page of captioned photographs on page 3, and is the lead report of the day. The front page has no report as such dominated as it is by a photograph showing the impressive size of the demonstration. Superimposed over this, at the bottom of the page in block capitals is the headline ‘2M SAY NO’. This is in white lettering on a black box, within which also contains a head shot of Tony Blair with his hands over his ears and the unattributed words ‘Are you deaf Mr Blair?’ in a smaller typeface to the headline. Underneath, in even smaller capitals is ‘THE BIG DEMO: SEE PAGES 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 & 9’, highlighting the importance the newspaper attached to the protest.

The article itself is headed ‘LISTEN TO US’ in large capitals, underneath which are two bullet pointed declarations (smaller typeface) ‘2m join historic demo’ and ‘Britain says no to war’. Running along the top of pages 2 & 3 is the strapline ‘THE PEOPLE’S MARCH: (on page 2) and ‘A TIDE OF PROTEST (page 3), and further down ‘Britain says no to War’. Both the newsworthiness and the positive stance towards the protest are signalled for instance by the way the first person plural pronoun in ‘Listen to Us’ is unattributed and therefore will be interpreted as being from the perspective of the newspaper with the inclusion of the readership. The implication also in ‘Britain says no to war’ is that the whole of the nation is opposed to the war. This clearly cannot literally be

the case but it does indicate the strength of opposition - along with the premodifier in 'historic demo' – that the *Sunday Mirror* believes exists at the time.

The report is a description of the event from the point of view of writer Tony Rennell and could be classed as an example of a typical 'eye-witness account' news story. This particular sub-genre of news reporting is, according to Van Dijk (1988: 86) 'the ultimate warrant of truthfulness [...] The immediacy of the description and the closeness of the reporter to the events is a rhetorical guarantee for the truthfulness of the description and, hence, the plausibility of the news.' The events in the report and the way they are represented may also be given extra integrity in the crediting of Rennell at the end of the article as 'co-author with John Nichol of *The Last Escape*, the story of Allied prisoners of war in Germany 1944-45' and so highlighting his expertise in war-related matters.

In the report, Rennell describes the enormity of the demonstration, the strength of feeling expressed against Downing Street, and the speeches made in the Hyde Park Rally where the march finished. He puts particular emphasis on applauding what he represents as the genuine voice of the 'British people', whereby people of all ages, races and creeds make a legitimate moral stand against the elected government of the day. To qualify this however, certain people on the march are represented as not being eligible to be categorised this way, and so are excluded from being celebrated as legitimate protestors. The representation of the brand of protestor on the march is in the main achieved through the utilisation of mutually exclusive constructed binaries.

Table 5.1 illustrates the oppositional pairings in the article which construct the protestors into two groups. It is evident - even without seeing these examples in context - how words with negative connotations¹ ('**The Mob**', '**anarchists**', '**traitors**', '**cowards**', '**fainthearts**', '**extremists**') are contrasted with those who *Mirror* readers would feel more

comfortable aligning themselves (‘ordinary people’, ‘worried mums and dads’, ‘Joe Public’).

Acceptable protestors (US)	Unacceptable protestors (THEM)
sheer power of numbers	The Mob.....thoughts of violence
ordinary people	militants, anarchists, anti-capitalists and anti-Americans..... “the great unwashed”
Worried mums and dads of all ages, all races and religions.....people who have come to express a genuine feeling.....	traitors....cowards....fainthearts
Joe Public	extremists
cobbled together	professionally-produced
banners	placards
Notts County supporters	protest groups
“Notts County Supporters say Make Love Not War”	fierce messages – “Blair and Bush – Wanted for Murder”

Table 5.1 – a summary of the constructed oppositions that contribute towards the construction of ‘us’ / ‘them’ identities in the Sunday Mirror’s report of the anti-war demonstration

Each of these examples will be analysed in their context. One of the aims is to show how the writer uses oppositions for both *exclusive* and *inclusive* purposes. In other words, two groups are constructed as *dissimilar* to the extreme (at either ends on a plane of difference), whilst within the category of ‘legitimate’ protestors there are groups of protestors represented at the extremes of other PoDs (such as CLASS, RACE and AGE), to show how socially representative the demonstration was.

Below are reproduced the paragraphs under analysis in the order they appear in the news article along with the paragraph number (the article is 37 paragraphs long). The

paragraphs attempting to distinguish between acceptable and unacceptable protestors will be dealt with first, followed by the ones with an inclusive function.

5.1 In years gone by, governments were always wary of what they called The Mob. Governments should still be frightened, very frightened. *Not* by **thoughts of violence**. . . *but* by the **sheer power of numbers**.

(Paragraph 4)

5.2 *While* it was true that **militants, anarchists, anti-capitalists and anti-Americans** – what one weary PC called “**the great unwashed**” – were out in force, the heart and mind of the protest was **ordinary people**.

(Paragraph 8)

5.3 **Worried mums and dads of all ages, all races and religions**. *Not* **traitors or cowards**. *Not* **faint-hearts**. *But* **people who had come to express a genuine feeling they cannot ignore** – that the Prime Minister is wrong.

(Paragraph 9)

5.4 Dozens of causes were represented. The **professionally-produced placards** of the **protest groups** with their **fierce messages** – “**Blair and Bush – Wanted for Murder**” – *contrasted* with **cobbled-together banners**. “**Notts County supporters say Make Love Not War**”, said one.

(Paragraph 11)

5.5 The answer came as people flooded in. **Young and old**, all wrapped up against the cold. Children in buggies, invalids in chairs. *Some were* scruffy in **denims** and **fleece**s, *others wore* **fur-collared coats** and **Barbours**.

(Paragraph 15)

5.6 “I know there are **extremists** here whose opinions I disagree with, *but* they could *not* summon this number of people. This is **Joe Public**.”

(Paragraph 29)

5.3 Exclusive oppositions

5.3.1 Example 1 – the mobs and the masses

5.1 In years gone by, governments were always wary of what they called **The Mob**. Governments should still be frightened, very frightened. *Not* by **thoughts of violence**...*but* by the **sheer power of numbers**.

(Paragraph 4)

Coming as it does, early on in the article (fourth paragraph), this is a clear signal that one of the concerns of the writer is to put the record straight about the nature of this particular demonstration. The report starts with a description of a little girl clutching a home-made placard, then using her and her parents as a typical example of the ordinary types of people who joined the two million strong march. ‘It is an awesome feeling when the people take over the streets of the capital’ declares the writer in Paragraph 3. Having celebrated a situation in which the authority of the government appears to have been handed over to the people, it is immediately qualified with the paragraph which comprises Example 5.1. This is clearly designed to reassure the reader (and possibly the *Sunday Mirror*’s editorial board) that the demonstration was peaceful, and therefore they are not seen to be supporting any groups commonly associated with disruptive activities on demonstrations.

The opposition here associates ‘**The Mob**’ with ‘**thoughts of violence**’ and contrasts them with ‘**the sheer power of numbers**’. It is unclear whose thoughts are being referred to here – are the government fearful of their own thought of violence or the potential violence in the minds of the ‘Mob’? In either case ‘thoughts of’ has been included as part of the opposition here as it implies potentiality rather than actuality, and it is the potential violence that a large group of people possess that the writer is particularly keen to negate.

The opposition is triggered by the combination of the negator ‘*not*’ and the contrastive ‘*but*’ in a ‘*not X but Y* frame’. It is clear that ‘**The Mob**’ is associated with ‘**thoughts of violence**’. This is partly because we are told that governments were always ‘wary of ...**The Mob**’ and should then ‘*still* be frightened...*Not* by **thoughts of violence**’. The adverb ‘*still*’ acts to link the fear that the writer suggests the government should continue to feel, with ‘**The Mob**’, and by negating what might be the assumed reason to feel frightened (‘*not* by **thoughts of violence**’), simultaneously associates that with ‘**The Mob**’. There are of course the additional factors that mobs are commonly associated with unruly and uncontrollable behaviour, and the use of the definite article ‘The’ (with capitalised ‘T’) has echoes of organised gang violence such as that associated with the Mafia.

If we presume that a canonical opposite to ‘**violence**’ is ‘**peace**’, then the concept of PEACE is associated with the ‘**sheer power of numbers**’ who are being opposed to ‘**thoughts of violence**’. This meaning is intensified by pre-modifying ‘power of numbers’ with ‘sheer’ whose role is to demonstrate that the noun phrase it pre-modifies can do what it does unaided by outside interference from any other influences, in this case ‘**thoughts of violence**’. If we examine this opposition using the principles outlined in Chapter Four, there is a clear plane of equivalence (PoE) – LARGE, POWERFUL GROUPS OF PEOPLE. The concept of POWER has been added to this description because a mob is

conventionally associated with some kind of uncontrollable power and the quality attributed to the protestors is that of ‘*sheer power*’. The differentiating factor is the extent to which that power is peaceful or violent so the plane of difference (PoD) separating them is *DEGREES OF VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR*.

It is significant that the writer chooses to emphasise the peaceful nature of the demonstration so early on in the article, by contrasting the marchers with those the writer claims the government associates with violence. Considering the focus of the ensuing text, this is a likely result of the writer’s assumption that anti-government demonstrations are a common site of violent behaviour in the minds of the public, as confrontations with the police and rioting are often the only events the media consider worth reporting when demonstrations occur. The writer is therefore seeking to allay the fears of the reader who is being encouraged to support this particular demonstration whilst simultaneously emphasising its effectiveness. At this point however the distinction is not made specific as the nature of the types of people on either side of the divide is rather in the abstract. The next examples shed some light on who specifically is being referred to.

5.3.2 *Example 2 – militants or ordinary people?*

5.2 While it was true that **militants, anarchists, anti-capitalists and anti-Americans** – what one weary PC called “**the great unwashed**” – were out in force, the heart and mind of the protest was **ordinary people**.

(Paragraph 8)

It is in paragraphs 8 and 9 of the report that we find the most explicit expression of the way the text differentiates between groups of protestors the writer deems acceptable and unacceptable.

The first of these paragraphs contrasts a list of four categories of groups and an evaluation of them by a policeman, with ‘**ordinary people**’. The syntactic trigger for this opposition is the concessive framework ‘*while X, Y*’. Concessives indicate that some oppositional concepts are instantiated as phrases expressing *circumstances* (see Section 3.3.5). The circumstances in this case are that groups who it is implied usually dominate demonstrations are overwhelmed in numbers and spirit by ‘**ordinary people**’, therefore creating and reinforcing a boundary between the two. Each of the labels ‘**militants**’, ‘**anarchists**’, ‘**anti-capitalists**’ and ‘**anti-Americans**’ can all be related by their anti-establishment stance and are often used by the media to portray groups in a negative light, although each has its own distinctive negative connotations. The word ‘militant’ for instance, although sometimes used in the trade union movement to describe someone who stands up for their principles, is generally applied in the media to those who use organised violence to achieve their aims. ‘Anarchism’ tends to be associated with a more random subversion and lack of respect for authority. An ‘anti-capitalist’ by the very nature of the term seeks to oppose the fundamental principles on which the vast majority of the world’s economies are based. And ‘anti-American’ does not restrict antipathy to the US government but implies the individuals in this category have a dislike of all Americans. It is difficult to know on what grounds the writer has chosen to categorise certain groups of protestors this way. It is unlikely that all the people who the writer thinks he is referring to would use these labels to refer to themselves. Drawing a distinction between four different types does suggest distinct groups with separate agendas, however none of them are named at any point in the article. And it is not implausible that the values and beliefs of one

particular individual could overlap with all four categories. This process of stereotyping, according to Fowler is standard practise in news reporting, the principle whereby ‘people work with tacit mental categories for the sorting of experience’ to create a ‘socially-constructed mental pigeon-hole into which events and individuals can be sorted, thereby making such events and individuals comprehensible [...]’ (1991: 17). Fowler emphasises the created nature of these categories and their dialectical relationship between usage and event. So ‘the occurrence of a striking event will reinforce a stereotype and, reciprocally, the firmer the stereotype, the more likely are relevant events to become news (1991: 17). The writer’s choice of these categories is therefore designed to reinforce the stereotypes that the ideal reader is likely to have of certain types of anti-establishment types.

However, while they are assigned separate categories, at the same time they are all disparagingly tarred with the same brush when the writer chooses to quote the ‘weary PC’ who refers to them as ‘the great unwashed’. Traditionally the term is often used to refer to the ‘masses’ or the ‘working class’. Here however it may be drawing on the stereotype of the political activist who has neither the time nor the inclination to waste precious energy on matters of personal hygiene. This may serve to reinforce the idea that the non-conformity of these people keeps them permanently outside of the mainstream. The description of the PC as ‘weary’ implies that the more experienced (but unacceptable) protestors are something the police are resigned to have to put up with on every protest march as an inevitable nuisance or irritant.

On its own, the subordinate clause within which all this information is held would not have the strength of the implications it does, without the contrasting main clause which opposes ‘**the great unwashed**’ (and its list of referents) with ‘**ordinary people**’. In some contexts being ‘ordinary’ is far from flattering being synonymous with dullness or mediocrity. If used in this sense the canonical opposition triggered would be

EXTRAORDINARY or OUT-OF-THE-ORDINARY. This often applies to certain individuals or groups whose behaviour and lifestyles is usually the staple diet of news stories celebrating their special, rare or peculiar characteristics or talents. However, in this context, being ‘ordinary’ is a compliment. When used in the news media in this sense it generally refers to those people who lack any kind of special status or talent and are therefore not prone to extreme lifestyles, behaviour or opinions, those who the typical reader can relate to. They therefore do not threaten to upset the status quo.

We can see here how the two sense of the word ‘ordinary’ can have different planes of difference when used in opposition in each case. If they share a plane of equivalence which is CHARACTER TRAIT, in the first instance the PoD could be described as *DEGREES OF ORDINARINESS* (however one might measure this quality) – with ‘**ORDINARY**’ at one end and ‘**SPECIAL**’ at the other. In the second instance, which is the meaning the writer intends, the PoD would be *DEGREES OF MODERATION*, with ‘**MODERATE**’ at one end and ‘**EXTREME**’ at the other. The celebration of moderation, in the form of ordinariness is clearly reinforced by being contrasted with groups often associated with extreme activities.

Another potential contrast alluded to in this paragraph which reinforces the positive status of the ‘common’ people is a more abstract one which aligns them with spiritual power, and the ‘undesirables’ with physical power. This is expressed by the fact that ordinary people are cast as the ‘**heart and mind**’ of the protest whilst the other groups were ‘**out in force**’. ‘**Hearts and minds**’ (in themselves sometimes treated oppositionally by expressing the oppositional concepts of **EMOTION / REASON**) are here connected as they relate to the abstract field of ideas or things possessing spiritual qualities, implying love, warmth and genuine emotion (in the case of ‘**heart**’) and thought, intellect and identity (in ‘**mind**’). Of course, in this context, the hearts and minds are not specifically

those of individual protestors but of the protest itself. This is expressed as a singular entity using singular abstract nouns preceded by the definite article (*'the heart and mind'*) suggesting that the protest emotionally and rationally belongs to the ordinary people. This represents them as having a morally acceptable, dignified and peaceful claim to take on the government whilst their antithesis, *'out in force'*, are associated with a physical (and therefore potentially more aggressive, even violent) presence, something to be expected and even tolerated, but whose motivations are suspect. The *'out in force'* / *'heart and mind'* opposition works by association with a number of overlapping conceptual binaries such as **PHYSICAL / SPIRITUAL**, **COERCIVE/ PERSUASIVE** and **VIOLENT / PEACEFUL**. This complements the opposition between *'The Mob'* and *'sheer power of numbers'* in the previous example, and in doing so associates groups labelled as *'militants [...] etc.'* with mob behaviour.

5.3.3 Example 3 – traitor or parent?

5.3 **Worried mums and dads of all ages, all races and religions. Not traitors or cowards. Not faint-hearts. But people who had come to express a genuine feeling they cannot ignore** – that the Prime Minister is wrong.

(Paragraph 9)

The paragraph in Example 5.3 directly follows that of example 5.2 in the news article and serves to reinforce the qualities attributed to the protestors with whom the writer aligns himself. The syntactic frame which triggers the opposition is *'X not Y [twice] but X'*, whereby X represents the lengthy noun phrases *'worried mums and dads of all ages, all races and religions'* and *'people who had come to express a genuine feeling they cannot ignore'*, and Y is *'traitors or cowards'* and *'faint-hearts'*.

To understand these phrases as oppositions to each other again it is necessary to apply the principles outlined in Chapter Four³. Those in the X position are ‘**mums and dads**’, an opposition in itself, acting as co-hyponyms of the superordinate concept PARENTS. In this case the opposition is an inclusive one because if you are a parent you can only either be a mum or a dad, so they are not being used as opposites to differentiate between each other. If those in the X position are represented by the concept **PARENTS**, then the concept **NON-PARENTS** must be triggered for those in the Y position. They are also described as ‘worried’ and consisting of an extremely diverse social make-up, so we can add to them the concepts of **CONCERN** and **HETEROGENEITY** (and so representing society as a whole) and to their opposites the concepts of **UNCONCERN** and **HOMEGENEITY** (and so unrepresentative). The mums and dads are also represented as having a ‘**genuine feeling**’, representing the concept **SINCERITY**, and so triggering the quality **INSINCERITY** of those they are opposed to. Furthermore those in the Y position are ‘**traitors, cowards and faint-hearts**’. If we take these nouns to represent the qualities of **TREACHERY**, **UNPATRIOTISM** and **COWARDICE**, (‘faint-heart’ being a near-synonym of ‘coward’) then this will trigger their opposites - **LOYALTY**, **PATRIOTISM** and **BRAVERY**, which have to be attributed to those labelled as ‘**mums and dads**’.

Grouping all of these qualities together produces the results in Table 5.2. Note that textual examples are in lower case and the concepts they represent are in upper case. If we group together all the qualities that the writer implies relate to each kind of protestor then on the one hand we have a socially representative group of concerned, sincere, loyal, patriotic and brave parents contrasted with those who are unconcerned, unrepresentative, insincere, treacherous, unpatriotic, cowardly and childless. Moreover, because the ‘X *not* Y’ frame tends to be associated with mutual exclusivity, the implication is that you can only either be one or the other. You cannot therefore be a cowardly parent, or childless and

simultaneously genuinely opposed to the war. This is clearly absurd and demonstrates the lengths the writer has gone to emphasise his admiration and distaste for those he places in the X and Y frames respectively.

<u>X protestors</u>	<u>Y protestors</u>
mums and dads PARENTS	CHILDLESS
worried CONCERN	UNCONCERN
all ages, all races and religions HETEROGENEITY REPRESENTATIVE	HOMOGENEITY UNREPRESENTATIVE
genuine feeling SINCERITY	INSINCERITY
LOYALTY PATRIOTISM	traitors TREACHERY UNPATRIOTISM
BRAVERY	cowards...faint-hearts COWARDICE

Table 5.2 – the relationship between the textual construction of ‘us’ / ‘them’ anti-war protestors in Example 5.3 and the canonical conceptual oppositions they represent

There is an additional element to the composite picture being built up of both sides here. The groups represented in the previous paragraph (Example 5.2) as **MODERATE** and **EXTREME** are the same groups described in this example. This is because all four sentences in Paragraph 9 are minor sentences. The first of these – the noun phrase ‘worried mums and dads [...]’ - only makes sense if it acts in apposition to the end of Paragraph 8, i.e. ‘ordinary people’, and so must have the same referents.

5.3.4 Example 4 – extremists and Joe Public

5.4 That was the thought that led so many ordinary people to flood the streets of London yesterday. One Lancashire mother explained how it had meant taking her toddler out of school early the day before and travelling overnight.

She cradled her five-month-old baby son to her as she said: “It was a huge decision to come. I’ve never been to London to a march before.

“But when the bloodshed starts I want to feel it is not in my name. When the children are older I want to be able to tell them we played a part in trying to stop it.”

“I know there are **extremists** here whose opinions I disagree with, *but* they could *not* summon this number of people. This is **Joe Public**.”

(Paragraphs 26 – 29)

In this last of the four oppositions with an exclusive function, Example 5.4 is reproduced with the three preceding paragraphs which provide background to the speaker of a quote which contrasts ‘**extremists**’ with ‘**Joe Public**’. The Lancashire mother quoted is reluctantly acknowledging the presence of a body of people she herself labels ‘**extremists**’, claiming however that they have had little influence on the organisation of the demonstration, using a version of an ‘X *but not* Y framework. The negator applies to what it is the woman claims those she labels as ‘**extremists**’ could not have done i.e. ‘summon up this number of people’, rather than simply denying there were none there (as this is evidently not the case, whoever they are). What is clear is that the frame ‘*could not* [summon this number of people]...*is* [Joe Public]’ again presupposes the existence of two mutually exclusive categories of people. Note the categorical nature of the claim ‘*this is Joe Public*’ i.e. with no modal verbs of possibility like ‘might’ or ‘maybe.’ The term ‘**extremist**’ tends to have negative connotations whatever it is applied to, and its canonical opposite would be ‘**moderate**’ in most cases. The woman is asserting that the

demonstration is made up of '**Joe Public**', a common colloquial term for 'ordinary people' with whom the concept MODERATE is associated.

Evidently, the writer has chosen this woman as a kind of prototypical 'ordinary' person, one with whom he clearly aligns himself, and therefore the *Sunday Mirror* readers. This is evident in Paragraph 26 – 'the thought that led so many **ordinary people** to flood the streets of London yesterday. One Lancashire mother [...]'. She herself makes it clear that she includes herself in the category of '**Joe Public**' by distancing herself from 'the **extremists** whose opinions I disagree with'. She is the only person from the demonstration who is given any voice in the form of direct speech, presumably having spoken to the journalist himself. The only other people quoted are celebrities speaking to the crowd at the concluding rally in Hyde Park. No member of the groups labelled '**extremist**' are given a voice in the article. The mother however is accorded great unchallenged authority in claiming to know who has and has not participated in organising the demonstration despite the fact the writer is simultaneously taking great pains to emphasise her ordinariness. She is in effect a conduit through which the writer can reinforce his polemic about unacceptable protestors. He is trying to give his values added force by expressing them through a member of the '**Joe Public**' he supports - regional, female, mother of baby, who has made sacrifices to attend the demonstration, and hence has not made her decision to support it lightly. Again, this may give the impression that those labelled '**extremists**', being seasoned protestors, are somehow prepared for this kind of situation, and moreover are not young mothers from Lancashire. This whole section involves a kind of self-perpetuating consolidation of the values approved of by the writer. He aligns himself with one kind of protestor, whose existence he effectively constructs through the employment of group categories placed in positions of opposition. He then chooses to quote one of those protestors who labels herself as one of the types the writer supports and who is quoted as

distancing herself from the groups he disapproves of. The reader therefore is positioned in a way which means if they do not align themselves with the writer and/or quoted mother then they are in effect supporting ‘extremists’.

<u>X protestors</u>	<u>Y protestors</u>
mums and dads PARENTS	CHILDLESS
worried CONCERN	UNCONCERN
all ages, all races and religions HETEROGENEITY REPRESENTATIVE	HOMOGENEITY UNREPRESENTATIVE
genuine feeling SINCERITY	INSINCERITY
LOYALTY PATRIOTISM	traitors TREACHERY UNPATRIOTISM
BRAVERY	cowards...faint-hearts COWARDICE
ordinary people Joe Public ORDINARY	militants, anarchists, anti-capitalists, anti-Americans extremists EXTREME
heart and mind sheer power of numbers PEACEFUL	out in force The Mob...thoughts of violence VIOLENT
CLEAN	the great unwashed DIRTY

Table 5.3 – the relationship between the textual construction of ‘us’ / ‘them’ anti-war protestors throughout the Sunday Mirror article and the canonical conceptual oppositions they represent

If we assimilate all the qualities that are associated with each group through the use of oppositions in these four examples (see Table 5.3), a clear pattern emerges. The *Sunday Mirror* writer has made it safe to publicly support a powerful anti-government protest, by emphasising a range of qualities that the average reader is likely to feel comfortable

supporting, according legitimacy to the demonstration. This legitimacy is enhanced by creating a stereotype of an unacceptable type of protestor, whose behaviour and attitudes are outside the consensus of what is deemed acceptable.

5.4 Inclusive oppositions

This section explores two further sets of oppositions used to emphasise the social representativeness of the demonstration whilst simultaneously enhancing the marginalised status of the latter group.

5.4.1 Example 1 - When 'placard' is the opposite of 'banner'

5.5 Dozens of causes were represented. The **professionally-produced placards** of the **protest groups** with their **fierce messages** – “**Blair and Bush – Wanted for Murder**” – *contrasted* with **cobbled-together banners**. “**Notts County supporters say Make Love Not War**”, said one.

(Paragraph 11)

In this first example, the writer is overtly stating his intention to emphasise the differences between two types of protestors in order to illustrate the range of people represented on the demonstration. His method here is to distinguish between two quite distinct types of protestor – those who have plenty of experience of attending demonstrations and those for whom it is probably a novel experience. It is apparent that he is choosing to describe two sets of protestors from the opposite ends of a spectrum because he uses the trigger ‘*contrasted*’ as the pivot between which both descriptions rest, which overtly indicates to the reader that there is an opposition being utilised. The syntactic

arrangement also plays some part in helping to realise the contrast. The text either side of the trigger is roughly structurally parallel in that each section consists, in this order, of 1) Description of level of skill involved in displaying messages and slogans – ‘**professionally-produced**’ / ‘**cobbled-together**’; 2) Type of medium utilised to display messages – ‘**placards**’ / ‘**banners**’; 3) Types of groups carrying the messages – ‘**protest groups**’ / ‘**Notts County Supporters**’; 4) The messages themselves – ‘**“Blair and Bush – Wanted for Murder”**’ / ‘**“Make Love Not War”**’. However, just because there is a kind of (inexact) formal symmetry here it does not necessarily follow that the reader is encouraged to treat each side with equal respect. One of the sides is privileged over the other in terms of the writer’s attitude towards them, which contributes towards the overall construction of ‘acceptable and ‘unacceptable’ protestors, outlined in Section 5.3.

This example is particularly fascinating because it utilises four separate examples of contrast, mirroring the list of four above.

5.4.1.1 ‘professionally-produced’ / ‘cobbled-together’

The contrast between ‘**professionally-produced**’ and ‘**cobbled-together**’ is perhaps the most conventional of the four. Both are compound adjectives pre-modifying nouns referring to media on which slogans can be displayed. The conventional opposite of ‘**professional**’ would likely be ‘**amateur**’, of which ‘**cobbled-together**’ is a more colloquial synonym. It is possible however that ‘cobbled-together’ has been chosen because ‘amateur’ or ‘amateurish-looking’ may have the effect of mocking the less experienced protestors as it can often have negative connotations. Moreover, the conversational nature of ‘cobbled-together’ may be more appropriate to gaining the sympathies of those readers who are likely to align themselves with ‘Joe Public’ (see

Section 5.3.4) whose demonstration this is represented to belong to, and so more informal forms of lexis might reflect this. What Fowler (1991) calls the ‘public idiom’ - a term he borrows from cultural theorist Stuart Hall, (1978: 60-1) - employed in many news texts involves the ‘use of oral models within the printed newspaper text, giving an illusion of conversation in which common sense is spoken about matters on which there is consensus’ (1991:47). Each newspaper has its own public idiom which involves ‘the newspaper’s own version of the language of the public to whom it is principally addressed’ (Hall 1978: 60, in Fowler 1991: 48). Fowler comments:

The familiarity of an habitual style has ideological consequences: it allows the unnoticed expression of familiar thoughts. The establishment of this ‘normal’ style is fundamental to the building of an assumption of consensus, which has been identified by media analysts as central to the ideological practice of newspapers.

(Fowler 1991: 48)

Bearing this in mind, it is possible that the formal tone of ‘**professionally-produced**’ combined with the conventional sense of ‘professional’, has the effect of distancing the reader from the type of group to whom it refers. The rest of the opposition bears this out, in that these groups are anonymous, carrying manufactured, mass-produced placards and therefore lacking the individual touch of, in this case, a banner made by Notts County Supporters.

5.4.1.2 *‘placards’ / ‘banners’*

It would be much more difficult to justify as conventional oppositions the nouns which these terms modify – ‘**placards**’ and ‘**banners**’ – if taken on their own out of context. However, the writer has differentiated the two types of protestors by choosing to describe

one group as holding mass ('professionally') produced placards and the other individually crafted banners. '**Placard**' and '**banner**' as opposites is partly triggered by being associated with the more conventionally oppositional adjectives pre-modifying them, a form of Jones' 'Ancillary Antonymy' (see Section 3.3.9). The semantic justification for their opposition can be exemplified by again applying the rule of minimal difference. Their equivalence is based on their reference to items on which words and images can be placed to draw attention to their messages and are usually held aloft by human beings. There is however more than one plane of difference. Firstly there is the type of material they are made from (based on its flexibility). Placards are usually cardboard or wood, and therefore mass-produced messages can be printed on them. The photographs of the demonstration in much of the data analysed here, plus TV images of demonstrations, show hundreds of placards with the same messages and the name of the group sponsoring them, usually at the top (such as the *Socialist Workers' Party*), presumably in order to promote the name of that group in media images. Banners however are usually made from soft material like cloth. They are difficult to mass-produce and more commonly associated with the specific groups of people who actually carry them at demonstrations. They usually have a more individual local or regional name and design, such as that of individual trade union branches, or in this case supporters of a football team and therefore have a unique bespoke design. The extent to which they are mass-produced is therefore a second way of differentiating placards from banners. And thirdly, they differ according to the methods used to carry them. Usually it requires more than one person to carry banners, attached as they are across two poles, whereas placards are designed for the individual. The canonical concepts which therefore differentiate '**professionally-produced placards**' and '**cobbled-together banners**', are summarised in Table 5.4.

professionally-produced placards	cobbled-together banners
PROFESSIONAL INFLEXIBLE MATERIAL HELD BY ONE MASS PRODUCED	AMATEUR FLEXIBLE MATERIAL HELD BY MORE THAN ONE INDIVIDUALLY PRODUCED

Table 5.4 – the canonical oppositional concepts that contribute towards the construction of ‘professionally-produced placards’ / ‘cobbled-together banners’ as oppositions

5.4.1.3 – ‘protest groups’ / ‘Notts County supporters’

Some of the oppositional concepts summarised in Table 5.4 are supported further by the pair of opposites referring to the people who are carrying the messages – ‘**protest groups**’ and ‘**Notts County supporters**’. Both ‘**groups**’ and ‘**supporters**’ are equivalent in that they refer to collections of individuals bound by some kind of common factor and could in certain contexts be treated as synonymous. A plane of difference however is that ‘**protest group**’ usually refers to a collection of people who are *against* an idea or principle whether it be against war, against mobile phone masts, or against the takeover of a football team by American businessmen. ‘**Supporters**’ however are *in favour of* something and more specifically associated with like-minded watchers of sport or some other definable interest. The decision to choose the Notts County banner, apart from its choice of message, may not be an arbitrary one. Firstly, by naming a particular group, it allows the reader to identify more closely with them (as opposed to the general term ‘**protest group**’). It may also be significant that Notts County is not only a football club (and therefore with no particular political axe to grind) but is the *oldest* professional football club on earth and so has additional credibility to the type of protestors this group is supposed to represent.

So it is possible we might understand the contrast here in terms of the overlapping more general canonical conceptual binaries of **GENERAL / SPECIFIC, POLITICAL / NON-POLITICAL, AGAINST / FOR, NEGATIVE / POSITIVE.**

5.4.1.4 *'Blair and Bush – Wanted for Murder' / 'Make Love not War'*

The fourth type of opposition represented here is related to the messages the writer has chosen to contrast. The message of the protest groups sounds negative, even hate-filled, focussing as it does on the leaders of the UK and US government and accusing them of 'murder'. This in itself, although aimed at Bush and Blair, may indirectly associate the protest groups with violence (as outlined in Section 5.3) whether it is of their doing or somebody else's. The decision to evaluate their message as 'fierce' also hints at the writer's stance towards them, as the word has aggressive connotations unlike for instance 'defiant' or 'emotive' which could be equally appropriate. The writer has chosen not use an evaluative adjective to contrast with 'fierce', probably because the message itself is promoting 'love' and by implication 'peace' (which the former is not). Potential conventional opposites of '**fierce**' might be '**gentle**', '**docile**' or '**tame**' and if used may make the banner carriers sound too ineffectual. However it is interesting to note that grammatically, being an imperative the message is instructing somebody to do something and is therefore has an *active* element, whereas the declarative of the protest group's message is passive, semantically and grammatically, neither encouraging anybody to do anything nor showing who it is that wants Blair and Bush for murder.

To summarise so far, from the huge range of causes represented on the demonstration, the writer has chosen two types of anti-war marchers whose difference is signalled both by the word '*contrasted*' and elements of syntactic parallelism and a range of semantic

features which can be explained by the canonical oppositional concepts they represent. Its function in the context of the rest of the article is to celebrate the diversity of the demonstration by choosing two ends of an artificial scale of protest ‘types’, between which, the reader must assume, there may be a whole range of other diverse groups of people. However, in doing so the writer also orientates the reader favourably towards one group more than another in ways which are consistent with the exclusive oppositions examined in Section 5.3.

<u>‘Unacceptable’ protestors</u>	<u>‘Acceptable’ protestors</u>
professionally-produced placards PROFESSIONAL MASS MANUFACTURED	cobbled-together banners AMATEUR INDIVIDUALLY MANUFACTURED
protest groups GENERAL IMPERSONAL POLITICAL AGAINST SOMETHING NEGATIVE	Notts County supporters SPECIFIC PERSONAL NON-POLITICAL FOR SOMETHING POSITIVE
fierce messages – “Blair and Bush – wanted for murder FIERCE	Make Love not War PEACEFUL

Table 5.5 – a summary of the lexical and conceptual oppositions which contribute towards constructed opposition in Example 5.5

The concepts in capitals which relate to each group of protestors show how it is the second group which the *Sunday Mirror* reader is encouraged to relate to, even though on the surface the point of the paragraph is to demonstrate the diversity on the demonstration.

5.4.2 Example 2 - 'young' / 'old', 'denims' / 'fur-collared coats', 'fleeces' / 'Barbours'

5.6 The answer came as people flooded in. **Young and old**, all wrapped up against the cold. Children in buggies, invalids in chairs. *Some were* scruffy in **denims** and **fleeces**, *others wore* **fur-collared coats** and **Barbours**.

(Paragraph 15)

Example 5.6 also includes oppositional pairings which contribute towards highlighting the inclusive nature of the protest, hence helping to justify the *Sunday Mirror's* support.

The writer's depiction of the age and class range on the protest is depicted by the conventional pairing of '**young**' and '**old**', and a description of the marchers' clothing.

The inclusion of both ends of a gradable age scale, apart from indicating the attendance of the biggest range in between, also suggests the writer is deliberately focussing on those most vulnerable, the description of them being 'all wrapped up against the cold' possibly drawing attention to the fact their commitment is even more impressive considering the bitter weather conditions.

The last sentence of the paragraph moves away from age as a way of categorising the range of marchers, and implies a heterogeneous mix of social classes, without mentioning class specifically. Two types of dress are contrasted, potentially acting as an index of the social class of the wearers – '**denims and fleeces**' associated with casual wear, and '**fur-collared coats and Barbours**', the apparel of the more affluent'⁴. In case the reader misses the distinction, we are helped by the writer's evaluation of the former group's attire with the inclusion of the complement 'scruffy', potentially evoking an image of the latter as smart, to imply another kind of gradable opposition. A form of syntactic parallelism is used here which contributes towards triggering the opposition:

<i>Some</i>	were	scruffy	[in] denims and fleeces
others	wore		fur-collared coats and Barbours
Subject plural pronouns	Predicate past tense verbs		noun phrases consisting of two conjoined plural clothing-related nouns

Although the two halves are not a perfect match, there is sufficient parallelism here, combined with the semantic relationships between ‘denims’, ‘fleeces’, ‘fur-collared coats’ and ‘Barbours’, to make a strong case for the two sets of clothing to be set up as contrasts. Both clauses start with third person indefinite plural subject pronouns, followed by predicating past tense verbs, which coincidentally or not, also have a phonological relationship, varying only by the second vowel phoneme (*were/wore*). The variation occurs where the writer’s use of ‘scruffy’ means that the stative verb ‘were’ is followed by a complement and adverbial, whilst the dynamic verb ‘wore’ is followed by an object. However, the two noun phrases which constitute the last two elements of each clause correlate well. Semantically there is a good match in that the clothing referred to can all be coats (although ‘denim’ can have a broader meaning). So here the writer turns into opposites clothes chosen more for their looks – ‘denim’ / ‘fur-collared coats’, as well as those which are more practical, designed to protect against the weather – ‘fleeces’ / ‘Barbours’⁵. Again, one would presume that if there were a scale on which to place clothing in terms of its value or prestige status, there would be a whole range of middle-range attire which would also be represented on the demonstration which is not mentioned. But, by focussing on the two ends of the spectrum (and ignoring the middle range), a picture of two usually mutually exclusive and antagonistic classes collaborating against a common enemy is constructed.

5.5 News values, consensus and the ‘us’ / ‘them’ binary

The examples explored in 5.3 and 5.4 perform interlocking functions. The writer employs oppositions to emphasise the range of people on the demonstration, using relations of equivalence and difference based on age, or less conventional ones based on clothing, or the kinds of medium employed and the messages on them. This *inclusive* function allows the *Sunday Mirror* to feel comfortable with supporting a movement which in other circumstances has led to riots and in the case of Eastern Europe in the late 1980s, peaceful revolutions which brought down governments. At the same time however, the writer is taking great pains to cordon off these protestors within a boundary of acceptability, and so *exclude* those which a reader might associate with more radical intentions. The reader may feel it is fine to support peace-loving, brave, patriotic, genuine, moderate, banner-carrying, football supporting, Joe Public parents of young children of all races and creeds, as long as they do not have to sympathise with violent, extremist, cowardly, traitorous, unwashed, childless, anarchist, placard-wielding anti-capitalists. The way that the media systematically create group categories based on stereotypes which are then reinforced through usage was briefly dealt with in section 5.3.2., and the ideological significance of this will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Eight.

To draw this section to a conclusion it is necessary to make some supplementary points regarding Fowler’s work on the relationship between group categories, ‘consensus’, news media language and values and the ‘**us**’ / ‘**them**’ binary.

Fowler (1991) conducted one of the first important systematic studies of the relationship between language choice in the news media and the embedded ideological stance taken. He argued that news articles often presuppose readers’ alignment with a *consensual* view of society, i.e. ‘the theory that a society shares all its interests in common, without division or

variation'. (1991: 16) This is commonly instantiated by first person plural pronouns such as 'we' or 'us', which are used especially in opinion and editorial columns, to speak on behalf of and simultaneously include their readership and sometimes 'the Nation' in general. This is clearly apparent in the *Sunday Mirror* article whose headlines include 'Listen to Us' whereby 'us', because it is unattributed, could be the voice of the protestors and simultaneously that of the *Sunday Mirror* and also that of the readership. Similarly in a separate headline, 'Britain says no to war', 'Britain' here clearly cannot be referring to everyone in the UK or even everybody on the demonstration, but those whom the newspaper deem the voice of reasonable protest and hence acceptably representative of 'the Nation'. So Britain is equivalent to 'us' which equals the *Sunday Mirror* and its readership which yet again equals the acceptable protestors on the demonstration. However, according to Fowler, for 'us' to be meaningful, there has to be a '**they / them**', which in the case of the right-wing press especially includes 'trade unionists, socialist council leaders, teachers, blacks, social workers, rapists, homosexuals etc.' (1991: 16). To update this list we might add Muslims, asylum seekers, travellers, 'chavs' and 'hoodies', who regularly appear as falling outside of the consensual norm in news reports.

Fowler (1991: 52), citing Chibnall (1977: 21-2), claims that the relationship between consensus and pronoun use reflects a set of abstract news values often manifesting themselves as simple binary pairs. Chibnall's binary pairs of news values fall under the headings 'positive legitimating values' and 'negative illegitimate values'. Although some of the categories under these headings may need updating 30 years later (Fowler adds '**self-reliance**' / '**dependence**' to the list), many of them relate very aptly to the *Sunday Mirror* report analysed above including most of the pairs of opposites which act to differentiate the two types of protestors. Table 5.5 illustrates this. Chibnall's positive and negative values are juxtaposed with relevant text from the news article which relates to each of the types of

groups represented. The heading for the values chosen by Chibnall are in the main representative of canonical oppositional concepts, some of which have been related in the analysis above – for instance **MODERATION / EXTREMISM, PEACEFULNESS / VIOLENCE, ORDER / CHAOS**. The fact that Chibnall chooses to categorise these values in relation to legitimacy is apt, as this covers both the obsession with the ‘rightness’ and ‘wrongness’ of staying within the boundaries of the rule of law, as well as the broader moral concepts of legitimacy (e.g. ‘that is a *legitimate* course of action’). This presupposes of course that the values in the left column are ‘legitimate’ and those in the second are not. Fowler claims that the liberal position would be to accept variety and departures from the norm as long as they are within tolerable boundaries and hence containable within what is deemed the consensus (fitting under the ‘tolerance’ heading in Chibnall’s list), what he calls ‘tolerant pluralism’ (1991: 52). This is the position *partially* taken up by the *Sunday Mirror*, especially at the points in which the writer focuses on the diversity and inclusivity on the demonstration. A more conservative stance would embrace the ‘**us**’ / ‘**them**’ dichotomy much more enthusiastically.

According to Fowler:

Law and public opinion stipulate that there are many ideas and behaviours which are to be condemned as outside the pale of consensus: people who practise such behaviours are branded as ‘subversives’, ‘perverts’, ‘deviants’, ‘dissidents’, ‘trouble-makers’, etc. Such people are subjected to marginalisation or repression; and the contradiction returns, because consensus decrees that there are some people outside the consensus. The ‘we’ of consensus narrows and hardens into a population which sees its interests as culturally and economically valid, but as threatened by a ‘them’ comprising a motley of antagonistic sectional groups: not only criminals but also trade unionists, homosexuals, teachers, blacks, foreigners, northerners, and so on.

(Fowler 1991: 52-3)

'Positive legitimating values'	'Acceptable' protestors US	'Negative, illegitimate values'	'Unacceptable' protestors THEM
MODERATION	ordinary people worried mums and dads no boos for the old warlord Joe Public	EXTREMISM	extremists, militants, anarchists, anti-capitalists, anti-Americans, traitors, unwashed
CO-OPERATION	worried mums and dads of all ages, races and religions Make Love not War Young and old, children, invalids, denims/fleeces, fur coats/Barbours	CONFRONTATION	violence, fierce messages , Blair and Bush wanted for murder
ORDER	little frivolity high spirits not the order of the day	CHAOS	violence The Mob
PEACEFULNESS	Make Love not War	VIOLENCE	The Mob, violence, out in force, fierce messages, murder
TOLERANCE COMPROMISE	all ages, races, religions no boos for the old warlord	INTOLERANCE DOGMATISM	Blair and Bush wanted for murder
CONSTRUCTIVENESS	Make Love not War	DESTRUCTIVENESS	traitors, Blair and Bush wanted for murder
REALISM	genuine feeling Notts County Supporters	IDEOLOGY	anti-capitalist, anti-American, anarchist

Table 5.6 – How Chibnall’s news values relate to the representation of anti-war protestors in the Sunday Mirror article

This is the side of the *Sunday Mirror* article which focuses on constructing groups as excluded from the consensus and hence referred to as ‘The Mob’, ‘the great unwashed’, ‘traitors’ and so on. Fowler’s claim that the ‘consensus decrees that there are some people

outside the consensus' is epitomised by the decision to quote the Lancashire mother whose words are used to reinforce who is and is not deemed 'acceptable' and who represents herself and is represented by the writer as falling into the 'acceptable' category.

Fowler goes on to argue that despite the fact that the news media tend to align themselves with and strengthen the consensual ideology, they rely on the 'negative, illegitimate values', as without them there would be little news. They often form the staple of what are considered newsworthy stories such as those that 'exemplify the negative attitudes and behaviours thought to be characteristic of 'them'; so the newspapers fill their columns with murder, rape [...] freaks: stories of 'the other', 'them' rather than 'the familiar', 'us'.' (1991: 53).

The *Sunday Mirror* example is a curious one as its primary surface purpose might not seem to be such a voyeuristic fixation with the lives of those on the margins of society, highlighting as it does the power of the people whose desire it is to register a protest. But the very nature of protest, especially against a government elected by the 'legitimate' ballot box, threatens to align the *Sunday Mirror* with the values on the right of Chibnall's column, especially when they can be the catalysts of or equivalents to revolution. So they have to stress their distance from this position by showing that its stance falls firmly within the consensus. They achieve this by consistent reference to and disparagement of those who, if they were seen to be sympathetic towards, may alienate their readership, as well as giving ammunition for their competitors.

The *Sunday Mirror* report is one of many very clear examples of the construction of hierarchies based on binary oppositions. This chapter has been an attempt to show how we can use theories of oppositional frameworks to recognise and subsequently evaluate the consequences of opposites in context, in this case in a news report of a significant event.

The next chapter attempts to consolidate this methodology, this time by comparing two news reports on the same protest – the Countryside Alliance march – in order to show how the same oppositional techniques can be used to support two very different points of view.

NB: A copy of the article analysed is on the following three pages

Notes

¹A term like ‘anarchist’ and even ‘extremist’ does not necessarily have to have negative connotations, especially those who subscribe to a school of thought called ‘anarchism’. Nevertheless, when used in the national news media, it is highly unlikely to be treated positively. Evidence for this could be found by conducting a concordance search of the word ‘anarchist’ using a computer-based corpus.

²I have not included diagrams such as those in Chapter Four which show relations of equivalence and difference, as they would take up too much space, and are also unnecessary once the general principle has been accepted. I use these next chapters to show how the principles outlined in Chapters Three and Four can be usefully applied in broader terms to the functions of whole news texts.

³See Note 2.

⁴Barbours are a brand of luxury outdoor clothing.

⁵In Chapter Seven, there are other examples of clothes used as markers of class.

**LISTEN TO US ; THE PEOPLE'S MARCH:
A TIDE OF PROTEST
Britain says no to war - 2m join historic demo**

Sunday Mirror, 16 February 2003, Page 2

- 1 THE little girl clutched her home-made cardboard placard coloured in with crayons. It was in the shape of a school crossing sign and had one word on it - "STOP".
- 2 It said all you needed to know about yesterday's mass anti-war march through London.
- 3 On a crisp winter's day, the girl and her parents were among the estimated two million who tramped the time-honoured route to make their voices heard. It is an awesome feeling when the people take over the streets of the capital.
- 4 In years gone by, governments were always wary of what they called The Mob. Governments should still be frightened, very frightened. Not by thoughts of violence ...but by the sheer power of numbers.
- 5 To be there felt like history in the making.
- 6 The day began with blue skies but was soon overcast - a greyness that fitted the generally sombre mood.
- 7 In public gardens along the way and in Hyde Park, where the march ended in a huge rally, a sprinkling of snowdrops and crocuses heralded a spring that, if these protests fail, some British servicemen may never live to see.
- 8 While it was true that militants, anarchists, anti-capitalists and anti-Americans - what one weary PC called "the great unwashed" - were out in force, the heart and mind of the protest was ordinary people.
- 9 Worried mums and dads of all ages, all races and religions. Not traitors or cowards. Not faint-hearts. But people who had come to express a genuine feeling they cannot ignore - that the Prime Minister is wrong.
- 10 You should have been there, Mr Blair. If you had, you would have witnessed London's biggest-ever demonstration. With organisers claiming two million protesters, it dwarfed the 100,000 at the 1990 Poll Tax march and the 400,000 of last year's Countryside march.
- 11 Dozens of causes were represented. The professionally-produced placards of the protest groups with their fierce messages - "Blair and Bush - Wanted for Murder" - contrasted with cobbled-together banners. "Notts County supporters say Make Love Not War", said one.
- 12 "Make tea, not war," proclaimed another, over a picture of the Prime Minister with a gun in his hand and a teapot on his head.
- 13 Hundreds of Labour Party red roses were flourished. They may have been hangovers from Valentine's Day, but I doubt it.
- 14 The first knots of people began to gather beside the Thames at around 10am. The Embankment was shut to traffic and its sudden emptiness revealed how long and wide a road it is. How could it possibly be filled?
- 15 The answer came as people flooded in. Young and old, all wrapped up against the cold. Children in buggies, invalids in chairs. Some were scruffy in denims and fleeces, others wore fur-collared coats and Barbour's.

- 16** Those of us near the front, in sight of the start gate under Charing Cross bridge, waited as more and more people pressed in behind. There was chatter, some laughter, the ring of mobile phones as friends tried to meet up. People talked to friends, passed the odd remark to strangers but there was little frivolity. High spirits were not the order of the day. This was serious business.
- 17** The crush behind was now becoming so great that at 11.45am, a quarter of an hour ahead of schedule, the march began. It was good to be walking, a chance to warm up. Now the noise of whistles and shouts was deafening. We passed side streets where the police held back those waiting to join the march. They would have to tag on the end. It was clear even then that it would be a long wait.
- 18** On the other bank of the Thames, the London Eye was creeping round, like the minute hand of clock counting down to war. Big Ben struck 12 times like a death knell. It was noon as we passed beneath it. "No war" was the chant. Then it was a right turn towards Parliament Square and right again into Whitehall, away from the statue of Winston Churchill, leaning on his stick and seeming to glower at this tide of appeasement.
- 19** But Churchill - whose name has been much invoked by those urging war on both sides of the Atlantic - would have been the first to accept the need to inspire a people if you are to take them into a fight. There were no boos for the old warlord, nor even for the Foreign Office, as we passed by. Venom was reserved for Downing Street - not that anyone got near. The column was squeezed to one side of the road, giving a wide berth to the gates guarding the Prime Minister's domain. Two dozen policemen made it clear that this was our very own no-fly zone.
- 20** Violence broke out at the US Embassy as 200 protesters tried to march to the front of the building in Grosvenor Square. They were pushed to the floor as a 30-metre police line ran to force them back.
- 21** Writer Tariq Ali, who saw the flare-up, said: "There was no violent intention. The police were scared and pushed people back roughly. There was no need to do that."
- 22** Trafalgar Square was awash with people, clinging to the lions, trying to get some height to take in the extent of the ever-growing crowd.
- 23** Now unofficial streams were joining from The Strand and from St Martin's Lane. Out of the Square and into Piccadilly - and the other march, coming down Shaftesbury Avenue from the North, merged. There were loud roars of recognition and mutual admiration.
- 24** And so along towards Hyde Park Corner and on to the rapidly muddying grassland of the park. There, a passionate Bianca Jagger demanded that the government "listen to our voices".
- 25** "Carpet-bombing will not bring democracy to Iraq. Do we want this done in our name?" she demanded. "No," roared the crowd.
- 26** That was the thought that led so many ordinary people to flood the streets of London yesterday. One Lancashire mother explained how it had meant taking her toddler out of school early the day before and travelling overnight.
- 27** She cradled her five-month-old baby son to her as she said: "It was a huge decision to come. I've never been to London for a march before.
- 28** "But when the bloodshed starts I want to feel it is not in my name. When the children are older I want to be able to tell them we played a part in trying to stop it.
- 29** "I know there are extremists here whose opinions I disagree with, but they could not summon this number of people. This is Joe Public."

- 30** No one was there to defend Saddam Hussein. No one needed a finger-wagging Prime Minister to tell them that such a march would be violently suppressed in Iraq. No one was denying the evil ways of Saddam Hussein's regime. Not a single voice backed the tyrant. No followers marched in his honour as the Blackshirts did for Hitler 70 years ago.
- 31** The mood was of people not convinced. Not convinced that Iraq has the weapons we are told it has (but of which we have seen so little concrete evidence).
- 32** Not convinced that this is the only way to rid the world of Saddam. Not convinced that Bush and Blair know what they are unleashing.
- 33** It was now more than four hours after the march had begun yet the stragglers were still in Whitehall and Piccadilly was wall-to-wall with protesters. Ken Livingstone stood on the stage to tell us that the numbers had now reached two million, double the police estimate.
- 34** It had been a good day.
- 35** But not for Tony Blair. He had deserted the capital for Glasgow, where he addressed party faithful. The contempt for him was evident everywhere along the march and in Hyde Park. On placards, "You wuss" was the least of the insults.
- 36** The trouble is that the Great Deceiver has cried wolf once too often. Time and again he has asked us to believe in him. Honest Tone, a man you can trust. Now millions of people wouldn't trust him to see them safely across the road, let alone send their sons and daughters, husbands and lovers, into battle.
- 37** If it helps you to understand, Mr Blair, helps you make sense of what happened on the streets of the capital yesterday, then think of all those people as a mighty focus group - and take notice.
- 38** *Tony Rennell is the co-author with John Nichol of *The Last Escape, the story of the demobilisation of Allied prisoners of war in Germany 1944-45.**

A comparative study of the role of constructed oppositions in two news reports of a Countryside Alliance protest march

6.1 Introduction

Chapter Five demonstrated how unconventional textually-constructed oppositions can contribute powerfully to the rhetorical force of a news report which portrays anti-war protestors as two fundamentally contrasting groups, one with which the paper aligns itself. This chapter compares two articles published on the same day – a *Daily Mail* and a *Daily Mirror* report of the Countryside Alliance demonstration against a government ban on fox-hunting (both articles are reproduced at the end of the chapter and in the appendix).

Both articles are eye-witness accounts, this time from the point of view of regular columnists John Mortimer and Brian Reade respectively. However, in both these cases, unlike the report of the anti-war demonstration, the oppositions are much more integral to each article's overall polemic, and are used to emphasise each writer's alignment for or against the causes being promoted by the protest in ways that allows them to make broader claims about social division.

The contrasting ideological stance of the two writers (reflecting the positions of the newspapers they write for) allows for some interesting comparisons between not only the

representations of Countryside Alliance protestors themselves but also the inhabitants of the city and countryside in general.

Both writers employ as part of their rhetorical armoury the core conceptual oppositions **RURAL / URBAN, PAST / PRESENT** and **REALITY / ILLUSION**. In doing so they also use personal pronouns to generate an **US / THEM** binary to align themselves with their readership and make assumptions based on them about who they should support and why, in comparable ways to that in the *Sunday Mirror* report in the previous chapter.

This chapter builds on the analysis in Chapter Five of the ways the canonical and non-canonical oppositions function as regards planes of equivalence and difference. Here I demonstrate how the constructed oppositional stances adopted by each writer reflect deeply entrenched views likely to be reflected in editorial policy and attempting to simultaneously echo and position the viewpoint of the readerships.

Chapter Eight will deal with the broader theoretical issues relating to the dichotomies employed.

6.2 Summary of the two articles

6.2.1 Daily Mail

Under the banner headline of ‘SAVE OUR COUNTRYSIDE’ in block capitals is the sub-heading ‘Revolt of the secret people; John Mortimer on how new Labour’s intolerance forced the countryside into action’. Elderly and infirm at the time of writing, Mortimer was an active participant in the demonstration and in his own words ‘was not walking but heading up the wheelchair brigade’. He uses his life-long knowledge of the countryside he grew up in to exploit his readers’ fears that rural traditions are slowly being eroded by an uncaring urban-based government. The proposed ban on fox-hunting is therefore

symptomatic of more deep-rooted attacks on the countryside by those in power. He bemoans the loss of community and the way that wealthy ‘TV executives and merchant bankers’ are transforming villages into ‘weekend rest centres or dormitories’. The government’s lack of empathy is threatening to turn what was once a breathless ‘bleak and masterful countryside’ which inspired some of Britain’s greatest writers, into a ‘wasteland bare of fields and animals’. The law-abiding rural inhabitants are used to being left alone and reciprocally not interfering in affairs of government. However the situation is so critical that they are forced out onto the streets to register their protest and in doing so are in danger of being unfairly treated like criminals. Mortimer therefore focuses his attention on how the anti-foxhunting legislation is symbolic of a general attack on the countryside and the ways of life of its citizens. In the latter paragraphs he uses first person plural personal pronouns (**‘we’/‘us’/‘our’**) to appeal to all readers to save the countryside which influenced Britain’s literary heritage and is therefore the responsibility of the nation as a whole.

As well as utilising the **us / them** binary to position the reader in favour of the Countryside Alliance, he consistently draws on the conceptual oppositions **RURAL / URBAN, PAST / PRESENT** and **PRESENT / FUTURE**.

6.2.2 Daily Mirror

The *Daily Mirror*’s Brian Reade on the other hand is scornful of the Countryside Alliance demonstrators whose aims he depicts as fraudulent. His negative attitude towards them is exemplified in the headline ‘Vermin, cunning vermin (and no, I’m not talking about the poor foxes)’, and is supported by the strapline ‘Brian Reade on how the fox hunters hijacked the countryside protest’.

As far as Reade is concerned, the Countryside Alliance demonstrators are ‘chinless wonders’ and ‘pro-hunting puppet masters’ who support ‘murdering animals with dogs’, and backed by ‘right-wing political forces’. He accuses them of trying to dupe the public by masquerading as ‘ordinary, decent rural folk who are protesting not specifically about the banning of fox-hunting but general attacks on the countryside, i.e. ‘everything but the “H” word’. He portrays them as homophobic, racist, undemocratic and manipulative. He finishes in much the same way as a political speechmaker might, calling on his readership to ‘pull back the veil of deception andshow them that it is they, not us, who belong to a different planet.’ Like his corresponding *Daily Mail* writer, Reade uses the **us / them** binary but this time in reverse, aligning his sympathies (and hence his readership) not with the protestors but with the Labour government and urban culture, including workers in the manufacturing industries who he claims suffered years of hardship under the Conservatives whose core support is in the countryside. Key to Reade’s polemic is the utilisation of an **ILLUSION / REALITY** binary to contrast the relative honesty of the Countryside Alliance in their demands of four years ago with what he believes is a deceptive front in the present.

6.3 *Daily Mail* – ‘Secret People’ or ‘conservative whingers’?

Mortimer bases his lengthy polemic in favour of the aims of the Countryside Alliance marchers around two main general oppositions – **RURAL / URBAN** and **PAST / PRESENT**. The **RURAL / URBAN** dichotomy is used to differentiate the Countryside Alliance protestors from those he associates with protesting on issues of urban concern, and also to argue that it is the city based government who are interfering in concerns of the countryside they do not understand. The contrast between **PAST** and **PRESENT** is used to

show how the values and lifestyles of the country dwellers has been eroded owing to the encroachment of city values on the countryside.

These are textually instantiated in a variety of complex interlocking ways and include within them a number of other conceptual oppositions represented by a range of textual forms. Mortimer utilises a rich array of syntactic frames to trigger the oppositions including transitional, explicit, negated and contrastive frames and in some cases syntactic parallelism.

6.3.1 *'Rural' versus 'urban' protestors*

The early sections of the article use oppositions specifically to represent the Countryside Alliance demonstrators as respectable, law-abiding rural people in contrast to the behaviour of those on what he calls 'urban protest marches'. The text represented in Example 6.1 is reproduced in full as it takes in the same opposed referents based around two syntactic frames over five paragraphs.

6.1 *In the recent past, these people from Yorkshire villages, on Welsh hillsides, in Cumberland pubs and cottages, farmers, farmers' wives and farm workers, gamekeepers and gardeners, farriers and woodmen, all sorts of men and women whose life depends on the countryside they knew and loved,* would have read of **urban protest marches** with only moderate interest.

To them, **marching seemed for political hotheads interested in remote events in distant countries.**

But yesterday all that changed.

The country people came to London to join in a well-organised, well-behaved march through the streets.

They *contrasted* dramatically *with* the **crowds who sat down for CND, or marched against the Vietnam war, in the days when the amplified voices of Michael Foot and Tony Benn filled Trafalgar Square and sent Leftwing pulses racing.**

(Paragraphs 3– 7)

The first frame - '*in the past X, but yesterday Y*' combines the contrastive *but* with adverbials of past and present. This is used to compare the usually passive attitude of the 'country people' – listed extensively in Paragraph 3 to allocate to them specific individual identities based on profession and region – with the pro-active stance they have been forced to adopt owing to the ensuing legislation.

The second frame, '*X contrasted with Y*', has already been discussed in some detail in Section 4.4.5, so the intention is not to repeat it fully here. The essential point is that Mortimer has to distance the country marchers from the marches consisting of 'political hotheads interested in remote events in distant countries', so that the reader feels comfortable in supporting this specific type of action. The country people are therefore defined by their exemplary behaviour by being compared to behaviour and values which a *Daily Mail* reader is unlikely to relate to i.e. pro-CND, anti-war marches led by left-wing Labour Party MPs (in the case of Michael Foot, the leader of the Labour Party at the time). The latter's 'amplified voices' also contrast with the usually non-attention seeking 'Secret People', the title of the GK Chesterton poem which Mortimer uses as symbolic of the conduct of the country dwellers in the opening two paragraphs.

As Chapter Four demonstrated, these oppositions are not instantiated by individual words sitting on either side of a frame, but by a network of overlapping oppositional canonical concepts represented by text comprising lengthy phrases and clauses. Table 4.1 in section 4.4.5 shows how these concepts act to show a distinct preference for the Countryside Alliance protestors over their urban counterparts. There are some parallels

here with the way the *Sunday Mirror* article explored in Chapter Five attempted to marginalise those protestors portrayed as too subversive to be worthy of support. Mortimer uses a similar technique in that he chooses behaviour and lifestyles from what he constructs as the two extremes on a scale so that the actions of the country protestors can have the least equivalence with their counterparts as possible. One major difference however is that the *Sunday Mirror's* stereotypes are of those who both participate in the same demonstration, whereas Mortimer has chosen demonstrations from the 1960s and 1980s against which to compare the *unified* character of the current one. The picture Mortimer tries to create of the **RURAL / URBAN** divide is built on in the three paragraphs that follow (see Example 6.2).

6.2 Yesterday, **the protest** was *directed at* the **Leftwing orthodoxy** which believes that all **rough shooters, followers of hunts, Pony Club girls and elderly women flyfishers** are Rightwing toffs and that farmers are a curmudgeonly collection of conservative whingers whose daily milking of cows amounts to cruelty to animals.

It was aimed at those who can't accept the fact that **people who hunt, shoot and fish know more and care more about animals than city dwellers who have never shot a pheasant or netted a salmon.**

Confidence in the urban, politically correct New Labour majority in Parliament has *broken down* in **the countryside.**

(Paragraphs 8 – 10)

Note in these three paragraphs that each one contains an oppositional syntactic frame, although in each case they are not as obvious as the standard 'X *not* Y' or 'X *but* Y' frames. They are 'X *directed at* Y', 'X *aimed at* Y' and 'X *broken down in the* Y'. The first two are versions of explicit oppositional triggers in that they make it apparent to the reader that the protest X in this case has a target based on an opposing point of view. These

rivals are the ‘**Leftwing orthodoxy**’ in Paragraph 8 and who by association are equivalent to the urban protestors in the previous paragraph (‘**Leftwing pulses**’) and those ‘**city dwellers who have never shot a pheasant....**’ (Paragraph 8). The protestors on the other hand are represented in terms of their innocent sounding leisure activities (‘**rough shooters ...elderly women flyfishers**’) who ‘*know more and care more about animals than city dwellers*’ (Paragraph 9).

Note that there are also two more oppositions embedded within these paragraphs which perform similar functions. One is represented in the example above which contains the comparative trigger (see Section 3.3.3) ‘*X know more and care more than Y*’ where the protestors are judged against two scales – knowing and caring about animals, representing **KNOWLEDGE / IGNORANCE**, and **CARING / UNCARING**. The other is contained within Paragraph 8 and relies on a combination of a less overt syntactic trigger and the semantic features on either side of it. The frame might be represented as ‘*A believes that X is Y*’ where A is the ‘Leftwing orthodoxy’, and X and Y are how the writer defines the country people judged against what he claims this orthodoxy believes they are. The effectiveness of this **TRUTH / ILLUSION** opposition is based on the fact that Mortimer is attributing descriptions of those he supports to that of his opponents (‘**Rightwing toffs [...] conservative whingers [...] cruelty to animals**’), which he has himself constructed in order to demonstrate that they are actually the opposite of this parody. This can only work because of the careful picture he has built up of the country protestors beforehand. Section 6.4 will show how the *Daily Mirror* also uses the same technique, as a pre-emptive counterattack to Countryside Alliance protestors who claim they are the opposite to what they really are.

The last opposition in Example 6.2 utilises the transitional frame ‘*X broken down into Y*’ where X represents *confidence* in the government and Y a lack of confidence, which we

might represent conceptually as **TRUST / MISTRUST**. However, there is a more powerful indirect opposition triggered here also, which is that between the ‘**countryside**’ and what Mortimer describes as ‘**urban, politically correct New Labour majority in Parliament**’. The association of banning fox-hunting with ‘political correctness’ - a term often used in the news media to signal an unnecessary restriction on freedom of expression and activity – may be designed to further antagonise the reader against a city-based government.

Table 6.1 shows the text involved in oppositional frames in the first 10 paragraphs where the aim is to differentiate the country from the city protestors. Underneath are the main oppositional higher level canonical concepts of which this text is representative. It is clear from the textual items highlighted in bold that the **RURAL / URBAN** binary is a key opposition that runs through the article. The other concepts work alongside them to contribute to the positive self presentation and negative ‘Other’ presentation of rural and urban marchers, and by association country and city life respectively. Key to creating empathy for rural concerns and simultaneously distancing the reader from the city, is the way that the former are represented in terms of named professions related to the practical, hard-working backbone of rural production. They are given additional character by being related to a specific country and counties in Britain and hence rooted firmly on national soil. Conversely, apart from when the names of Foot and Benn are invoked, the urban protestors are identified merely as ‘political hotheads’, and ‘crowds’ and ‘Leftwing pulses’, anonymous and unpredictable groups more interested in ‘remote events in distant countries’ and hence not rooted or interested in British working practices and traditions.

Paragraph No	Countryside Alliance demonstrators	'Urban' demonstrators
2 - 4	the 'secret' people of the English, Welsh and Scottish countryside these people from Yorkshire villages , on Welsh hillsides , in Cumberland pubs and cottages , farmer, farmers' wives and farm workers, gamekeepers and gardeners, farriers and woodmen , all sorts of men and women.....	urban protest marches political hotheads interested in remote events in distant countries
6	country people	crowds
6 -7	well-organised, well-behaved march	who sat down for CND, or marched against the Vietnam war....amplified voices of Michael Foot and Tony Benn.....Leftwing pulses racing
8	the protest..... rough shooters, followers of hunts, Pony Club girls and elderly women..... farmers	Leftwing orthodoxy
9	people who hunt, shoot and fish	city dwellers who have never shot a pheasant or netted a salmon
10	confidence .....in the countryside	urban , politically correct New Labour majority in Parliament
Higher level conceptual categories	RURAL SPECIFIED BRITISH INTERESTS PROXIMAL ORGANISED BEHAVED QUIET MODEST RIGHT-WING FREEDOM PRAGMATIC KNOWLEDGE TRUST	URBAN ANONYMOUS FOREIGN INTERESTS DISTAL DISORGANISED MISBEHAVED NOISY <i>ARROGANT</i> <i>LEFT-WING</i> <i>RESTRICTION</i> <i>DOGMATIC</i> <i>IGNORANCE</i> MISTRUST

Table 6.1 – oppositions used to differentiate **country/ city** protestors in Paragraphs 1- 10 of the Daily Mail's report of the Countryside Alliance demonstration

Table 6.1 also shows how at Paragraph 8 Mortimer starts to broaden out his argument from portraying the differences between two types of protestors to conflict between urban-based government and victimised countryside.

6.3.2 The 'rural' / 'urban' dichotomy

As the set of oppositions in Table 6.1 shows, Mortimer refers to the 'Leftwing orthodoxy' (Paragraph 8) immediately after mentioning 'Leftwing pulses' (Par 7) and so associates the government at whom the protest is aimed, with those whose protest marches in the past Mortimer disapproved of, with 'orthodoxy' implying a rigid, unquestioning dogmatism. Mortimer's treatment of the protestors as two very distinct types therefore starts to broaden into a more general distinction between '**rural**' (country) and '**urban**' (city) lifestyles and attitudes. The latter he additionally associates with the 'Left' who as we have seen he simultaneously accuses of unfairly labelling as 'Rightwing toffs', those who are actually decent, hard-working folk participating in harmless leisure activities (Paragraph 8). Whilst the city people are depicted as indifferent to and ignorant of the country life, they still meddle in rural affairs. City and country dwellers are compared in relation to their actual love of animals, contrasting those who 'hunt, shoot and fish' with those who have never participated in these activities and so influencing and benefiting from the countryside without having any knowledge of or contributing towards any of its practices.

In Example 6.3 the urban-based Labour government is accused of indirectly causing economic hardship in the countryside:

6.3 *If Mrs Thatcher presided over the collapse of heavy industry, Tony Blair has watched the slow death of farming.*

(Paragraph 11)

The mechanics of this specific opposition are discussed in detail in Section 3.3.7 (on syntactic parallelism). It is worth pointing out here however that the conditional subordinating conjunction ‘*if*’ which initiates the first clause may be being used to preempt claims by opponents of the Countryside Alliance – such as the writer of the *Daily Mirror* article discussed Section 6.4 - that the decline of farming is unrelated to Labour policies. The inference is that this claim would be equivalent to saying that Thatcher was not responsible for the demise of manufacturing in the early 1980s, so if Blair is not to blame, neither is Thatcher (who was staunchly supported by the *Daily Mail* throughout her premiership).

6.3.3 Rural transformations – from idyll to wasteland

Mortimer’s attempts to blame urban interference for the decline of rural communities draws not only on the **RURAL / URBAN** binary but also on temporal contrasts, between **PAST / PRESENT** and **PRESENT / FUTURE**. Often these are combined so that Blair’s Labour government, elected in 1997, are seen as responsible for these transformations. Again, oppositions co-occurring in a number of syntactic frames can be identified, involving comparatives, parallelisms and transitional oppositions all of which are particularly powerful in signalling the shifts from past to present and present to future states.

An indicator that these transformations constitute a major foundation of Mortimer’s argument are the adverbials of time – ‘**yesterday**’ / ‘**in the recent past**’ - which open

Paragraphs Two and Three. They are employed to contrast the silence of people who usually kept themselves *secret* (triggering the concept **PASSIVE**) with the fact the decay of the countryside has forced them out of their hiding to become **ACTIVE**.

6.4 **Yesterday**, the '**secret**' people of the English, Welsh and Scottish countryside **broke** ***their silence*** because the condition of the farms and fields in Britain seems so desperate.

(Paragraph 2)

In Example 6.4 the text in bold italics is so because it acts simultaneously to trigger the opposition and be part of it. The verb '**broke**' signals the transition from one state to another but is also part of the phrase '**broke *their silence***' which is the new state forced upon the country people. As an opposition it becomes clearer if we reformulate this as '**became non-silent**', where this is equivalent to becoming **ACTIVE**. The point therefore is that the passive country people become active owing to the changes detrimental to their lifestyles.

Mortimer attempts to speak with authority in his portrayal of these developments by drawing from his rural-based childhood experiences to provide contrasts between the countryside as it was then and as it is now. Paragraphs 20 – 24 (see Example 6.5) provide a particular concentrated cluster of specific textual oppositions:

6.5 In this situation it's small wonder that all of us who live in, understand and love the countryside should have been on the move yesterday. I was *not walking*, **but heading up the wheelchair brigade**.

This is *not* on account of anything so dashing as **a fall in the hunting field** *but* because I have now **lived long enough to remember what things were like when I was a child in the house I still live in on the edge of the Chiltern Hills**.

We had, within a mile or two, three shops, three pubs, two schools, two churches and a chapel.

We now have no shops, no schools, no church and a very rare appearance of a single bus. Life here would be impossible without a car to go shopping in the nearest town, and rises in the cost of petrol are another blow to life in the countryside.

Now our local farmer is on income support, the police station in the nearest town has been closed and the cottage hospital abolished.

(Paragraphs 20 – 24)

Mortimer introduces this theme by drawing attention to his relative immobility on the demonstration itself whereby he was ‘**not walking but heading up the wheelchair brigade**’. The opposition between ‘**walking**’ and using a ‘**wheelchair**’ signals both his dedication and his age, as in the next paragraph he is keen to inform the reader that his infirmity is not a result of ‘anything so dashing in the hunting field’ but because he has lived a long time, referring to his childhood in the Chiltern Hills. This conceptual opposition between **DRAMATIC / UNDRAMATIC** reasons to be in a wheelchair therefore is an attempt to give his views extra credibility by dint of his experience.

The following two paragraphs combine a string of negators with some typically rhetorical repetitive syntactic patterning, although not perfectly parallel.

PAST	had	three shops	two schools	two churches and a chapel
PRESENT	now have	<i>no</i> shops	<i>no</i> schools	<i>no</i> church

Here, even the simple past and present forms of the verb ‘to have’ arguably contribute towards the overall effect of the contrast. This is added to in the same and following

paragraph which lists a catalogue of woes detailing how country life is on the decline. The whole of Paragraph 24, beginning with the temporal adverb ‘*now*’ is also therefore placed in a position of opposition with Paragraph 22, based not only on the concepts of **PAST / PRESENT** but also **LIVING / DYING** in their metaphorical sense of describing the dynamics of community life.

The contribution of urban dwellers to the death of rural communities is subsequently described in Example 6.6, using a transitional trigger ‘*X turning into Y*’.

6.6 Villages are *turning into* weekend rest centres or dormitories for commuting TV executives and merchant bankers.

Ramblers are given the **right** to roam over a countryside which they have *no responsibility* for looking after.

(Paragraphs 26 - 27)

Here ‘villages’ with their connotations of a thriving rural community are opposed to types of accommodation for wealthy city types, signalling the slow death of the rural community through urbanisation.

Implying that the city dwellers are taking advantage of the breakdown of rural communities, he follows this in the next paragraph with an accusation against irresponsible ramblers who use the countryside for leisure but make no contribution to its upkeep. This contrast between ‘**right**’ and ‘**responsibility**’ is representative of the concepts **TAKING** and **GIVING** and suggests that the ‘urban ramblers’ (referred to as such in Paragraph 29) are parasitic on the countryside in much the same way as those who use villages as weekend rest centres.

If the cataloguing of disasters which have befallen the countryside - such as the loss of 60,000 farming jobs ‘in the three years up to June 2001’ (Paragraph 15) - are not enough

to gain a sympathetic ear from non-country dwellers or to dispel the myth that the farming community is over-privileged, Mortimer also contrasts the state of the countryside now with how it might be in a dystopian vision of the near future:

6.7 *If farming goes*, urban ramblers will be **left struggling through brambles and shrub in a wasteland bare of fields and animals**

(Paragraph 29)

In Example 6.7 ‘farming’ is equated with a thriving well-tended countryside that the ramblers use for their leisure time by being opposed to the potential wasteland that will occur in its absence, evoking a dying, uncared for landscape echoing the **LIVING / DYING** opposition of Example 6.5. The frame ‘*if X goes, Y follows*’ is a type of transitional oppositional trigger and in this case employs the conditional subordinator ‘*if*’ as a warning of the potential consequences of further rural decay unless action is taken.

Mortimer also utilises another transitional framework in Example 6.8 – ‘*X turn into Y*’ – to construct another possible vision of the future if the ban on fox-hunting went ahead, this time by showing the effect it might have on the reputations of those who practise it:

6.8 The Government has also shown its lack of concern with country matters by threatening us with a Bill which would *turn* the **many decent, honourable and law-abiding people who take part in hunting** *into* **criminals liable to be cast into our overcrowded jails.**

(Paragraph 32)

The opposition might be processed using the following pairs of oppositional concepts **PRESENT, LEGAL, DECENT, HONOURABLE** and **FUTURE, ILLEGAL, INDECENT, DISHONOURABLE**. The perversity of these ‘decent’, ‘secret’ people

facing jail sentences is given weight because of their positive portrayal throughout the article, including being the guardians of landscapes which from Paragraph 42 to the end of the text are shown to have inspired some of the greatest of English writers such as Chaucer, Shakespeare, the Brontes and Wordsworth.

According to Mortimer, not only will the country people be criminalised if the legislation goes ahead, they will also be forced to adopt the values of the city types who are contributing to the ruination of the countryside in the first place. Although not directly involved in an oppositional frame, Paragraph 36 (See example 6.9) is worth examining.

6.9 Adopt the values, they say, follow the example, they seem about to order, of an occasionally rambling, dedicated university vegan lecturer in sociology from Camden and if they, under their new power of search, find anything that looks remotely like a hunting horn or a pink coat in our bedrooms, it'll be up to us to prove our innocence.

(Paragraph 36)

The influential but disconnected city meddler who makes occasional forays into the countryside is epitomised and parodied here as ‘an occasionally rambling dedicated university vegan lecturer in sociology from Camden’. Whether such a person exists or not is irrelevant, for the occupation and lifestyle have no doubt been chosen very carefully to appeal to the *Mail* readers’ sense of indignity at someone whose attributes might be equated as follows¹:

- **occasionally rambling** = rambling could be deliberately chosen for its ambiguous meaning i.e. unstructured speech or walking in the countryside, and therefore either sometimes makes no sense and/or uses the country for occasional leisurely walks

- **university lecturer** – talks a lot but contributes nothing to society in practical terms
- **sociology** – a subject much maligned by conservatives as having no practical value
- **Camden** – part of London (the urban capital), specifically associated with a bohemian (and hence impractical) lifestyle.

These values might be summarised therefore as **URBAN, ECCENTRIC, INCOHERENT, EXTREME, WORTHLESS**, which attributes the opposite values to the country people – **RURAL, CONVENTIONAL, COHERENT, MODERATE** and **WORTHY**. Meanwhile the reader may be being reminded here of an earlier statistic in Paragraph 19 where the average workload of a farmer – ‘**over 60 hours a week**’ – is contrasted with the ‘**national average of 38 hours**’ (using the comparative trigger *as compared to*) to emphasise the disparity between rural and urban working conditions.

The continual association of the decline of the rural landscape with interference from urbanites could, if over-exaggerated, alienate the very readership to whom Mortimer is appealing for support, the *Daily Mail* not being aimed exclusively at people who live and work in the countryside. That being the case he also therefore has to appeal to the self-interest and finer sensibilities of city dwellers who themselves will lose out if the countryside they use as a retreat is damaged. This has already been exemplified in Example 6.7 and the depiction of the wasteland that might appear if farmers cannot tend to it.

The benefits the city people may lose are also emphasised in Mortimer’s eulogy to the countryside in Paragraphs 44 – 45:

6.10 In these dark days and when there is the merest hint of spring or autumn sunshine where I live the woods are full of town dwellers come to see the first snowdrops, the turning leaves and often picnicking in the rain.

The **countryside is the lung which allows us to breathe**, *the way of escape from the pressure, and often the loneliness of cities*.

(Paragraphs 44-45)

Here the conventional opposition of ‘**countryside**’ and ‘**cities**’ is combined with the transitional frame ‘X *escape from* Y’. However unlike the previous transitional oppositions which relate temporal movement (past to present or present to future), this one relates movement in *space*, between the ‘**countryside**’ and ‘**city**’, whereby the former is associated with **REVITALISING** qualities (‘**lung...breathe**’) and the latter **DEBILITATING** qualities (‘**pressure**’ and ‘**loneliness**’). Mortimer therefore uses the **RURAL / URBAN** distinction to represent to the ‘town dwellers’ what they stand to lose if the changes continue to go ahead.

6.3.4 *Additional rhetorical techniques*

The above analysis of the portrayal of the Countryside Alliance protestors and their urban counterparts, the **rural / urban** divide in general, and the temporal contrasts outlined, only includes those examples where some kind of *co-occurring* opposition is evident. The force of the polemic is enhanced by other factors such as the job loss statistics, the derogatory remarks about Labour’s Deputy leader John Prescott, the romantic evocation of nature via the poetry of Wordsworth, and so on. However, the strength of the article lies in the constructed binary oppositions whereby the reader is encouraged to accept a reality consisting of elementary mutually exclusive states and stereotypes. The negative qualities attributed to one side of the divide – **URBAN, PRESENT / FUTURE**

time are exaggerated to encourage support for what seem to be the positive attributes of the other – **RURAL** and **PAST** time.

The use of personal pronouns to align the writer, newspaper and reader with the point of view being promoted is another crucial factor in this rhetoric. This will be explored in Section 6.5, alongside the same techniques in the *Daily Mirror* article.

The *Daily Mirror's* portrayal of the same protestors and the landscapes they represent is the subject of the next section, and will demonstrate how the representation of 'reality' in news texts is very much subject to the ideological outlook of the writer and the newspaper that employs them.

6.4 *Daily Mirror* – 'smiling country bumpkins' or 'bloodthirsty anarchists'?

The *Daily Mirror's* Brian Reade utilises oppositions not so much to differentiate the Countryside Alliance supporters from other kinds of demonstrators but to make a contrast between the way they attempt to portray themselves and what Reade actually believes they are. He claims they have erected a veneer of respectability very different to that of their previous demonstration four years ago, and the utilisation by Reade of an **ILLUSION / REALITY** opposition throughout the article is essential to his rhetoric. His aim is to expose their claim that the demonstration is more than just about the ban on fox-hunting. Paragraphs 4 - 6 reproduced below in Example 6.11 are integral to this portrayal:

6.11 Well, as someone who spent a day with both the **pro-hunting puppet-masters** and **their marching stooges**, it was the sheer scale of the deception which did it for this extra-terrestrial.

Thanks to £1 million worth of backing, which saw them charter 37 trains, 2,500 coaches, close 22 roads, erect five giant screens and take over the Institute of Directors building for the

day to pump out their propaganda, they had succeeded in creating **the illusion** that their **march** was a **democratic uprising against the oppression** of **ordinary, decent rural folk** by a **spiteful urban elite**.

IN truth it was simply a desperate demonstration against the imminent ban on murdering animals with dogs, backed by rural pressure groups after even more hand-outs, and right-wing political forces who want to see this Labour government removed. It was the unspeakable in pursuit of the undemocratic.

(Paragraphs 4-6)

Here Reade utilises the canonical oppositions of '**illusion**' / '**[in] truth**' combined with some complex parallelism - '*the illusion that A was X (X1 against Y1)... in truth A was Y (X2 against Y2)*' – to trigger two oppositions within a larger one.

The embedded opposition in Paragraph 5 is Reade's depiction of an illusory contrast which he claims the Countryside Alliance have created to dupe the public to promote a positive image of their march i.e. as a struggle against oppression. Using the explicit oppositional trigger '*X against Y*' and the canonical oppositions '**rural**' / '**urban**', he attaches the oppositional concepts of **DEMOCRACY / OPPRESSION, DECENCY / INDECENCY** and **EGALITARIAN / ELITIST** to these respectively to claim the Countryside Alliance are portraying themselves as decent rural egalitarian democrats taking on a spiteful, urban, oppressive elite. The reality however, according to Reade, is a different kind of opposition – a '**desperate demonstration**' against a ban on '**murdering animals**', backed by sinister right-wing forces with dubious motives. The opposition between Paragraphs 5 and 6 is therefore signalled by the concepts of **ILLUSION / TRUTH**, whereby the first noble-sounding opposition claimed by the protestors is replaced by the cynical one claimed by Reade.

Reade's attempt to expose what he believes to be the truth behind the dignified and honest façade erected by the Countryside Alliance is a theme that runs through the text. It is built on in Paragraphs 12 – 16 (Example 6.12) which might seem to stretch the definition of co-occurring oppositions to the limit:

6.12 I was on the last **Countryside Alliance** march four years ago and *much had changed*.

Last time **they made the mistake of being honest.**

By **encouraging hunts to turn up with their horns in sporting dress, and hold a rally in Hyde Park which allowed their odd-ball spokesmen to rant bile against the government,** they had scored an own goal. Us townies had seen their loutish aims for what they were. *Yesterday there was a different strategy.*

It was **a human sea of comfortable respectability, dressed in Barbours, tweeds, paisley caps, shirts, ties and strange red trousers.** *Nowhere to be seen* were **the packs of hounds, or horses, or even the traditional red jackets.**

They had been *cast aside* for the day to show this was about everything but the "H" word.

THE crowds were buoyant *but nowhere near as noisy as the last one.* *Gone* were the **mass tally-ho horns, the rabble-rousing, the loud threats to bring down the government and the homophobic rants to loud applause.**

(Paragraphs 12 – 16)

Nowhere here is there a simple categorisable syntactic frame such as 'X *not* Y'. But on closer inspection it is evident that there *are* oppositional triggers (in italics) and on either side of these are canonical oppositional concepts which can be invoked. The triggers include adverbial temporal contrasts between paragraphs, such as '*last time* X, *yesterday* Y'. Added to this is the explicit contrast '*different strategy*' which works alongside '*nowhere to be seen were* X', '*X cast aside for* Y' '*X nowhere near as... as* Y.. *gone were the* X'. Note that the latter are all forms of negated oppositions with '*nowhere*', '*gone*', and '*cast aside*' emphasising that the demonstration has none of the attributes of the previous

one. The **PAST / PRESENT** contrast manifests itself as oppositions involving forms of attire. The traditional hunting gear of the previous march - ‘**sporting dress...red jackets**’ has been replaced by standard country clothing – ‘**Barbours, tweeds, paisley caps**’. The unruly behaviour of the first demonstration is described by referring to ‘**odd-ball spokesmen**’ who ‘**rant bile**’ with ‘**loutish aims, mass tally-ho horns, rabble rousing, the loud threats to bring down the government**’ and accompanied by ‘**packs of hounds**’. This time they are a ‘**human sea of comfortable respectability**’ and ‘**nowhere near as noisy as the last one**’. Underpinning this however is that the respectable image broadcast by the protestors is all pretence. This is made evident by Reade’s claim in Paragraph 12 that on the previous demonstration they ‘**made the mistake of being honest**’, whereas this time ‘**there was a different strategy**’, indicating that as far as he is concerned, they are now being dishonest.

The **ILLUSION / REALITY** network of oppositions is consolidated and summarised in the final two paragraphs:

6.13 Let us **pull back *the veil of deception*** and see the **smiling country bumpkins** as the **bloodthirsty anarchists** they *truly are*.

Let us show them that it is **they**, not **us**, who belong to a different planet.

(Paragraphs 42-43)

Par No.	ILLUSION	REALITY
Headline		Vermin, cunning vermin
2	polite exuberance “decent British citizens making a stand for their civil rights”	
4		pro-hunting puppet-masters and their marching stooges.....sheer scale of the deception

5 - 6	democratic uprising against the oppression of ordinary, decent rural folk by a spiteful urban elite	desperate demonstration against the imminent ban on murdering animals with dogs.....right wing political forces
7		unspeakable in pursuit of the undemocratic
13 - 16	human sea of comfortable respectability, dressed in Barbours, tweeds, paisley caps, shirts, ties and strange red trousers	loutish aims...mass tally-ho horns, the rabble-rousing, the loud threats to bring down the government and the homophobic rants
41		pro-hunting fanatics
42	smiling country bumpkins	bloodthirsty anarchists
43		belong to a different planet
Higher level conceptual canonical oppositions	<p style="text-align: center;">MODERATE PEACEFUL QUIET RATIONAL HONEST DECENT DEMOCRATIC EGALITARIAN</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">EXTREME VIOLENT NOISY IRRATIONAL DISHONEST INDECENT UNDEMOCRATIC ELITIST</p>

Table 6.2 – the textual and conceptual oppositions involved in creating an *'ILLUSION'* / *'REALITY'* binary in the Daily Mirror report of the Countryside Alliance demonstration

Here the opposition between *'smiling country bumpkins'* / *'bloodthirsty anarchists'* is triggered by another **ILLUSION / REALITY** binary instantiated by *'veil of deception'* / *'truly are'*. The hyperbolic imagery of them as *'bloodthirsty anarchists'* in reality is reinforced by the final words of the article where Reade assigns the otherworldly attributes of belonging 'to a different planet', turning on its head a claim by their chairman John Jackson that it was their opponents who were deluded (see Paragraph 3).

Table 6.2 (above) shows how the **ILLUSION / TRUTH** dichotomy as constructed by Reade works as a cohesive thread through the article. Included are co-occurring examples (where they are juxtaposed) plus other examples which don't act directly in oppositional pairs, but do contribute to enhancing the reader's impression of the protestors as deceitful, dangerous and undemocratic. The higher level canonical oppositional concepts that these exemplify are listed underneath.

6.5 Two versions of reality

A comparison of the ways Reade and Mortimer represent the protesters is fascinating. Despite being published on the same day, and therefore unable to read each other's articles before they could write their own, they both seem to anticipate attacks on each other's veracity when it comes to these representations.

Mortimer describes what he calls the 'Leftwing orthodoxy' who misrepresent country folk by labelling as 'Rightwing toffs' and 'a curmudgeonly collection of conservative whingers' those who are actually 'rough shooters, followers of hunts, Pony Club girls and elderly women flyfishers' and 'farmers' (Paragraph 8). In effect his is a reversal of the **ILLUSION / REALITY** binary utilised by Reade, making a counter-claim that what is illusion is the parodied representation of the Countryside Alliance by the 'Leftwing orthodoxy' of which presumably he would accuse Reade of being a member. This is consolidated by Mortimer later as shown in Example 6.14:

6.14 This heralded an ill-advised attempt by government sources to portray the **Countryside Alliance** as a **Rightwing group**. *In fact* the president is Anne Mallalieu, a **Labour peer**, the chairman is a dedicated **Fabian** and the chief executive **a member of the Labour Party**.

(*Daily Mail*, Paragraph 31)

Here the **ILLUSION / REALITY** binary is triggered by the adverbial '*in fact*' and based on the textual opposition between '**Rightwing group**' / '**Labour peer [...] Fabian [...] member of the Labour Party**', representing the conceptual opposition **RIGHT WING / LEFT WING** and relying on the readership assuming that you cannot be right wing and a member of the Labour Party at the same time².

Clearly both writers are aware of the power of discourse to stereotype each other. Mortimer anticipates the kind of attack carried out by Reade by warning his readers that attempts to disparage their cause are typical of the left wing. Conversely, Reade argues that the Alliance's depiction of themselves is in fact a ploy to hide the truth about what they really stand for.

Reade's attempt to parody the group he attempts to malign works mainly through this contrast between **ILLUSION / REALITY** and **PAST / PRESENT**, whereas Mortimer relies more on comparing the protestors with city types, using the **RURAL / URBAN** binary. However, both Reade and Mortimer also utilise the contrast between **COUNTRYSIDE / CITY** by aligning themselves with one or the other through the use of personal pronouns and creating a typical **US / THEM** dichotomy. The use of personal pronouns to position the reader with the writer is the focus of the next section.

6.6 The function of the US / THEM binary in both reports

It is clear that the *Daily Mail's* John Mortimer and the *Daily Mirror's* Brian Reade associate themselves with the interests of the sides they support, and in doing so attempt to persuade their readership to adopt the same positions. Mortimer depicts his organic connection with the countryside by revealing it as the place he has lived all of his life, whilst demonstrating his knowledge of the countryside by listing a number of rural professions and activities, a variety of regional landscapes and some of the most respected British writers who have been inspired by the rural environment.

Reade's urban loyalties are expressed through his support for industrial workers, his scorn for the Countryside Alliance and overt allegiance to municipal life in expressions such as 'us townies'(Paragraph 13).

The way both writers align themselves and their readers with their own point of view, specifically through the use of personal pronouns, is the concern of this section.

In a similar fashion to the *Sunday Mirror* writer in Chapter Five, both Reade and Mortimer relate to their readership by representing conflict in terms of two mutually exclusive opposing groupings, one of which is privileged by the writer and with which it is assumed their readership will also align themselves. Both writers seek to use singular and plural first person personal pronouns such as ‘**I**’ / ‘**we**’ / ‘**our**’ / ‘**us**’ to place their readership in a position of support for their views as opposed to those referred to using third person pronouns – ‘**they**’ / ‘**their**’ / ‘**them**’ - to distance the readership from the viewpoint of the other side.

Tables 6.3 and 6.4 indicate how the **US / THEM** binary (highlighted in bold) relates specifically to the **RURAL / URBAN** opposition outlined in the previous sections. Textual examples which are adjacent to each other in the tables are ones directly placed in a position of opposition with each other either intra- or intersententially, triggered by a variety of oppositional frames. The extra examples are those which show the writers’ positive support for or antipathy to one of the groups. Apart from the **RURAL / URBAN** dichotomy other key oppositional concepts which sustain **US / THEM** are **CONSERVATIVE / LABOUR**, **RIGHT-WING / LEFT-WING**, and **FARMING / MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY**. These oppositions are used by both writers to apply to the same groups, but differentiated by the evaluations made of them. So both writers seek to differentiate between rural, right wing, Conservative-supporting farm workers and urban, left wing, Labour-supporting industrial workers, but represent them very differently in each case..

Tables 6.3 and 6.4 show how densely packed the web of opposition is and of course how selective the writers choose to be in the way they represent their respective concerns. They have been included at the end of the chapter because of their length.

6.6.1 Daily Mail and pronoun referencing

When Mortimer writes about the countryside he chooses to emphasise the modesty, and law-abiding nature of the people who inhabit it. He also focuses on some of the specific ways the countryside has been exploited, and the importance it holds in both its beauty and influence on Britain's literary heritage. He speaks with an authoritative voice by using first person pronoun referencing such as the first person singular '**I**' when referring to his own specific experiences either participating on the demonstration ('**I** was... heading up the wheelchair brigade', Paragraph 20), living in the countryside ('when **I** was a child in the house **I** still live in', Paragraph 21) or seeing the 'town dwellers' in the 'wood where **I** live' (Paragraph 44). This is likely to lend credibility to his argument as an active user, inhabitant and supporter of rural concerns.

The referents for first person *plural* pronouns such as '**we**' / '**us**' / '**our**' are often more ambiguous. Sometimes the pronouns clearly refer to all countryside inhabitants including himself. This is the case for instance when he states 'all of **us** who live in, understand and love the countryside' (Paragraph 20), or '**We** now have no shops.....**our** local farmer' (Paragraph 23), and again in Paragraph 35 where he criticises urban politicians who 'tell **us** in the country how **we** should conduct **our** lives'. This represents the rural community as united with him in their empathy and concern for the land as well as in their antipathy for those who are negatively affecting their lifestyle and whose actions threaten to lead to them being treated as criminals. For example the Government is condemned for 'threatening **us**

with a Bill' (Paragraph 32), the flouting of which will criminalise them and so 'it'll be up to **us** to prove **our** innocence'.

However, elsewhere these pronouns have more general referents which could be the *Daily Mail* readers themselves – many who will not live in the countryside - and also the nation as a whole. Mortimer, in using possessive pronouns like '**our**' has to be careful that he does not assign ownership of the countryside purely to those who live in it, as he will risk alienating the support of urban dwellers who visit the country and appreciate its beauty. So several times he refers to '**our** countryside' in which the use of the plural possessive pronoun must aim to take in at least *Daily Mail* readers if not everybody. In the context of discussing urban rambles and how they might suffer if the countryside is not maintained, Mortimer states that farmers are 'the only people who are going to maintain **our** countryside....' (Paragraph 28). Near the conclusion to the article, the plural pronouns are more clearly taking in the whole country. In Paragraph 43 he claims: "**We** are a nation of nature lovers, who even in towns, fill small front gardens....with shrubs and flowers"⁶. According to Mortimer, England is thought of affectionately because of '**our** countryside' (Paragraph 40), which inspires '**our** literature' (Paragraph 41). And again in Paragraph 45 when he states that the countryside 'is the lung which allows **us** to breathe...' he is appealing to the sensibilities of city dwellers who need somewhere to escape to from the pressures of urban life.

The opening paragraph of the article, where Mortimer quotes poet GK Chesterton clearly relates the pronouns '**us**' and '**we**' to 'the people of England' ('The Secret People'), but Mortimer simultaneously narrows the reference down to apply to those who were breaking their silence to protest against the ban on fox-hunting⁴. The significance of the pronoun usage and the places where their reference is unclear is that this allows Mortimer and the *Daily Mail* to link the needs of the countryside to that of the nation as a whole,

implying the government is attacking all of its own people and not just those living in the countryside. This is perhaps epitomised by the article's headline – 'Save **Our** Countryside'. The pronoun can be simultaneously interpreted as from the perspective of Mortimer specifically, the *Daily Mail*, the newspaper's readership, and the nation, potentially constructing all of these interests as overlapping, and making the *Daily Mail* sound as if they are a spokesperson for the nation and not just the narrower interests of the former.

Mortimer uses third person pronouns more sparingly, and when he does it is in his interests to be as specific as possible to ensure the readers themselves do not feel under attack. He uses '**they**' anaphorically to refer to those in favour of fox-hunting when he alleges '**they** eat the product of abattoirs' (Paragraph 32). He is critical of urban politicians who are 'taking it upon **themselves** to tell **us** in the country how **we** should conduct **our** lives' (Paragraph 34), drawing a clear distinction between politicians and everybody else. And in the following paragraph the same politicians are, according to Mortimer, trying to force the values of the aforementioned stereotyped sociology lecturer on the country folk – 'adopt the values, **they** say, follow the example, **they** seem about to order...it'll be up to **us** to prove **our** innocence'.

Mortimer is therefore not only attempting to 'other' the urban politicians from the perspective of rural dwellers, but because of the ambiguity of the first person plural pronoun referencing, by implication also differentiating them from the nation for who they make the laws.

6.6.2 *Daily Mirror*

Although Reade occasionally allies himself with the urban landscape, he devotes much more space than Mortimer to using third person pronouns for his main aim is to paint a

jaundiced picture of the Countryside Alliance protestors rather than revel in the delights of city life. He wants to depict the Alliance as a devious minority group whose motives for visiting the capital are distinctly suspect. He seeks to distance them from not only his *Mirror* readers but also other more respectable country people. For instance when used as possessive determiners, the rest of the noun phrase is usually a very disparaging one, such as ‘**their** marching stooges’ (Paragraph 4), ‘**their** propaganda’ (Paragraph 5), ‘**their** free market political philosophy to suit **their** own ends’ (Paragraph 35), ‘taking the law in to **their** own hands’ (Paragraph 39). Demonstrative determiners can also achieve a similar effect, especially when used in an overt position of opposition against first person pronouns, for instance in ‘I’ll admit **I** have no time for **these** people’ (Paragraph 32).

Third person subject and object personal pronouns ‘**they**’ and ‘**them**’ are used to refer to the protestors in Paragraph 10, where Reade refers to himself in the second person: ‘**You** ask them to define liberty and **they** waffle on foot-and-mouth’. The second person not only has the effect of including the reader under its reference but also implying that the answers they give are systematic. In Paragraph 34, ‘**they**’ is used three times, to differentiate the protestors from law-abiding citizens referred to as ‘the people’ and subsequently in the same paragraph ‘**us**’. This clearly sets apart the Alliance from democratic norms.

The use of ‘**they**’ and ‘**them**’ is perhaps most potent in the concluding two paragraphs where Reade seeks to expose the protestors as ‘the bloodthirsty anarchists **they** truly are’ and ‘show **them** that it is **they**..... who belong to a different planet’. This association of the Alliance with extreme forms of anti-social behaviour and the consistent use of the plural third person pronoun positions the reader so that it is very difficult to be a reader of and supporter of *Daily Mirror* values and simultaneously a Countryside Alliance supporter.

First person pronouns are used by Reade in the same specific and ambiguous ways as Mortimer. He uses the singular ‘**I**’ to assert himself as an authoritative voice. He attended

the previous Countryside Alliance demonstration against which he judges the present one as illusory – ‘**I** was on the last Countryside Alliance march four years ago and much had changed’ (Paragraph 12). He also relates other marches ‘**I**’d been on – supporting miners, shipbuilders, dockers’ (Paragraph 8) to show that he, like Mortimer is not merely an armchair critic but an active participant in promoting (or condemning) the causes he writes about. His authority may also be reinforced when he uses ‘**I**’ / ‘**me**’ a number of times for what seems on the surface to be merely interviewing people on the demonstration – ‘every time **I** asked a protestor’ (Paragraph 9), ‘**I** even performed this dance’ (Paragraph 11), ‘told **me** he was marching’ (Paragraph 17), ‘[W]hen **I** pointed out’ (Par 18), ‘**I** answered that....’ (Paragraph 20). However it is evident that this is no pretence to neutral reporting, but an attempt to illustrate to his readership his own personal commitment to exposing the contradictions in some of the arguments of specific individuals on the protest. His position becomes even clearer when the first person is used to overtly state his attitude in Paragraph 32 - ‘**I**’ll admit **I** have no time for **these** people....thirst for revenge’. In that particular paragraph, Reade extends the reference from himself to the plural ‘**us**’ to create a typical **us** / **them** opposition – ‘getting back at Tory supporters by doing to **them** what they did to **us** 18 years ago’. In doing so he attempts to subsume the *Daily Mirror* readers, urban dwellers, and anybody antipathetic to the former Conservative government, under his viewpoint.

Sometimes the plural pronouns are used to include himself and those who live in towns and cities such as ‘**us** townies’ (Paragraph 13). At other places, as in the concluding three paragraphs, the plural pronouns could refer to anybody who does not support the aims of the Alliance – ‘Let pro-hunting fanatics pollute **our** water.....block **our** roads....Let **us** pull back....Let **us** show them that it is they not **us**.’ Reade, like Mortimer, is trying to create and / or reinforce a consensus against a specific out-group, by appealing to as broad a

cross-section of potential support as possible against a group he portrays almost literally as alien, belonging to a different planet' (Paragraph 43).

6.7 Conclusion

The examples in Tables 6.3 and 6.4 (below) provide a helpful comparison of the different ways the two writers represent each side of the (constructed) **US / THEM, RURAL / URBAN** divide and show a consistent and unambiguous ideological viewpoint, which reflects that of their newspaper and the assumed reader.

To Mortimer, the Countryside Alliance protesters and rural inhabitants in general are 'Secret People', 'well-behaved', 'decent, honourable and law-abiding people', and lovers of the countryside. Farmers are exploited, overworked, suicidal, and the communities they struggle to maintain are slowly bleeding away in to the towns and cities.

However to Reade the protestors are 'cunning vermin', 'pro-hunting puppet masters', 'the unspeakable', 'pro-hunting fanatics', 'smiling country bumpkins....bloodthirsty anarchists' who 'pump out propaganda' and 'belong to a different planet'. They are not naïve, modest, poor and apolitical as Mortimer would claim, but 'backed byright-wing political forces who want to see this Labour government removed' and funded by 'billionaire landowners and businessmen'. Their 'odd-ball spokesmen...rant bile', and make 'veiled threats... about taking the law into their own hands'.

When it comes to the urban protestors who are supported by the government and inhabitants from the cities, they are, according to Mortimer, 'political hotheads', the 'Leftwing orthodoxy', 'the politically correct New Labour majority' who have overseen the 'slow death of farming', torturers of animals or of 'the English language', intolerant, interfering, and 'threatening to concrete over great parts of rural England'. Those

contributing to the despoiling of rural areas are ‘TV executives and merchant bankers’, ramblers with ‘no responsibility’, oddball vegan lecturers ‘in sociology from Camden’.

According to Reade however Tony Blair is a ‘hero’, the ‘new Che Guevara’. The plight of struggling industrial workers was ignored by the Tories who are to blame for ‘communities.....hosting public inquiries to find out why heroin addiction is rife’. Those he supports represent the ‘democratic will of the people’ and it is their job to ‘pull back the veil of deception’.

Evidently, it is in the interests of both writers and their newspapers to represent the conflict as consisting of these two mutually exclusive groups in a positive or negative light depending on their stance. The broader ideological significance of this polarising rhetoric will be explored in Chapter Eight.

NB: Tables 6.3 and 6.4 are on the following four pages, followed by copies of both of the articles analysed

Notes

¹van Dijk (1991) argues that *sociologists* are especially vilified by the right-wing British press, alongside left-wing activists who ‘advocate fundamental social change [...] Since they are also often intellectuals and sometimes part of a cultural elite, they are the true opponents of right-wing editors. They are attacked most often and most viciously by the Press (1991: 146).

²It has become much more difficult in recent years to rely on this assumption!

³One inconsistency is that the nation Mortimer refers to in Paragraph 40 is *England*, whereas in the opening paragraphs the Welsh and Scottish countryside are included in the category of those under attack!

⁴Again, Scotland and Wales have suddenly been removed from the picture....

Par No.	<i>Daily Mail</i> Urban (Them)	<i>Daily Mail</i> Rural (Us)
Hline	New Labour's intolerance forced...	Save Our Countryside...countryside army
1 – 3	urban protest marches political hotheads interested in remote events in distant countries	Smile at us , pass us ... we are the people of England...The Secret People..... these people from Yorkshire villages, on Welsh hillsides, in Cumberland pubs and cottages, farmer, farmers' wives and farm workers, gamekeepers and gardeners, farriers and woodmen, all sorts of men and women.....
7	crowds	country people
7	who sat down for CND, or marched against the Vietnam war....amplified voices of Michael Foot and Tony Benn.....Leftwing pulses racing	well-organised, well-behaved
8	Leftwing orthodoxy	rough shooters, followers of hunts, Pony Club girls and elderly women flyfishers
9	city dwellers who have never shot a pheasant or netted a salmon	people who hunt, shoot and fish
10	urban, politically correct New Labour majority	countryside
14		farming is in crisis...[followed by big list of examples]
19	national average of 38 hours	Farmers work over 60 hours a week...farmer's suicide
20		all of us who live in, understand and love the countryside... I was not walking, but heading up the wheelchair brigade
21		because I have now lived long enough...when I was a child in the house I still live in...
23		We now have no shops, no schools, no church.....cottage hospital abolished...lack of affordable housing... our local farmer is on income support...
26	weekend rest centres or dormitories for communing TV executives and merchant bankers	villages
27	Ramblers....right to roam...no responsibility	a countryside
28	Government seems unaware	our countryside.... among the most beautiful landscapes
29	urban ramblers	struggling through brambles and shrubs in a wasteland of bare fields

30	John Prescott, a noted torturer of the English language	
31		president [of CA] is... a Labour Peer... chief member of the Labour Party
32		threatening us with a bill... decent, honourable and law-abiding people who take part in hunting
33	They eat the product of abattoirs, put up with such excessive cruelty as battery hens, kosher and halal butchery.....have little knowledge or sympathy with life in the country	seen their chickens and lambs slaughtered by foxes
35	urban politicians.....failing to support the farmers...threatening to concrete over great parts of rural England.....high petrol prices and collapsing public transport.... they are now taking it on themselves ...	...to tell us in the country how we should conduct our lives.
36	Adopt the values they say .....occasionally rambling dedicated university vegan lecturer in sociology from Camden	hunting horn or a pink coat.....it'll be up to us to prove our innocence
38	New Labour's intolerance.....Mr Prescott	tolerance of other peoples values....untwisted faces..... long line of wellington boots, parkas and well-weathered complexions
40 – 41		our countryside our literature.....borne of the countryside and breathes the country air....Chaucer.....DH Lawrence.....bleak and masterful, brilliant and welcoming.....inspired their greatest work
42		We are a nation of nature lovers
44	town dwellers....	where I live the woods...come to see the first snowdrops, the turning leaves.....
45	pressure.....loneliness of cities	lung which allows us to breathe...way of escape
46 - 48		Wordsworth.....deep and undying importance of the countryside...A sense sublime....

Table 6.3 – the relationship between the '*them / us*' and '*urban / rural*' dichotomies in the positive representation of Countryside Alliance protestors in the Daily Mail (personal pronouns in bold).

	<i>Daily Mirror</i> Urban (Us)	<i>Daily Mirror</i> Rural (Them)
Hline		cunning vermin.....I'm not talking about the poor foxes
1		Barbours and bumpkins
3		Tweed Army
4		pro-hunting puppet masters and their marching stooges.....scale of deception
5-6		pump out their propaganda.....illusion.... desperate demonstration.....backed by rural pressure groups.....and right-wing political forces who want to see this Labour government removed
7		unspeakable in pursuit of the undemocratic
	marches I'd been on - supporting miners, shipbuilders and dockers... we would have taken 15 million down to Whitehall	billionaire landowners and business on the payroll
10		you ask them to be specific...waffle on
11		anti-Labour rant
12	I was on the ...four years ago	Last time they made the mistake of being honest
13	us townies	odd-ball spokesmen..... rant bile against the government....loutish aims
16		mass tally-ho horns, the rabble-rousing, the loud threats....homophobic rants
22		It was no longer about Listen to Us, it was about Fear Us
25-26	Tony Blair....hero...new Che Guevara. never have I seen	loathing of all things Labour, especially their leader
31	millions of manufacturing jobs which disappeared in our cities under Mrs Thatcher.	
32	I 'll admit I have no time...	.....for these people
32	I 'll also admit there is a thirst for revenge...getting back at...doing to them what they did to us for 18 years	traditional Tory supporters
33	... we would have forgotten about the hunting classes and moved on..	
34	the democratic will of the people... the rest of us	It is they who choose to make it a class war because they refuse to accept the democratic will of the people put themselves above the law

35		re-writing of their free-market political philosophy to suit their own ends
37	Communities like those in Nottinghamshire which today are hosting public inquiries to find out why heroin addiction is rife	
39		Alliance bosses... massive two fingers to Tony Blair
39		veiled threats....taking the law into their own hands
40		“The countryside will erupt in fury”
41	Let it erupt, I say.....pollute our water and block our roads	pro-hunting fanatics.....
42	Let us pull back the veil of deception	smiling country bumpkins..... bloodthirsty anarchists they truly are
43	not us	show them that it is they.....who belong to a different planet

Table 6.4 – the relationship between the ‘us / them’ and ‘rural / urban’ dichotomies in the negative representation of Countryside Alliance protestors in the Daily Mirror (personal pronouns in bold).

SAVE OUR COUNTRYSIDE

John Mortimer on how New Labour's intolerance forced the countryside army into action

Daily Mail, 23 September, 2002, Page 39

1	'SMILE at us, pass us but do not quite forget, for we are the people of England who have not spoken yet.' So wrote GK Chesterton in his poem, <i>The Secret People</i> .
2	Yesterday, the 'secret' people of the English, Welsh and Scottish countryside broke their silence because the condition of the farms and fields in Britain seems so desperate.
3	In the recent past, these people from Yorkshire villages, on Welsh hillsides, in Cumberland pubs and cottages, farmers, farmers' wives and farm workers, gamekeepers and gardeners, farriers and woodmen, all sorts of men and women whose life depends on the countryside they knew and loved, would have read of urban protest marches with only moderate interest.
4	To them, marching seemed for political hotheads interested in remote events in distant countries.
5	But yesterday all that changed.
6	The country people came to London to join in a well-organised, well-behaved march through the streets.
7	They contrasted dramatically with the crowds who sat down for CND, or marched against the Vietnam war, in the days when the amplified voices of Michael Foot and Tony Benn filled Trafalgar Square and sent Leftwing pulses racing.
8	Yesterday, the protest was directed at the Leftwing orthodoxy which believes that all rough shooters, followers of hunts, Pony Club girls and elderly women flyfishers are Rightwing toffs and that farmers are a curmudgeonly collection of conservative whingers whose daily milking of cows amounts to cruelty to animals.
9	It was aimed at those who can't accept the fact that people who hunt, shoot and fish know more and care more about animals than city dwellers who have never shot a pheasant or netted a salmon.
10	Confidence in the urban, politically correct New Labour majority in Parliament has broken down in the countryside.
11	If Mrs Thatcher presided over the collapse of heavy industry, Tony Blair has watched the slow death of farming.
12	AS A RESULT, yesterday's march was the biggest demonstration ever seen in London. The army of protesters all but equalled the crowds who celebrated our victories after two world wars in 1918 and 1945.
13	Unfortunately the countryside has no such victories to celebrate.
14	To say that farming is in crisis is an understatement.
15	In the three years up to June 2001, 60,000 farmers and farm workers lost their jobs, and

	thousands more have become unemployed since that date.
16	Our average farmer earns pounds 10,000 a year, pay far below the minimum wage.
17	The Government's confused and panic- stricken reaction to foot and- mouth disease, leading to the mass holocaust of animals and the long- delayed permission to move them, led to 200 farms going out of business.
18	A million breeding cows, four million breeding ewes and thousands of breeding pigs have been lost.
19	Farmers work over 60 hours a week (as compared to the national average of 38 hours) and once a week we hear of a farmer's suicide.
20	In this situation it's small wonder that all of us who live in, understand and love the countryside should have been on the move yesterday. I was not walking, but heading up the wheelchair brigade.
21	This is not on account of anything so dashing as a fall in the hunting field but because I have now lived long enough to remember what things were like when I was a child in the house I still live in on the edge of the Chiltern Hills.
22	We had, within a mile or two, three shops, three pubs, two schools, two churches and a chapel.
23	We now have no shops, no schools, no church and a very rare appearance of a single bus. Life here would be impossible without a car to go shopping in the nearest town, and rises in the cost of petrol are another blow to life in the countryside.
24	Now our local farmer is on income support, the police station in the nearest town has been closed and the cottage hospital abolished.
25	Because of lack of affordable housing young people are drifting away from the land.
26	Villages are turning into weekend rest centres or dormitories for commuting TV executives and merchant bankers.
27	Ramblers are given the right to roam over a countryside which they have no responsibility for looking after.
28	THE Government seems unaware of the basic fact that the only people who are going to maintain our countryside, among the most beautiful landscapes in the world, are the farmers and farm workers.
29	If farming goes, urban ramblers will be left struggling through brambles and shrub in a wasteland bare of fields and animals.
30	At a recent Labour Party conference both the Countryside Alliance and the 'Leave Country Sports Alone' group were refused rooms in the conference hotel. John Prescott, a noted torturer of the English language, announced that every time he saw the 'contorted faces of the Countryside Alliance' he redoubled his determination to criminalise foxhunting.
31	This heralded an ill-advised attempt by government sources to portray the Countryside Alliance as a Rightwing group. In fact the president is Anne Mallalieu, a Labour peer, the chairman is a dedicated Fabian and the chief executive a member of the Labour Party.
32	The Government has also shown its lack of concern with country matters by threatening us with a Bill which would turn the many decent, honourable and lawabiding people who take part in

	hunting into criminals liable to be cast into our overcrowded jails.
33	Those in favour of the measure have, presumably, never seen their chickens and lambs slaughtered by foxes. They eat the product of abattoirs, put up with such excessive cruelty as battery hens, kosher and halal butchery and, in many cases, have little knowledge or sympathy with life in the country.
34	The ban, if it ever came to pass, would lead to the loss of about 14,000 jobs and the destruction of 400,000 hounds, terriers and lurchers. It seems, to country people, not only to add insult to injury but a prelude to an attack on shooting and fishing.
35	So urban politicians have been seen not only failing to support the farmers, not only threatening to concrete over great parts of rural England, to build millions of houses for which there is no obvious need, not only to make country life doubly difficult by high petrol prices and collapsing public transport, but they are now taking it on themselves to tell us in the country how we should conduct our lives.
36	Adopt the values, they say, follow the example, they seem about to order, of an occasionally rambling, dedicated university vegan lecturer in sociology from Camden and if they, under their new power of search, find anything that looks remotely like a hunting horn or a pink coat in our bedrooms, it'll be up to us to prove our innocence.
37	Pro- and anti-hunters will never agree. What is at issue, though, is a tolerance of other people's values, the ability to agree to disagree, the respect for a way of life which may be different from your own.
38	New Labour's intolerance brought the countryside to London yesterday in record numbers and Mr Prescott, after surveying the many untwisted faces, may want to consider how many votes scattered in how many marginal constituencies the long line of wellington boots, parkas and well-weathered complexions represents.
39	But there's something far more important than votes at stake here.
40	If England is thought of with affection it's often because of our countryside.
41	OUR literature, among the finest in the world, is borne of the countryside and breathes the country air.
42	From Chaucer to Shakespeare, Milton, the Brontes, Hardy and DH Lawrence, it's the countryside, bleak and masterful, brilliant and welcoming, that has inspired their greatest work.
43	We are a nation of nature lovers who, even in towns, fills small front gardens, window boxes, patios and flat roofs with shrubs and flowers.
44	In these dark days and when there is the merest hint of spring or autumn sunshine where I live the woods are full of town dwellers come to see the first snowdrops, the turning leaves and often picnicking in the rain.
45	The countryside is the lung which allows us to breathe, the way of escape from the pressure, and often the loneliness of cities.
46	Wordsworth was perhaps the poet who came nearest to understanding the deep and undying importance of nature and the countryside. He wrote: 'I have learned to look on nature Hearing always the still, sad music of humanity.
47	A sense sublime Of something far more deeply interfused.
48	Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns, And the round ocean and the living air, And the

	blue sky, And in the mind of man.' It is to preserve these things that the secret people were on the march.
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**Vermin, cunning vermin
(AND NO I'M NOT TALKING ABOUT THE POOR FOXES);
BRIAN READE on how the fox hunters hijacked the countryside protest**

Daily Mirror, 23 September, 2002, Page 6

1	WHEN it was all over and the Barbours and bumpkins retreated to their villages for a quick snifter in the Firkin Fox, the chinless wonders behind it all were positively orgasmic.
2	The flawlessness of their operation, the polite exuberance of their marchers, the carefully managed media images of "decent British citizens making a stand for their civil rights" and the sheer scale of their numbers had exceeded their wildest expectations.
3	"Anybody who still thinks this march was all about hunting must be from a different planet," said Countryside Alliance chairman John Jackson as the Tweed Army pulled out of town.
4	Well, as someone who spent a day with both the pro-hunting puppet- masters and their marching stooges, it was the sheer scale of the deception which did it for this extra-terrestrial.
5	Thanks to pounds 1million worth of backing, which saw them charter 37 trains, 2,500 coaches, close 22 roads, erect five giant screens and take over the Institute of Directors building for the day to pump out their propaganda, they had succeeded in creating the illusion that their march was a democratic uprising against the oppression of ordinary, decent rural folk by a spiteful urban elite.
6	IN truth it was simply a desperate demonstration against the imminent ban on murdering animals with dogs, backed by rural pressure groups after even more hand-outs, and right-wing political forces who want to see this Labour government removed.
7	It was the unspeakable in pursuit of the undemocratic.
8	They claim 400,000 bodies on the streets of London is reason enough for the government to do a U-turn on hunting. Well, if the marches I'd been on - supporting miners, shipbuilders and dockers - had billionaire landowners and businessmen on the payroll, we would have taken 15million down to Whitehall. And still have been told where to go.
9	Virtually every time I asked a protester why they were marching we went through the same ritual as the one experienced with a group from Cumbria: "It's about self-determination for the countryside," said Mike Forster, pictured left.
10	You ask them to be specific and it triggers the word "liberty." You ask them to define liberty and they waffle on foot-and-mouth and the despicable Tony Blair. You say it's really about fox-hunting isn't it, and at least one of them loudly agrees.
11	I even performed this dance with former Tory minister Peter Lilley. After an anti-Labour rant he told me: "This march is about liberty. It's about freedoms which may be here today and gone tomorrow." I suggest it's all about hunting then? "Yes. They shouldn't be stopped doing what they believe in," he answers.
12	I was on the last Countryside Alliance march four years ago and much had changed. Last time they made the mistake of being honest.
13	By encouraging hunts to turn up with their horns in sporting dress, and hold a rally in Hyde

	Park which allowed their odd-ball spokesmen to rant bile against the government, they had scored an own goal. Us townies had seen their loutish aims for what they were. Yesterday there was a different strategy.
14	It was a human sea of comfortable respectability, dressed in Barbours, tweeds, paisley caps, shirts, ties and strange red trousers. Nowhere to be seen were the packs of hounds, or horses, or even the traditional red jackets.
15	They had been cast aside for the day to show this was about everything but the "H" word.
16	THE crowds were buoyant but nowhere near as noisy as the last one. Gone were the mass tally-ho horns, the rabble-rousing, the loud threats to bring down the government and the homophobic rants to loud applause.
17	However scratch below the Barbour jacket and you could easily find them. Roger Wadsworth, a 52-year-old from Kent, told me he was marching for the freedom to hunt and shoot.
18	When I pointed out that blood sports were opposed by the majority of the nation he swiftly answered: "So is homosexuality. But homosexuals have their interests protected."
19	Yes but they don't go around killing for fun do they, I suggested? "Some do," he replied. Another liberal-minded chap, 51- year-old James Catterall, from Cornwall, claimed Asian immigrants were not under threat so why should the hunting community be?
20	I answered that 82 per cent of the nation don't want Asian immigrants abolished.
21	He answered with a dead-pan expression: "Exactly. About 90 per cent of us do. But who listens to us any more?"
22	That's another thing which had changed. It was no longer about Listen To Us, it was about Fear Us.
23	"Born to hunt. Forced to march. Ready to fight," was the theme on their placards. "We'll keep our cowshit in the country if you keep your bullshit in the city," read another.
24	A couple of American women brought plenty of their city bullshit along. Angela Graham, who now lives in Hammersmith, said she was marching because: "Tony Blair keeps putting his fingers in everything. I hate his style of government. He is taking away countryside rights."
25	Her friend Diana Christopher, from urban Essex, said: "Those who want it banned don't understand hunting. Besides, if it was banned, what would the country put on its Christmas cards?" Their loathing of all things Labour, especially their leader, was a joy to behold.
26	Never has Tony Blair felt more like a hero. And never have I seen so many banners explaining his evil: According to the marchers his name stands for: British Liberty Almost In Ruins, or Bullying Labour Axes Individual Rights.
27	Keep this up Tony and you'll be a new Che Guevara.
28	Among the protesters Sophie Large, aged 12 months, was perhaps the most oblivious. Fast-asleep clutching a Tinky-Winky soft toy, a large sign attached to her pushchair read: "When I grow up I want to go hunting with my daddy." Surely a case of putting words into the mouths of babes? Or maybe the sign referred to Tinky-Winky?

29	Derbyshire hunt worker Paul Larby, 43, had made his 11-year-old son Richard hold up a banner saying "Please Mr Blair Don't Make Me Homeless."
30	I asked him why: "I have been working with hounds for 28 years. If hunting is banned that job will never be replaced and I will be out of my home," he explained.
31	So what about the millions of manufacturing jobs which disappeared in our cities under Mrs Thatcher I ask. "That was economics. This is different. This is simply class war," he replies.
32	BUT is it? I'll admit I have no time for these people. And I'll also admit there is a thirst for revenge here. About getting back at traditional Tory supporters by doing to them what they did to us for 18 years.
33	That was at the beginning of the fight to ban hunting. Had it gone the democratic way it was supposed to, we would have forgotten about the hunting-classes and moved on.
34	It is they who choose to make it a class war because they refuse to accept the democratic will of the people. They who put themselves above the law, and thus, once again, above the rest of us.
35	And it is the re-writing of their free-market political philosophy to suit their own ends which is quite staggering. At the media briefing we were told farmers earn two-thirds of the minimum wage while Tesco has just announced a 13 per cent profit.
36	I asked Countryside Alliance chief executive Richard Burge if this march was about demands to nationalise supermarkets and re- distribute wealth to the poor farmers. He said it wasn't.
37	I asked him where these great countryside fighters were when the mines were shut under Margaret Thatcher. Communities like those in Nottinghamshire which today are hosting public inquiries to find out why heroin addiction is rife.
38	"The Countryside Alliance had not been formed then," he answered. I wonder why?
39	The Alliance bosses cited the day's numbers as a massive two- fingers to Tony Blair. There were also veiled threats about his members taking the law into their own hands if government fails to give in to their demands.
40	"The countryside will erupt in fury," he warned.
41	Let it erupt, I say. Let pro-hunting fanatics pollute our water supplies and block our roads.
42	Let us pull back the veil of deception and see the smiling country bumpkins as the bloodthirsty anarchists they truly are.
43	Let us show them that it is they, not us, who belong to a different planet.

Consistent constructions of ‘us’ / ‘them’ oppositions across the news reports of two protest marches

7.1 Introduction

The previous two chapters explored the rhetorical contribution of clusters of oppositions in three news reports of the Stop the War Coalition and Countryside Alliance protest marches. These *constructed* oppositions - triggered through the use of syntactic frames common to co-occurring canonical oppositions – had a number of functions, but their main one in all three cases was to show the writers’ (and therefore the newspaper’s editorial) allegiance to one particular group over another. In doing so it attempted to position the readership in line with this viewpoint by constructing in- and out-group identities based around key conceptual binaries such as **US / THEM, GOOD / BAD, ORDINARY / EXTREME, LEGITIMATE / ILLEGITIMATE**.

This chapter will explore to what extent these constructed binaries are consistently reproduced across a range of news articles on the protests published on the same day and so speculate on whether it is possible to identify systematic use of binaries serving similar functions, for both protests. This can be achieved by reference to the higher level conceptual binary oppositions the examples represent.

This section will show that many of the news reports do indeed also utilise oppositions which differentiate between groups of protestors in a similar fashion to those studied in

Chapters Five and Six. Sometimes the purpose is to deliberately distance the newspaper from groups deemed undesirable, and in other cases to show the range of demonstrators and celebrate the diversity of the protest. Often this also takes the form of differentiating groups according to social class, and in turn this is sometimes represented by the clothing worn by the demonstrators. In the case of the anti-war protest especially, oppositions function to contrast the **PAST** with the **PRESENT**, and in doing so emphasise the uniqueness of the demonstrations in relation to others gone before, or the way that circumstances have changed so dramatically as to transform usually **PASSIVE** (ordinary) people into **ACTIVE** ones. Sometimes the oppositions constructed relate tensions between two states, such as **ORDER / CHAOS, NOISE / SILENCE, FRIVOLOUSNESS / SERIOUSNESS**, to either differentiate between the behaviour of different types of protestors or between the same protestors in different circumstances.

In all the examples given below, the oppositions are triggered by versions of the common syntactic frames outlined in Chapter Three, and were originally identified by searching through the texts for the frames¹. This section is intended as a brief exploratory overview only whereby some examples are grouped together according to their similarity of feature and function, and so does not undertake the kind of detailed analysis undertaken in the previous chapters.

To avoid the unnecessary repetition of referencing each newspaper, a simple key has been created which provides the initials of the demonstration involved, followed by the name of the newspaper and then the page number. So ‘AW/IoS/4’ means that the example is taken from page 4 of the *Independent on Sunday*’s report of the anti-war demonstration.

- AW – Anti-war demonstration – all dated 16th Feb 2003
- CA – Countryside Alliance demonstration – all dated 23 September 2002

- IoS – *Independent on Sunday*
- Ob – *The Observer*
- SM – *Sunday Mirror*
- STimes – *Sunday Times*
- S – *The Sun*
- Ml – *Daily Mail*
- Tel – *Daily Telegraph*
- FT – *Financial Times*
- I – *Independent*
- G – *Guardian*
- T – *The Times*

The usual typographic conventions apply, whereby bold and italics have been inserted (none are in the originals) to indicate text placed in a position of opposition and text which acts as an oppositional trigger respectively.

7.2 Categorising protestors through opposition²

Reflecting the techniques used in the articles examined in Chapters Five and Six, there are instances where news texts have constructed generalised categories of protestor, either to deliberately marginalise those they wish to distance themselves and their readership from, or to portray the diversity of types attending the marches.

7.2.1 The stigmatization of ‘experienced’ protestors

Techniques associated with constructing an out-group of protestors in order to emphasise the majority of ‘ordinary’ people on the demonstrations are much more

common in the representation of the anti-war protest which left wing groups and other anti-establishment types are likely to attend as Examples 7.1 – 7.6 illustrate:

7.1 **Some people** chose to stay away yesterday because they were *wary of one or other of the groups who usually dominate* such events. *But the Socialist Workers, Palestinian solidarity and Islamic campaigners* must have been away at the front of the march because there *was little sign of them*. The **ranks of Barbours and ski jackets could have been on the Countryside march.**

AW/IoS/4

7.2 There were, of course, **the usual suspects - CND, Socialist Workers' Party, the anarchists.** *But* even they looked shocked at the **number of their fellow marchers:** it is safe to say they had *never experienced such a mass of humanity.*

AW/Obs/1/2

7.3 **The usual suspects** were there - *but* so were **many, many others like himself who had come up from the leafy lanes of suburban England to shout their disapproval of war.**

AWIoS/4

7.4 Yet the movement has taken off and its subscribers, on yesterday's evidence, are *not* a **reissued set of hoary peaceniks.** These are **organised people with clear aims**

AW/Ob/4

7.5 *Unlike* the **Jubilee-trippers, the Soham mobsters and even the Countryside Alliance,** they bore *no social or political barcode*

AW/Ob/4

7.6 "Gracious, look at us, we're *not* exactly **hot-headed anarchists**," said Gill, 52, wrapped in her sensible tartan scarf. "*But* there comes a time when you have to say, '**Dear me, we really must be heard.**'"

AW/SM/6

Example 7.1 shows for instance that the demonstration mainly consists of marchers that others would feel comfortable with by making two contrasts. The first is between two unidentified groups of people, described vaguely as '**some people**' and '**one or other of the groups who usually dominate such events**'. The '*X are wary of Y*' frame may be difficult to justify as an oppositional trigger on its own but the opposition becomes more evident when the groups mentioned are identified in the next sentence as '**the Socialist Workers, Palestinian solidarity and Islamic campaigners**' thereby signalling to the reader that perhaps they should be feared in some way. The second frame is a form of '*but not X, Y*' reformulated as '*but [little sign of] X, Y*' which distinguishes the **ABSENT** stigmatised groups from the **PRESENT** 'ranks of Barbours and ski jackets [who] could have been on the Countryside march'. Identifying them according to their dress sense indicates their 'respectable' middle class status, in a similar way to description of the protestors in the *Sunday Mirror* article examined in Chapter Five (see also Section 7.2.3). The dominant concepts triggered here are between **DANGEROUS, DISREPUTABLE, ABSENT**, and **SAFE, RESPECTABLE, PRESENT**.

It is interesting that having a consistent presence on demonstrations is not presented as experience to be valued but to be 'wary of' or dismissed. This also mirrors the attitude of the *Sunday Mirror* writer in the analysis in Chapter Five, who refers to experienced protestors as 'The Mob' 'the great unwashed' 'extremists' and so on. Examples 7.1 – 7.3 all utilise forms of the word 'usual' to refer to those who regularly attend demonstrations.

In 7.2 and 7.3 they are called ‘the usual suspects’, named in 7.2 as ‘**CND, Socialist Workers’ Party, the anarchists**’. Here *The Observer* contrasts them (using ‘X but never Y’) with the size of the demonstration – ‘**number of their fellow marchers [...] never experienced such a mass of humanity**’ which suggests that their usual experience is of being involved (and possibly responsible for) small and ineffective demonstrations. The *Independent on Sunday*, using the same ‘usual suspects’ description chooses to differentiate them (again with an ‘X but Y’ frame) from someone referred to in a previous paragraph as a ‘finance director’ who comes ‘from the leafy lanes of suburban England’, implying that the former do not originate from quiet middle class residential areas. The trend of categorising the experienced protestors as deviant, eccentric and going through the motions is repeated in 7.4 where they are described as a ‘**reissued set of hoary peaceniks**’ and contrasted in a ‘not X, Y’ frame with ‘**organised people with clear aims**’. The triggering of DISORGANISED and UNFOCUSED to apply to the former is odd considering the experience they are presumed to have. In Example 7.5 the people for who the demonstration was a novel experience are treated as if they come from the broadest social range possible bearing ‘no social or political barcode’, which implies a lack of dogmatism. Placed in an ‘*unlike X, not Y*’ frame they are celebrated by being contrasted with those who are labelled according to the events they attend – ‘the Jubilee-trippers, the Soham mobsters and even the Countryside Alliance’. Coming from the same *Observer* news report as Example 7.4 it is curious that protestors deemed safe and acceptable are on the one hand treated as people with ‘clear aims’ and on the other are *contrasted* with groups with clear agendas like the Countryside Alliance. This can only be accounted for if we infer that the news reports are trying to give this particular demonstration a unique flavour i.e. not dominated by those who in the past have consistently campaigned for the same things with little success and have become weary and set in their ways. The

‘acceptable’ protestors on the other hand are fresh, focussed, heterogeneous and likely to treat this as a unique experience. This is confirmed for instance in Example 7.6 which uses a direct quote from one of these ‘**first-time**’ protestors who seeks to differentiate herself from those she labels ‘**hot-headed anarchists**’ (using a ‘*not X but Y*’ frame) whilst at the same deciding it is time to make a stand.

7.2.2 Portraying diversity through opposition

Examples 7.8 – 7.10 also choose to oppose inexperienced protestors with the experienced ones, this time to show the diversity on the demonstration, rather than to specifically denigrate the political groups (although it is possible this could be a side effect of some of the descriptions of them).

7.8 Guy Butler had **never been on a protest march** before in his life. Finance directors from the Surrey broker belt *don't do that sort of thing; but* yesterday he **found himself marching behind a black anarchist flag in the middle of a vast crowd of angry people who were chanting anti-government slogans**

AW/IoS/4

7.9 **He** was surprised to find himself there, *driven to march alongside hardened political campaigners* by a simple but powerful conviction that it was wrong to invade Iraq.

AW/IoS/4

The finance director referred to in Example 7.5 is contrasted with angry anti-government anarchists in 7.8 but at the same time positioned alongside them. The ‘*X but Y*’ frame here serves the function, as it does in many cases in this data, of contrasting the concepts of **EXPECTED / UNEXPECTED**, or **USUAL / UNUSUAL**. That this is the case is confirmed in yet another reference to the same man in Example 7.9 where he is

‘surprised to find **himself** [...] *alongside hardened political campaigners.*’ The theme that it is unusual for ‘ordinary’ people to be involved with people who belong to political groupings is exemplified in the *Independent on Sunday* headline from which these examples come from – ‘The day **Middle England** *marched* with the **militants**’.

The binary nature of these examples, by contrasting two very different types of groups, or individuals and groups, can have the effect of treating those on either side of the divide as if they inhabit two mutually exclusive worlds, with no middle ground. There is no recognition of the existence of people who might be sympathetic for instance to CND or the Socialist Workers Party but might not be members, and who might have been on only a handful of demonstrations and also be middle-class.

7.2.3 Representations of the class divide

Other oppositions are used to describe the protestors according to the social classes they are deemed to be members of. In most cases this serves an inclusive function i.e. the aim is to show how diverse the demonstrations are, and therefore not dominated by any one group with a particular social class motivation. Often this is achieved by reference to the clothes worn which is designed to indicate their class origins.

7.10 *The most disparate people were making common cause.* Clobin Wilson-Cott, a **former public-school boy wearing a waistcoat and cravat**, glanced wryly at the **Socialist Worker** placard that he carried.

AW/ STimes/3

7.11 **Barbour-wearing country folk** *happily rubbed shoulders with "traveller"* **types clad in misshapen jumpers and Doc Martens boots.**

AW/STimes/3

7.12 *Although* the demonstrators included **rich landowners and rosy- cheeked farmers in green wellies and waxed jackets**, they were joined by an **amazing array of like-minded folk such as poverty-stricken labourers and humble craftsmen**.

CA/S/4

7.13 The **poor** walked *beside* the **rich**. **Shopkeepers in butcher and baker aprons rubbed shoulders with squires in tweeds**. *And thousands of city dwellers* with sympathy for the country life **joined in**.

CA/S/4

In Example 7.10 a **‘public-school boy wearing a waistcoat and cravat’** is contrasted with the **‘Socialist Worker’** placard he is carrying’. Similarly in 7.11 and 7.12, the economically thriving members of the rural community, identified as **‘Barbour-wearing country folk’** in 7.11 and **‘rich landowners and rosy-cheeked farmers in green wellies and waxed jackets’** in 7.12 are seen to be working alongside **‘traveller’ types clad in misshapen jumpers and Doc Martens boots’** and **‘poverty-stricken labourers and humble craftsmen’**. This **RICH / POOR** dichotomy is made explicit in *The Sun’s* description of the social constitution of the Countryside Alliance demonstration in 7.13 whereby **‘the poor’** exemplified by **‘shopkeepers in butcher and baker aprons’** march alongside **‘the rich’** i.e. **‘squires in tweeds’**.

Reference to social class is also used however to show either that those stereotypically treated as ‘posh’ or ‘toffs’ are in fact not at all. The canonical oppositional concept of **ILLUSION / REALITY** is very much at work in most of these examples, in a similar fashion to that of the *Daily Mirror* article analysed in Chapter Six.

7.14 As a master of foxhounds, he *should* slot easily into the file marked T for **toff**. *Except* that he **runs a garage and is master of the Banwen Miners' Hunt**.

CA/MI/2

7.15 It is trying to settle old scores by taking on "**the toffs**." *But the* countryside marchers were *not* **toffs** - they were **real people, hard working people, genuine people**. *Yet* New Labour thinks it can **ignore them all**.

CA/S/8

7.16 Early yesterday, a presenter on Radio Five Live put on a **jokey posh accent** as he spoke to a reporter in Hyde Park, perhaps to convey the BBC's general disdain for the event.

The presenter should have spoken to **Mike Idle and Ewan Gaskell, keen members of the Ullswater fell pack, whose Cumbrian accents were so thick** they warned "you might need an interpreter to interview us

CA/Tel/1

It is probably no coincidence that newspapers who in 2002 were showing little sympathy with the Labour government whose anti-fox-hunting bill was being opposed, seek to dispel what they portray as illusion the belief that the protesters were mainly wealthy landowners trying to protect their economic interests. One of these illusions, according to the *Daily Mail* in Example 7.14 is that people who participate in fox-hunting are rural snobs, ('**toffs**'), the reality being that one person referred to is a garage owner and runs a '**Miners' Hunt**', giving him working class credentials. Similarly *The Sun*, in Example 7.15 claim that the protestors are in fact '**real people, hard-working people, genuine people**', and so do not deserve to be ignored by New Labour (implying that 'toffs' are none of these things and *do* deserve to be ignored). And the *Daily Telegraph* is not amused by radio presenters who put on a '**jokey posh accent**' to mock the Countryside

Alliance demonstration, when the reality is that some have very strong ‘**Cumbrian accents**’.

7.3 Temporal contrasts used to show transformations in attitudes

Many of the oppositions utilised in the anti-war reports are underpinned by the oppositional concepts of **PAST / PRESENT** alongside **PASSIVE / ACTIVE**. This is often used to signal the momentous nature of the demonstrations, by describing the types of people participating in it³. In these examples however, they are not pitted against other groups or individuals but against their former selves. This again has the effect of portraying the protest as consisting mainly of ‘ordinary’ people (like the ideal readers of the newspapers themselves) who just happen to have felt inspired enough on these particular occasions to take an active stance. In all but one of the examples below, the contrast is triggered by a version of the ‘*not X but Y*’ frame whereby ‘*never*’ (a more categorical form of ‘*not*’) is used to refer to the individual’s past lack of protest experience and the contrastive ‘*but*’ signals that the opposite of the usual or expected circumstance has occurred.

7.17 I've **never been on a march** in my life and **never had any intention**. *But something's happened recently*, to me and so many friends - we just **know there's something going wrong in this country**.

AW/Obs/1

7.18 'I've *never felt strongly enough about anything before*. *But* this is so **different**; I would have **let myself down by not coming and I think this will be something to remember**.

AW/Obs/1

7.19 "I grew up in an **easy time**. We *never had much to protest about*. *But now* I'm **very, very scared**. I wonder if my children will be given the chance to grow up at all."

AW/SM/6

7.20 "**We've never been to a demo** in our lives," said computer worker Andy O'Regan from Hackney, east London. "*But* our **children wanted to come here with us**."

AW/SM/5

7.21 "I have **never been on one in my life**," she said. "*But* I was so appalled by what was happening that I **could not sit in my armchair and do nothing**."

AWP/ Stimes/3

7.22 David, 48, a suburban vicar, had even found his old CND badge. He *never thought he would need that again*. *Now it was pinned to his anorak with pride*, like a veteran shows off his campaign medals.

AW/SM/6

The lack of past action is instantiated textually by a variety of expressions, all in direct quotes from the participants, such as '*never been on a march [...] never had any intention*' (7.17), '*never felt strongly enough about anything before*' (7.18), '*we never had much to protest about*' (7.19), '*we've never been to a demo in our lives*' (7.20), '*I have never been on one in my life*' (7.21). The transformations undergone by the speakers stress the qualitative changes they perceive happening which indicate a

fundamental shift in conditions which affect them profoundly - ‘**something’s happened recently [...] we just know there’s something going wrong in this country**’ (7.17), ‘**so different [...] think this will be something to remember**’ (7.18), ‘*but now I’m very, very scared*’(7.19), ‘*but our children wanted to come here with us*’ (7.20), ‘**I was so appalled [...] I could not sit in my armchair and do nothing**’ (7.21). Example 7.22 is a variation on this theme with David ‘the suburban vicar’ having his passion for protest reactivated by the prospect of war with Iraq. This is symbolised by the CND badge which he ‘*never thought he would need [...]again*’ but was ‘*now [...] pinned to his anorak with pride*’.

What is also interesting about these examples is that being direct quotes, the newspapers allow the people represented as ‘ordinary’ to present *themselves* as such and in doing so portray their change of heart in binary terms i.e. as if there were no other intermediate, less spectacular options they had, for instance being involved in local protest groups and meetings before they participated in the big national one. This again suits the needs of those papers wishing to differentiate these protestors from those who already have some experience at fighting back, and so therefore reassuring their readers that the ‘ordinary’ ones are principled but ‘safe’.

7.4 Oppositions signalling a tension between two states

This last section involves examples which construct the behaviour of the protestors as oscillating between two states which might be categorised in the most general terms as **ORDER / CHAOS** but instantiated in different ways. In the examples below they include to the states of **VIOLENT / PEACEFUL**, **NOISY / QUIET**, and **TRIVIAL / SERIOUS**.

7.23 The Butlers broke away from the crowds at Lancaster Place; **nobody** seemed to know which **direction they should be marching in**, *but everybody seemed to be taking their own route* through to Hyde Park

AW/IoS/4

7.24 *Despite* the **numbers**, the march was **peaceful**.

CA/FT/1

7.25 *Despite* the **presence of 150 anti-hunt protesters in Parliament Square**, the march was **peaceful**.

CA/I/1

7.26 **Two anti-hunt demonstrators were arrested for public order offences**, *but a 150-strong anti-hunt counter-protest in Parliament Square remained peaceful*.

CA/G/4

Example 7.23 uses a contrastive ‘*but*’ and the canonical oppositions ‘**nobody**’ / ‘**everybody**’ to show how there seemed to be a general chaotic lack of awareness of the direction to Hyde Park (the end-point of the march) whilst at the same time everybody managed to get there under their own steam. This generalisation may be celebrating the fact that despite the seemingly unmanageable size of the demonstration, it was a success. The following three examples all show the peaceful nature of the demonstration by simultaneously describing factors which might tip it into violence. In 7.24 the *Financial Times* opposes ‘**numbers**’ with ‘**march was peaceful**’ triggered by the concessive ‘*despite*’ which contributes to implying that with such large numbers one would *expect* violence, but this in fact was not the result on the Countryside Alliance protest. A similar tension is implied using ‘*despite*’ in the *Independent’s* report of the same protest, this time

the potential violence represented by ‘150 anti-hunt protestors’. The *Guardian’s* view of the incident (Example 7.26) is to pit this same group of ‘**anti-hunt protestors**’ against two individuals who ‘**were arrested for public order offences**’, possibly with the effect of emphasising the peaceful nature of the vast majority of those who *opposed* the Countryside Alliance.

The *Daily Telegraph*, *The Times* and the *Daily Mail* – all who backed the aims of the demonstrators to various degrees – represent the Countryside Alliance demonstration as passionate whilst simultaneously orderly and respectful. One technique for achieving this is to show a transformation from **NOISE** to **SILENCE** as the march files past the Cenotaph monument which commemorates those who died fighting for their country.

7.27 And then, suddenly, all that **boisterous bonhomie** *vanished* as the procession approached the Cenotaph. *Not only* did **signs** ask marchers to observe a **respectful silence** for ‘The Glorious Dead’ *but* **silence monitors** moved among the crowds pointing at the word ‘silence’ on their chests.

CA/M1/2

7.28 THE arrival of the first wave of marchers was heralded by the **blood-curdling sound of the bagpipes**, rendered all the more powerful when they *fell eerily silent* at the Cenotaph.

CA/Tel/3

7.29 For those lucky enough to be **near the front**, the march - from Blackfriars, along the embankment, **booing as they passed the Department of the Environment’s office at Whitehall** before *falling into silence* at the **Cenotaph**, then through Parliament Square and on to Westminster Bridge - ***took about an hour to cover little more than one mile.***

CA/T/4

7.30 As we filed past the Cenotaph, in the **astonishing pool of respectful silence** *between* **the great roar of Whitehall** *behind* and of **Parliament Square** *in front*, we could see the figures rising on the screen by about 1,000 a minute.

CA/T/22

7.31 The **odd two-fingered salute** was waved in its direction but, in fact, *this* **total lack of noise** seemed much *more sinister* than any **chant** might have been.

CA/Ml/2

Transitional oppositional syntactic frames are prominent here such as ‘X *vanished [into] Y*’, X *fell [into] Y*’ and ‘X *falling in to Y*’ (Examples 7.27 – 7.29). In 7.30 the silence is marked by being ‘*in between*’ the noise and in 7.31 a comparative is used – ‘X *is more [adj] than Y*’ to measure silence in terms of how ‘sinister’ it might feel. In these cases therefore the concept NOISE is represented in fairly unthreatening terms as ‘**boisterous bonhomie**’, ‘**blood-curdling sound of the bagpipes**’, ‘**booing**’, ‘**great roar**’ and ‘**chant**’ which becomes ‘**respectful silence**’, ‘**eerily silent**’, ‘**silence**’ ‘**astonishing pool of respectful silence**’ and ‘**total lack of noise**’. The ease with which the transformation is represented as happening, and the purity of the silence may be designed, like Examples 7.23 – 7.26 to show that any possible fear of the breakdown of order can be negated by the far greater prevalence of states indicating the opposite case.

The final two examples both demonstrate that where there is a danger of a frivolous attitude and a lack of control taking hold of the demonstrators, they manage to rein this in, keeping their dignity and so proving the seriousness with which they treat their cause.

7.32 People **talked to friends**, **passed the odd remark** to strangers *but* there was *little frivolity*. **High spirits** were *not* the order of the day. This was **serious business**.

AW/SMir/2

7.33 The day began with **blue skies** *but* was soon **overcast - a greyness** that fitted the generally sombre mood.

AW/SMir/2

In 7.32 '**frivolity**' and '**high spirits**' are opposed to '**serious business**' (using '*X but not Y*') to ensure that although the protestors that the *Sunday Mirror* journalist has sympathy for are seen to be behaving sociably, they ensure this doesn't transform itself into behaviour which might trivialise the purpose of the demonstration. The same journalist represents this seriousness metaphorically by using the '*X but Y*' frame to treat the transformation of the '**blue skies**' into an overcast '**greyness**' as symbolic.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated some of the common methods used to construct representations of people and events in binary terms, specifically in the reporting of the two demonstrations used as the focus of this thesis.

One of the benefits of the system for identifying and analysing oppositions explored in Chapters Three and Four, and utilised in Chapters Five and Six, is that despite the expected range of textual styles and lexical choices represented in news reports, there are common underlying conceptual oppositions utilised, often serving similar functions. The subject matter of the data does of course very much influence what these binaries consist of. In this case, people are often constructed as belonging to mutually exclusive groups, often so that one can be stigmatized in favour of another with whom the newspaper wants to align its readership. Sometimes two types of opposing groups are textually constructed in order to portray mass demonstrations as hugely diverse and representing the broadest cross-section of society possible, often by reference to social class. And sometimes individuals are

compared with their former selves to demonstrate the sea-change in their behaviour and to show that they are not joining the demonstration through some misplaced loyalty to long-standing anti-establishment causes.

Some of the core conceptual oppositions used to represent these groupings are **GOOD / BAD, LEGITIMATE / ILLEGITIMATE, MODERATE / EXTREME, ORDERED / CHAOTIC, PEACEFUL / VIOLENT, PAST / PRESENT, USUAL / UNUSUAL** and **EXPECTED / UNEXPECTED**.

In some cases, especially in the reports analysed in Chapters Five and Six, these binaries align themselves in various ways with a notion of **US / THEM**, the purpose being to represent one of the groupings as exhibiting behaviour and views which exist outside that deemed acceptable to the consensus, however that consensus is defined.

Chapter Eight addresses how a range of recent academic studies have treated this process of ‘othering’ in news texts. I will argue that despite the rigorous and hugely enlightening nature of these works, the system for identifying oppositions adopted in this thesis could further complement them in significant ways.

Central to this thesis so far is my claim that the ideological perspective adopted by the news texts analysed is embedded not only in the grammatical functions often examined by practitioners of the critical discourse analytical approach, such as transitivity, modality, nominalisations, and so on, but also embedded in the syntactic frames typically used to house canonical and non-canonical oppositions. Chapter Eight therefore addresses some of these issues, and shows how a system for locating textually instantiated oppositions can enhance the analysis of examples used in the works of those who study the ideological construction of in-groups and out-groups.

Notes

¹An overview of the data used and the methodology is given in Section 1.3.

²There is not space here to provide the kind of detailed analysis of each example conducted in the other Chapters. To be able to explore all the possible planes of equivalence and difference could be a thesis in itself. The function of this chapter is mainly to provide a bridge between the previous chapters and Chapter Eight which tackles some of the broader issues related to the use of binaries in the news media.

³See also Section 6.3.3.

A new approach to studying binary oppositions in the construction of ‘us’ and ‘them’ in news texts

8.1 Studies of ‘us’ and ‘them’ construction in the news media

The aim of this chapter is to show how the identification of oppositions through syntactic frame recognition and their analysis in context can enhance studies into news media construction groups as ‘**us** / **them**’.

A number of recent studies into the ‘othering’ of groups deemed unacceptable from the perspective of the addresser focus on the related characteristics of race, nationality or religion (specifically the 9/11 attack). This chapter seeks to underline the importance of these studies in demonstrating binary constructions of events and groups by the press. An outline of the kinds of binary oppositions studied will be followed by an examination of the location of and specific triggers for the oppositions according to these studies.

I will then argue that although the critical discourse analytical methodology which is adopted by the *linguistic* studies provides the opportunity to assess the ideological repercussions of binary representations, the CDA toolkit would be augmented if textually co-occurring oppositions triggered by syntactic frames were taken in to account.

The aim therefore is to show that there is space - especially in those studies which align themselves with a CDA approach - for the linguistic tools developed in this thesis to make a new contribution. I show this by a brief analysis of some of the examples provided in these studies, using the methodology outlined in this thesis.

Detailed explorations into the construction and use of binary oppositions in the news media occur in 'media studies' texts where the emphasis is on news production, ownership and media institutions in their broader socio-economic context. Other studies are linguistic and use the analysis of individual texts or common features across a corpus of texts to demonstrate the role and influence of news media through the discourses employed. The studies discussed in the following sections have all been chosen owing to their specific examinations of the constructions of the '**us**' / '**them**' binaries in the press (and in one case as used by politicians and echoed in the press) and their belief in the ideological nature of these constructions.

The final sections summarise and critically assess my research findings, and conclude with looking at suggestions for further research.

8.1.1 The construction of 'us' and 'them' in 'media' studies

Allan (2004) discusses representations of race and ethnicity in news media in the UK, Australia and the USA. In the UK in the 1980s, studies showed for instance that in the reporting of riots which began in West London and spread to other British cities in the summer of 1981, the indigenous black population were consistently characterised by the Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and sections of the British press as an 'alien presence' threatening the national culture and way of life. According to Allan, Hansen and Murdock (1985) showed how these representations played on stereotypes of black people as being less rational and controlled than whites. Allan summarises the study as follows:

Moreover this study documents how ‘racist stereotypes of blacks as “naturally” less rational and controlled than whites have fused with older images of the inner city as an “internal colony” to produce a particularly potent image of threat’ (1985: 233). Much of this news coverage, the authors contend, exhibited a mode of address structured around interlocked oppositions between ‘us’ (decent citizens, the police, and the voices of the newspapers) against ‘them’ (‘thieves’, ‘looters’, ‘thugs’, ‘yobs’, ‘madmen’, ‘hooligans’, ‘wild mob of youths’, ‘demons’ and ‘ghouls’). In this way, not only were the ‘rioters’ separated out from the community as an external enemy, but also the social factors underlying their actions were ostensibly depoliticized by being attributed to ‘natural’ forces or to the ‘nature’ of the people involved.

(Allan 2004: 155)

Allan also analyses a *Sun* editorial column which labels its readers and the ‘Christian culture’ of Britain as ‘**we**’ and ‘Asian Muslims’ as ‘**they**’, and argues that the ‘preferred inflection of Muslim identity as a foreign ‘Other’ ’ is anchored in news discourse. (2004: 147).

Similarly, Aboriginal communities are consistently excluded from being accepted as Australian citizens in news discourse. He draws on Hartley’s (1992) study in which he claims that journalists ‘routinely categorize Aboriginal people and their actions as being constitutive of a ‘they’, a process realized in and through a number of different reporting practices’ (2004: 147).

In the US, the televisual news media especially has the effect of encouraging white hostility towards minority groups such as African Americans. Studies show that far from ‘informing their audiences about the realities of racial discrimination, televisual newscasts are contributing to a climate of fear between the dominant ‘ingroup (whites) and the ‘outgroup’ (blacks) across society.’ (2004: 149).

The focus of Bailey and Harindranath (2005) is on the representation of asylum seekers in the Australian news media and in the news programmes of the UK's BBC and Channel Four TV stations. Analysing the Australian press reaction to the capsizing of an Indonesian ferry full of asylum seekers in Australian waters, they argue that depictions of them as 'illegal immigrants' or 'boat people' 'form a pattern that demonstrates a form of racism which has become part of a commonly held vision of national security and sovereignty' (2005: 275). These naturalized representations which are justified by the need to strengthen national borders 'invoke separatist discourses that clearly distinguish between the 'us' within the nation-state and 'them', the outsider, the foreigner, the 'bogus' refugee' (2005: 278). Asylum seekers are therefore often portrayed as threats to national security and the ways of life of those falling under the remit of 'us' as used in news reports. Therefore rather than 'be presented as people who are trying to escape threat, they are, in most cases, represented as *the* threat' (2005: 283). They draw on Saxton's (2003) study of the discursive construction of asylum seekers in Australia and suggest that 'media reports and public discussions of asylum seekers draw on nationalist discourses along themes of familiarity, security and a sense of community of 'us' and our 'home', which exclude asylum seekers' (2005: 280). This contributes towards the legitimising of practices of oppression and marginalisation of minorities, centring on the sanctity of national borders, despite the alleged flourishing of a global culture 'that incorporates and celebrates heterogeneous cultural forms and practices' (2005: 277).

8.1.2 The construction of 'us' and 'them' in linguistic studies

Thetela (2001) studies South African news coverage of military intervention in Lesotho by the South African Development Community (SADC) and shows how rival groups are constructed which reflect the level of the support by the press for the intervention. Those

newspapers antagonistic to the invasion of Lesotho often treated the majority black South African government as ‘other’. Government ministers for instance were introduced as ‘them’ as opposed to first person pronouns from the perspective of the press. They also drew on racist stereotypes to make a distinction between ‘**them**’ (**black**) and ‘**us**’ (**white**) to portray a ‘belief about black leaders as autocratic and corrupt’ (2001: 366). Conversely the press supporting the government constructed their critics as ‘other’ by representing them for instance as unpatriotic ‘white racists’ associated with the old apartheid system.

Thetela concludes that two rival groups were created i.e. ‘the positive us and negative them – the ‘Otherness’ of government leaders, critics, blacks, and whites’ (2001: 368)

The attacks on the World Trade Centre and the subsequent responses to this by U.K. and U.S. political leaders and the press have been extensively studied, especially in their representation of the crisis as one of a struggle between the forces of ‘**good**’ and ‘**evil**’.

Leudar et al (2004) study representations of the 9/11 terrorist attack, from the perspective of the public addresses of three key parties involved in the conflict – UK Prime Minister Tony Blair, US President George Bush, and the person taking responsibility for the attacks, Osama Bin Laden. They claim that each person uses the ‘**us**’ / ‘**them**’ distinction to ‘justify past violent actions and to prepare grounds for future ones’ (2004: 243). Looking specifically at ‘membership categorisations’ – the way that membership of groups is situated in particular activities – they note the shifting identities under the categories of ‘us’ and ‘them’ not only according to the speaker, but also how the statements interact as part of a ‘dialogical network (2004: 245). They conclude:

Any participant in the conflict (and remember there is no middle ground) has a double, contrastive identity. Bin Laden, for instance, is an incumbent of the category ‘us’ as he formulates it (defenders of Islam). He is also an incumbent of ‘them’ as it is formulated by his

enemy (terrorists). The same is the case for his enemy: President Bush is one of 'us' (we who defend freedom and democracy) and he is one of 'them' (crusaders attacking Islam). The category pairs are united in an opposition by the way in which the conflict is framed- as a religious war, on the one hand, and a war between civilization and barbarism, on the other hand.

(Leudar et al, 2004: 263)

Coe et al (2004) also examined the use of binaries in the national addresses of U.S. President George Bush, but over a broad time span ranging from 11 September 2001 itself to the commencement of the Iraq war in 2003. However, they relate these to the way the U.S press repeated the style of his proclamations in their editorial and comment columns. In declaring for instance in October 2002 that 'either you're with us or with the enemy' (quoted in Coe et al 2004: 234) Bush employed 'an archetypal example of an either/or construction of reality' (2004: 234). This, they claim, was ideally suited to the mass media dominated US culture and was echoed in the press coverage of the 'war on terrorism'. They found that Bush employed similar binaries to those used in the Cold War against the Soviet Union in the 1950s and 60s – i.e. '**good**' / '**evil**' and '**security**' / '**peril**'. Drawing on Medhurst's (2000) claim that the 'discourse of cold war pictured a Manichean world of light and darkness, with no shades of gray' (Medhurst 2000: 465 quoted in Coe et al 2004: 236) they show how this simple division of '**good**' versus '**evil**', helped unify the US public against a common foe – firstly the 'terrorists' and then Iraq President Saddam Hussein. They also suggest that 'it became more acceptable to stifle actions or words thought to potentially aid evil or induce peril' (2004: 249), evidence for this being that NBC fired one of their news correspondents for criticising the U.S war effort in an interview with the Iraqi state-run TV network.

Achugar (2004) uses a corpus of editorials from two Uruguayan newspapers to compare their coverage of the attack on the Twin Towers in New York on 11 September 2001. Her focus is ‘on the construction of in- and out-group identity through representation of the events and its participants’ (2004: 291). She argues that the conservative leaning *El Pais* and the more ‘progressive’ *La Republica*, both construct the events in terms of a ‘**good**’ / ‘**evil**’, ‘**us**’ / ‘**them**’ binary but that the specific membership of each category is different for each paper.

Both newspapers use the same discursive strategy of division into two groups, ‘us’ versus ‘them’, in order to construct a self-group identity and appropriate the situation in order to advance the in-group agenda /ideology. However the constitution of these groups varies even though both newspapers condemn the events of 9/11.

(Achugar, 2004: 295)

For *El Pais* ‘**us**’ is equivalent to the US and ‘**western civilisation**’ and Christian values. The terrorists are ‘**the primitive or barbaric**’ and are represented by non-Western ‘geographical, ethnic, religious or moral’ characteristics, focussing specifically on the ‘Muslim Other’ (2004: 295). However, *La Republica* constructs an ‘**us**’ that takes in all the peoples of the world (not just the USA), and focuses on ‘social justice principles more than national or ethnic characterizations’. (2004: 295) ‘**Them**’ includes those involved in *all* forms of terrorism, whether it be individual acts like 9/11 or ‘state terrorism’ perpetrated by governments (like the USA).

She concludes:

The conservative newspaper, *El Pais*, constructs the Other based on prejudice and stereotypes and generalizations of a few members to the larger group. This type of discourse of

difference does not contribute to the knowledge or understanding of the Other, or to its possible inclusion in the future. In contrast, the progressive newspaper *La Republica*, constructs a more complex identity of the Other and of the 'us' by including a variety of voices in its discourse and acknowledging the possibility of change and dissent within a group.

(Achugar, 2004: 317)

The use of binary oppositions in the press for more localised conflicts has been studied by Bishop and Jaworski (2003). They explored the representation of national identity in the reporting of the Germany versus England game in the Euro 2000 football championship and the ways in which both the Germans, and English football 'hooligans' were 'othered' by the British press. They show how the press 'construct the nation as a homogeneous collective within which the (implied) reader is positioned as belonging' (2003: 243) and how civic disturbances involving England supporters simultaneously led to the creation of an out-group who are excluded from belonging to the category 'us'. In this way 'the press are able to police the moral boundaries of what is considered normative in terms of membership within the national collective' (2003: 243). Again the 'us' and 'them' pronouns play a key role in articulating in and out-group status and the way in which separation from both Germans and the English trouble-makers is achieved. Stereotypes play an important role with the Germans being categorised as 'over-confident' and 'arrogant' and typifying 'Teutonic efficiency, whilst the England team are 'tenacious' and possess 'classic bulldog spirit' (2004: 256). Football hooligans on the other hand are 'othered' through a number of processes including de-authentication (not treating them as 'authentic supporters'), pejoration (labelling them as 'scum' and dregs'), homogenization (constructing 'types' such as the ignorant tattooed beer-bellied troublemaker) and minoritization (a 'lunatic fringe' unrepresentative of the nation) (2003: 261-6). One of their conclusions is:

[...] the press are able to reproduce, maintain and police hegemonic social relations, in-and outgroup distinctions (on both inter- and intranational lines) and articulate a sense of what is considered normative in terms of membership to the national collective, which is predicated upon a moral discourse with anyone deemed to have violated this moral code of conduct systematically ‘othered’: vilified and marginalized.

(Bishop and Jaworski, 2003: 267)

8.2 The location of binaries in studies of the news

The aim of this thesis has been to develop a method for locating and analysing textually co-occurring binary oppositions in the syntactic structures of texts. By their very nature research aimed at those interested in ‘media studies’ and media representation tend to focus more on the institutionalised practices of news reporting and how social divisions are constructed and reproduced *in general* by these practices. The linguistic analysis of specific news texts is rarely undertaken. However, some studies do make a valuable contribution to explaining how and why binaries are prevalent in the news.

This section summarises how and where some of these studies locate and explain the use of binary oppositions, specifically when they act to construct artificial divisions between in-groups and out-groups.

8.2.1 Media Studies approaches

Sonwalker (2005) partly locates the prevalence of the ‘**us / them**’ binary in routine newsroom practices and the middle-class socio-cultural background of the majority of journalists. Speaking with some authority as a former journalist for *The Times of India*, and

borrowing from Billig (1995) he labels as ‘banal journalism’ the bias in news discourse that is ‘institutionalized, naturalized and normalised that it seems benign, boring – and banal’ (2005: 262). In this case he is referring to news selection, in that events and issues and viewpoints involving those deemed minority groups are rarely represented on equal terms to those who ‘hold the reins of social, political, economic and cultural power’ (2005: 263). The latter ‘us’ represent what is cast as the national mainstream i.e. ‘a relative commonality of outlook and values that the media believes exists in its target audience, which it also circularly cultivates among its readers/viewers’ (2005: 264) and which coincides with the dominant sections of society from which most journalists are drawn. The ‘**us / them**’ binary, according to Sonwalker features prominently in the everyday discourse of news workers and in doing so ‘enters media discourse as part of the inherent selectivity in the process of news production [...]’ (2005: 268). The institutionalised valuing of selective events and perspectives of certain groupings over others ‘makes the interests of the ‘we’ seem routine, and simultaneously it makes the marginalization or exclusion of the ‘other’ appear natural’ (2005: 272).

Allan (2004) similarly locates ‘**us / them**’ binaries - specifically relating to *racist* discourse – in the routine practices of news production. He also attempts to exemplify this textually by the analysis of a *Sun* editorial column which comments on their front page story (25 May 1998) about the confiscation by police of a set of porcelain pigs belonging to a white woman which allegedly upset her Muslim neighbours. *The Sun* uses the opportunity to comment on the ‘racial and religious intolerance’ of ‘local Asian Muslims’ (quoted in Allan 2004: 146). Allan claims that the implied reader is positioned as being a white Christian of ‘this country’ and that the ‘**we**’ versus ‘**they**’ dichotomy it constructs is evidently consistent with a racialised rendering of cultural identity’ (2004: 147). He proceeds to list textual and conceptual oppositions reflected in the editorial such as

REASONABLE (the concept) / **‘daft’** (textual example) and **TOLERANT** (the concept) and **‘racial and religious intolerance’** (textual example). This particular example has some affinity with the methodology utilised in this thesis, except that coming from a media theory book called *News Culture* very few linguistic tools are utilised.

Bailey and Harindranath (2005) in their study on the representation of asylum seekers discuss how ‘binary oppositions constantly simplify complex situations’ (2005: 277). They explore how ‘discursive strategies in journalism’ contribute to the ‘naturalisation’ of these constructed boundaries and the justifications given for using the law to control those deemed as ‘other’. Drawing from Hall (1997) they emphasise the role that *language* plays in the construction of boundaries between for instance **man / woman, black / white, British / foreigner** and so on. They quote Shapiro (1989) to underline the importance of a linguistic approach:

‘[...] given that our understanding of conflict, war, or more generally, the space within which international politics is deployed is always mediated by modes of representation and thus by all the various mechanisms involved in text construction – grammars, rhetorics, and narrativity – we must operate with a view of politics that is sensitive to textuality’

(Shapiro 1989: 319 in Bailey and Harindranath 2005 :276).

However, although there does follow some analysis of a BBC news report on new asylum laws in 2003, the analysis is rather light on the linguistic detail needed to demonstrate the import they attach to being ‘sensitive to textuality’.

8.2.2 *Linguistic studies*

Coe et al locate the prevalence of oppositions not just on the media and political speeches but also in the ‘tendency in Western thought to construct reality in binary terms’

(2004: 235). They note the variety of related terms this has generated, such as ‘dichotomy’, ‘dualism’, ‘dialectic’ and ‘polarization’, depending on the specific analytical orientation.

They continue:

A common thread in these conceptions is that Western language and thought often represent the world as dichotomized absolutes consisting of antithetical terms and ideas, with no alternative ground. We use the term binary to refer to this general practice and draw upon Burke (1945/1969) to define such constructions: “The placements of one thought or thing in terms of its opposite” (p403). Notably, binary conceptions of reality have consequences. Specifically, scholars have argued that binaries inherently engender and reinforce unequal relations among objects. For example Derrida (1972/1981) contended that binaries do not have a “peaceful co-existence,” but rather exist as a “violent hierarchy” in which “one term governs the other...or has the upper hand” (p41). Similarly, Carr and Zanetti (1999) argued that binaries connote “a struggle for predominance” that powerfully suggests that “if one position is right, then the other must be wrong” (p.324).

(Coe et al, 2004: 235)

Coe et al make two fundamental points here which are very pertinent to the study of oppositions undertaken in this thesis. Firstly the lack of an ‘alternative ground’ imposed by the binary treatment of groups and concepts could be, I argue, at least partly determined by the very syntax in which *co-occurring* oppositions are instantiated in text. In other words the discourse of rhetoric employed in most of the news reports analysed in my data and in these studies makes the representation of any middle ground (shades of grey) unlikely given the restrictions and conventions imposed on news reports and polemics. Secondly, once two ‘sides’ have been constructed it is also unlikely that both are going to be treated equally, again given the evaluative nature of a rhetorical text. So, as Coe et al point out, texts which consistently utilise the binary opposition privilege one over the other.

Coe et al seek evidence of these binaries and their hierarchical nature by analysing 15 major addresses by President Bush and the editorials from 20 major U.S. newspapers published on the two days immediately after the addresses. They develop a coding system for logging where the terms 'good' and 'evil' or terms exemplifying these concepts such as 'right', 'best' 'honourable' (for 'good') and 'cruel', 'sadistic' 'wicked' (for 'bad') are set in opposition to each other. They then produce statistics to match the extent to which the US media echo Bush's use of the binaries. Terms are in opposition to each other if they are placed in the same sentence (i.e. co-occurring) or 'positioned together within a broader thought expression that nonetheless anchored the ideas as oppositional' (2004: 239). From this they produce statistical evidence that the US press echoed Bush's use of binaries. However although, their study is based on a considerable amount of textual data - unlike the studies described above - it is not a wholly *linguistic* one in that they do not produce qualitative analysis of any specific text and so the location of specific textual binaries is given little treatment.

Of the more detailed *linguistic* analyses of constructed oppositions outlined here, they all adopt an overtly CDA approach with the exception of Leudar and Marsland's (2004) study of the binary discourse of Bush, Blair and Bin Laden. Their focus is mainly personal pronouns and the shifting membership categorisations to which they refer from the perspectives of the three speakers.

Thetela's analysis of South African press reports on the military intervention in Lesotho looks at 'the ideologically based discursive patterns' which contribute to the establishment of 'two rival social group identities, expressed through the ideological *us* versus *them* opposition' (2001: 147). Her text analysis of a corpus of 300 news reports and 19 editorials from seven South African newspapers published between June 1998 and April 1999, relies on a range of typical CDA tools. These consist mainly of 'transitivity choices', 'lexical

choices', 'metaphor systems', 'intertextual patterns' and the contribution of direct and indirect quotations and pronouns to the construction of the **us / them** division.

Achugar (2004) also makes explicit her reliance on CDA methodology drawing on a corpus of 27 editorials taken from 12 – 25 September 2001 (i.e. the two weeks following 9/11). She focuses specifically on the representation of the events of 9/11 and the positive and negative representation of the 'social actors' in those events, such as the 'Muslim Other' (see specifically 2004: 304-9). The consideration of the binary nature of these representations is therefore also very pertinent. She claims that 'the social construction of evil is necessary for the social construction of good' and that 'the dividing line between the two must be drawn and redrawn time and time again' (2004: 317). She uses charts to group together the 'semantic features in the representation of in-group and out-group social actors' (2004: 298) in the two Uruguayan newspapers *El Pais* and *La Republic*. These show us for instance that the in- and out-groups can be compared in the ways they are *categorised* by each newspaper e.g. as 'the innocent' or 'a fanatical minority'. Useful though these comparisons are, they do not provide us with a clear indication how they relate as co-occurring oppositions in the texts in which they appear.

Bishop and Jaworski refer to the concern of CDA 'with examining the link between discourse and power' and how 'discourse reproduces and maintains hegemonic and discriminatory social relations (e.g. sexism, racism, ageism) often leading to the marginalisation of particular social groups' (2003: 246). They study news reports of the German v England football match taken from 12 British newspapers published on 17 – 19 June 2000. Their method is to conduct a close analysis of how in-groups and out-groups are constructed in these texts by methods including pronoun usage, military and war metaphors, stereotyping, semantic contrast, pejoration and homogenization. According to them the sensationalist nationalism espoused by the press in these reports is made possible

only by the less fervent ‘banal nationalism brewing quietly in the media, education systems, and all other domains of imagining the nation [...which...] enables the nation to be reproduced in daily life as natural and inevitable’ (2003: 249). Their attempt to show how the press reports simultaneously glorify English nationalism (when playing Germany at football) while excluding from its remit English football fans who exploit their Englishness to the extreme, has the closest echoes of the studies conducted in Chapters Five and Six. Whereas the other studies summarised above tend to focus on race, nationality and religion as a defining out-group characteristic, the focus in my data has been on how groups are marginalised *within* the same national culture, whether it be because of their ‘left wing’ views or their allegiance to the city or countryside. However, the strength of Bishop and Jaworski’s claims and of others who use a CDA approach could be reinforced with some attention to opposites constructed in syntactic frames, as I will show in section 8.4.

The next section summarises some of the typical linguistic tools adopted by those whose approach is largely influenced by CDA. The ultimate aim is to show how the analytical methods employed in Chapters Three to Six of this thesis can contribute to the already substantial work done in these areas

8.3 Critical discourse analysis and the study of oppositions

Studies drawing on CDA methodologies vary from making broad assertions about the socio-political influences of a range of texts in context to a specific detailed analysis of one text and the contextual influences on its production and reception. I propose that the methodology used to examine oppositions outlined in this thesis can apply to this whole spectrum of approaches.

However, it would be impractical to provide a complete summary of *all* CDA methods here. The intention is merely to show where these analysts refer to tools pertinent to the discussion of semantic and grammatical aspects of antonymy/ opposition in order to demonstrate where gaps can be filled with my methodology.

One of the pioneering works in CDA methodology, Fairclough (1989) devotes a whole chapter to the descriptive tools of critical discourse analysis (1989: 109 - 39). He divides these tools under three major headings – vocabulary, grammar and textual structures and lists the kinds of questions one might ask as an analyst when studying a text from a CDA perspective. Under the ‘vocabulary’ heading he suggests an analyst might seek to discover ‘ideologically significant meaning relations (synonymy, hyponymy, antonymy) [...] between words’ (1989: 111). However, the discussion of antonymy goes no further than explaining in one sentence that the meaning of one word is incompatible with another (1989: 117). Under the ‘grammar’ heading is a section on the use of personal pronouns. Fairclough discusses the use of the inclusive ‘we’ in a *Daily Mail* editorial (‘*We* cannot let *our* troops lose their edge...’ 1989: 127), noting that the paper is making a claim to speak for others including its readers and all British citizens. The effect of this is that ‘it serves corporate ideologies which stress the unity of a people at the expense of recognition of divisions of interest’ (1989: 128). Similarly, Chapters Five and Six of this thesis have shown how the inclusive ‘we’ can be used to construct unity in opposition to a similarly constructed ‘them’. However Fairclough makes no reference to the **us / them** binary as such, focusing more on the use of the second person pronoun ‘you’ in advertising and political speeches.

The analysis of grammatical elements of texts is key to the CDA approach as the choice of one language structure over another has a more covert ideological influence than, for instance, openly rhetorical techniques such as three-part lists, hyperbole and so on. CDA

proponents therefore commonly pay attention, as Fairclough does, to transitivity, nominalisations, the use of active and passive sentences, modality, clause and sentence connectors, pronoun usage and so on (see 1989: 111 & 121-132). The syntactic triggers for oppositions are clearly a grammatical issue, focussing as they do on the way that co-occurring oppositions are framed by negators and connectors. There are however, no reference to these in Fairclough's list nor in other works (e.g. 1992; 1995a; 1995b; 2000).

Fowler's (1991) seminal work *Language in the News* is a detailed examination of the way in which language structures can encode an ideological viewpoint and the way the press perpetuate unequal power relations through these structures. He does therefore recognise the power of dichotomies to construct in- and out-groups and the role of personal pronouns in this process. He discusses the ideology of consensus i.e. 'the theory that a society shares all its interests in common, without division or variation' (1991: 16). The press (and politicians) commonly rely on this consensual ideology to appeal to their addressees to unite for common goals, especially in times of crisis. He continues:

In the Press, this ideology is the source of the 'consensual "we" ' pronoun which is used often in editorials that claim to speak for 'the people'. How 'we' are supposed to behave is exemplified by the regular news reports of stories which illustrate such qualities as fortitude, patriotism, sentiment, industry. But although consensus sounds like a liberal, humane and generous theory of social action and attitudes, in practice it breed divisive and alienating attitudes, a dichotomous vision of 'us' and 'them'. In order to place a fence around 'us', the popular papers of the Right are obsessed with stories which cast 'them' in a bad light: trades unionists, socialist council leaders, teachers, blacks, social workers, rapists, homosexuals, etc., all become stigmatized 'groups', and are the somehow all lumped together and cast beyond the pale.

(Fowler 1991: 16)

Fowler devotes a whole chapter of his book outlining tools for a ‘critical linguistic’ approach to the analysis of news texts. This includes sections on transitivity, lexical fields, modality, and the use of speech acts. Elsewhere Fowler does touch on the role of the **us / them** pronouns in the detailed analyses of news texts undertaken (see for instance 1991: 212 & 214), however again, like Fairclough, the recognition of the central role of pronouns or oppositions in general is given no space in the systematic toolkits for recognising the construction of marginalized or stigmatized groups in the news media.

Van Dijk (1991) makes his study of the ideological role of language in the news even more focussed by concentrating specifically on racism in the British and Dutch press. He draws on a sizeable corpus of over 5,000 articles from 1985-86 and 1989 in order to demonstrate the press treatment of three major ‘ethnic’ news stories – the immigration of large groups of Tamil refugees to several Western European countries in 1985, a series of ‘race riots’ in several British cities in 1985, and the threats to the life of British writer Salman Rushdie from Islamists upset at his portrayal of the prophet Mohammed in his novel *The Satanic Verses* in 1989.

Positive self-presentation and negative other presentation through pronominal usage is therefore a crucial element to van Dijk’s detailed survey. For instance he condemns the press for being ‘representative of the white power structure’ which has ‘consistently limited the access, both as to hiring, promotion, or points of view, of ethnic minority groups’ (1991: 20-1). He continues:

Until today, its dominant definition of ethnic affairs has consistently been a negative and stereotypical one: minorities or immigrants are seen as a problem or a threat, and are portrayed preferably in association with crime, violence, conflict, unacceptable cultural differences, or other forms of deviance. While paying extensive attention to these racialized or ethnicized forms of problems or conflict, it failed to pay attention to the deeper social, political, or

economic causes and backgrounds of these conflicts. From the point of view of a 'white man's world', minorities and other Third World peoples are generally categorised as 'them', and opposed to 'us' and, especially in western Europe, as not belonging, if not as an aberration in white society.

(van Dijk 1991: 21)

As a result van Dijk conducts a detailed analysis of how the right-wing press utilise the '**us / them**' binary in ways which categorise groups to show their respective closeness or distance to the views of the newspaper and its readers. So at the simplest level 'them' can be sub-categorised into 'white' and 'non-white' groups whereby the former consist of varying degrees of anti-establishment views, culminating in 'anti-racists', 'sociologists' and 'Loony Left' as the most extreme 'non-violent' category and 'agitators' 'terrorists' and 'insurgents' in the 'violent' category. The non-whites can be sub-categorised into 'blacks' and 'Asians' until at the extreme end there are 'criminals', 'drug dealers' and 'rioters'. Similarly, those in the 'us' branch are sub-divided into 'soft', 'moderate' and 'hard' categories, with the 'moderate' category representing the central consensus represented in phrases such as 'we', 'ordinary people', 'law-abiding citizens' and so on (see 1991: 142).

The distinctions, according to van Dijk, are signalled in the style and rhetoric of the descriptions of the participants. A methodology for examining these textual features is subsequently described and includes the study amongst others of 'presuppositions, implications, inferences, concealments, euphemisms, disclaiming denials, blaming the victim, negativization, and in general the combined strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation' (1991: 177). Van Dijk does come very close on occasions to discussing textually constructed oppositions. For instance he discusses the role of 'comparisons' and 'contrast and division' (1991: 195-7), the latter being a more 'full-blown' version of the former. 'Contrasts' are an overt strategic move to differentiate one

group from another using a divide and conquer strategy, so that for instance a writer will praise the attributes of one out-group in order to condemn those of another, creating ‘the illusion of ethnic rivalry’ (1991: 197). Van Dijk also looks at a variety of other rhetorical techniques such as ‘negativization’, patterns of lexical choices to describe the various groups, use of passive and active sentences and syntactic parallelism. This last feature is closest van Dijk gets to a recognition of the role of syntactic frames in triggering oppositions. In studying the parallelism in four extracts from editorial columns he says:

Sometimes the parallelism is accompanied by repeated negation (“it was not...it was not...”), or in a figure of contrast (“it was not...it was”), sometimes even combined with other figures, such as alliteration (vicious mob...victims”, “sticks and stones”)

(van Dijk 1991: P218-19)

It is clear that the role of syntactic parallelism is accorded some importance here, but that the methodology in section 3.3.7 on parallelism as an oppositional trigger could provide even greater insight into revealing some of the ways in-groups and out-groups are textually constructed.

More recently van Dijk (2006: 373-4) lists textual strategies for positive self-presentation and negative other presentation. These include selecting positive and negative lexical items for ‘**us**’ and ‘**them**’ respectively, syntactic features such as active / passive sentences and nominalizations, and rhetoric such as ‘hyperboles vs euphemisms for positive/negative meanings’ (2006: 373). However, as the next section aims to show, the utilisation of tools to discover and explain specific textually co-occurring opposition to the textual examples provided in his own study, can strengthen the analysis.

8.4 Constructed oppositions and syntactic frames– a new CDA tool?

This last section shows how examples of text provided by linguistic studies into the construction of in- and out-groups can be analysed using the additional tools for recognising and explaining oppositions provided in this thesis. Because the nuts and bolts of syntax, such as connectors and negators provide little of the semantic content of texts, their role often goes unnoticed. This seems to be the case in the studies described above. Yet, a cursory examination of some of the examples provided by these analysts demonstrates that in fact oppositions triggered by the syntactic frames outlined in Chapter Three play a critical role in the way that binary representations are reproduced in certain texts.

There are some particularly good examples in van Dijk's study *Racism in the Press* (1991). Examples 8.1 – 8.4 are all taken from the editorials and comment pages from a variety of national UK press during a period of racial tension resulting in riots in 1985, and examined by van Dijk.

8.1 By blacks I mean those **principally of West Indian origin rather than the quieter, gentler people from the Indian sub-continent who are as law-abiding as the rest of the population.**

(*The Times* 12 October 1985, in van Dijk 1991: 197)

8.2 These young men with dreadlocked hair – who regard marijuana as a 'holy herb' – know the language of the Left. And **despite the many ordinary, law-abiding Rasta in Birmingham, the Villa Road variety seem a law unto themselves** – as I discovered when I visited the area last week.

(*Daily Mail*, 15 September 1985 in van Dijk 1991: 197)

8.3 It is time we discuss the race issue in Britain with honesty. No topic is cotton-woolled by liberal commentators with more pious concern. Nowhere is the truth more taboo. Shouldn't our schools be **teaching black children to love their country, rather than stuffing them full of ethnic education**, which is only likely to make them feel more alienated?

(*Daily Mail*, 30 September, 1985 in van Dijk 1991:202)

8.4 His court success is a **victory for free speech and a defeat for the blinkered tyrants** who believe that the best way round race problems is to pretend they do not exist.

(*The Sun*, 6 September 1985, in van Dijk 1991: 200)

Examples 8.1 and 8.2 both utilise oppositional frames to make sweeping statements about the behaviour of subsections of 'ethnic' groupings. In the first one, the *Times* writer seeks to differentiate the out-group of those from non-white backgrounds by further dividing them into acceptable and non-acceptable types. Seeking to ensure his readership understands what he means by 'blacks' the concepts of NOISY, ROUGH and LAW-BREAKING are triggered and assigned to those of 'West Indian origin' by being contrasted with the 'quieter, gentler people' who are 'law-abiding'. One plane of equivalence here therefore is ETHNIC MINORITIES, but they are differentiated in terms of levels of NOISE, LEGALITY and BEHAVIOUR..

The tendency to proclaim the ability to make instant judgements about 'good' and 'bad' members of an out-group is repeated in Example 8.2 where the *Daily Mail* utilises the concessive frame 'despite X, Y' to distinguish between two types of 'Rasta'. The Birmingham variety, being 'ordinary' and 'law-abiding' are contrasted with those from Villa Road – 'a law unto themselves'. As we have seen in the analyses in Chapters Five

and Six, the oppositional concepts of **LEGAL / ILLEGAL, ORDINARY / EXTREME** are a common method used to equate group behaviour with or differentiate it from the consensual norm. These writers clearly believe they have the ability and the right to decide which sections of ethnic communities have more in common with the ‘white’ in-group than others.

In 8.3 the *Daily Mail* writer uses the ‘X rather than Y’ replacive to draw a distinction between what they claim ‘black children’ are being taught (‘ethnic education’), and what they *should* be taught (‘to love their country’). As the canonical opposite of ‘love’ is ‘hate’, this automatically triggers the concept HATE as being equivalent to ‘ethnic education’, implying that black children are being taught to hate their country and not being patriotic.

A combination of syntactic parallelism and ancillary opposition in Example 8.4 is used to create a contrast between **FREEDOM** and **OPPRESSION**. The story relates the trial of Ray Honeyford, the headmaster of a Bradford school who was suspended because of his racist views and writings, and then reinstated by the courts. By equating ‘victory’ with ‘free speech’ and ‘defeat’ with ‘blinker tyrants’, the canonical concepts of **VICTORY** and **DEFEAT** are aligned with **FREEDOM** and **OPPRESSION** respectively and so implicating those who supported the suspension with tyranny and oppression. Also, the use of ‘blinker’ which triggers the concept **NARROW-MINDED**, assigns the concept **OPEN-MINDED** to those who supported Honeyford’s release which of course includes *The Sun* and its readership.

Thetela (2001) also provides good examples of news texts which deal with race issues to construct differences between groups, this time between black and white. However which group is treated positively depends on the perspective of the South African paper doing the reporting.

8.5 *While* it may be true that both **black and white soldiers** perform well if they have good leaders, good training, good weapons and tight discipline, *the fact is* that things might have *gone much better* if **more white troops** had been deployed

(*Cape Argus*, 1 Oct 1998, in Thetela, 2001: 366)

8.6 These economic forces from the old order *cannot* be accused of **being sympathetic to the new democratic order**. *In fact*, they are **sceptical and even hostile to the new democratic system** and they resent the fact that **whites** were *replaced by* **blacks** as governors of the country.

(*The Star*, 27 Nov 1998, in Thetela, 2001: 367)

The *Cape Argus* in Example 8.5 employs a combination of a concessive and comparative in the ‘*while X, Y much better*’ frame to align GOOD PERFORMANCE with an increase in ‘white troops’, and by association, equating BAD PERFORMANCE with black troops (even though in the first clause ‘black and white soldiers’ are referred to).

The Star however clearly has more sympathies with the majority black government using negation (not X, in fact Y) to contrast ‘being sympathetic to the new democratic order’ with hostility and scepticism. Therefore WHITE is equated with the qualities UNSYMPATHETIC, HOSTILE, SCEPTICAL, UNDEMOCRATIC, and BLACK with their more positive opposites.

Studies which explore the process of othering in the reporting of terrorist activities, particularly the events of 9/11, tend to exploit the archetypal binary of **GOOD** and **EVIL** which is instantiated in a variety of textual examples.

Example 8.7 is from Achugar’s (2004) investigation into the reporting of 9/11 in the Uruguayan press:

8.7 Nowadays, the horror that the material and intellectual authors of a savage event such as that of last Tuesday are attempting to create is the concrete manifestation of the *fight of darkness against liberty and civilization*. (El Pais 14/9/01)

(p305)

Here an explicit opposition ‘*fight of X against Y*’ whereby ‘darkness’, typically representing **EVIL**, is also associated with **OPPRESSION and BARBARISM**. The representation of the West, particularly the USA, with **FREEDOM, CIVILISATION and GOOD** is a standard binary, and as Coe et al (2004) claim, echoes the statements made by US President George Bush in the days and months after 9/11(see Example 8.8).

8.8 Today **our** nation *saw evil, the very worst of human nature*. *And we* responded with the **very best of America**.

(Coe et al, 2004: 242)

Here, Bush’s proclamation to the nation on the evening of the 9/11 attacks uses the canonical oppositions ‘**very best**’ / ‘**very worst**’ in an ancillary fashion, to not only differentiate America from ‘evil’ but by objectifying the ‘nation’ and ‘evil’ representing it as a battle between two mutually exclusive forces. As ‘evil’ is post-modified with ‘**the very worst of human nature**’, America is therefore associated with the **VERY BEST OF HUMAN NATURE**, exemplifying all the positive qualities that it is possible for mankind to possess. Coe et al note the *conscious* concurring of the US news media with Bush’s rendering of reality in simple binary terms, quoting the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* who stated on 16 September 2001 that ‘George W. Bush has cast the war against terrorism as a fight that pits ‘good vs. evil’ (2004: 242). Their following statement aptly summarises many of the concerns of this thesis:

There are times and issues when right and wrong are colored in shades of gray, when men and women of good conscience may differ. This is not one of them.

(*Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 16 September 2001, in Coe et al, 2004: 242)

Leudar and Marsland (2004) also draw on the post 9/11 binary discourse of George Bush.

8.9 The deliberate and deadly attacks which were carried out yesterday against our country were *more than* **acts of terror**. They were **acts of war**.

(Leudar and Marsland, 2004: 250)

Example 8.9 demonstrates Bush's use of a comparative combined with syntactic parallelism in '[they] were more than X, they were Y' oppositional frame and to create a distinction between '**terror**' and '**war**'. What is interesting about this example is that both of these concepts relate to forms of behaviour associated with extreme violence (their plane of equivalence). However, Bush's way of differentiating them could rely on other oppositional concepts such as **INDIVIDUAL / COLLECTIVE**, **ANONYMOUS / IDENTIFIED** and **RANDOM / SYSTEMATIC**. Terror attacks are often associated with individual, random acts of violence perpetrated by a faceless enemy. By treating the 9/11 attack as something even worse than terror, Bush is implying that the whole nation is involved, and that the response by the US has to be a collective one, against a known enemy (Islam), and in a systematic fashion, utilising all the force at the disposal of the nation. Subsequent events bore this out.

Finally, Bishop and Jaworski's (2003) study of the reporting of football hooliganism following the Euro 2000 England / Germany football match, shows how binaries in the

news media can be used to differentiate nations in ways where the repercussions are less drastic than the events following 9/11 and also how they can be utilised to ‘other’ individuals who would in other circumstances be well within the remit of the ‘we’ in certain newspapers.

8.10 Recently the spoils have gone to Germany – who can forget the **penalty shoot-outs of Italia 90 and Euro 96? But** the greatest post-war victory belongs to **England with their 1966 World Cup win at Wembley**

(*Daily Mail*, 17 June 2000 in Bishop and Jaworski, 2003: 252)

8.11 Jubilation for the **true fans but 160 hooligans** are arrested after running battles break out on the streets of Charleroi.

(*Sunday Express*, 18 June 2000 in Bishop and Jaworski, 2003: 262)

The *Daily Mail* express their patriotic fervour in Example 8.10 by referencing the Second World War between the nations and comparing the victories of Germany and England football teams since then over each other. Using the contrastive ‘X *but* Y’ frame they claim that England’s World Cup victory in 1966 is greater than the victories of Germany in 1990 and 1996 in penalty shoot-outs. The plane of equivalence VICTORY which associates the two countries is differentiated arbitrarily by the use of superlative ‘greatest’, and so belittling Germany’s victories by implication as being the ‘worst’.

The contrastive is used again in 8.11, this time to make it clear that they won’t treat those who cause trouble at football matches as ‘true fans’. There are echoes here of the strategy used by the *Sunday Mirror* article in Chapter Five of this thesis to dissociate themselves from those whose behaviour they deem outside of the consensual norm. So although the 160 people labelled ‘hooligans’ may well also claim to be England fans, the

Sunday Express thinks otherwise. They associate the concepts **PEACEFUL, LOYAL, LAW-ABIDING** with the ‘true fans’ and their opposites **VIOLENT, DISLOYAL, LAW-BREAKING** with the others. The punishment for not remaining within the consensus, it is implied, is dejection or dismay, contrasting with the ‘jubilation’ felt by the former.

8.5 Binaries as an effect of syntactic structure

It must be emphasised that the brief analyses of examples used in studies of binaries in the media above are in no way designed to be full and complete examinations of the possible interpretation and influences they might have. The respective researchers themselves have provided detailed and exemplary explorations of these factors in their work. The aim here has been to merely show how their approaches might be supplemented further by taking into account textually instantiated oppositions, triggered by common oppositional frames, and understood by reference to a number of key oppositional concepts.

One of the possible conclusions we can draw (although this needs further investigation), is that users of language are restrained from representing groups and events in anything other than binary terms because of the limits imposed, not just by the need for brevity, but also in the very language structures available in representing different points of view and behaviours. The syntactic frames outlined in Chapter Three which house canonical co-occurring oppositions and trigger non-canonical ones, only create space for two options.

Studies into racial and national textual differentiation through binaries are undoubtedly central, as the above summaries show, but constructed oppositions can be used for other, perhaps less obvious purposes, as the data analysed in Chapters Five to Seven tries to demonstrate.

8.6 Conclusion

In this thesis I examined methods for identifying textually constructed oppositions. I then used these frameworks to explore non-canonical oppositions in news texts where they contributed towards the ideological construction of in-groups and out-groups (**'us' / 'them'**). I concluded with an assessment of how this approach could complement current critical discourse analysis approaches to text analysis, specifically in the way texts utilise the **'us' / 'them'** binary. This concluding section provides a summary of my research findings, some critical reflections on some methodological and analytical issues, and some suggestions for future study.

8.6.1 Summary of research findings

Central to my thesis is the belief that existing theories of oppositions stress their centrality as one of a number of lexical semantic relationships between words and/or concepts. However, they tend to view treat language, and therefore oppositions, as a closed system (*langue*) providing idealised examples divorced from the realm of real language use, whereas *textual* oppositions are far more prevalent than most standard linguistic works on opposites would advocate. Even studies which provide examples of oppositions on context – such as Mettinger (1994) and Jones (2002) – their approach is to judge opposites as 'good' or 'bad' examples against what they perceive to be a systematic 'core' of oppositional pairs. One of my aims has been to demonstrate that there is no qualitative boundary between what constitutes systemic and non-systemic oppositions and then to provide a method for identifying constructed oppositions and show what this can reveal about their contribution to news texts in representing the world in binary terms.

To arrive at a position where oppositions can be identified and examined, a number of initial exploratory stages were deemed necessary. Chapters One to Four introduced the news data to be used and reviewed existing theories of oppositions so that in Chapters Five to Eight, the new frameworks produced could be utilised for the analysis of the data.

In the review of existing literature on oppositions, the works of Lyons (1977), Cruse (1986), Mettinger (1994), Jones (2002) and Murphy (2003) were given specific attention. Lyons and Cruse for instance had pioneered theories of lexical semantic oppositional relations and provided a useful inventory of opposition types. One of the key aims of Mettinger and Jones was to put greater emphasis on opposites in ‘context’ by identifying the common syntactic frames used to house co-occurring opposites in a corpus of crime fiction and *The Independent* newspaper respectively. However, these latter works rely on the presumption that oppositions (‘antonyms’) are a lexical phenomena and their strength lies in their status as codified in lexical authorities such as thesauruses. However, this thesis has adopted the view of Murphy, that although there does exist a ‘canon’ of oppositions (fluid, flexible and dynamic), non-canonical oppositional pairs which are triggered by participating in the same syntactic frames as canonical ones are based on the same relational principles as canonical ones. This relies on a theory that opposition is primarily a conceptual phenomenon, *supplemented* by canonical lexical relations. This accounts for the fact that new oppositions can be generated – relying for their oppositional status on the principle of relations of equivalence and difference. The importance of the ‘canon’, the understanding amongst a speech community of a shared ‘core’ of oppositions, is that new oppositions can only be understood through reference to higher level canonical conceptual oppositions, much in the same ways that new words are created from existing ones.

The purpose of Chapters Two to Four has therefore been to justify the existence and status of non-canonical oppositions. This has meant rejecting Mettinger's own belief in a qualitative difference between 'systemic' and 'non-systemic' oppositions (itself a constructed binary) and Jones' (and to a certain extent Cruse's) tendency to evaluate oppositional pairs as 'good' and 'bad' examples. It has also entailed broadening the definition of opposition so that it also takes in phrases and clauses that are framed in the syntactic structures catalogued by Mettinger and Jones. Despite some disagreements with Jones' methodology, and the way he has categorised the syntactic frames, these have provided an indispensable foundation on which to build a typology of syntactic frames through which to discover unconventional examples of oppositions.

Chapters Five and Six have used the syntactic frames to provide a detailed *qualitative* analysis of constructed oppositions in a news report of a major anti-war protest and two news reports of a protest on a ban against fox-hunting. This has revealed that in these cases a number of common higher level conceptual oppositions are relied on (e.g. **GOOD / BAD, RURAL / URBAN, MODERATE / EXTREME**) to position the reader into preferring one type of protestor over another, by constructing them into mutually exclusive stereotyped groups, often relying on pronouns such as '**us**' / '**them**'. Chapter Seven shows additional examples of these types of binaries in other news reports on the same two protests.

As the eventual aim of the thesis is to contribute towards the tools utilised by practitioners of critical discourse analysis, Chapter Eight gives an overview of studies of the use of the concept of the **US / THEM** binary used in news reports, including general studies of the media and specific linguistic approaches. This demonstrates that as yet, a theory of constructed oppositions has not been utilised by these studies, and that the frameworks and methodology developed in this thesis can add an extra dimension of

insight. One of the ways this has been demonstrated is to apply the analytical tools developed here to the data already published in the studies of CDA practitioners.

8.6.2 Limitations of the current study

Whilst this thesis has provided some important openings for further research (see Section 8.6.3), there are some refinements required, which with hindsight would have to be addressed if the same study were to be conducted again.

The restricted data set (see Table 1.1 for a further breakdown) of 79 articles comprising 62,088 words provides nowhere near the same kind of range as an extensive corpus such as Jones' (2002) 280 million words containing 55, 411 sentences of co-occurring oppositions. Further analysis of a much broader range of material would be needed to confirm or deny the existence of non-canonical oppositions and their function to construct or reinforce groups represented as '**us**' or '**them**'. The methods used to distinguish between articles in my data worth qualitative analysis owing to the effects they have on the overall tone and orientation of the articles in which they appear, whilst as rigorous as could be given all circumstances, are ultimately fairly subjective. Further studies need to be conducted to find ways of assessing the effects of clustered oppositions in news or any other texts.

Also, the typology of syntactic frames and triggers summarised in Table 3.4, can only be a provisional one given the limited nature of the data on which they are based. Although the criticisms of and adjustments made to the typologies provided by Jones (2002) and Mettinger (1994) are valid, there are certainly refinements and possibly additional categories or sub-categories to be developed. When collating all the specific instances of syntactic frames from the news data it was difficult to decide in which categories to include some of the more obscure ones. For instance, there were quite a few examples

which included a combination of negators (like ‘not’ or ‘never’) and the contrastive ‘*but*’ in frames such as ‘*X but not Y*’, ‘*not X but Y*’, ‘*never X but Y*’ and so on. I considered creating another category – ‘negated contrastive oppositions’ – in which to place examples such as these, however had to make a decision for reasons of space to restrict the number of categories. There is also an element of subjectivity as to what constitutes an ‘explicit contrastive’. Is ‘*X compared to Y*’ explicit enough, or should it fall in the ‘comparative’ category? Is there an argument for a category ‘conditional oppositions’ which employ conditional conjunctions such as ‘if’ as in the construction ‘*if X [occurs], Y [results]*’ or should this be subsumed under the category of ‘concessive oppositions’? It is also possible that there should be a separate category which includes the ‘*either X or Y*’ frame which Jones includes as an example of ‘coordinated antonymy’. It is clear that this construction presents a choice between two alternatives but as yet I have not provided a suitable name for the category in which this might be included.

It trying to provide a balance between exploring lexical semantic approaches to opposition and the ideological effects of oppositions in news texts it is possible I have neglected to sufficiently explore the contribution which might be made by philosophers whose work discusses binaries and the creation and maintenance of in-groups and out-groups. Section 2.7 on ‘privileging in oppositions’ is an attempt to address some of these issues, but it is clear that this could be enhanced with the inclusion of ideas from for instance Cixous (1975), Levi Strauss (1970), Derrida (1972), Irigaray (1985) and Burr. There needs to be more work done examining whether there is ever a case whereby each of the X and Y pair in a binary opposition have equal status or whether one is always automatically ideologically privileged above the other.

8.6.3 *Suggestions for further research*

There is tremendous scope for further research into the nature and functions of constructed oppositions. This thesis has merely provided an opening for such research to take place. It has been necessary, for reasons of space and to maintain focus, to put to one side a whole range of additional factors and linguistic fields which could be taken into account if the foundations on which my approach is based are to be developed.

The following are some of the research opportunities available:

8.6.3.1 *Computer corpora and syntactic frames*

The typology of syntactic frames developed by Mettinger and Jones and adapted in this thesis for the discovery of constructed oppositions is open for further development and refinement. A method needs to be found to log all the potential frames for the triggering of oppositions, whilst recognising that the function of the frames is likely to be fluid and variable, according to the context in which they are used. A computer corpus of any of a range of textual genres can then be utilised through which to generate the *frames* (e.g. ‘X *not* Y’) rather than pre-chosen canonical oppositional pairs (Jones’ method). This would provide an efficient method for finding all examples of constructed oppositions produced by these frames. A qualitative analysis of a sizeable number of oppositions generated from specific frames could then be undertaken in order to determine the qualities of these frames in specific genres. For instance in my news data, the use of contrastives (e.g. ‘X *but* Y’), and concessives (‘*despite* X, Y’) are used to signal unexpected or unusual events, often to contrast past events with the present. It would be interesting to know whether they perform similar or different functions in other news texts, or indeed in other genres.

8.6.3.2 *A cognitive linguistic approach*

As explained in Chapter Four, the models represented by the diagrams which show the relationships of equivalence and difference which form the basis of oppositional relations, are clearly fairly crude, and a hypothetical projection of a way oppositions might be processed. Cognitive linguistics approaches including schema theory and/or blending theory are likely to provide models which can strengthen the description of what might happen in the processing of constructed oppositions.

8.6.3.3 *The material basis of oppositions*

What I found particularly intriguing was the question of to what extent oppositions have a *material* basis. In other words, it seems to be taken for granted that oppositions exist outside of texts and language, and that canonical oppositions at least, merely reflect qualities that are intrinsic to things, people, events and so on. There has to be a case however for arguing that many oppositions that we take for granted – such as ‘**hot**’ / ‘**cold**’ are human constructs and have no existence on their own, being relative terms. Obviously some of these matters are for scientists to ponder. However, it is possible that we use the frames associated with co-occurring canonical oppositions, much more than we might think. The fact that these syntactic structures position our use of language into binary structures might have a far greater influence on the way binaries hold a special power than previously considered.

8.6.3.4 *Informant testing*

There are opportunities for informant testing on textual oppositions. For instance, informants could be asked to rewrite text which contains a variety of sentences using the common syntactic frames for co-occurring oppositions, so that these binary structures no

longer exist, without substantially changing the meaning. The likelihood is that this would present quite a challenge. Indeed, in the process of reading for this thesis, many of the academics who have written about opposites have used constructed oppositions themselves (seemingly unaware of this fact), including myself.

8.6.3.5 A contribution to critical discourse analysis

Perhaps most importantly, from the perspective of this thesis, is to find ways of exposing the more insidious uses of constructed oppositions. This includes those which exacerbate or create conflict by representing individuals, groups, races and nations as if they were a homogenous group, to be either unequivocally promoted or maligned. News texts are one of the major purveyors of information about the reality we are allowed to perceive, and as this thesis has tried to show, often use constructed binaries as part of their ideological armoury. It is therefore the duty of linguists to further investigate ways of exposing and counteracting uses of language which misrepresent and distort reality to the detriment of those who might suffer from its use. Critical discourse analysts have already taken up this challenge in many ways. I hope this thesis has made a further contribution to this process.

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**Oppositions in News Discourse:
the ideological construction of in-groups
and out-groups in the press**
(Appendix)

Vol II of II

MATT DAVIES

A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Huddersfield

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**News texts for
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LISTEN TO US ; THE PEOPLE'S MARCH: A TIDE OF PROTEST

Britain says no to war - 2m join historic demo

Sunday Mirror, 16 February 2003, Page 2

- 1 THE little girl clutched her home-made cardboard placard coloured in with crayons. It was in the shape of a school crossing sign and had one word on it - "STOP".
- 2 It said all you needed to know about yesterday's mass anti-war march through London.
- 3 On a crisp winter's day, the girl and her parents were among the estimated two million who tramped the time-honoured route to make their voices heard. It is an awesome feeling when the people take over the streets of the capital.
- 4 In years gone by, governments were always wary of what they called The Mob. Governments should still be frightened, very frightened. Not by thoughts of violence ...but by the sheer power of numbers.
- 5 To be there felt like history in the making.
- 6 The day began with blue skies but was soon overcast - a greyness that fitted the generally sombre mood.
- 7 In public gardens along the way and in Hyde Park, where the march ended in a huge rally, a sprinkling of snowdrops and crocuses heralded a spring that, if these protests fail, some British servicemen may never live to see.
- 8 While it was true that militants, anarchists, anti-capitalists and anti-Americans - what one weary PC called "the great unwashed" - were out in force, the heart and mind of the protest was ordinary people.
- 9 Worried mums and dads of all ages, all races and religions. Not traitors or cowards. Not faint-hearts. But people who had come to express a genuine feeling they cannot ignore - that the Prime Minister is wrong.
- 10 You should have been there, Mr Blair. If you had, you would have witnessed London's biggest-ever demonstration. With organisers claiming two million protesters, it dwarfed the 100,000 at the 1990 Poll Tax march and the 400,000 of last year's Countryside march.
- 11 Dozens of causes were represented. The professionally-produced placards of the protest groups with their fierce messages - "Blair and Bush - Wanted for Murder" - contrasted with cobbled-together banners. "Notts County supporters say Make Love Not War", said one.
- 12 "Make tea, not war," proclaimed another, over a picture of the Prime Minister with a gun in his hand and a teapot on his head.
- 13 Hundreds of Labour Party red roses were flourished. They may have been hangovers from Valentine's Day, but I doubt it.
- 14 The first knots of people began to gather beside the Thames at around 10am. The Embankment was shut to traffic and its sudden emptiness revealed how long and wide a road it is. How could it possibly be filled?
- 15 The answer came as people flooded in. Young and old, all wrapped up against the cold. Children in buggies, invalids in chairs. Some were scruffy in denims and fleeces, others wore fur-collared coats and Barbour's.

- 16** Those of us near the front, in sight of the start gate under Charing Cross bridge, waited as more and more people pressed in behind. There was chatter, some laughter, the ring of mobile phones as friends tried to meet up. People talked to friends, passed the odd remark to strangers but there was little frivolity. High spirits were not the order of the day. This was serious business.
- 17** The crush behind was now becoming so great that at 11.45am, a quarter of an hour ahead of schedule, the march began. It was good to be walking, a chance to warm up. Now the noise of whistles and shouts was deafening. We passed side streets where the police held back those waiting to join the march. They would have to tag on the end. It was clear even then that it would be a long wait.
- 18** On the other bank of the Thames, the London Eye was creeping round, like the minute hand of clock counting down to war. Big Ben struck 12 times like a death knell. It was noon as we passed beneath it. "No war" was the chant. Then it was a right turn towards Parliament Square and right again into Whitehall, away from the statue of Winston Churchill, leaning on his stick and seeming to glower at this tide of appeasement.
- 19** But Churchill - whose name has been much invoked by those urging war on both sides of the Atlantic - would have been the first to accept the need to inspire a people if you are to take them into a fight. There were no boos for the old warlord, nor even for the Foreign Office, as we passed by. Venom was reserved for Downing Street - not that anyone got near. The column was squeezed to one side of the road, giving a wide berth to the gates guarding the Prime Minister's domain. Two dozen policemen made it clear that this was our very own no-fly zone.
- 20** Violence broke out at the US Embassy as 200 protesters tried to march to the front of the building in Grosvenor Square. They were pushed to the floor as a 30-metre police line ran to force them back.
- 21** Writer Tariq Ali, who saw the flare-up, said: "There was no violent intention. The police were scared and pushed people back roughly. There was no need to do that."
- 22** Trafalgar Square was awash with people, clinging to the lions, trying to get some height to take in the extent of the ever-growing crowd.
- 23** Now unofficial streams were joining from The Strand and from St Martin's Lane. Out of the Square and into Piccadilly - and the other march, coming down Shaftesbury Avenue from the North, merged. There were loud roars of recognition and mutual admiration.
- 24** And so along towards Hyde Park Corner and on to the rapidly muddying grassland of the park. There, a passionate Bianca Jagger demanded that the government "listen to our voices".
- 25** "Carpet-bombing will not bring democracy to Iraq. Do we want this done in our name?" she demanded. "No," roared the crowd.
- 26** That was the thought that led so many ordinary people to flood the streets of London yesterday. One Lancashire mother explained how it had meant taking her toddler out of school early the day before and travelling overnight.
- 27** She cradled her five-month-old baby son to her as she said: "It was a huge decision to come. I've never been to London for a march before.
- 28** "But when the bloodshed starts I want to feel it is not in my name. When the children are older I want to be able to tell them we played a part in trying to stop it.
- 29** "I know there are extremists here whose opinions I disagree with, but they could not summon this number of people. This is Joe Public."

- 30** No one was there to defend Saddam Hussein. No one needed a finger-wagging Prime Minister to tell them that such a march would be violently suppressed in Iraq. No one was denying the evil ways of Saddam Hussein's regime. Not a single voice backed the tyrant. No followers marched in his honour as the Blackshirts did for Hitler 70 years ago.
- 31** The mood was of people not convinced. Not convinced that Iraq has the weapons we are told it has (but of which we have seen so little concrete evidence).
- 32** Not convinced that this is the only way to rid the world of Saddam. Not convinced that Bush and Blair know what they are unleashing.
- 33** It was now more than four hours after the march had begun yet the stragglers were still in Whitehall and Piccadilly wall-to-wall with protesters. Ken Livingstone stood on the stage to tell us that the numbers had now reached two million, double the police estimate.
- 34** It had been a good day.
- 35** But not for Tony Blair. He had deserted the capital for Glasgow, where he addressed party faithful. The contempt for him was evident everywhere along the march and in Hyde Park. On placards, "You wuss" was the least of the insults.
- 36** The trouble is that the Great Deceiver has cried wolf once too often. Time and again he has asked us to believe in him. Honest Tone, a man you can trust. Now millions of people wouldn't trust him to see them safely across the road, let alone send their sons and daughters, husbands and lovers, into battle.
- 37** If it helps you to understand, Mr Blair, helps you make sense of what happened on the streets of the capital yesterday, then think of all those people as a mighty focus group - and take notice.
- 38** *Tony Rennell is the co-author with John Nichol of *The Last Escape, the story of the demobilisation of Allied prisoners of war in Germany 1944-45.**

SAVE OUR COUNTRYSIDE

John Mortimer on how New Labour's intolerance forced the countryside army into action

Daily Mail, 23 September, 2002, Page 39

- 1 'SMILE at us, pass us but do not quite forget, for we are the people of England who have not spoken yet.' So wrote GK Chesterton in his poem, *The Secret People*.
- 2 Yesterday, the 'secret' people of the English, Welsh and Scottish countryside broke their silence because the condition of the farms and fields in Britain seems so desperate.
- 3 In the recent past, these people from Yorkshire villages, on Welsh hillsides, in Cumberland pubs and cottages, farmers, farmers' wives and farm workers, gamekeepers and gardeners, farriers and woodmen, all sorts of men and women whose life depends on the countryside they knew and loved, would have read of urban protest marches with only moderate interest.
- 4 To them, marching seemed for political hotheads interested in remote events in distant countries.
- 5 But yesterday all that changed.
- 6 The country people came to London to join in a well-organised, well-behaved march through the streets.
- 7 They contrasted dramatically with the crowds who sat down for CND, or marched against the Vietnam war, in the days when the amplified voices of Michael Foot and Tony Benn filled Trafalgar Square and sent Leftwing pulses racing.
- 8 Yesterday, the protest was directed at the Leftwing orthodoxy which believes that all rough shooters, followers of hunts, Pony Club girls and elderly women flyfishers are Rightwing toffs and that farmers are a curmudgeonly collection of conservative whingers whose daily milking of cows amounts to cruelty to animals.
- 9 It was aimed at those who can't accept the fact that people who hunt, shoot and fish know more and care more about animals than city dwellers who have never shot a pheasant or netted a salmon.
- 10 Confidence in the urban, politically correct New Labour majority in Parliament has broken down in the countryside.
- 11 If Mrs Thatcher presided over the collapse of heavy industry, Tony Blair has watched the slow death of farming.
- 12 AS A RESULT, yesterday's march was the biggest demonstration ever seen in London. The army of protesters all but equalled the crowds who celebrated our victories after two world wars in 1918 and 1945.
- 13 Unfortunately the countryside has no such victories to celebrate.
- 14 To say that farming is in crisis is an understatement.
- 15 In the three years up to June 2001, 60,000 farmers and farm workers lost their jobs, and

thousands more have become unemployed since that date.

- 16 Our average farmer earns pounds 10,000 a year, pay far below the minimum wage.
- 17 The Government's confused and panic- stricken reaction to foot and- mouth disease, leading to the mass holocaust of animals and the long- delayed permission to move them, led to 200 farms going out of business.
- 18 A million breeding cows, four million breeding ewes and thousands of breeding pigs have been lost.
- 19 Farmers work over 60 hours a week (as compared to the national average of 38 hours) and once a week we hear of a farmer's suicide.
- 20 In this situation it's small wonder that all of us who live in, understand and love the countryside should have been on the move yesterday. I was not walking, but heading up the wheelchair brigade.
- 21 This is not on account of anything so dashing as a fall in the hunting field but because I have now lived long enough to remember what things were like when I was a child in the house I still live in on the edge of the Chiltern Hills.
- 22 We had, within a mile or two, three shops, three pubs, two schools, two churches and a chapel.
- 23 We now have no shops, no schools, no church and a very rare appearance of a single bus. Life here would be impossible without a car to go shopping in the nearest town, and rises in the cost of petrol are another blow to life in the countryside.
- 24 Now our local farmer is on income support, the police station in the nearest town has been closed and the cottage hospital abolished.
- 25 Because of lack of affordable housing young people are drifting away from the land.
- 26 Villages are turning into weekend rest centres or dormitories for commuting TV executives and merchant bankers.
- 27 Ramblers are given the right to roam over a countryside which they have no responsibility for looking after.
- 28 THE Government seems unaware of the basic fact that the only people who are going to maintain our countryside, among the most beautiful landscapes in the world, are the farmers and farm workers.
- 29 If farming goes, urban ramblers will be left struggling through brambles and shrub in a wasteland bare of fields and animals.
- 30 At a recent Labour Party conference both the Countryside Alliance and the 'Leave Country Sports Alone' group were refused rooms in the conference hotel. John Prescott, a noted torturer of the English language, announced that every time he saw the 'contorted faces of the Countryside Alliance' he redoubled his determination to criminalise foxhunting.
- 31 This heralded an ill-advised attempt by government sources to portray the Countryside Alliance as a Rightwing group. In fact the president is Anne Mallalieu, a Labour peer, the chairman is a dedicated Fabian and the chief executive a member of the Labour Party.
- 32 The Government has also shown its lack of concern with country matters by threatening us with a Bill which would turn the many decent, honourable and lawabiding people who take

part in hunting into criminals liable to be cast into our overcrowded jails.

- 33** Those in favour of the measure have, presumably, never seen their chickens and lambs slaughtered by foxes. They eat the product of abattoirs, put up with such excessive cruelty as battery hens, kosher and halal butchery and, in many cases, have little knowledge or sympathy with life in the country.
- 34** The ban, if it ever came to pass, would lead to the loss of about 14,000 jobs and the destruction of 400,000 hounds, terriers and lurchers. It seems, to country people, not only to add insult to injury but a prelude to an attack on shooting and fishing.
- 35** So urban politicians have been seen not only failing to support the farmers, not only threatening to concrete over great parts of rural England, to build millions of houses for which there is no obvious need, not only to make country life doubly difficult by high petrol prices and collapsing public transport, but they are now taking it on themselves to tell us in the country how we should conduct our lives.
- 36** Adopt the values, they say, follow the example, they seem about to order, of an occasionally rambling, dedicated university vegan lecturer in sociology from Camden and if they, under their new power of search, find anything that looks remotely like a hunting horn or a pink coat in our bedrooms, it'll be up to us to prove our innocence.
- 37** Pro- and anti-hunters will never agree. What is at issue, though, is a tolerance of other people's values, the ability to agree to disagree, the respect for a way of life which may be different from your own.
- 38** New Labour's intolerance brought the countryside to London yesterday in record numbers and Mr Prescott, after surveying the many untwisted faces, may want to consider how many votes scattered in how many marginal constituencies the long line of wellington boots, parkas and well-weathered complexions represents.
- 39** But there's something far more important than votes at stake here.
- 40** If England is thought of with affection it's often because of our countryside.
- 41** OUR literature, among the finest in the world, is borne of the countryside and breathes the country air.
- 42** From Chaucer to Shakespeare, Milton, the Brontes, Hardy and DH Lawrence, it's the countryside, bleak and masterful, brilliant and welcoming, that has inspired their greatest work.
- 43** We are a nation of nature lovers who, even in towns, fills small front gardens, window boxes, patios and flat roofs with shrubs and flowers.
- 44** In these dark days and when there is the merest hint of spring or autumn sunshine where I live the woods are full of town dwellers come to see the first snowdrops, the turning leaves and often picnicking in the rain.
- 45** The countryside is the lung which allows us to breathe, the way of escape from the pressure, and often the loneliness of cities.
- 46** Wordsworth was perhaps the poet who came nearest to understanding the deep and undying importance of nature and the countryside. He wrote: 'I have learned to look on nature Hearing always the still, sad music of humanity.
- 47** A sense sublime Of something far more deeply interfused.
- 48** Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns, And the round ocean and the living air, And the blue sky, And in the mind of man.' It is to preserve these things that the secret people were on

the march.

**Vermin, cunning vermin
(AND NO I'M NOT TALKING ABOUT THE POOR FOXES);
BRIAN READE on how the fox hunters hijacked the countryside protest**

Daily Mirror, 23 September, 2002, Page 6

- 1 WHEN it was all over and the Barbours and bumpkins retreated to their villages for a quick snifter in the Firkin Fox, the chinless wonders behind it all were positively orgasmic.
- 2 The flawlessness of their operation, the polite exuberance of their marchers, the carefully managed media images of "decent British citizens making a stand for their civil rights" and the sheer scale of their numbers had exceeded their wildest expectations.
- 3 "Anybody who still thinks this march was all about hunting must be from a different planet," said **Countryside Alliance** chairman John Jackson as the Tweed Army pulled out of town.
- 4 Well, as someone who spent a day with both the pro-hunting puppet- masters and their marching stooges, it was the sheer scale of the deception which did it for this extra-terrestrial.
- 5 Thanks to pounds 1million worth of backing, which saw them charter 37 trains, 2,500 coaches, close 22 roads, erect five giant screens and take over the Institute of Directors building for the day to pump out their propaganda, they had succeeded in creating the illusion that their march was a democratic uprising against the oppression of ordinary, decent rural folk by a spiteful urban elite.
- 6 IN truth it was simply a desperate demonstration against the imminent ban on murdering animals with dogs, backed by rural pressure groups after even more hand-outs, and right-wing political forces who want to see this Labour government removed.
- 7 It was the unspeakable in pursuit of the undemocratic.
- 8 They claim 400,000 bodies on the streets of London is reason enough for the government to do a U-turn on hunting. Well, if the marches I'd been on - supporting miners, shipbuilders and dockers - had billionaire landowners and businessmen on the payroll, we would have taken 15million down to Whitehall. And still have been told where to go.
- 9 Virtually every time I asked a protester why they were marching we went through the same ritual as the one experienced with a group from Cumbria: "It's about self-determination for the countryside," said Mike Forster, pictured left.
- 10 You ask them to be specific and it triggers the word "liberty." You ask them to define liberty and they waffle on foot-and-mouth and the despicable Tony Blair. You say it's really about fox-hunting isn't it, and at least one of them loudly agrees.
- 11 I even performed this dance with former Tory minister Peter Lilley. After an anti-Labour rant he told me: "This march is about liberty. It's about freedoms which may be here today and gone tomorrow." I suggest it's all about hunting then? "Yes. They shouldn't be stopped doing what they believe in," he answers.
- 12 I was on the last **Countryside Alliance** march four years ago and much had changed. Last time they made the mistake of being honest.

- 13** By encouraging hunts to turn up with their horns in sporting dress, and hold a rally in Hyde Park which allowed their odd-ball spokesmen to rant bile against the government, they had scored an own goal. Us townies had seen their loutish aims for what they were. Yesterday there was a different strategy.
- 14** It was a human sea of comfortable respectability, dressed in Barbours, tweeds, paisley caps, shirts, ties and strange red trousers. Nowhere to be seen were the packs of hounds, or horses, or even the traditional red jackets.
- 15** They had been cast aside for the day to show this was about everything but the "H" word.
- 16** THE crowds were buoyant but nowhere near as noisy as the last one. Gone were the mass tally-ho horns, the rabble-rousing, the loud threats to bring down the government and the homophobic rants to loud applause.
- 17** However scratch below the Barbour jacket and you could easily find them. Roger Wadsworth, a 52-year-old from Kent, told me he was marching for the freedom to hunt and shoot.
- 18** When I pointed out that blood sports were opposed by the majority of the nation he swiftly answered: "So is homosexuality. But homosexuals have their interests protected."
- 19** Yes but they don't go around killing for fun do they, I suggested? "Some do," he replied. Another liberal-minded chap, 51-year-old James Catterall, from Cornwall, claimed Asian immigrants were not under threat so why should the hunting community be?
- 20** I answered that 82 per cent of the nation don't want Asian immigrants abolished.
- 21** He answered with a dead-pan expression: "Exactly. About 90 per cent of us do. But who listens to us any more?"
- 22** That's another thing which had changed. It was no longer about Listen To Us, it was about Fear Us.
- 23** "Born to hunt. Forced to march. Ready to fight," was the theme on their placards. "We'll keep our cowshit in the country if you keep your bullshit in the city," read another.
- 24** A couple of American women brought plenty of their city bullshit along. Angela Graham, who now lives in Hammersmith, said she was marching because: "Tony Blair keeps putting his fingers in everything. I hate his style of government. He is taking away countryside rights."
- 25** Her friend Diana Christopher, from urban Essex, said: "Those who want it banned don't understand hunting. Besides, if it was banned, what would the country put on its Christmas cards?" Their loathing of all things Labour, especially their leader, was a joy to behold.
- 26** Never has Tony Blair felt more like a hero. And never have I seen so many banners explaining his evil: According to the marchers his name stands for: British Liberty Almost In Ruins, or Bullying Labour Axes Individual Rights.
- 27** Keep this up Tony and you'll be a new Che Guevara.
- 28** Among the protesters Sophie Large, aged 12 months, was perhaps the most oblivious. Fast-asleep clutching a Tinky-Winky soft toy, a large sign attached to her pushchair read: "When I grow up I want to go hunting with my daddy." Surely a case of putting words into the

mouths of babes? Or maybe the sign referred to Tinky-Winky?

- 29 Derbyshire hunt worker Paul Larby, 43, had made his 11-year-old son Richard hold up a banner saying "Please Mr Blair Don't Make Me Homeless."
- 30 I asked him why: "I have been working with hounds for 28 years. If hunting is banned that job will never be replaced and I will be out of my home," he explained.
- 31 So what about the millions of manufacturing jobs which disappeared in our cities under Mrs Thatcher I ask. "That was economics. This is different. This is simply class war," he replies.
- 32 BUT is it? I'll admit I have no time for these people. And I'll also admit there is a thirst for revenge here. About getting back at traditional Tory supporters by doing to them what they did to us for 18 years.
- 33 That was at the beginning of the fight to ban hunting. Had it gone the democratic way it was supposed to, we would have forgotten about the hunting-classes and moved on.
- 34 It is they who choose to make it a class war because they refuse to accept the democratic will of the people. They who put themselves above the law, and thus, once again, above the rest of us.
- 35 And it is the re-writing of their free-market political philosophy to suit their own ends which is quite staggering. At the media briefing we were told farmers earn two-thirds of the minimum wage while Tesco has just announced a 13 per cent profit.
- 36 I asked **Countryside Alliance** chief executive Richard Burge if this march was about demands to nationalise supermarkets and re- distribute wealth to the poor farmers. He said it wasn't.
- 37 I asked him where these great countryside fighters were when the mines were shut under Margaret Thatcher. Communities like those in Nottinghamshire which today are hosting public inquiries to find out why heroin addiction is rife.
- 38 "The **Countryside Alliance** had not been formed then," he answered. I wonder why?
- 39 The Alliance bosses cited the day's numbers as a massive two- fingers to Tony Blair. There were also veiled threats about his members taking the law into their own hands if government fails to give in to their demands.
- 40 "The countryside will erupt in fury," he warned.
- 41 Let it erupt, I say. Let pro-hunting fanatics pollute our water supplies and block our roads.
- 42 Let us pull back the veil of deception and see the smiling country bumpkins as the bloodthirsty anarchists they truly are.
- 43 Let us show them that it is they, not us, who belong to a different planet.

Stop the War Coalition demonstration

News articles (16 Feb 2003) and analyses

N.B. Data tables have only been produced for those articles deemed to contain sufficiently significant oppositions. These tables are located immediately after the article to which they refer.

Independent on Sunday

Million Britons turn out to vote with their feet ; UK marches; [FOREIGN Edition]

David Randall, Severin Carrell, Andrew Johnson and Jonathan Thompson. [The Independent on Sunday](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 3

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Abstract (Document Summary)

At the rally in Hyde Park, which began even as one end of the march had still not even left Blackfriars, the playwright Harold Pinter, Rev Jesse Jackson, former cabinet minister Mo Mowlam and Tony Benn addressed a great throng that stretched as far as the eye could see. As banners such as "No War on Iraq" and "Make Tea, Not War" waved in the cold February air, Harold Pinter told the crowd: "American barbarism will destroy the world." To deafening cheers he said: "It is a country run by a bunch of criminals ... with [Tony Blair] as a hired Christian thug." Mo Mowlam told them: "Tony Blair and the Government have got themselves into a right corner. There is a position now that if a country has a lot of people killed from poverty and military dictatorship, if that number is smaller than that killed by war then the war is OK. That, to me, is totally illogical."

Full Text (605 words)

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More than a million people - drawn from all parts of the kingdom, from Middle England to the housing estates, the shires to the inner cities - marched through London yesterday in **protest** against a looming war with Iraq. It was the largest political gathering of any kind in British history and an emphatic popular retort to the Prime Minister, Tony Blair. This was a million people voting against him with their feet.

London's Mayor, Ken Livingstone, said: "I've never seen anything like it in my political career", and, with mile upon mile of the capital's streets filled with the banners and placards of marchers moving 20 abreast towards the rally at Hyde Park, few could disagree. When the **protests** staged yesterday in more than 60 countries are added, this marked the point at which the worldwide **protest** against a pre-emptive strike on Iraq became a Movement.

At the rally in Hyde Park, which began even as one end of the march had still not even left Blackfriars, the playwright Harold Pinter, Rev Jesse Jackson, former cabinet minister Mo Mowlam and Tony Benn addressed a great throng that stretched as far as the eye could see. As banners such as "No War on Iraq" and "Make Tea, Not War" waved in the cold February air, Harold Pinter told the crowd: "American barbarism will destroy the

world." To deafening cheers he said: "It is a country run by a bunch of criminals ... with Tony Blair as a hired Christian thug." Mo Mowlam told them: "Tony Blair and the Government have got themselves into a right corner. There is a position now that if a country has a lot of people killed from poverty and military dictatorship, if that number is smaller than that killed by war then the war is OK. That, to me, is totally illogical."

But the voices of the ordinary Britons on the march, though without benefit of amplification across the field of dissent that was Hyde Park yesterday, were just as impressive, perhaps even more so. David Clark, an aerospace engineer and Conservative Party supporter, one of many who had never been on a march before, said: "I just don't think the evidence is there for them to go ahead with this war. There are bigger problems in the world." Others used humour. One man, walking with a poodle, carried a placard that read "Stop insulting poodles", and Peter King, professor of social history at University College, Northampton, was dressed in a mask of a smiling Tony Blair, led on a chain by a Bush lookalike dressed as the Grim Reaper.

The march had begun at two meeting points, Embankment and Gower Street, and was started early by police due to the swelling numbers. When the two rivers of humanity converged in Piccadilly Circus, there were deafening cheers from the thousands who gathered around the statue of Eros. From there it was a long shuffle to Hyde Park where Liberal Democrat leader Charles Kennedy, and pop stars Damon Albarn and Ms Dynamite were also among the attractions.

The London rally, which required an estimated 1,500 coaches to bring protesters into the capital, was coordinated by the Stop the War Coalition. More than 450 organisations have affiliated themselves to the coalition including Greenpeace, the Liberal Democrats, Plaid Cymru and the SNP. Roads along the route were closed by police, and there were more than 4,500 officers on duty.

With Saturday's huge demonstrations around the world, including an estimated 25,000 marching in Glasgow, few supporting the cause of peace could resist the conclusion: it may not have been war, but it was magnificent.

The people's protest: Unlikely, yes, but not naive; [FOREIGN Edition]

Jeremy Hardy. [The Independent on Sunday](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 3

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Abstract (Document Summary)

Today the Liberals have, of course, adopted the "no war without UN backing" position, so I couldn't wait to see their placards. Liberals always make their own placards, to prove they are individuals. They turn the inside of a Weetabix packet into a cardboard banner, emblazoned with stirring marker-pen slogans, such as "Please Stop This Madness Now, If At All Possible".

Full Text (358 words)

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I think many of us today are inwardly congratulating ourselves that we are the usual suspects. Because it is one of the most often-stated features of this coming war that so many of its opponents are not. There are people here who look really excited about being on a march. I'm sure someone is about to ask me: "And what happens when we get to Hyde Park - will there be nibbles?"

I think the last time I was on a demonstration commanding support even a tenth as broad was when Heseltine closed the pits. I remember that Paddy Ashdown spoke, and was booed - for being Paddy Ashdown, which is as good a reason as any.

Today the Liberals have, of course, adopted the "no war without UN backing" position, so I couldn't wait to see their placards. Liberals always make their own placards, to prove they are individuals. They turn the inside of a Weetabix packet into a cardboard banner, emblazoned with stirring marker-pen slogans, such as "Please Stop This Madness Now, If At All Possible". So given their view that what matters is what's stencilled on the tanks (Exxon or UN), I was dreading seeing a phalanx of placards reading: "Mr Blair, We Don't Doubt Your Sincerity, Or The Seriousness Of The Poisoned Couscous Scare At Marble Arch Tube Station, But Please Bear In Mind The Need For A Broad Based Coalition With the Authority of International Law."

But to my relief, their placards are properly printed and say simply, "Lib Dems Say No". And not a one of them has added "On Balance". And God love them for being here, along with everyone else. The war's cheerleaders are careful to dismiss us as naive, suggesting we are an unlikely coalition. But the fact is they can't come up

with a single credible reason for going to war, so no wonder we are such a motley crew. No one here is fooled that this is a just war. Any person suffering from that delusion must be naive beyond redemption, and I hope they feel very lonely not to be part of this splendid day.

The people's protest: The day Middle England marched with the militants; Eyewitness ; On the march: Cole Moreton joins a million peace-lovers

Independent on Sunday, 16 February 2003, page 4

Guy Butler had never been on a **protest** march before in his life. Finance directors from the Surrey broker belt don't do that sort of thing; but yesterday he found himself marching behind a black anarchist flag in the middle of a vast crowd of angry people who were chanting anti-government slogans. It wasn't a march, it was an invasion - central London taken over by a million or more peace-lovers.

Shuffling across Waterloo Bridge he could see the South Bank and the Embankment packed with people. The usual suspects were there - but so were many, many others like himself who had come up from the leafy lanes of suburban England to shout their disapproval of war.

"We have found common cause with a lot of people, I guess," said Guy with a smile. He was surprised to find himself there, driven to march alongside hardened political campaigners by a simple but powerful conviction that it was wrong to invade Iraq.

The 45-year-old talked with the measured tones he might use to present a set of accounts, but his eyes constantly switched from the crowd to his daughters, Ellen and Caragh. The three-year-old twins munched crisps as their double buggy inched forward, pushed by their au-pair Sara. Mummy was with them: Erica Butler, 45, a voluntary church worker, had been equally convinced they should come.

The couple left their large, detached house just after 10 in the morning, having loaded the buggy with food, drinks, wipes and a makeshift potty system for the girls. They listened to Tony Blair's speech in the car on the way to the station and were not impressed. Leaving Saddam Hussein in place would be inhumane, said the Prime Minister. "That's not the point, Tony," muttered Guy, who had voted Labour in the past. "The point is bombing and killing tens of thousands of Iraqis. There is no justification for that and no international mandate. We agree Saddam has got to be got rid of - it's just that war is not the way to do that."

Speaking directly to the marchers from the Labour conference platform in Scotland, Mr Blair said he did not wear unpopularity like a badge of honour but it was the price of conviction. "So it's his conviction against all of ours, is it?" said Erica, shaking her head. "He's in a very scary place just now, isn't he? That's where Mrs Thatcher was before the end."

The train was jammed and there were many familiar faces on board. The family took ages to get out of the station at Waterloo, walking behind a huge, stately puppet of George Bush and a placard belonging to a group called Cornish Ravers that said: "Clotted cream not ruptured spleen."

Other groups were still waiting with their banners furled until stragglers arrived. The M1 was a car park, someone said, and the Tube a nightmare. It was a good day, though, for the street traders who were selling whistles on rainbow necklaces and loud horns.

Some people chose to stay away yesterday because they were wary of one or other of the groups who usually dominate such events. But the Socialist Workers, Palestinian solidarity and Islamic campaigners must have been away at the front of the march because there was little sign of them. The ranks of Barbour and ski jackets could have been on the Countryside march.

It took more than an hour to cross the river, plenty of time to read the extraordinary array of banners, from unions, churches, mosques and "house music against war" to one that said, bizarrely, "It's the black worms working under Tony Blair's skin". "I just saw a banner that said, 'Arse!'" said a gothic teenager to her friend. "I told him I agreed with him, absolutely."

Peter Mitchell, a 53-year-old carpenter, had come up from Dorset for the day with his granddaughter. He was absolutely livid at Tony Blair's speech that morning. "He can't just dismiss us like that, surely? Doesn't the man realise that he has been elected by the people? Leadership is one thing but he's there because of us, and public opinion is massively against what he is doing."

Alongside Mr Mitchell was a man in sunglasses on a freezing afternoon, clutching an inflatable banana. Behind us were the usual quota of bongo drummers whose rhythms gave frozen feet something to do. A child's buggy had been decorated to look like a tank; painted on to the side was a question: "I am two years old today - will George Bush let me be three?"

The Butlers broke away from the crowds at Lancaster Place; nobody seemed to know which direction they should be marching in, but everybody seemed to be taking their own route through to Hyde Park. "So that's it," said Erica. "Now the march is everywhere." Yesterday afternoon it did seem that way. Many streets had been blocked off to become pedestrian zones and the capital was an eerily quiet and vastly improved place for it, despite the crowds and the helicopters hovering overhead.

The Butlers finally reached Hyde Park in mid-afternoon, cold and weary but moved by the "overwhelming numbers of peaceable people". One of the girls was even asleep in the buggy. There was no sign of the trouble Guy had privately feared, and now he was glad to have made the effort. "Tony Blair is a populist," said Guy. "He seems to want to take people with him. Now he's got to know that he's losing our support. The march will send that message loud and clear."

Independent on Sunday 16th Feb 2003, p4
The day Middle England marched with the militants....p4

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where ?
not X but Y		been on a protest march ...that sort of thing / found himself marching behind a black anarchist flag...	Guy Butler had never been on a protest march before in his life. Finance directors from the Surrey broker belt <i>don't</i> do that sort of thing ; <i>but</i> yesterday he found himself marching behind a black anarchist flag in the middle of a vast crowd of angry people who were chanting anti-government slogans	negated contrastive	past/present passive/active expected /unexpected conservative / radical	This is similar to the CA example whereby Londoners support a rural march and a rural/urban dichotomy is simultaneously set up and broken down. His being a finance director, we infer that they don't generally participate in anti-government marches. In terms of blending theory perhaps we have one organising frame i.e. a march against the war, except that one input space has finance directors and the other doesn't (a Mirror network), but also has elements of a single scope network in that the frame WITH finance directors is the one projected to organise the blend? What these kinds of oppositions do is to remind or trigger a potential scenario which would be expected, and then instantly break the stereotype to show that opposite has happened, and emphasise the unusualness (and therefore newsworthiness) of the situation.	AWIoS/4/1
not x, y		march / invasion	It <i>wasn't</i> a march , it was an invasion – central London taken over by a million or more peace-lovers	negator syntactic pattern	expected / unexpected weak / strong	Could this be a good example of disintegration or deblanding? You've a body of people which conventionally is called a march but the writer has decided to represent it a different way, so it is split between what was expected and what we actually got. But of course in actuality it is a march which only	AWIoS/4/2

						metaphorically might be like an invasion. So the body of people is both a march and an invasion at the same time i.e. equivalent to each other, whilst the writer privileges the invasion 'frame' (single scope network?). Tricky one though as this is a matter of representation. It is what it is, but then F & T would put this in the Single scope network category. Invasions suggest domination and the march may be a step in the process towards invasion, so march is a bit like a hyponym of invasion, which means it could also actually be a bit like a simplex network! (a blend of simplex and single-scope networks).	
x but y		usual suspects / suburban England	The usual suspects were there - <i>but</i> so were many, many others like himself who had come up from the leafy lanes of suburban England to shout their disapproval of war.	contrastive	expected / unexpected experienced / inexperienced poor / affluent	The classic professional/amateur dichotomy stressing variety whilst privileging the newcomers by using derogatory term like 'usual suspects'. Of course there is the usual logic here that 'the usual suspects' cannot come from the leafy suburbs.	AWIoS/4/3
x but y	He / hardened political campaigners	he / hardened political campaigners simple / powerful	He was surprised to find himself there, driven to march alongside hardened political campaigners by a simple but powerful conviction that it was wrong to invade Iraq.	semantic? contrastive	inexperienced / experienced low measure / high measure? expected / unexpected	First very similar to above – difference and equivalence going on at the same time. To what extent 'surprised' acts as a kind of trigger debatable. It does suggest the unexpected has happened? But I reckon that because an opposition has been set up in the previous paragraph between man from leafy suburbs, the 'he' does the work itself alongside that placed as his opposite. The simple/powerful one must assume that something simple cannot be powerful, otherwise 'and' would be used, yet of course both qualities are acting alongside each other. Interestingly this can only happen because we have to find a semantic dimension to link them which would not be the one they would	AWIoS/4/4

						conventional rest on with their conventional opposites (complex/weak). They are both gradable, and potentially measurable qualities, so the conventional higher level opposition would be something like low measure (on a scale of complexity) v high measure (on a scale of power).	
x but y		.....talked with the measured tones..../ eyes constantly switched from the crowd to his daughters....	The 45-year-old talked with the measured tones he might use to present a set of accounts, but his eyes constantly switched from the crowd to his daughters, Ellen and Caragh.	contrastive	calm/ nervous	Here we are being triggered to note how too simultaneously but contradictory sets of behaviour are manifesting themselves at the same time. Being measured implies being calm, but nervousness reflected in fear for his children's safety. So he is represented as an officious type but who cares for his children and therefore not an automaton.	AWIoS/4/5
not x but y		badge of honour / price of conviction	Speaking directly to the marchers from the Labour conference platform in Scotland, Mr Blair said he did <i>not</i> wear unpopularity like a badge of honour <i>but</i> it was the price of conviction	negated contrastive	proud / ashamed resolve / uncertainty award / booby prize price / reward receive/ give	Mmm...he is justifying unpopularity. The badge of honour is a metaphor (index?) of an award, a conventional opposite of that being booby prize. So if he had not included the 'but' clause it may have been interpreted as 'I am not proud of being unpopular', so he doesn't want to imply he is ashamed of the unpopularity so he has to put in an unconventional opposite which acts as the equivalent. Honour and conviction could be seen as equivalents in they are something to be proud of, which unpopularity often might not be. The badge of honour is a reward and the conviction is the cost. He's trying to say that he's not receiving anything from it but that he is giving the country the positive quality of his conviction. Lot trickier to explain than it looks. All to do with the representation of unpopularity and the two possible frames we might have – a single scope network? As the latter is privileged and used as the frame he wants us to go with – pride versus	AWIoS/4/6

						principle?	
X against y		his / ours	"So it's his conviction <i>against</i> all of ours , is it?" said Erica, shaking her head.	competition marker?/ explicit contrastive	us / them one/many for /against	Straightforward in the sense that speaker constructing an us/them scenario, except there is also a one versus many thing going on as well to demonstrate how arrogant Blair might be, in that he seems to be taking on the majority. The trigger seems to be some kind of explicit contrastive but don't know whether it could be separate sub-category as it implies not just opposition but competition?	AWIoS/4/ 7
X not y		Clotted cream / ruptured spleen	The family took ages to get out of the station at Waterloo, walking behind a huge, stately puppet of George Bush and a placard belonging to a group called Cornish Ravers that said: " Clotted cream not ruptured spleen "	negator	Peace / war Unified / disrupted Pleasant / unpleasant	An interesting variation on the 'Make Love not War' slogan – a very unusual opposition working partly through phonological similarity. However there is a contrast between what they represent as indexes of rural idyll and chaos and horror of war.	AWIoS/4/ 8
X though y		Nightmare / good day	The M1 was a car park, someone said, and the Tube a nightmare . It was a good day , <i>though</i> , for the street traders who were selling whistles on rainbow necklaces and loud horns.	concessive	bad /good	How one particular scenario – in this case congestion – can frustrate and benefit at the same time.	AWIoS/4/ 9
X but Y X wary of Y		Some people / other groups.....SWP, Palestinian solidarity and Islamic campaigners Usually dominate / stay away	Some people chose to stay away yesterday because they were wary of one or other of the groups who usually dominate such events. But the Socialist Workers, Palestinian solidarity and Islamic campaigners must have been away at the front of the march because there was little sign of them . The ranks of Barbours and ski jackets could have been on the Countryside march.	Contrastive Explicit?	Inexperience / experience Prominent / hidden	Two sets of opposites intertwined. Contrasts those who aren't used to going on these demos hence stay away, with those who are always there and keep the former away. However, the contrastive 'but' works to emphasise who hidden these groups actually were on the day.	AWIoS/4/ 10
X against		House music / war	It took more than an hour to cross the river, plenty of time to read the	Competition marker?	Peace / war	Pleasurable activity (arguably!) contrasted with the most unpleasurable	AWIoS/4/ 11

Y			extraordinary array of banners, from unions, churches, mosques and "house music <i>against</i> war" to one that said, bizarrely, "It's the black worms working under Tony Blair's skin".		Pleasure / pain		
X but Y x against Y		<i>Leadership / public opinion</i> us/he	Leadership is one thing <i>but</i> he's there because of us , and public opinion is massively <i>against</i> what he is doing."	contrastive competition marker	Individual / group One / many autocracy / democracy	The us and them theme exemplified in two different opposites. Both rely on the group/public versus the individual leader, suggesting he has lost his authority	AWIoS/4/ 12
X but Y	nobody everybody	<i>nobody / everybody</i> <i>direction they should be marching in / their own route</i>	The Butlers broke away from the crowds at Lancaster Place; nobody seemed to know which direction they should be marching in , <i>but everybody</i> seemed to be taking their own route through to Hyde Park	contrastive semantic trigger	nobody / everybody none/ all conformity / individuality order / chaos	Making point that although it seems disorganised everybody is heading in same direction. These are not clones but they are unified all the same.	AWIoS/4/ 13
X despite Y		<i>eerily quiet / crowds and helicopters</i>	Many streets had been blocked off to become pedestrian zones and the capital was an eerily quiet and vastly improved place for it, <i>despite the crowds and the helicopters hovering overhead</i> .	concessive	quiet / noise unusual / usual	Unexpected quiet when usually noisy things happening. This is because the noise of the demo has replaced the noise of everyday life so contrasting two types of masses of people, the everyday with the unusual.	AWIoS/4/ 14

Leading article: Millions show this is a war that no one wants; [FOREIGN Edition]

[The Independent on Sunday](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 24

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Abstract (Document Summary)

The Prime Minister's persistence in the face of widespread opposition can be seen as an example of brave leadership. Sometimes it is braver to stand back and think again. In his speech to yesterday's Labour conference in Glasgow, Mr [Tony Blair] said that he was proud to live in a democratic country that allowed people to march for a cause. But by his actions Mr Blair is challenging those democratic traditions. For a year he has been preparing to back US military action against Iraq with no clear public support. Mr Blair is not a president. No one voted for him directly to become Prime Minister at a general election. He is Prime Minister because he is leader of the Labour Party.

He cited the atrocities committed by [Saddam] and warned of the potential horrors if there were no war against Iraq. The Independent on Sunday is a progressive newspaper, but we do not accept this argument as a justification for a pre-emptive strike against another country. As we have argued for several months, President Bush and Mr Blair have to convince voters that Iraq poses a real and immediate threat. Their failure to do so is the reason why Mr Blair faces the biggest political crisis of his career.

Full Text (718 words)

(Copyright 2003 Independent Newspapers (UK) Limited)

In London and in cities around the world the message yesterday was clear: "Don't attack Iraq". The extraordinary marches, attracting millions across Europe in **protest** at a possible war, represented the views of a broad range of voters across the political spectrum, views that have been largely unheard until now.

So far, unrepresentative voices from Westminster and from out-of-touch parts of the media have dominated this debate. Finally, before it is too late, the voters are having their say. In the past the Prime Minister has paid an obsessive attention to focus groups and opinion polls. Now he should listen to the marchers, unmediated voices expressing thoughtful opposition to an unprovoked attack on Iraq, raising many of the points argued by The Independent on Sunday over the past few months. If Tony Blair goes to war now he risks alienating the country and tearing apart his own party.

The Prime Minister's persistence in the face of widespread opposition can be seen as an example of brave leadership. Sometimes it is braver to stand back and think again. In his speech to yesterday's Labour conference in Glasgow, Mr Blair said that he was proud to live in a democratic country that allowed people to march for a cause. But by his actions Mr Blair is challenging those democratic traditions. For a year he has been preparing to back US military action against Iraq with no clear public support. Mr Blair is not a president. No one voted for him directly to become Prime Minister at a general election. He is Prime Minister because he is leader of

the Labour Party.

Not surprisingly, therefore, in yesterday's speech Mr Blair widened his case in an attempt to appease rebellious members of his party. As well as making the familiar global arguments about the need to disarm Saddam, he put the moral "progressive" arguments for the removal of the Iraqi regime. This was the clearest sign that Mr Blair is rattled by the scale of the internal opposition.

He cited the atrocities committed by Saddam and warned of the potential horrors if there were no war against Iraq. The Independent on Sunday is a progressive newspaper, but we do not accept this argument as a justification for a pre-emptive strike against another country. As we have argued for several months, President Bush and Mr Blair have to convince voters that Iraq poses a real and immediate threat. Their failure to do so is the reason why Mr Blair faces the biggest political crisis of his career.

The propaganda for war produced by the British and US governments has been laughably amateurish. The attempts by Messrs Bush and Blair to link Iraq with al-Qa'ida have not been convincing. So far the senior UN weapons inspector, Hans Blix, has not come across weapons of mass destruction. Even if he does, The Independent on Sunday would not support war.

The key question in relation to weapons of mass destruction is whether Saddam would use them in the certain knowledge that such an act would provoke a war that would destroy him. We believe that deterrence still works. These are not lofty questions, but hard-headed and realistic objections to a war with no obvious cause.

As matters stand there is little chance that Mr Blair will get a second UN resolution authorising force. If he still insists on going to war, Cabinet ministers and Labour MPs should show their mettle. Ministers who are opposed to what Mr Blair is doing should resign and Labour MPs should defy the whips and vote against conflict whenever they get the opportunity to do so.

The Independent on Sunday is the only broadsheet Sunday newspaper opposed to war. The support for war voiced by The Observer, The Sunday Times and The Sunday Telegraph is part of the current gulf between those who live in the political and media village and the rest of Britain. The Independent on Sunday has opposed the war since it was first raised as a possibility more than a year ago. Since then there has been much sound and fury relating to the conflict, but little of substance has changed. President Bush and Mr Blair have still produced no compelling evidence to support their case.

The Independent on Sunday is still opposed to war.

Mail on Sunday

,500,000 SAY NO TO WAR ON IRAQ ; Britain's biggest ever march as Blair says war is 'act of

humanity'; [STH1 Edition]

[IAN GALLAGHER, JO KNOWSLEY. Mail on Sunday.](#) London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 1

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Abstract (Document Summary)

750,000 but conceded the overall figure could be significantly higher because many made their own way to the park. Whatever the actual number, the **protest** was by far the biggest in British history - dwarfing the 400,000 on last year's countryside march - and a staggering display of people power. It was also a crushing humiliation for Tony Blair, who, increasingly isolated, was obliged to switch tack in his drive towards war.

In a speech to the Labour faithful in Glasgow yesterday, Mr Blair acknowledged his support for President [Bush] had made him unpopular. But he said: 'Ridding the world of [Saddam Hussein] would be an act of humanity - it is leaving him there that is, in truth, inhumane.' Lindsey German, spokeswoman for the Stop the War Coalition, said: 'If Blair thinks this rally is it, he will be surprised. This is just the beginning.' It was the diversity of those at the rally which amazed observers. Organisers celebrated 'the mass mobilisation of the middle classes' and the huge number of women. There were many anxious but determined Middle England **protest** virgins marching alongside rally-hardened veterans.

Full Text (847 words)

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Feb 16, 2003

BRITAIN found its voice yesterday and led the world in the march towards peace.

Amid unprecedented scenes, a human sea of protesters converged on London to oppose an invasion of Iraq - while equally passionate and peaceful demonstrations were held in some 600 cities around the globe.

Organisers of the London rally claimed their counting, backed by aerial photos, showed the support of more than two million marchers. Others said one-and-a-half million. Scotland Yard put the number on the official route to Hyde Park at

750,000 but conceded the overall figure could be significantly higher because many made their own way to the park. Whatever the actual number, the **protest** was by far the biggest in British history - dwarfing the 400,000 on last year's countryside march - and a staggering display of people power. It was also a crushing humiliation for Tony Blair, who, increasingly isolated, was obliged to switch tack in his drive towards war.

Although unshakeable in his support for President Bush over Iraq, he said that UN weapons inspectors would be granted more time. And he mounted a 'humanitarian' argument for war because of Saddam Hussein's treatment of his people rather than focusing again on the military threat that the Iraqi dictator posed to the West.

In a speech to the Labour faithful in Glasgow yesterday, Mr Blair acknowledged his support for President Bush had made him unpopular. But he said: 'Ridding the world of Saddam would be an act of humanity - it is leaving him there that is, in truth, inhumane.' Lindsey German, spokeswoman for the Stop the War Coalition, said: 'If Blair thinks this rally is it, he will be surprised. This is just the beginning.' It was the diversity of those at the rally which amazed observers. Organisers celebrated 'the mass mobilisation of the middle classes' and the huge number of women. There were many anxious but determined Middle England **protest** virgins marching alongside rally-hardened veterans.

But all were united in pursuit of a common goal - peace. Reflecting the nature of the day, Scotland Yard reported only three arrests for minor offences . . . 'remarkable given the amount of people', said a senior officer.

Many famous faces joined the marchers, led from the Embankment by US civil rights veteran the Rev Jesse Jackson. Actress Vanessa Redgrave, speaking afterwards, said: 'This is the largest rally since the 1840s. The world is against this war. No one doubts Saddam Hussein is a brutal dictator but war is the most ghastly way to try to bring change.' Tony Benn said: 'This is a majority. This is democracy.' But it was the faces in the crowd which were really impressive. There were women and children; pensioners on their first march; peaceniks from the Sixties in woollen kaftans and groups from Middle England, such as those waving the banner 'Bury St Edmunds Against The War'.

Connie Black, 78, from Staines, Middlesex, said: 'I have never marched before. I just feel what is happening is wrong and so I had to come.' It was a common theme among the marchers, many of whom voted for Tony Blair at the last Election.

Language student Katy Palin, 24, from West London, said: 'I have never been moved to hold a placard before. It was an amazing experience. I will never forget the sight of that sea of people. I have voted for Blair twice but I have just lost all respect for politicians. They do not listen.'

Walking among the banners proclaiming 'No War For Oil', 'Make Tea Not War' and, the most common, a sign which said simply 'No', was Sasha Eggan, 32, with her children Robbie, three, and Jack, 15 months. She said: 'We are here because this war is going ahead for the wrong reasons. I think it's about oil, not Saddam.' Lisa Goodall, 36, from Leeds, said: 'We have enough problems in this country and this is what the Government should be sorting out. I don't believe we should be going to war.'

Biggest demos in British history

IT was the biggest political turnout, easily dwarfing last year's Countryside Alliance march where 400,000 protested. Here are the ten biggest demonstrations in Britain's history: Yesterday: 1.5 million people took part in a rally against the war in Iraq.

September 2002: 400,000 descended on Westminster in support of the Countryside Alliance.

June 2002: More than one million people packed The Mall to take part in a huge public demonstration of support and admiration for the Queen on her Golden Jubilee.

May 2000: 150,000 caused mayhem in Central London with anti-capitalist **protest**.

1992: 200,000 supporters of striking miners rallied in London.

March 1990: 250,000 joined the anti-poll tax demonstrations.

October 1981: 250,000 CND banthe-bomb protesters crammed into Hyde Park.

March 1968: 80,000 marched on the US embassy in Grosvenor Square to **protest** about the Vietnam war. 300 arrests and 90 police injured.

April 1958: 15,000 joined an anti-bomb rally at the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment in Aldermaston,

Berkshire.

April 1830: More than 50,000 supporters of Parliamentary reform held a **protest** at Kennington Common.

PEOPLE POWER ; 100,000 Scots take to the streets to give Tony Blair message he can't ignore; [FIRST Edition]

BRIAN LIRONI AND CAROLINE WATERSTON. [Sunday Mail](#). Glasgow (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 2

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Abstract (Document Summary)

ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND Scots took to the streets of Glasgow yesterday to tell visiting Prime Minister [Tony Blair]: We don't want your **war**.

Behind it, protesters including SNP leader John Swinney, former party leader Alex Salmond and Glasgow Lord Provost Alex Mosson held a large banner which read "Not In Our Name, Mr Blair".

Victoria Makin, 21, an art student from Glasgow, said: "Peace is what we want. Clearly from the turnout it's what everybody wants. Blair should listen to his people. I don't want **war**. They don't want **war**. Why are we doing it."

Full Text (1038 words)

Copyright 2003 Scottish Daily Record and Sunday Mail Ltd.)

ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND Scots took to the streets of Glasgow yesterday to tell visiting Prime Minister Tony Blair: We don't want your **war**.

The massive protest was three times bigger than predicted and signalled huge public opposition to the looming conflict.

Anti-**war** protesters from around Scotland and northern England flooded into Glasgow to voice their opposition to **war** on Iraq.

Their destination was the SECC, venue of the annual Scottish Labour Party Conference - and many were angry that Prime Minister Tony Blair brought his speech there forward in a bid to avoid the anti-**war** campaigners.

He slipped away just as the swelling river of protesters began their march through the city centre in the bright winter sunshine.

Organisers had hoped around 25,000 would take part but, as the crowds snaked through the city from Glasgow Green to the Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre, it was obvious that even they had underestimated opposition to the looming conflict.

On a day when more than two million protested across Britain against **war** on Iraq, this was the biggest protest seen in Glasgow since 25,000 demonstrated against the hated Poll Tax in 1990.

It set off from Glasgow Green just after 11am and, for more than three hours, a solid stream of people filled the

three- mile route across the city centre.

The best vantage point was from the top of St Vincent Street. From there the march stretched back as far as the eye could see, to George Square and beyond.

It took around three hours for the people gathered at Glasgow Green to empty the area.

And thousands more joined the march as it snaked through the city.

The peace protesters gathered at the SECC on Clydeside, as the Labour Party continued with their conference.

An estimated 25,000 people were crammed into the car park in front of the Armadillo and tens of thousands more were backed up along the route.

A rainbow coalition of all ages, occupations, and political allegiances took part. Most had never been involved in an organised protest before.

A thunder of drum beats, blaring horns and whistles sounded at Glasgow Green to signal the start of the march.

There was a large police presence at the park, with some officers on horseback, while a police helicopter constantly hovered above.

The army of protesters were opposing possible military action against Iraq by US President George Bush, backed by British Prime Minister Tony Blair.

The rally was organised by the Scottish Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. But this was no ordinary parade. It was the people's parade.

Children of all ages joined in the march, followed closely by their parents, aunts, uncles, and grandparents. They chanted: "George Bush terrorist, Tony Blair terrorist".

They also sang: "1,2,3,4 We Don't Want Your Bloody **War**, 5,6,7,8 We Don't Want Your Bloody Hate."

The march brought Glasgow to a standstill. Drivers heading into the city centre were stranded and switched off their engines as they waited for the protesters to pass.

Meanwhile, thousands more would-be protesters were left behind in Edinburgh during chaos at Waverley station.

ScotRail's shuttle service between the two cities failed to cope with the crowds - despite laying on four trains per hour.

Some carriages were so packed that scheduled stops at Haymarket, Linlithgow, Falkirk and other stations on the line were scrapped and the trains just swept through.

A ScotRail spokesman said: "We're running four trains an hour between Edinburgh and Glasgow. We were aware there would be an increase in demand this morning because of the peace march.

"So we have extended the trains as much as possible by adding extra coaches wherever we can. But it is not enough. Some of the trains are not stopping at stations between Glasgow and Edinburgh for safety reasons. They are full of standing passengers.

"The number of people wanting to go on the trains is simply away above what we anticipated."

Smaller protests took place across Scotland for demonstrators who couldn't get to Glasgow. The protests at Portree on the Isle of Skye and Stornoway on Lewis showed the strength of feeling in the Inner and Outer

Hebrides.

Specially-chartered buses had also been laid on to take protesters from Ullapool and Inverness to Glasgow where, at the front of the procession there was a red, open-top, double-decker bus with No **War** On Iraq emblazoned on its side.

Behind it, protesters including SNP leader John Swinney, former party leader Alex Salmond and Glasgow Lord Provost Alex Mosson held a large banner which read "Not In Our Name, Mr Blair".

In Dumfries, protesters put their message across with the help of poet Robert Burns.

Someone climbed up the bard's statue in the centre of the town and left him holding a poster with the words:

"Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn!" - lines taken from Burns' poem: "Man was Made to Mourn".

Ruari Halford-MacLeod, 59, from Auchtermuchty, Fife, who took part in the march, said: "This is the first time I've ever joined a demonstration.

"I wanted to show that **war** is not the way forward.

"**War** is not the solution to the problem in Iraq no matter what Tony Blair and George Bush tell us.

"Nobody in Scotland - in fact very few people in the whole of Britain - want us to enter a bloody **war**."

"Tony Blair should listen to his people. He should think with his own head and stop following the wishes of Bush."

Also on the march were Sandra Smith, 35, a dance teacher, her husband, James, 40, and son Jacob, eight. James, an IT consultant, of Dennistoun, Glasgow.

She said: "We are here to show the solidarity of the people.

"It's clear we don't want **war**. We are living in the 21st century. Blood and **war** is not what we want.

"Today we will voice our opinions. We will tell Blair we won't go to **war**."

Victoria Makin, 21, an art student from Glasgow, said: "Peace is what we want. Clearly from the turnout it's what everybody wants. Blair should listen to his people. I don't want **war**. They don't want **war**. Why are we doing it."

A police spokeswoman said there were just three arrests for minor offences.

Premier is branded a liar and hypocrite ; SCOTLAND UNITED; [NORTH Edition]

[Sunday Mail](#). Glasgow (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 2

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Abstract (Document Summary)

Scottish Socialist leader Tommy Sheridan urged people to do everything in their power to stop the **war** against Iraq. He said: "I find it incredible that Gordon Brown can find pounds 1.75 billion for people to go to Iraq and start fires and take lives.

The loudest cheer of the rally was for John McDonald, Scots executive member of the Fire Brigades Union. He said: "We have been fighting our own battle against [Tony Blair]'s government. He has accused us of being murderers and wreckers.

Mohammed Asif, of the Glasgow Refugee Action Group, said: "I think it is very very clear that this is an unjust **war** and it is not being fought in our name. George Bush and Tony Blair have responsibility for thousands of Iraqi lives. But Tony Blair wouldn't even face us here. He ran away before we arrived."

Full Text (561 words)

Copyright 2003 Scottish Daily Record and Sunday Mail Ltd.)

THE Prime Minister was yesterday branded a liar and hypocrite who was rushing headlong into an unjust **war**.

Politicians, trade unionists, church leaders and peace campaigners were united in their condemnation of Blair at the Glasgow rally.

Canon Kenyon Wright said: "It is time for truth. It is time to stop the propaganda, the lies and the indecent thirst for any excuse for **war**."

"It is not true that this **war** would be as Bush said: 'A victory for freedom'. It is true that it would be a defeat for humanity."

Scottish Socialist leader Tommy Sheridan urged people to do everything in their power to stop the **war** against Iraq. He said: "I find it incredible that Gordon Brown can find pounds 1.75 billion for people to go to Iraq and start fires and take lives.

"But I find it more incredible that he cannot find money to pay people who put out fires and save lives.

"If Downing Street cannot hear our voices then we should leave our workplaces, protest in the city centres, sit in the roads and make sure he knows that the **war** is not in our name."

Alex Mosson, Glasgow's Lord Provost, said: "We are saying quite clearly that we are the voice of the people of this city and we do not want to go to **war**."

"We say to Tony Blair that we do not want a **war** and if he presses on it is not in our name."

The loudest cheer of the rally was for John McDonald, Scots executive member of the Fire Brigades Union. He said: "We have been fighting our own battle against Tony Blair's government. He has accused us of being murderers and wreckers."

"But it would only take pounds 80million to fund our pay claim and Gordon Brown has got a pounds 1.75billion **war** chest set aside for the unjust **war** on Iraq."

He threatened: "We ended the poll tax and Thatcher, we'll end the **war** and Blair."

The Rev Alan McDonald, convener of the Church of Scotland's Church and Nation Committee, said: "The sanctity of human life, the integrity of creation and the responsibility we bear for future generations must all make us recoil from the terror of modernwarfare."

Mohammed Asif, of the Glasgow Refugee Action Group, said: "I think it is very very clear that this is an unjust **war** and it is not being fought in our name. George Bush and Tony Blair have responsibility for thousands of Iraqi lives. But Tony Blairwouldn't even face us here. He ran away before we arrived."

Bill Speirs, general secretary of the Scottish TUC, gave a Billy Connolly rendition, asking of the young soldier: "What do you do with a gun in your hand facing a hundred odd weans?"

Shouts of vive la France went up as John Swinney thanked the French Foreign Minister for "speaking for us when Jack Straw didn't".

He said: "The Scotland represented here is a rich and varied country. We encompass individuals from all walks of life, all parts of Scotland and from further afield. With loyalties to all political parties and to none."

"We come together not primarily as individuals but as a community dedicated to that most cherished ideal... that we can pass on to our children a world of peace in place of the world of conflict we live in."

HYDE PARK SPEECHES; [FIRST Edition]

[Sunday Mail](#). Glasgow (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 5

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Abstract (Document Summary)

HUMAN rights campaigner Bianca Jagger said: "We do not want **war** for oil which will leave a trail of blood of innocent lives in Iraq and of American and British soldiers.

FORMER Labour Minister Tony Benn received a huge ovation from the Hyde Park crowd.

Benn added: "If there are weapons inspectors in Iraq, I want to see inspectors in Israel, inspectors in Britain and inspectors in America."

Full Text (207 words)

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FORMER Labour Minister Mo Mowlam told the crowds: "Things can only get better if we stick together."

Speaking in Hyde Park, she added: "Keep it peaceful, because being peaceful, people will have no excuse not to listen.

"Tony Blair and the Government have got themselves into a right corner."

HUMAN rights campaigner Bianca Jagger said: "We do not want **war** for oil which will leave a trail of blood of innocent lives in Iraq and of American and British soldiers.

"We want to live in a world where peace, democracy and security are enshrined in the United Nations charter."

She also accused Blair of foregoing his beliefs.

FORMER Labour Minister Tony Benn received a huge ovation from the Hyde Park crowd.

He claimed they had formed a "new political movement" which would endure after the Iraq crisis.

Benn added: "If there are weapons inspectors in Iraq, I want to see inspectors in Israel, inspectors in Britain and inspectors in America."

LIBERAL Democrat leader Charles Kennedy said he was "not persuaded" of the case for **war**.

He told the London demo: "The arguments have been contradictory and inconsistent. The information has all too often been misleading as well as inconclusive.

"It's no wonder people are scared and concerned."

Ms Dynamite tells Blair: Stop telling us lies ; STAR'S PROTEST; [NORTH Edition]
[Sunday Mail](#). Glasgow (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 5

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People: [Blair, Tony](#)
Section: *News*
Publication title: [Sunday Mail](#). Glasgow (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 5
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Abstract (Document Summary)

BRITISH R&B star Ms [Dynamite] made a rallying call to the London anti-**war** gathering - and accused Tony Blair of lying to the country over Iraq.

Hollywood star Tim Robbins said the turnout was encouraging and he hoped Mr Blair would take notice.

He talked of reconciliation and listed great peace figures such as Martin Luther King, Mahatma Gandhi, John Lennon and Nelson Mandela.

Full Text (298 words)

Copyright 2003 Scottish Daily Record and Sunday Mail Ltd.)

BRITISH R&B star Ms Dynamite made a rallying call to the London anti-**war** gathering - and accused Tony Blair of lying to the country over Iraq.

To huge applause, she took to the stage and asked of the Prime Minister: "How long will you lie and deceive... and speak so many words but very few truths?"

"Don't underestimate or insult our intelligence. Let the truth be told.

"I believe **war** is not the answer. He who preaches **war** is the Devil's chaplain, he is tarnished by the beast."

The star sang one of her hits after asking Mr Blair: "How will you cope with the guilt and the sea of blood which will remain on your hands?"

Hollywood star Tim Robbins said the turnout was encouraging and he hoped Mr Blair would take notice.

He said: "It is very inspiring how many people have come out in this genuine and spontaneous way to embrace peace and reject **war**. It reminds us there is a human and gentle spirit out there in this world."

He added: "We can stop the **war**. If they choose to ignore this voice from around the world there will be consequences at the polls and general strikes."

Civil rights campaigner Rev Jesse Jackson greeted the crowd with chants of Stop the **War**, Save the People and Minds not Missiles.

He talked of reconciliation and listed great peace figures such as Martin Luther King, Mahatma Gandhi, John Lennon and Nelson Mandela.

He told the crowds: "It is not too late to stop this **war**. We must march until there is peace and reconciliation."

Meanwhile, movie star George Clooney accused George W Bush of **war**- mongering over Iraq.

The actor blasted the US President and claimed Americans who didn't want conflict were being unfairly branded unpatriotic.

People of Britain vote for peace; [HI Edition]

[PATRICK COLLINS](#), [FIDELMA COOK](#), [Mail on Sunday](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 6

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People: [Blair, Tony](#)

Author(s): [PATRICK COLLINS](#), [FIDELMA COOK](#)

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Abstract (Document Summary)

Tony's got this badly wrong, and I'm not sure he realises it. But he will.' If [Tony Blair] provoked anger, then the name of George Bush evoked nothing but derision. One banner quoted one of his more memorable remarks: 'They Misunderestimate Me'. To which the author added: 'You tell 'em, George!' Even more telling was a placard waved by one of his countrymen: 'Don't Think We're All Like George Dubya', it said. And the bearer was roundly applauded.

An elderly couple began to dance. The kids applauded. It was thoroughly surreal. A few marchers sat on the benches in the Princess of Wales Walk, listening to the Prime Minister speaking to Scottish Labour in Glasgow. That anger again. 'He's lost it', they said. 'He's bloody lost it.' They spoke with great gravity of the Middle East in flames, of terrorists given carte blanche to do their worst, of Western unity shattered and of thousands of lives destroyed.

'The vast majority in this country do not want war. We do not want to be outside the UN at Bush's side for something which has more to do with oil and American imperialism than with right. Blair has no mandate on this. It is not a just cause.' By the time the marchers arrived to form a ring of peace around the SECC, their plans to drown out Tony Blair's war cries with a chorus of noisy **protest** had been thwarted. As the last of the marchers were shepherded by the police into the main car park beside the Armadillo, they knew he was long gone.

Full Text (1264 words)

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Feb 16, 2003

ON a day without precedent and in numbers beyond imagination, the people of Britain took to the streets to demonstrate their anger.

In London, they shuffled through the city for hour upon hour; feet stamping, teeth chattering, breath billowing in the winter air. Some came in pushchairs, others in wheelchairs; some struggled on crutches and a dogged few inched along on Zimmer frames. Yet every one had the same message to impart: No War, No Attack, Not In My Name.

London has seen many a march in many a cause, but never one like this. Some said that a million people were present, others believed there were many more.

In truth, the arithmetic was unimportant.

What stunned the senses was the sheer volume of humanity protesting for peace.

There were placards, tens of thousands of them, raised protectively against the February wind. And there were songs; from Lennon to Geldof, with a touch of the terraces. There was muted cheering and self-conscious chanting and a man with bright red hair who produced a saxophone and played Teddy Bears' Picnic.

But the ones who registered most strongly were those who held no placards and sang no songs, but walked silently with serious intent.

They were present in their hundreds of thousands, for this was above all a demonstration for people who never go on demonstrations. But they had considered the issues and the terrifying implications, and they had decided that they had to play their part.

As one lady put it: 'I don't want to make a fuss.

I just want to tell Tony Blair that he's wrong. If one more person turning up can make that case, I'll be satisfied.' It was scarcely the stuff of revolution, yet it was all the more powerful for its moderation.

And it reinforced the feeling that Britain's Prime Minister has made a calamitous miscalculation in his efforts to subdue Iraq.

Almost all of the anger was directed at Mr Blair. His was the name which brought the jeers. The man who has achieved two electoral landslides had become the target of venomous abuse.

Not since Margaret Thatcher in her abrasive prime has a British politician provoked such feelings, and these from the people who worked so hard to elect him.

Of course, he can withstand the insults of the pantomime loons - of the London School of Economics Socialist Worker Students' Society ('One Stockbroker Is One Too Many'); of Tony Benn, bulging with moral pomposity, striding the stage for the last time and milking every moment, or of dear old Tariq Ali, the jobbing protester from the seething Sixties.

But Blair will be deeply damaged by those countless members of the rank and file who now feel bitterly betrayed.

A senior trade unionist on yesterday's march spoke more in sorrow than in anger when he said: 'There was a time when a Labour Prime Minister would have been leading this bloody march. Now our feller's the one they're protesting about.

Tony's got this badly wrong, and I'm not sure he realises it. But he will.' If Blair provoked anger, then the name of George Bush evoked nothing but derision. One banner quoted one of his more memorable remarks: 'They Misunderestimate Me'. To which the author added: 'You tell 'em, George!' Even more telling was a placard waved by one of his countrymen: 'Don't Think We're All Like George Dubya', it said. And the bearer was roundly applauded.

There was no hatred, just universal contempt for someone perceived to be an inarticulate cowboy with delusions of competence, a toddler holding a hand grenade.

Up at Speakers' Corner, they were testing the public address system before the march began.

There were rockers and rappers and kids with all manner of metal embellishments. Somebody put on a tape: Moonlight Serenade by Glenn Miller.

An elderly couple began to dance. The kids applauded. It was thoroughly surreal. A few marchers sat on the benches in the Princess of Wales Walk, listening to the Prime Minister speaking to Scottish Labour in Glasgow. That anger again. 'He's lost it', they said. 'He's bloody lost it.' They spoke with great gravity of the Middle East in flames, of terrorists given carte blanche to do their worst, of Western unity shattered and of thousands of lives destroyed.

'How could he do it?' they asked.

And their confusion was as affecting as their outrage.

As Blair spoke at the SECC, a wave of protesters also surged through Glasgow, writes Fidelma Cook.

Many were what used to be termed the silent majority - the middleclass, often middle-aged men and women who have disdained active **protest** all their lives.

In youth they were not to be found in the ranks of the ban the bomb marchers, never held union cards or walked

under the banners of the Trades Union Congress.

Yet these 'protest virgins' as one commentator sniffily labelled them, were at the heart of one of the largest demonstrations the city has ever seen.

Of course the professional protesters, the anarchists, the far Left, the generally disaffected and disappointed were there too. But for those in the Government with deep misgivings about the seemingly headlong rush to war., it was surely the sight of so many 'protest virgins' in their sensible, warm winter coats clutching home-made posters which must make them ponder their future.

There were young men and women pushing babies or carrying toddlers - earnest professionals, the kind Tony Blair courted in his determination to rout Conservatism for good in Britain.

The kind of voters, in fact, who may use the Scottish elections truly register their alarm at what they see as the hijacking of democracy in a determination for war. Women whose Saturdays in the city centre are normally spent shopping or meeting friends for coffee found themselves shouting antiwar slogans to the beat of drums down St Vincent Street.

Women like 54-year-old housewife Margaret Eaves, from the city's arguably most genteel suburb, Bearsden. Normally, she said, she'd be in Marks & Spencer's food hall, doing her weekend shopping and deciding which vegetables should accompany the Sunday roast.

Today, seemingly slightly amazed at finding herself waving a paper dove of peace mounted on a stick, she admitted: 'I have never been on a protest in my life. I've never felt moved enough to actually come out of my house and be counted.

'But I'm disgusted with Tony Blair and his conviction that he has the moral high ground on this.

'The vast majority in this country do not want war. We do not want to be outside the UN at Bush's side for something which has more to do with oil and American imperialism than with right. Blair has no mandate on this. It is not a just cause.' By the time the marchers arrived to form a ring of peace around the SECC, their plans to drown out Tony Blair's war cries with a chorus of noisy protest had been thwarted. As the last of the marchers were shepherded by the police into the main car park beside the Armadillo, they knew he was long gone.

He had spoken and departed for London even as the protesters had gathered on Glasgow Green.

But somehow it didn't seem to matter. They had arrived, this mismatched but united army of protest - the punks and the suburban princesses, the shaved heads and the sensible ski-caps, the old and the young.

And if the man himself had gone, he had only to turn on his television to know that they had been, had marched, had spoken.

I'll give peace a chance ; Blair says weapon inspectors should be allowed more time - Buttridding Iraq of Saddam would be an act of humanity; [FIRST Edition]

[LINDSAY McGARVIE](#). [Sunday Mail](#). Glasgow (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 6

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Author(s): [LINDSAY McGARVIE](#)

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Abstract (Document Summary)

PREMIER Tony Blair gave Saddam Hussein more time to give up his arms yesterday - while insisting that ridding Iraq of its leader would be an "act of humanity".

He surprised many by saying: "I hope, even now, Iraq can be disarmed peacefully, with or without Saddam. Let the United Nations be the way to deal with Saddam. But let the United Nations mean what it says, and do what it means."

Blair added that 350,000 out of four million Iraqi exiles who have fled Saddam's murderous regime live in Britain.

Full Text (1151 words)

Copyright 2003 Scottish Daily Record and Sunday Mail Ltd.)

PREMIER Tony Blair gave Saddam Hussein more time to give up his arms yesterday - while insisting that ridding Iraq of its leader would be an "act of humanity".

In the most important speech of his career, Blair passionately put the case for the action against the dictator while saying United Nations arms inspectors would get more time to find weapons of mass destruction.

Blair tried to rally the party faithful at the Scottish Labour conference at 10.30am - three hours before anti-war demonstrators gathered outside the SECC in Glasgow.

He said he still hoped war could be avoided by giving the UN more time "to solve the issue of weapons of mass destruction". But he told the thousands of peace protesters that leaving Saddam in power would mean even more misery for his people.

He acknowledged his stance on Iraq was making him unpopular but said that was sometimes the price of leadership and conviction.

He said: "There are consequences of war. If we remove Saddam by force, people will die and some will be innocent. And we must live with the consequences of our actions, even the unintended ones."

His speech acknowledged for the first time the level of public opposition to the looming conflict and observers claimed it signalled an attempt to distance Britain from the hawkish stance of President George W Bush.

He made only one passing reference to Bush in his 51-minute speech.

He surprised many by saying: "I hope, even now, Iraq can be disarmed peacefully, with or without Saddam. Let the United Nations be the way to deal with Saddam. But let the United Nations mean what it says, and do what it means."

Party members said his speech signalled a reluctance to push for a second resolution from the Security Council sanctioning war on Iraq.

There had been speculation Britain and the US would draft a resolution within days, despite chief weapons inspector Hans Blix telling the UN on Friday that there was no evidence of Saddam building nuclear weapons

and saying his team needed more time. Hewill report again in two weeks.

Acknowledging the strength of opposition to **war**, Blair made a direct appeal to the "Stop the **War**" protesters, pointing out the humanitarian consequences of not deposing Saddam.

He said that if he heeded public opinion and dropped his determination to unseat Saddam, the consequences would be dire for the Iraqi people.

Blair said: "If I took that advice and did not insist on disarmament, there would be no **war** but there would still be Saddam."

The PM warned: "Many of the people marching will say they hate Saddam. But the consequences of taking their advice is that he stays in charge of Iraq, ruling the Iraqi people. A country that in 1978, the year before he seized power, was richer thanMalaysia or Portugal.

"Now, every year, tens of thousands of political prisoners languish in appalling conditions in Saddam's jails and are routinely executed.

"In the past 15 years, over 150,000 Shia Muslims in southern Iraq and Muslim Kurds in northern Iraq have been butchered. This isn't a regime with weapons of mass destruction that is otherwise benign. This is a regime that contravenes every singleprinciple or value anyone of our politics believes in.

"There will be no march for the victims of Saddam, no protests about the thousands of children that die needlessly every year under his rule, no righteous anger over the torture chambers which, if he is left in power, will be left in being.

"I rejoice that we live in a country where peaceful protest is a natural part of our democratic process.

"But as you watch your TV pictures of the march, ponder this: If there are 500,000 on that march, that is still less than the number of people whose deaths Saddam has been responsible for. If there are one million, that is still less than the number ofpeople who died in the wars he started."

Blair also told the 2500 delegates that, at the moment, 135 out of 1000 Iraqi children die before the age of five.

Seventy per cent of those deaths, he said, were from easily preventable diarrhoea and respiratory infections.

A third of Iraqi children born in the centre and south of the country had chronic malnutrition and 60 per cent of the population rely on food aid.

Blair added that 350,000 out of four million Iraqi exiles who have fled Saddam's murderous regime live in Britain.

He added that, in the event of being given the go-ahead by the UN to attack Saddam, it would be a moral **war**, pertaining it to previous campaigns against tyranny such as the Kosovo **war** and the recent military action in Afghanistan.

Blair said: "If the result of peace is Saddam staying in power, not disarmed, then there are consequences paid in blood for that decision too.

"But these victims will never be seen. They will never feature on our TV screens or inspire millions to take to the streets. But they will exist nonetheless. Ridding Iraq of Saddam would be an act of humanity. It is leaving him there that is inhumane."

And if he were left in power, Saddam could export terror around his region and elsewhere in the world.

Blair warned: "If we do not confront these twin menaces of rogue states with weapons of mass destruction and

terrorism, they will not disappear.

"They will just feed and grow on our weakness. The terrorists won't be nice to us if we're nice to them."

Reacting to the report presented by Blix, Blair said: "There will be more time given to inspections."

But if Saddam failed to co-operate, the international community should not make the mistake of dismissing the threat he poses.

He said: "If we show weakness now, if we allow the plea for more time to become an excuse for prevarication until the moment for action passes, then the menace, and not just from Saddam, will grow.

"The authority of the UN will be lost, and the conflict when it comes will be more bloody."

Blair was sceptical about the prospects for Saddam complying with UN demands. He said: "No one believes he is yet co-operating fully. Most people don't believe he ever will." In a message to the anti- **war** marchers, the PM stressed: "I do not seek unpopularity as a badge of honour. But sometimes it is the price of leadership and the cost of conviction."

Blair received strong applause when he went on to say he is committed not only to rebuilding Iraq after a UN-sanctioned **war**, but that he is determined to help finally bring peace between Israelis and Palestinians.

Speaking immediately before Blair, First Minister Jack McConnell said: "I don't believe that one member of this Labour Party wants **war**. I've marched the streets of Glasgow for peace and I'm proud to have done so."

SUNDAY MAIL OPINION: Wake-up call Blair must heed; [FIRST Edition]

[Sunday Mail](#). Glasgow (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 16

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Abstract (Document Summary)

Prime Minister Tony Blair would be a fool to ignore the one million people who demonstrated throughout Britain.

Mr Blair gave us a glimpse of that yesterday when he took the first step away from America's determination to strike against [Saddam Hussein].

"Tony Blair is the leader of the Labour Party," said Mr [Alan Simpson].

Full Text (431 words)

Copyright 2003 Scottish Daily Record and Sunday Mail Ltd.)

SATURDAY, February 15, was a wonderful day for democracy.

It was a day when cynical political propaganda was eclipsed by people power.

The Scottish people, along with the rest of the UK, delivered a simple message: No to **war**.

Prime Minister Tony Blair would be a fool to ignore the one million people who demonstrated throughout Britain.

He is a highly intelligent man.

Mr Blair gave us a glimpse of that yesterday when he took the first step away from America's determination to strike against Saddam.

Out went the belligerence that tied him to President Bush's stance of action, with or without a new UN resolution.

In came a new approach, concentrating on the human cost of leaving Saddam in power.

That is a case that all Britons can understand.

An argument rooted in the traditional Labour ethos of empathy for those suffering beyond our own borders.

Why did he wait this long to bring out this "humane" argument, rather than stick with the hardline Bush spin?

British voters are far too sophisticated to swallow the American President's gung-ho propaganda.

Yesterday, people who would never normally dream of demonstrating on the street did just that.

Thank God for the hundreds of thousands, spanning all generations, who did.

Britain is a better place for their determination to be heard.

It is a sign of the strength of opposition to **war** in Iraq that sworn enemies united behind a common cause.

In London, the Countryside Alliance walked beside the Socialist Workers Party.

In Glasgow, SNP Leader John Swinney shared a platform with Scottish Socialist Tommy Sheridan.

It is those kind of alliances that Mr Blair cannot ignore.

The words of veteran Labour left-winger Alan Simpson sum up the mood of his own Labour Party.

"Tony Blair is the leader of the Labour Party," said Mr Simpson.

"But he is not leader of the **war** party."

These are all stark warnings to the Prime Minister.

And they are not only coming from pacifists.

He must remember that he is elected leader of a democracy.

It seems that at last he has realised that opinion is against him and is factoring that into his new approach.

We support the Prime Minister in his **war** against terror.

We agree that Saddam Hussein is a tyrant who must be disarmed.

But we are against a headlong rush to **war** that will cost thousands of innocent lives.

Yesterday was a wake-up call to Mr Blair.

Now he must decide who he values most - the British people who elected him or the Washington hawks who could destroy him.

Haggard greying isolated betrayed

Sunday Mail, Feb 16th, 2003, page 17

I NEVER thought I'd feel sorry for Tony Blair.

Way back when he first bounced on to our TV screens as the PM with the boyish smile, hamming it up for the cameras it was as though he was Mr Teflon.

Nothing stuck. Never mind that in the last six years his policies have all been more about presentation than substance, spin rather than specifics.

Never mind that he's hit virtually none of the targets he announced for his government, nor that hospital waiting lists have gone up, crime is spiralling and the railways are a shambles, the PM's ratings were guaranteed to go on soaring.

Until last week. Suddenly Tony started to look his age.

Was it just coincidence that Labour's lead in some polls had shrunk to just one point?

Heaven knows, the pressure he's under over his support for George Bush's **war** plans must be excruciating.

The majority of his own party is defiantly opposed as are Charlie Kennedy's bunch.

The Tories deride him for muddle and spin.

France and Germany are taking their opposition right to the wire.

Jack Straw and Geoff Hoon, hardly Labour's most dynamic duo, make their words of support sound like they're reciting lines.

And apart from lobbing in pounds 750million to the **war** effort, brooding Gordon Brown says nothing.

Yesterday the biggest peace rally ever held in Britain showed Tony just what the public think about making **war** on Saddam Hussein.

Labour luvvies like Joanna Lumley, Andrew Lloyd Webber, Emma Thompson and Sir Bob Geldof all lent their names to the anti- **war** crusade.

Elsewhere, Londoners apparently tired of Tony's cronies crying wolf over the umpteenth terrorist scare are now carrying on as normal. To them the tanks and machine guns at Heathrow and Gatwick were all part of Tony's spin.

Some would say Tony's presidential style has brought it all on his own head.

He didn't delegate. He doesn't have a Colin Powell, a Donald Rumsfeld or a Condoleeza Rice to help absorb the flak. Maybe.

But it could also be that at bottom Blair is more principled than many of us gave him credit for and is now prepared to lead rather than follow.

As he becomes more haggard, more isolated, more betrayed Tony can't put on a brave face like Mrs Thatcher during the Falklands crisis by adopting camouflage.

He can't transform exhaustion with some lip gloss, foundation or a bit of mascara.

Most people are far from convinced that **war** against Saddam is either necessary or justifiable.

But we don't have all the facts.

The hollow-eyed, greying, strained Blair that we saw last week has most of them.

And history teaches that you don't appease dictators.

Maybe, just maybe in the new beleaguered Blair, we're seeing the birth of a statesman.

GOOD for Cold Feet actress Helen Baxendale who says she's going to give it all up to become a better mother. It's difficult for any working mum to juggle the demands of family and career but actresses seem to have particular problems.

Actress and mother-of-three Sadie Frost had to be re-admitted to hospital with post- natal depression, presumably made worse by the collapse of her marriage to Jude Law.

Helen Baxendale says her wish to get home to her children, Nell and Eric, was beginning to affect her acting. I wish her well in her decision. But I can't help remembering Hollywood's most Oscar-laden actress, Meryl Streep, also took time off to be with her family only to admit that she went 'on hands and knees' to her agent to thank him for getting her a coveted part.

Applause is a drug and the roar of the greasepaint can drown out even the wailing of a child. It's unfair that mothers should be torn between their children and careers in this way. But where is it written, especially with talented women, that it's gotta be fair?

nACCORDING to the census there are now fewer than 60,000 fluent Gaelic speakers left in Scotland. Can the language survive? People have been asking that question for decades, especially with around a thousand native speakers dying every year.

I've got a hunch things are on the up and up with primary schools in places like Glasgow and Edinburgh having to turn away youngsters whose exiled Gael parents want them to study the language.

Certainly it deserves to survive. Apart from having the most beautiful songs in the world, a language that has more than half a dozen words for 'love' will always have a role - especially on St Valentine's Day.

IT'S the most demeaning thing for a journalist - buttering up a celeb to make sure you get the interview.

We've all had to do it. I remember going through hoops in a TV confrontation to conceal from the appalling Donald Trump what I really thought of him.

With megabucks at stake, the producers couldn't afford to have him walk out. In the event, my views became crystal clear in the eventual documentary and Trump never forgave me. That's life and I can live with myself.

After watching Michael Jackson's taped evidence of the fawning, ingratiating schmooze Martin Bashir went through to get his interview with the superstar, I hope he can say the same.

Getting an exclusive is one thing - blatantly sucking up to a confused child-man to get him to confess he slept with other people's kids is something else again. Somebody's reputation was destroyed in Bashir's interview. I'm not sure it was Jackson's.

I'M not sure the exotic Marquesa de Varela has come out of the Hello! magazine trial smelling totally of roses.

Maria Julia Marin of Montevideo, Uruguay, owes her job as Hello!'s top UK fixer to her friendship with the late mother of Sarah Ferguson.

Now her press agency is based in the British Virgin Isles.

But a celeb fixer is only as good as the last celeb she has fixed.

Maria's main client is still Hello!

And she confessed in court that she had been leant on by the Spanish mag's publisher, Eduardo Sanchez-Junco, to tell porkies about who had actually bought the pics of the Douglas-Zeta Jones wedding - her agency or Hello!

The Douglasses already held an injunction preventing Hello! buying the pictures and sold the rights to the rival OK magazine.

So Maria fibbed that her company had acquired the pictures and sold them on to Hello!

"I am Latin, I am not British. I exaggerate sometimes," the volatile Marquesa told the jury.

Oh well, that's OK then!

Now let Selina know what you think. WRITE TO: Mailbox, Sunday Mail, One Central Quay,

Sunday Mail 16th Feb 2003, p17
Haggard greying isolated betrayed

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/ purpose	Where?
more about X than Y X rather than Y		presentation / substance spin / specifics	Never mind that in the last six years his policies have all been <i>more about presentation than substance, spin rather than specifics</i>	Replacive	form / content illusion / reality general / specific		AW/SMI/17/1

If Tony Blair is so sure...why can't he put this war to Parliament? ; A man ennobled by the PM tells why yesterday he marched against him; [FB Edition]

LORD ROGERS OF RIVERSIDE. Mail on Sunday. London (UK): Feb 16, 2003. pg. 26

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Abstract (Document Summary)

I am aware, of course, that [Tony Blair] believes he is morally right to pursue war against [Saddam Hussein]. But if the argument for war is so clear-cut, I would hope he would put the decision to Parliament. Certainly many people, myself included, might suggest the pounds 1.75 billion that Chancellor Gordon Brown has set aside to pay for the war would be better spent on schools, hospitals and urban regeneration.

If Mr Blair is to gain clear Parliamentary backing for invading Iraq, he must prove Saddam poses a clear, severe and immediate threat to destabilising the Middle East and the world. Parliament must also be persuaded that Iraq is providing financial and logistical support to the Al Qaeda network. But the so-called evidence of Saddam's wrongdoing provided by both Washington and London shows no such compelling or credible threat. We should be highly sceptical of the evidence served up by the Government to bolster its case - either woefully out of date or culled from a dusty postgraduate research thesis.

I accept the military build-up in the Middle East is already nearly complete, but that in itself is not a satisfactory reason for war. Why must we attack now? Far better to use the presence of so much firepower as an effective incentive for Saddam Hussein to co-operate with the United Nations weapons inspectors. Their presence in Iraq could also act as a restraint on Saddam's programme of armament production. Hans Blix and his team should be allowed to finish their work, with the threat that if Saddam continued to defy the United Nations they could then order an invasion.

Full Text (1088 words)

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Feb 16, 2003

THE last time I took to the streets in **protest** was in the Sixties - so long ago that I can't clearly recall what I was demonstrating against - and I have never regarded myself as one of life's marchers.

But I feel so strongly that the seemingly inexorable build-up to war in Iraq is premature, misguided and morally wrong that I believed I had no alternative but to join the hundreds of thousands of people on yesterday's Stop The War march.

There are two main issues that have been troubling my conscience. First, I believe that an overwhelming case for war has not been made. I am not a pacifist, but I have always firmly believed war is the ultimate horror and must be the sanction of last resort.

Clearly Saddam Hussein is a cruel and evil tyrant, but launching a pre-emptive strike against Iraq will unleash

the most unimaginable humanitarian and ecological disaster.

I have not been persuaded by the evidence that he presents an immediate threat either to the Middle East or to global security. Neither am I convinced that a compelling link between Saddam and the Al Qaeda terrorist network has been established or that the post-war scenario has been properly considered.

Hundreds of thousands of Iraqis are certain to be killed in a sustained ground and air war, the vast majority innocent civilians and children. War will only intensify their suffering, and contribute to the 'domino-effect' destabilisation of the region.

But a second issue which I have found equally disturbing is the way Britain seems to be moving towards war without any firm democratic mandate. I sit on the Labour benches in the House of Lords and, while we have debated the Iraq situation, there has never been a vote either there or in the House of Commons.

There is also no firm groundswell of opinion among the British people for war on Iraq. Opinion polls last week suggested only ten per cent of the population want it without the backing of the United Nations.

HISTORY tells us the great mass of British people will take to the streets in **protest** only when they believe the Government is imposing an unpopular policy against the will of the people.

This tradition of public **protest** acts as a valuable safety valve for democracy. It sends a clear message to those in power that they should think very carefully about their actions.

I hope the Government will take into account the weight of public opinion evident in the numbers who turned out yesterday. These were ordinary, lawabiding citizens, many of whom have never been on any demonstration, united in their opposition and angry that the Prime Minister seemed to have so little regard for the democratic process.

Surely one of the things that has made Britain such a great, successful and harmonious country is our tradition of lively and effective political debate.

Over the centuries there has usually been a rough sense of balance between government and opposition that has, on the whole, produced a broad consensus on which the majority can agree or at least accept as the democratic will of the majority.

That is why it is dangerous for Tony Blair to risk taking the country into war in what many see as an autocratic and unaccountable manner. His large Commons majority and the current lack of a credible and effective Parliamentary Opposition makes it even more imperative he be seen to seek the firmest possible democratic backing.

In a moment of crisis, the mood of fear can threaten the very foundations of a liberal society. A country in which the Government loses its sense of legitimacy is opening its doors to political extremism.

I am aware, of course, that Tony Blair believes he is morally right to pursue war against Saddam. But if the argument for war is so clear-cut, I would hope he would put the decision to Parliament. Certainly many people, myself included, might suggest the pounds 1.75 billion that Chancellor Gordon Brown has set aside to pay for the war would be better spent on schools, hospitals and urban regeneration.

If Mr Blair is to gain clear Parliamentary backing for invading Iraq, he must prove Saddam poses a clear, severe and immediate threat to destabilising the Middle East and the world. Parliament must also be persuaded that Iraq is providing financial and logistical support to the Al Qaeda network. But the so-called evidence of Saddam's wrongdoing provided by both Washington and London shows no such compelling or credible threat. We should be highly sceptical of the evidence served up by the Government to bolster its case - either woefully out of date or culled from a dusty postgraduate research thesis.

AS FOR the United States, its considerable record of manufacturing evidence to justify military action is well documented - let none of us forget President Johnson's deliberate fabrication of the events in the Gulf of Tonkin, resulting in full-scale war against North Vietnam. Suspicions also remain that Iraq's oil - 20 per cent of

the world's total reserves - plays a significant, though unstated, part in America's calculations.

I accept the military build-up in the Middle East is already nearly complete, but that in itself is not a satisfactory reason for war. Why must we attack now? Far better to use the presence of so much firepower as an effective incentive for Saddam Hussein to co-operate with the United Nations weapons inspectors. Their presence in Iraq could also act as a restraint on Saddam's programme of armament production. Hans Blix and his team should be allowed to finish their work, with the threat that if Saddam continued to defy the United Nations they could then order an invasion.

There is also a definite risk that, far from decreasing the global threat of terrorism, this war will have the opposite effect. President Bush's ill-judged comments about launching a 'Crusade' to wipe out Al Qaeda will be interpreted by many impoverished people of the Muslim world as a direct attack on Islam.

It is axiomatic that war breeds war, but it also breeds hatred, fear and intolerance. I am worried this war runs the grave danger of becoming the most effective recruiting sergeant yet for extremist groups bent on revenge on America and Britain: it will have ramifications for years to come.

The placards that I and many others carried in Hyde Park yesterday read: 'Why Iraq? Why now?' These are valid questions that have not been convincingly answered.

Auntie war protest ; Ordinary folk call for peace; [FIRST Edition]
[ANDREW WILSON](#). [Sunday Mail](#). Glasgow (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 28

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Abstract (Document Summary)

Our youth teams show that Scottish football is a good deal healthier than some sceptics would suggest. And with three Motherwell players in Rainer Bonhof's squad, I was quite happy. So when the present is grim, we can always toast the future.

For years the Labour party attacked the Tories, saying the unemployment figures were fiddled and that matters were a lot more serious. Now Labour are at the same gig.

There is a growing polarisation in Scotland between job-rich and jobless households. This means that the problems of unemployment are concentrated while the wealthier households have two or more adults bringing home the bacon.

Full Text (761 words)

Copyright 2003 Scottish Daily Record and Sunday Mail Ltd.)

IT was my mum's 70th birthday last week. The Wilson clan gathered from all corners of this island for a bash at my sister's house.

I was in charge of the drink. The talk inevitably turned to impending **war**.

My mum is a stout matriarch. She and her pals are of a generation brought up in the **war**, respectful of authority and of our national leaders. They moan about politicians but believe it is their duty to vote and they'll rarely tell you how they did.

They believe you have to work for success, respect your elders and do the right thing by our troops when they engage.

They go to church, volunteer when they can and spend most of their waking hours cherishing their grandweans and nagging their kids. These are the people who keep our families and our country together.

Scotland is populated by people like them, women in particular. They are not political radicals.

Earlier in the week, I spoke to a ladies club in Cumbernauld where all but one of the audience opposed **war** without proper recourse to United Nation's democracy.

And yesterday in Glasgow, thousands gathered to call for peace and sanity.

The Government's conduct is becoming increasingly bizarre. Earlier this month, your leaders were caught

copying a student essay on Iraq's intelligence network, changing a few sections of it, then presenting it as evidence to the world.

The words "Iraqi aid for opposition groups" were deleted by them and the words "Iraqi support for terrorist organisations" inserted. Sheer propaganda for **war**.

If the Prime Minister and his Government are caught red-handed and can't be trusted on that, what can we trust them on?

I know in **war** the first casualty is truth but I thought we were still in a state of peace.

And so it was that our TV screens were filled with the sight of tanks at Heathrow.

The Government told us it was due to an immediate threat of terrorism.

Dr John Reid, the chairman of the Labour Party, went so far as to say the threat was as grave as September 11 before correcting, clarifying and withdrawing his words.

Why all of a sudden do we need tanks at Heathrow? Troops maybe... but tanks?

I have no idea what the extent of threat is. If the Government tells us it is real we have to believe them. What other option do we have?

But the bottom line is that unless they expect 10,000 terrorists to storm Heathrow, what practical use would the tanks provide?

And if that same Govern-ment is caught plagiarising its evidence and changing key phrases, what room do we have left for trust?

Yesterday, the people of Scotland marched for peace while the Labour Government called for **war**.

We can only pray Scotland's true conscience prevails.

A POOR show against Ireland at Hampden may have hit the spirits of a few hardy Scottish fans last Wednesday but the night before our under-21s showed the way with a spirited 2-0 victory.

Our youth teams show that Scottish football is a good deal healthier than some sceptics would suggest. And with three Motherwell players in Rainer Bonhof's squad, I was quite happy. So when the present is grim, we can always toast the future.

ANOTHER week, another set of unemployment statistics and another statement from a Government minister claiming all in the garden is rosy.

For years the Labour party attacked the Tories, saying the unemployment figures were fiddled and that matters were a lot more serious. Now Labour are at the same gig.

But as the Sunday Mail reported last week a new study by top Scottish economists proves a more alarming reality.

There is a growing polarisation in Scotland between job-rich and jobless households. This means that the problems of unemployment are concentrated while the wealthier households have two or more adults bringing home the bacon.

One in four Strathclyde households has no adult in employment while the Scottish figures are among the highest in the industrialised world.

Too many families have gone off the Government's official statistics and out of the Government's mind. We owe it to hundreds of thousands of Scots to do better.

A STORY reaches me from a family in Lanarkshire where the young lad arrived home from school, boasting proudly he had a part in the new school play.

"That's great," says his mum. "What part is it?"

"I play a Scottish husband," the boy replies.

"That's no use," she yells. "Get back and tell that teacher you want a talking part."

Is this how we thank America for saving us?; [FB Edition]

STEWART STEVEN. [Mail on Sunday](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 57

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Abstract (Document Summary)

As for the 'so-called' peace camp, I don't remember the march of **protest** when [Saddam Hussein] dropped chemical bombs on the Kurdish town of Halabja in 1988 killing more than 5,000 civilians in a few hours. I don't remember seeing the peaceniks on the march when he murdered thousands of Kurds in the Nineties. I don't remember Islamic opinion here rising in **protest** as Saddam arrested, tortured and then killed, often in the most horrible of circumstances, some of the nation's finest clerics. One ayatollah had to witness his daughter's rape before he was killed by having nails hammered into his head. Where was Islamic opinion when what were euphemistically called 'light chemical weapons' were used against Shias in the holy cities of Najaf and Karbala?

Iraqis, not Americans, estimate that 200,000 of their fellow citizens were murdered in the 1991 pro-democracy uprising; that 100,000 have been executed or tortured to death in Iraqi prisons and that 200,000 Kurds were killed when they tried to oppose Saddam in Northern Iraq. I can't recall hearing Glenda Jackson's voice raised in furious **protest**. How can she, how can her so-called Leftwing friends, seem to support a country that is built not upon oil, but upon blood?

Iraqis free to speak are almost united in the view that however many people are killed in the liberation of Iraq, it will be like nothing to what the Iraqi people can expect if this man be allowed to continue. He's murdered some ten per cent of his own population already. If Saddam is ever left to his own devices again, that will look like a picnic.

Full Text (1269 words)

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Feb 16, 2003

Most of the so-called peace activists who marched through the streets of London yesterday (and I shall come to the 'so-called' bit later) agree with the French, Germans and Belgians that we need to put more weapons inspectors on the ground in Iraq.

I wonder who they have in mind. Inspector Morse, alas, is no more.

Detective Inspector Frost is far too impatient a chap for the touchy Iraqis and there are so many murderers in and around Midsomer, the world's most dangerous village, that Detective Chief Inspector Barnaby simply cannot be spared.

Inspector Clouseau would be an admirable choice, but he is already engaged looking for President Chirac's lost conscience. Like all of Clouseau's cases, it's a fool's errand. Jacques Chirac never had one to lose.

I'm not making jokes about a serious situation. Why can't intelligent people understand that weapons inspectors

are not detectives - fictional or otherwise?

They are not trained and equipped to be detectives and no serious person has ever thought otherwise. You could put another 1,000 inspectors into Baghdad tomorrow and still the Iraqis would be able to conceal their weapons of mass destruction.

It is assumed by most people that Dr Hans Blix is a scientist with a specific expertise in seeking out concealed weapons. After all, he's not any old inspector, he's the Chief Weapons Inspector no less.

Forget it. Hans Blix is a lawyer. His job is not to try to find things, but to persuade the Iraqis finally to honour their obligations to the United Nations, to which they agreed at the close of the Gulf War in 1991.

The Iraqis agreed to open their armouries and laboratories so their weapons of genocide could be destroyed under international supervision. That is what the inspectors were there to do.

We're not in Agatha Christie territory here. The inspectors are not equipped to find a 'smoking gun'. It's up to Saddam Hussein to produce it so that the inspectors can destroy it. If he had done that in 1991 his people would have been saved ten years of fierce sanctions.

If he does it now, they can be saved from war. Will he? I don't think that even Chirac or his unlovely sidekick Gerhard Schroder actually believe that.

They know, as we all do, that Saddam has to be dragged painful step by painful step towards every concession he's ever made. I don't want to go in for that puerile name-calling, we've had too much of that this week already, but even the 'cheese-eating surrender monkeys', a phrase I fear will be attached to the French forever, must understand that even the ludicrous Franco-German plan depends absolutely on the Americans and the British keeping up the pressure.

As for the 'so-called' peace camp, I don't remember the march of **protest** when Saddam dropped chemical bombs on the Kurdish town of Halabja in 1988 killing more than 5,000 civilians in a few hours. I don't remember seeing the peaceniks on the march when he murdered thousands of Kurds in the Nineties. I don't remember Islamic opinion here rising in **protest** as Saddam arrested, tortured and then killed, often in the most horrible of circumstances, some of the nation's finest clerics. One ayatollah had to witness his daughter's rape before he was killed by having nails hammered into his head. Where was Islamic opinion when what were euphemistically called 'light chemical weapons' were used against Shias in the holy cities of Najaf and Karbala?

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It is terrible, but more blood will still need to be shed to rid the world of this vile regime whose like we have not seen for many, many years.

Iraqis free to speak are almost united in the view that however many people are killed in the liberation of Iraq, it will be like nothing to what the Iraqi people can expect if this man be allowed to continue. He's murdered some ten per cent of his own population already. If Saddam is ever left to his own devices again, that will look like a picnic.

I don't know how many people who marched yesterday know these things. It's never been necessary to understand issues in order to have a view about them.

But the case against Saddam is so overwhelming, the certainty that he possesses and is now hiding weapons of mass destruction so persuasive, that there can be only one reason why so many have taken up such strong positions.

I think I know what it is: it's not about Iraq at all. It is about America.

How lovely it is at last to be able to engage our anti- Americanism without, apparently, needing to fear the consequences. We don't have to fear Soviet Communism any more, so why not give the nation that did most to protect us from it a thoroughly good kicking? Never mind that for, or for most of, the last century America stood at the gate, armed and ready to resist the barbarian.

America expended much treasure and put itself at great risk in order to guarantee our freedoms. It sought nothing in return. It didn't impose itself upon us; it bore - on the whole, uncomplainingly - the burden of our shared beliefs that our way of life and our democracy were worth defending.

It made mistakes, of course, and some pretty grievous ones, too. But on the whole, the United States stood for values that we stand for. It made our lives better and safer. I just wonder if it will be prepared to be quite so generous in the future.

France, Germany and the Belgians, always a pretty despicable people, have put all America has done at risk. At the very moment, with all the odds apparently stacked against him, when there was a slim chance that Saddam might crack, these three countries ganged up with Russia to sabotage America.

They were supposed to be friends, but instead brought aid and comfort to America's bitterest enemy. This was an act of treachery for which they will not easily be forgiven.

This matters greatly. I fear we may all in future have to pay a heavy price for the vain posturing of Chirac and Schröder, the pygmy politicians who have so betrayed their high office, their countries and the alliance to which they owe so much.

I suppose some will say that with the Cold War over, we don't actually need America any more. But maybe we have just become too soft. Countries like Poland, which lived the nightmare, which didn't have American protection, think losing American power now is unthinkable.

If the Yankees do go home, spending the next 50 years in fortress America, I shudder to think what would happen to Europe - rich pickings for any future world power with covetous eyes and an empty belly.

Tony Blair leads those who are doing all in their power to avert such a calamity. It would be awful if, on the day Saddam was finally toppled, the western alliance went with him.

By his own lights, that would be his finest hour; the terrible legacy of a terrible, terrible man.

Observer

Iraq Crisis: The Peace Marches: One Million. And still they came.

Observer, 16th Feb 2003, page 1

'ARE there any more coming, then?'

There have been dafter questions, but not many. At 1.10 yesterday afternoon, Mike Wiseman from Newcastle upon Tyne placed his accordion carefully on the ground below Hyde Park's gates and rubbed cold hands together. Two elderly women, hand in hand in furs, passed through, still humming the dying notes from his 'Give Peace A Chance'. They were, had he known it, early, part of a tiny crowd straggling into Hyde Park before the march proper.

Half a mile away, round the corner in Piccadilly, the ground shook. An ocean, a perfect storm of people. Banners, a bobbing cherry-blossom of banners, covered every inch back to the Circus - and for miles beyond, south to the river, north to Euston.

Ahead of the marchers lay one remaining silent half-mile. The unprecedented turnout had shocked the organisers, shocked the marchers. And there at the end before them, high on top of the Wellington Arch, the four obsidian stallions and their vicious conquering chariot, the very Spirit of War, were stilled, rearing back - caught, and held, in the bare branches and bright chill of Piccadilly, London, on Saturday 15 February 2003.

Are there any more coming? Yes, Mike. Yes, I think there are some more coming.

It was the biggest public demonstration ever held in Britain, surpassing every one of the organisers' wildest expectations and Tony Blair's worst fears, and it will be remembered for the bleak bitterness of the day and the colourful warmth of feeling in the extraordinary crowds. Organisers claimed that more than 1.5 million had turned out; even the police agreed to 750,000 and rising.

By three o'clock in the afternoon they were still streaming out of Tube stations to join the end of the two routes, from Gower Street in the north and the Embankment to the south. 'Must be another march,' grumbled the taxi driver, then, trying in vain to negotiate Tottenham Court Road. No, I said; it's the same one, still going, and he turned his head in shock. 'Bloody Jesus! Well, good luck to them I say.' There were, of course, the usual suspects - CND, Socialist Workers' Party, the anarchists. But even they looked shocked at the number of their fellow marchers: it is safe to say they had never experienced such a mass of humanity.

There were nuns. Toddlers. Women barristers. The Eton George Orwell Society. Archaeologists Against War. Walthamstow Catholic Church, the Swaffham Women's Choir and Notts County Supporters Say Make Love Not War (And a Home Win against Bristol would be Nice). They won 2-0, by the way. One group of SWP stalwarts were joined, for the first march in any of their histories, by their mothers. There were country folk and lecturers, dentists and poulterers, a hairdresser from Cardiff and a poet from Cheltenham.

I called a friend at two o'clock, who was still making her ponderous way along the Embankment - 'It's not a march yet, more of record shuffle' - and she expressed delight at her first **protest**. 'You wouldn't believe it; there are girls here with good nails and really nice bags.'

Cheer upon cheer went up. There were cheers as marchers were given updates about turnout elsewhere in the world - 90,000 in Glasgow, two million on the streets of Rome. There was a glorious cheer, at Piccadilly Circus, when the twin ribbons met, just before one o'clock.

The mood was astonishingly friendly. 'Would you like a placard, sir?' Sir? The police laughed. One, stopping a marcher from going through a barricade in Trafalgar Square, told him it was a sterile area, only to be met with a hearty backslap. 'Sterile area? Where did that one come from.' 'I know,' shrugged the bobby. 'Bollocks language, isn't it?' And the talk was of politics, yes, but not just politics. There were not the detailed arguments we had had, even during the last peace march in November, over UN resolutions and future codicils. This march was not really about politics; it was about humanitarianism.

'I'm not political, not at all. I don't even watch the news,' said Alvina Desir, queuing on the Embankment for the start of the march at noon. 'I've never been on a march in my life and never had any intention. But something's happened recently, to me and so many friends - we just know there's something going wrong in this country. No one's being consulted, and it's starting to feel worrying - more worrying than the scaremongering we've been getting about the terrorist threat. I simply don't see how war can be the answer and I don't know anyone who does. And, apart from anything else, as a black woman in London, it feels dangerous to spread racial tension after all that's been done.'

A Cheshire fireman nearby said: 'They will take notice of a **protest** like this. Our MPs, and Blair himself, were voted in by ordinary people like those here today. Blair is clever enough not to ignore this.'

Linda Homan, sitting on bench at 9.30 in the morning, watching a bright and dancing Thames, had come down early from Cambridge and was wondering at that stage whether many would turn up. Palettes of placards lay strewn along the Embankment, waiting. A trolley was pushed past filled with flags and whistles; there were more police - then, way back then - than marchers. 'I've never felt strongly enough about anything before. But this is so different; I would have let myself down by not coming and I think this will be something to remember.'

For Linda, like so many along these streets, it was her first march. Twelve-year-old Charlotte Wright, who came up by train from Guildford, Surrey, on her own, said: 'My parents aren't very happy about this but I think it's important. Bombing people isn't the right way to sort a problem out.' Jenny Mould, 36, a teacher from Devon. 'I drove up last night. It took seven hours but it was definitely worth it; the Government should, it must, listen to the people, otherwise what's the point in democracy?'

Retired solicitor Thomas Elliot from Basildon, Essex, a virgin marcher at 73, said: 'I remember the war and the effect the bombing had on London. War should only be used when absolutely necessary.' Andrew Miller, 33, from New Zealand, whose feeling, echoed by all around, was that 'all the different groups that are marching today show the world that the West is not the enemy, that British people do not hate Islam and Arabs and the coming together of people is the greatest way forward.' Lesley Taylor, a constitutional law lecturer who's lived across here for 29 years, holding a forlorn placard reading 'American against the war.' Why only one? 'I don't know any other Americans here. In the Eighties here I saw a lot of anti-American resentment, and now it's back. I accept that the perception of George W. Bush has something to do with this, but still. . . these are the same people, the thinking middle-classes, who were so shocked and honestly sympathetic after September 11: how can they turn so nasty so quickly?'

'Because America is making your Prime Minister go against the huge majority of the British people. And that won't be forgiven. Look about you. That's what this is about; not fierce party politics but a simple feeling that democracy, British democracy, has been forgotten.'

Chris Wall, a Nottingham mother who had brought down eight children with her: 'They talk about it at school and that's a good thing. Children need to be aware of what's happening in the world. And this is, of course, a peaceful **protest**.' It remained so all day, despite the numbers; by five o'clock police were reporting only three arrests.

In Hyde Park itself, a long line of purple silk lay on the grass, facing Mecca, and Muslims took off their shoes to pray. Beside it, artist Nicola Green had set up her Laughing Booth, and was encouraging people in to, obviously, start laughing, on their own, and be recorded; it was, she says, the most disarming of all weapons. The sky above the nearby stage grew dark, and the park grew even more astonishingly full.

Liberal Democrat leader Charles Kennedy won loud applause for stating that 'The report from Hans Blix gives no moral case for war on Iraq'; Labour MP George Galloway won both applause and laughter for suggesting a new slogan: 'Don't attack Chirac'. Mo Mowlam warned: 'We will lose this war. It will be the best recruiting campaign for terrorists that there could be. They will hate us even more.'

Will yesterday, astonishing yesterday, change anything? The facts are undeniable. Perception is all.

If you look more carefully, in fact, at the warlike Wellington statue, a new tale emerges. The driver of the chariot is a boy. The reins are slack. The horses are not rearing with anger, but pulling up in mid-charge. Behind, the fierce, all-powerful figure is not the Spirit of War but the angel of peace, carrying an olive branch.

Iraq crisis; The Peace marches: The great unheard finally speak out

The Observer, 16th Feb 2007, page 4

THE AGE of apathy stops here, between a Thomas Cook branch and the Bloomsbury Diner, where the bodies are jammed together too tightly to move. In the minutes before the march begins, anyone will tell you why **protest** has supplanted politics.

Some of these twenty-first century Chartists with mobile phones are veterans of the Vietnam demonstrations. Some are too young to remember the Cold War. What unites them is anger against Bush and Blair, but mainly Blair. Everyone I talk to says that he will not have their vote again.

It is odd to think that these are the sloths who could not be prised from their armchairs when elections rolled round and who hit the remote at the first flicker of any BBC political coverage that wasn't Have I Got News For You

These people, in New Labour's analysis, were the inert of the Earth. And here they are, out in their hundreds of thousands, quoting Hans Blix verbatim and defying a Prime Minister who longed to galvanise them and must now regret becoming the Frankenstein of the protesting classes.

Political leaders hate crowds. Mass meetings have been supplanted by leaks and soundbites. In the fractious build-up to war, lonely societies are encouraged to become more solipsistic. A fearful population, hiding behind its anthrax-proofed windows, is also tractable. There is nothing threatening to government about citizens bickering over the last roll of duct tape in Wal-Mart.

British marchers have spurned isolation for solidarity, and fear for fury. Their momentum came almost from nowhere. Unlike the Jubilee-trippers, the Soham mobsters and even the Countryside Alliance, they bore no social or political barcode.

Theirs was, and is, a movement without a leader. Its members belong to no obvious political caste. Labour voters who march are deracinated from their leaders, and the Tories have none worth worrying about.

Their mission, to halt the war, is by definition negative, and their goal unattainable, bar a miracle. Those hoping to recalibrate the Prime Minister's moral compass face disappointment, or even despair. Few predicted weeks ago that so many people would turn out to stop the unstoppable, and I was certainly not among them.

The surprise has been the altruism of the protesters, and the size of the vacuum they fill. Blair's natural supporters and opponents have registered their opposition, and seen it spurned. As they get more strident, he digs harder. The hole in democracy grows more cavernous by the day.

The marchers all felt that; the men in deerstalkers and Barbour's, the pro-protesters in neon knitwear, the students and the grandmas whose families had persuaded them to take along brand-new Nokia mobile phones they couldn't work. Who will record their assembly when all of this is over?

History, perhaps. The War Remnants Museum in Saigon displays yellowed newspaper reports of Western **protests** against the Vietnam War. Next door, housed in hot sheds, are the napalmed babies and photographs of burnt children. The juxtaposition of press clippings and grim artefacts offers a memento mori. This is what happens when people are right and governments mistaken.

Today's protesters are starved of inspiration and data. In place of a charismatic leader, they have the belief that politicians are lying. They have no great freedom fighter to support; only Saddam. You could not sell washing powder on that basis, let alone a pacifist cause that may crush a Prime Minister.

Yet the movement has taken off and its subscribers, on yesterday's evidence, are not a reissued set of hoary peaceniks. These are organised people with clear aims. They want a peaceful solution for Iraq. If that is not forthcoming, Blair will be punished accordingly.

They may be wrong. He may be right. But in a war predicated on conviction and conscience, the hunches of the nation also count. As Martin Luther King said, countries should repent citizens' evil deeds almost less than 'the appalling silence of the good'. The unheard have spoken out.

Observer 16th Feb 2003, p4
Iraq crisis: The Great unheard finally speak out

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
X supplanted Y		politics/ protest	In the minutes before the march begins, anyone will tell you why protest has <i>supplanted</i> politics .	transitional	protest / passivity change / stability new /old	Tricky one – if protest has replace politics, is she implying that politics has outworn its usefulness? Also implies that ‘politics’ equals conformity	AW/Ob/4/1
X supplanted Y		mass meetings / leaks and soundbites	Mass meetings have been <i>supplanted by</i> leaks and soundbites	transitional	democracy/ autocracy then / now overt / covert	Again showing how times have changed – debates are no longer – control in hands of govt not the people	AW/Ob/4/2
spurned x for y		isolation / solidarity fear / fury	British marchers have <i>spurned</i> isolation for solidarity , and fear for fury	transitional	separate / together division / unity fear /courage calm / fury	Another transition fro passivity and fear to courage and anger	AW/Ob/4/3
Unlike X, Y		Jubille-trippers, the Soham mobsters...Countryside Alliance/ no social or political barcode	<i>Unlike</i> the Jubilee-trippers, the Soham mobsters and even the Countryside Alliance , they bore no social or political barcode .	comparative	categorisable / uncategorisable distinct / fuzzy narrow / diverse (wide?)	The barcode metaphor suggest the named groups are easily distinguishable as a group, whereas these are a diverse group of people	AW/Ob/4/4

in place of X, Y		charismatic leader / belief that politicians are lying	<i>In place of a charismatic leader, they have the belief that politicians are lying.</i>	replacive	trust / betrayal charisma / dullness	Contrasting times of trust with times of cynicism	AW/Ob/4/5
not X yet Y not X, Y		freedom fighter....sell a pacifist cause / movement has taken off...organised people with clear aims reissued set of hoary peaceniks / organised people with clear aims	They have no great freedom fighter to support ; only Saddam. You could not sell washing powder on that basis, let alone a pacifist cause that may crush a Prime Minister. Yet the movement has taken off and its subscribers, on yesterday's evidence, are <i>not</i> a reissued set of hoary peaceniks . These are organised people with clear aims	concessive negative	passive / active dull / inspirational disorganised / organised chaos / order not credible / credible unfocussed / focussed	Two sets of opposites. First contrasts unexpected organised nature and strength of revolt with fact there seems to have been no obvious leadership. While one thing has happened the opposite of what would be expected has happened. Second example compares the kind of stereotype of a protestor expected, implying in the past peace demonstrators were a bit disorganised, whereas this lot are not. Seems to imply that often today's demonstrators wouldn't usually be peace-loving? Discuss!	AW/Ob/4/6

Iraq crisis: The peace marches: 'I believe war is not the answer'

[Kamal Ahmed Political Editor](#). [The Observer](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 4

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People: [Kennedy, Charles](#)

Author(s): [Kamal Ahmed Political Editor](#)

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Abstract (Document Summary)

Tim Robbins, star of *The Player* and *Bob Roberts* and director of *Dead Man Walking*, described the turnout as 'inspiring'. Charles Kennedy, leader of the Liberal Democrats, said that the arguments made for war by George W. Bush and Tony Blair were 'confused and contradictory'.

'Given the evidence we heard yesterday in New York from Dr [Hans] Blix [head of the United Nations weapons inspectors] there can be, as we stand, no just or moral case for war against Iraq. If we reach the stage, at some point in the future, where British troops are asked to enter some form of military conflict, that's got to be achieved in a democratic way.

'I would like to see democracy in Iraq, but not by carpet bombing, and killing innocent civilians,' [Bianca Jagger] said.

Full Text (567 words)

Copyright Guardian Newspapers Limited Feb 16, 2003

THEY came, politicians and film stars, playwrights and singers, to speak to the one-million-plus protesters who gathered in London's Hyde Park.

More than 450 organisations, including Greenpeace, the Liberal Democrats and the Scottish Nationalists are part of the Stop the War coalition which held **marches** simultaneously in London and Glasgow, where more than 70,000 marched. Whether you were interested in Hollywood, Westminster or the latest club scene, you were catered for.

Tim Robbins, star of *The Player* and *Bob Roberts* and director of *Dead Man Walking*, described the turnout as 'inspiring'. Charles Kennedy, leader of the Liberal Democrats, said that the arguments made for war by George W. Bush and Tony Blair were 'confused and contradictory'.

'It reminds us there is a human and gentle spirit out there in this world,' Robbins said of the **march**.

'We can stop the war. If they choose to ignore this voice from around the world, of people expressing their wish in a democratic way, there will be consequences at the polls and general strikes. This is a serious business.

People will die. .'

Asked if he had a message for Blair, he said: 'Wake up and smell the democracy.'

One of the biggest cheers of the afternoon was saved for Ms Dynamite, otherwise known as Niomi McLean-Daley, one of the last people to appear on the stage.

'How long will you lie and deceive this country and speak so many words but very few truths?' she demanded of the Prime Minister. 'Don't underestimate or insult our intelligence. Let the truth be told. I believe war is not the answer. He who preaches war is the devil's chaplain, he is tarnished by the beast.'

Charles Kennedy, along with Tony Benn, Ken Livingstone and the Reverend Jesse Jackson, was one of many politicians and political campaigners on the stage.

'I have been asking questions for months in Parliament because I'm not persuaded for the case for war,' Kennedy said.

'The arguments have been contradictory and inconsistent. The information has all too often been misleading as well as inconclusive. It's no wonder people are scared and concerned.'

Much of British, European and American opinion was not convinced, Kennedy said.

'Given the evidence we heard yesterday in New York from Dr [Hans] Blix [head of the United Nations weapons inspectors] there can be, as we stand, no just or moral case for war against Iraq. If we reach the stage, at some point in the future, where British troops are asked to enter some form of military conflict, that's got to be achieved in a democratic way.

'The House of Commons should be given the right it so far has been denied, the right of a vote on whether it believes our forces should be sent into battle.'

Livingstone said that Britain did not support a 'war for oil', while the human rights campaigner Bianca Jagger said that any military conflict would leave a 'trail of blood of innocent lives'.

'I would like to see democracy in Iraq, but not by carpet bombing, and killing innocent civilians,' Jagger said.

'The government of President Bush made the decision on 12 September 2001 to wage war against Iraq, when there was no evidence of a connection between the Iraqi government or al-Qaeda.

'It was part of his new philosophy and doctrine by which he can use pre-emptive strikes against another state.'

Comment: Leading article: Millions march for peace: but the Iraqi tyrant still faces us

[The Observer](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 28

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Abstract (Document Summary)

We have seen dramatic evidence of the fears of millions about the risks of military action against Iraq. Those fears must force all of us to re-examine our attitudes to this crisis, however strongly felt. But the marchers too need to recognise that, despite the strength of their convictions, opinion polls still suggest that there is a majority in Britain who would accept military action if backed by the UN Security Council, but only after a second UN resolution following a material breach by Iraq of its obligations to UN weapons inspectors. So far we are not at that stage, and Friday's report by chief inspector Hans Blix did not provide evidence of any breach which alone would justify war.

Full Text (575 words)

Copyright Guardian Newspapers Limited Feb 16, 2003

ANYONE WHO bemoans the claimed cynicism of modern times, or the disconnection of so many people from politics, could not fail to be moved by the nature or extent of yesterday's demonstrations across the world. London's event was the largest **protest** ever held in Britain's capital. As the world sits on the brink of war, it serves as a potent demonstration of how urgently our political leaders need to re-engage their electorates.

We have seen dramatic evidence of the fears of millions about the risks of military action against Iraq. Those fears must force all of us to re-examine our attitudes to this crisis, however strongly felt. But the marchers too need to recognise that, despite the strength of their convictions, opinion polls still suggest that there is a majority in Britain who would accept military action if backed by the UN Security Council, but only after a second UN resolution following a material breach by Iraq of its obligations to UN weapons inspectors. So far we are not at that stage, and Friday's report by chief inspector Hans Blix did not provide evidence of any breach which alone would justify war.

Indeed, a number of claims presented by US or UK leaders - for example, about links between al-Qaeda and Iraq - have been unconvincing. However, Blix has also presented evidence that Iraq has produced chemical and biological weapons which remain unaccounted for.

It is almost certainly the threat of military action which has brought UN weapons inspectors the successes so far secured. The inspections must continue. But the Security Council should now demand full Iraqi disarmament within a specific timetable. No one can be deluded by Saddam's preposterous announcement on Friday that he had decreed an end to the production of weapons of mass destruction.

Washington and London remain isolated. If America and Britain went to war at this stage, they would do so against a background of **protest** at home and criticism abroad. Tony Blair, arguing the moral case for war at

Labour's spring conference, is in a quandary that could cost him his job. He faces a daunting diplomatic task.

We understand Mr Blair's preparedness to act at some point because we share his analysis of the terrible risks posed by Saddam, not least to Iraqis themselves. Britain must not say never to military action. Instead, it should be saying not yet. Meanwhile, rigorous efforts must be made to secure stability of institutions such as Nato and the EU which have been threatened by political grandstanding. Our Government must also address growing concerns, even among Iraqi opposition groups, that the US has no clear plan for a post-Saddam Iraq that incorporates their democratic aspirations.

Never again will detractors be able to claim that Tony Blair is a vapid political figure whose views merely follow public opinion. War remains, however, a last resort. The Observer has consistently argued that we would back military action if necessary, as a least bad option for securing peace and stability not only within Iraq, but within the whole of the Middle East.

Yesterday's demonstrations highlight that the UK and US governments so far have failed to convince many of their own peoples. Politicians need to address that. Tony Blair faces the greatest challenge of his political career. He needs to keep America engaged in the UN process and persuade the Security Council to adopt a robustness that delivers the disarmament of Iraq.

Comment: Weighing the voice of the people: Not only is Mr Blair taking a gamble on war with Iraq, he is also gambling with his political career

Andrew Rawnsley, Political Journalist of the Year. [The Observer](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 29

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Abstract (Document Summary)

The Prime Minister has staked his strategy - and maybe his political life- on getting a UN mandate. He has done so believing that will carry most of the country, and his party, behind him. There has been much commentary to the effect that we have seen a braver [Tony Blair] in the second term, a Blair much more defiant of public opinion, a Blair readier to go out on a limb, to 'risk everything', as he put it, over Iraq. I drew attention to this Blair the Bold some months ago. He was on even more vivid display in Glasgow yesterday when he told his party's spring conference: 'I do not seek unpopularity as a badge of honour, but sometimes it is the price of leadership and the cost of conviction.'

The Prime Minister has not been so desperate to secure a second resolution because he believes that the imprimatur of the Security Council would invest a war to remove [Saddam Hussein] with any added morality. In yesterday's speech, Mr Blair was clear that he is already convinced of the moral imperative for confronting the Iraqi tyrant. He has been at particular pains in the last few days to challenge the anti-warriors for the moral high ground. He said yesterday: 'The moral case against war has a moral answer', which is that the absence of war will ultimately lead to more death and suffering, not least for the Iraqi people.

Fluctuating and fickle public opinion is not a reliable compass when confronted with an issue like Saddam Hussein. Most of the people aren't marching. They are sitting and waiting before they come to a settled conclusion. Public opinion will reserve its final verdict on a war against Iraq - along with its verdict on Tony Blair - until they know the result. If he's right, he will be right. If he's wrong, he may be gone.

Full Text (1732 words)

Copyright Guardian Newspapers Limited Feb 16, 2003

FOR TONY BENN, for Charles Kennedy, for any Tories who rallied in Hyde Park yesterday, and even more so for the contingent from the Revolutionary Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), the Stop the War march rewarded them with a sensation they are not accustomed to enjoying. To be one of the great army of anti-warriors who marched through London was to be convinced that you marched for the majority. Can so many people be wrong?

If you were one of them, you could hardly believe so. One of the most repeated riffs of the **protest** was that they, not Tony Blair, speak for public opinion. Ownership of 'the People', that misty mass which the self-styled 'People's Prime Minister' used to call his own, is now claimed by the Stop the

War coalition.

There are eloquent arguments and there are lousy arguments against launching a war to remove Saddam Hussein, and both found voice at the demonstrations around Britain and the rest of the world. There are powerful arguments and there are dreadful arguments in favour of definitively dealing with the Iraqi tyrant, and it has been one of the failures of the British and American governments not to advance the better ones.

Whether you are in favour or against the use of force as a last resort to deal with Saddam Hussein, there is one argument that is an awful argument. And that is public opinion.

Public opinion is fluid and split. Even that slice of the people represented by the marchers is confused and divided. Some of those who marched are opposed to any war with anyone at anytime. It is customary for a columnist to say at this point that naturally one has the most profound respect for the principles of pacifists. Actually, I'm not sure that I do entirely. War is always a wicked business, but there are occasions when it is a less wicked business than the alternative. Had everyone in America and Europe in 1945 declared for pacifism, we would now be subsumed into the Soviet bloc, which might be welcome to some revolutionary communists (Marxist- Leninist), but not I am sure to most of those in Hyde Park.

Some of those who marched are against anything done by the United States and/or Britain at any time. Some of the marchers - and for this group I have great respect - genuinely detest Saddam, but they aren't convinced by the balance of risk and life, they aren't persuaded that military action is a more effective or civilised option than containment and deterrence. If they are honest, this strand of dovish opinion will recognise that it is only the threat of force that has coerced Saddam into allowing the weapons inspectors back into Iraq. And yet yesterday they found themselves marching alongside those who demand that American and British troops should be immediately withdrawn from his borders.

SOME OF THE marchers have confessed to ambivalent feelings about joining an anti-war movement which decries military force and yet offers no alternative strategy for disarming the Iraqi dictator or unchaining his people. There was a marcher interviewed on the Radio 4 lunchtime news who worried that 'hundreds of thousands of people' might die in any war. On the other hand, he said: 'Saddam is playing us for a sucker, and at some point you've got to draw a line in the sand.' Not so much Stop the War as Not Sure About the War. And then there were those marching against a war who might support a war so long as it is prosecuted in the name of the UN.

According to most opinion polls, this is where the centre of gravity of British public opinion currently sits, but it is too nuanced to splash on a banner, too much of a mouthful to chant, the slogan: No War Until Dr Blix Produces More Conclusive Evidence That Would Justify A Second Resolution From The Security Council.

The Prime Minister has staked his strategy - and maybe his political life- on getting a UN mandate. He has done so believing that will carry most of the country, and his party, behind him. There has been much commentary to the effect that we have seen a braver Blair in the second term, a Blair much more defiant of public opinion, a Blair readier to go out on a limb, to 'risk everything', as he put it, over Iraq. I drew attention to this Blair the Bold some months ago. He was on even more vivid display in Glasgow yesterday when he told his party's spring conference: 'I do not seek unpopularity as a badge of honour, but sometimes it is the price of leadership and the cost of conviction.'

That doesn't mean that the popularity conscious Blair of the first term has disappeared altogether. He is still around, maintaining a weather eye on where public opinion is going.

The Prime Minister has not been so desperate to secure a second resolution because he believes that the imprimatur of the Security Council would invest a war to remove Saddam with any added morality. In yesterday's speech, Mr Blair was clear that he is already convinced of the moral imperative for confronting the Iraqi tyrant. He has been at particular pains in the last few days to challenge the anti-warriors for the moral high ground. He said yesterday: 'The moral case against war has a moral answer', which is that the absence of war will ultimately lead to more death and

suffering, not least for the Iraqi people.

Agree with that or not, military action would not be more or less ethical because a war had or lacked the support of the mercurial Jacques Chirac or Vladimir Putin, the brutal hammer of the Chechens. A war into Iraq is not made any more right because it has been voted for by Cameroon and Mexico, nor any more wrong because it has been voted against by Pakistan and Syria.

Mr Blair has urged the UN route on the Americans not in the name of morality, but for reasons of international and domestic realpolitik. An American war without sanction from the UN would be shattering of international law. With Nato being torn asunder and the European Union pulled apart over Iraq, enough international institutions are already being trashed by this crisis without adding the United Nations to the casualty list. With the support of the UN, military action would gain international legitimacy and enhance the chances of there being a multilateral effort to rebuild Iraq as a sovereign and democratic state in the aftermath.

That's the internationalist case for a UN mandate. The domestic imperative for it is even simpler. Without a second resolution, much of Mr Blair's party will revolt, many of his MPs will mutiny, and some of his Ministers may resign. In the words of one ultra-loyal Cabinet Minister: 'Tony will be in deep trouble.'

That is not the same as saying that he would necessarily be wrong. Public opinion is not always right, and it is frequently mistaken about military action. Public opinion misjudged the two most important wars fought by this country in the last century. At the outbreak of the First World War, that grisly conflict was terribly popular. Whenever I contemplate 1914-18, there is only one thing more harrowing than looking at pictures of the carnage in the trenches. It is looking at pictures of the huge crowds who eagerly signed up for that war.

Public opinion was equally wrong about the even vaster and bloodier conflict of the twentieth century, the war against Hitler. Winston Churchill may have been recently voted the greatest Briton of all time, but he would have lost his deposit if the BBC had polled people in the 1930s. While Churchill was widely denounced as a mad warmonger, the people's hero was Neville Chamberlain. Crowds, the like of which would not be seen in London until VE Day seven years later, thronged the streets in 1938 to celebrate Chamberlain when he returned from Munich with his worthless peace-in-our-time paper from Hitler.

I don't think those wars provide useful predictors of what should or will happen in Iraq, except to show that public opinion isn't necessarily the best judge of war.

What it also illustrates is that public opinion reserves the right to change its mind. Most people will ultimately judge Mr Blair on his judgment. I can see a possible outcome in which Britain joins the United States in military action without a second resolution from the UN and the Prime Minister still emerges from the conflict vindicated. Senior British military officers talk privately of a 'six-day war'. If they are correct, if war were to be swift, if the predictions of hundreds of thousands of casualties proved to be wildly mistaken, if the Iraqi people welcomed American and British troops as liberators, if that happened, many of those opposed to, or doubtful about, the war today would turn out to have been in favour of military action all along.

MINISTERS CAN ALSO see an outcome in which Mr Blair does secure a second resolution for war and the conflict nevertheless proves to be a disaster for him. Some of his closest colleagues are contemplating this risk. One member of the Cabinet was reflecting with me the other day about how hairy and close run was the war to liberate Kosovo. The Minister sighed: 'We all know that wars can go wrong.'

If conflict is protracted, if the casualties are huge, if the result is an appalling mess, if it comes to be seen as a catastrophic Anglo-American imperial adventure, then many of those who were vigorously in favour of a war when it began would turn out to have been against military action from the start by the time that it was over.

Fluctuating and fickle public opinion is not a reliable compass when confronted with an issue like

Saddam Hussein. Most of the people aren't marching. They are sitting and waiting before they come to a settled conclusion. Public opinion will reserve its final verdict on a war against Iraq - along with its verdict on Tony Blair - until they know the result. If he's right, he will be right. If he's wrong, he may be gone.

a.rawnsley@observer.co.uk

More from Andrew Rawnsley on Blair and the war www.observer.co.uk/ comment

News of the World

If 500,000 march, that's less than Saddam has killed..if one millionmarch, that's less than those who died in his wars; [Final 4 Edition]

Robert Kellaway, Keith Gladdis & Melanie Swan. *News of the World.* London (UK): *Feb 16, 2003.* pg. 6

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Abstract (Document Summary)

[TONY BLAIR] told 750,000 anti-**war** marchers yesterday that if their protest kept Saddam Hussein in power the people of Iraq would pay a terrible price...in blood.

[Rania Kashi]'s family fled Iraq 23 years ago after SEVENTEEN relatives disappeared. Many were later shot by Saddam's thugs. Mr Blair said her message was aimed at the anti-**war** movement.

PASSION: Mr Blair giving his warning yesterday;PROTEST: Bush and Blair mocked in London;WARNING: Rania says Saddam must be forced out;UNITED: [Jesse Jackson] and Ms Dynamite in Hyde Park

Full Text (842 words)

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-PRIME MINISTER TONY BLAIR SPEAKING YESTERDAY

TONY BLAIR told 750,000 anti-**war** marchers yesterday that if their protest kept Saddam Hussein in power the people of Iraq would pay a terrible price...in blood.

The Prime Minister hit out as huge crowds gathered in London for Britain's biggest ever political demonstration.

He said Iraq **MUST** be liberated from Saddam's murderous regime-if necessary by force.

In one of the most important and passionate speeches of his life, Mr Blair had a chill warning for the anti-**war** movement. He said:

"If the result of peace is Saddam staying in power, not disarmed, then I tell you there are consequences paid in blood for that decision.

But these victims will never be seen. They will never feature on TV screens or inspire millions to take to the streets.

But they will exist nonetheless. There will be no march for the victims of Saddam.

And referring to the march about to take place in London, Mr Blair said: "If there are 500,000 on that march,

that is still less than the number of people whose deaths Saddam has been responsible for.

"If there are one million, that is still less than the number of people who died in the wars he started."

Pulling no punches as millions more marchers gathered around the world, Mr Blair insisted: "Ridding the world of Saddam would be an act of humanity. It is leaving him there that is, in truth, inhumane."

Blind

In his 51-minute address to Labour Party members in Glasgow, he told how Cambridge University student Rania Kashi had e-mailed him to voice her fears that the protesters had got it wrong.

Rania's family fled Iraq 23 years ago after SEVENTEEN relatives disappeared. Many were later shot by Saddam's thugs. Mr Blair said her message was aimed at the anti-**war** movement.

Rania wrote: "You (the marchers) may feel that America is trying to blind you from seeing the truth about their real reasons for an invasion. I must argue that in fact you are blind to the bigger truths in Iraq.

"Saddam has murdered more than a million Iraqis over the past 30 years. Are you willing to allow him to kill another million Iraqis?"

And last night Rania told the News of the World the people of Iraq would feel "betrayed" when they saw the size of yesterday's protest. She added: "The Iraqis know it is only by force that Saddam will go. If the Americans don't come in by force and kick him out he will stay in power."

In his speech Mr Blair continued: "I still believe in the United Nations. I continue to want to solve the issue of Iraq and weapons of mass destruction through the UN."

He promised that weapons inspector Hans Blix and his team would get more time to try to find Saddam's arms. But he said: "The time needed is not the time that it takes the inspectors to discover the weapons. They are not a detective agency.

"The time is the time necessary to make a judgment: Is Saddam prepared to co-operate or not? If he is not, if this is a repeat of the 1990s, and I fear that it is, let us be under no doubt about what is at stake."

Shattered

Mr Blair insisted that without the threat of force the UN "would not be within a thousand miles of Baghdad." He said Saddam had to be removed according to the UN mandate.

But it could be done with a "clear conscience" because of the moral case against the Iraqi leader.

Mr Blair warned that the UN's authority would be shattered if Iraq was not disarmed soon, peacefully or by force. He said: "I do not seek unpopularity as a badge of honour. But sometimes it is the price of leadership. And the cost of conviction."

Labour Party officials feared that Mr Blair would get a stormy reception. But the delegates heard him out in silence-then gave him a standing ovation.

The London march was one of 600 held around the world by people who fear that US President George Bush and Mr Blair will launch a **war** on Iraq before all the avenues for a peaceful solution are exhausted.

The marchers were officially estimated at 750,000 -though some protesters claimed greater figures with one as high as 1.5million. They travelled to Hyde Park from all over Britain by coach and train.

Among speakers were US civil rights campaigner Jesse Jackson and London Mayor Ken Livingstone.

About 50 protesters had started out at 6am from Mr Blair's constituency in Sedgefield, Co Durham.

Meanwhile Lawrence Fancourt from Swansea was marching for the first time at the age of 73. He said: "I've never been on a protest march before but then again I have never felt this way before."

ADDITIONAL REPORTING: Barry Keevins, Rachel Good and Neil Michael

Prime reason to battle on; [Final 4 Edition]

[News of the World](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 6

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People: [Blair, Tony](#)

Section: *Features*

Publication title: [News of the World](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 6

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Abstract (Document Summary)

For unlike protesters here, without overthrowing Iraq's brutal regime, Saddam's people have no right to protest there.

Most of the well-meaning protesters, including Lib Dem leader Charles Kennedy, do not seem to appreciate the nature of the UN resolution against Iraq. As America's Colin Powell has explained, it is not about inspections.

Removing Saddam would be an act of humanity, argues [Tony Blair]. It was leaving him there which was inhumane.

Full Text (459 words)

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THE Prime Minister confronted the peace demonstrators yesterday with Churchillian mastery. And he turned their case on its head.

Sentence by passionate sentence, Tony Blair rammed home his message.

For unlike protesters here, without overthrowing Iraq's brutal regime, Saddam's people have no right to protest there.

Indeed, since he seized power the treacherous Iraqi leader has killed hundreds of thousands of his own citizens.

Crucially, the PM reminded Stop the **War** marchers that even if the rallies drew a million, that was still fewer than the number killed in wars started by Saddam.

Yet there is never a march for the despot's silent victims.

Though the march numbered many sincere protesters, its 'stars' said it all.

Knee-jerk rent-a-mob agitators like Tony Benn and Ken Livingstone, along with creaking CND campaigner Michael Foot-a ragbag of second-rate no-hopers.

Brutality

Most of the well-meaning protesters, including Lib Dem leader Charles Kennedy, do not seem to appreciate the nature of the UN resolution against Iraq. As America's Colin Powell has explained, it is not about inspections.

It is about Iraq's refusal to disarm.

Nor do they accept that Saddam is a latter-day Hitler who threatens the Middle East and the world beyond.

And neither do they grasp the extent of Iraq's grotesque internal brutality.

The Iraqi president is a tyrant. Ever ready to murder even close relatives.

At home, he controls a ruthless police state where merely to whisper against him or his party can lead to torture and death of whole families.

In the region, his weapons of mass destruction and nuclear ambitions threaten his neighbours, putting the whole world at risk.

To back off now would be to invite grave international conflict in the future. And to betray the millions of innocent Iraqi citizens who dwell in fear.

Preening

With or without the UN's blessing, Britain and the US MUST stand firm. Along with courageous allies such as Spain, Italy, Bulgaria, Turkey and Australia.

Yesterday, we witnessed Tony Blair the statesman. Despite the protests-and the fainthearts in his party-this was one of his finest hours.

Even those who disagree with his stance must accept that this was a true leader's speech. In contrast to preening poseurs Jacques Chirac and Gerhard Schroder it was not a performance motivated by vanity or self-interest. It was simply the right thing to do.

Now the message to Saddam is clear: Your 12 years of playing for time are coming to an end.

The Iraqi president should make no mistake. He may enjoy pictures of the peace demos on his Baghdad television, but his relief will be short-lived if he fails to disarm.

Removing Saddam would be an act of humanity, argues Blair. It was leaving him there which was inhumane.

Surely that says it all.

Demo steals a march on PM

News of the World, 16th Feb, 2003, page 8

THE giant demonstrations yesterday in Glasgow, London and across the world showed that the days of people power are very far from over.

And Tony Blair showed his true colours by running OUT of Glasgow before the demonstrators even reached the Scottish Exhibition Centre.

'Speedy Gone' Blair beat the fastest retreat from Scotland since King Edward after Bannockburn!

Blair's **war**-mongering has left his party in meltdown and Britain's international reputation in tatters.

The Labour Party is teetering towards an electoral cliff.

This week's polls showed them a tiny 1 per cent ahead of the SNP in Scotland with up to half of the remaining Labour voters saying they too might defect in protest over Iraq.

But more important than the fate of Labour is the fate of mankind.

Split

Blair is the chief culprit in an international scandal that has us perched on the very edge of darkness.

Thanks to him, the United Nations is divided, Europe is split and NATO ruptured.

Why is it the fault of Blair and not George W Bush?

Because without Blair's toadying Bush would never have pushed matters this far.

Nelson Mandela gave Blair too much credit when he described him as America's Foreign Minister.

Blair is more like a Bush cheerleader - resplendent with pom poms.

The UN debate on Friday was a case in point. It's obvious that there is NO case for **war** at this time.

The French Foreign Minister spoke for the world community in tearing apart the US/UK stampede towards conflict.

France spoke for all sane human beings in saying that **war** should only be used as a last resort.

It's clear that the UN inspection teams are working and, if given time, can do the job of removing any conceivable threat from Iraq.

But of even more importance is the rule of international law.

If Bush and Blair throw away the UN rulebook then we are left with the doctrine of might is right instead of the rule of law.

And we would rue that position for many a day.

Even a short **war** will have an appalling cost in human life.

The blood that will be spilled can't be measured.

The cost in money terms is also frightening. Even a quick **war** will cost a minimum of Pounds 100BILLION.

If the conflict goes wrong, the troops get bogged down, the conflict spreads to other countries and world oil and economic instability follow, then the bill could easily rise to an astronomical Pounds 1,000BILLION.

Even at the very lower end the minimum cost to the UK would be FIVE times what Gordon Brown has allowed for the conflict thus far.

In other words Brown could compensate fishing communities and also settle the firefighters dispute for the next century out of the minimum amount of money he will have to find for **war**.

That is a measure of the madness into which Blair is attempting to drag this country.

Let's hope that people power frightens him into thinking again just as surely as we chased him homewards from Glasgow yesterday.

News of the World 16th Feb 2003, p8
Demo steals a march on PM

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
more important than X is Y		Labour / mankind	But <i>more important than the fate of Labour is the fate of mankind.</i>	comparative	one / many trivial / important		AW/NoW/8/1
X instead of Y		might is right / the rule of law	If Bush and Blair throw away the UN rulebook then we are left with the doctrine of might is right <i>instead of the rule of law.</i>	replacive	strength / weakness right / wrong illegal / legal		AW/NoW/8/2

I want my girl to grow up in world free of conflict; [Final 2 Edition]

[James Mulholland](#). [News of the World](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 9

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Author(s): [James Mulholland](#)

Section: *Home News*

Publication title: [News of the World](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 9

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Abstract (Document Summary)

Manal Jebbari, of Govanhill, Glasgow, said: "I am ashamed to say I am British because of the way our government acts.

Gillian Meakin, 71, of Helensburgh, Dunbartonshire, said: "Politicians should give the weapons inspectors more time before they make a decision about going to **war**."

Brenda King, 60, of Barnton, Edinburgh, insisted: "I don't think that we should be bombing Iraq.

Full Text (349 words)

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MARCHERS in Glasgow told why they'd taken to the streets yesterday.

Some appealed for a world free from armed conflict - others warned Tony Blair to start listening to protesters.

Anne-Marie Miller, 32, of Renfrew - a mum-of-one - said: "I love my daughter and I want her to grow up in a world free from conflict.

"It sounds daft but it's as simple as that."

Her surveyor husband Simon, 45, added: "I feel the same way as my wife. I wish Tony Blair would see sense and stop crawling up to George Bush."

Manal Jebbari, of Govanhill, Glasgow, said: "I am ashamed to say I am British because of the way our government acts.

"**War** is such a terrible thing and I can't imagine why politicians are so eager to commit our soldiers to any action against Iraq."

Gillian Meakin, 71, of Helensburgh, Dunbartonshire, said: "Politicians should give the weapons inspectors more time before they make a decision about going to **war**."

Kill

Brenda King, 60, of Barnton, Edinburgh, insisted: "I don't think that we should be bombing Iraq.

"I think the **war** is about oil."

Hubby Alan, 59, added: "Do we have to kill the people of Iraq to free them?"

Alex Mackenzie, 57, from Clydebank, said: "I believe this **war** is immoral."

Sinclair Laird, 48, from Hamilton, warned: "I think if we have a democratic government it will have to pay some attention to the public's opposition to this **war**, which is being echoed by protest around the world today."

A massive three million people joined anti-**war** demonstrations around the globe yesterday.

By far the biggest, apart from the million-strong protest in London, was in Rome.

At least a million were estimated to have taken to the streets in the Italian capital, with up to 500,000 turning out in Berlin and 100,000 in Paris.

In New York a crowd of 100,000 were joined by actors Danny Glover and Susan Sarandon in a demonstration near the UN building in Manhattan.

[Illustration]

Caption: MESSAGE - A protester holds up a banner at yesterday's mass demonstration in Glasgow

Meanwhile in Baghdad..; [Final 2 Edition]

[News of the World](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 9

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People: [Hussein, Saddam](#)

Section: *Overseas News*

Publication title: [News of the World](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 9

Source type: Newspaper

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Document URL: <http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=540092521&sid=8&Fmt=3&clientId=67318&RQT=309&VName=PQD>

Abstract (Document Summary)

One banner read: "Our swords are out of their sheaths, ready for battle." The US flag and effigies of President George Bush were burned as people cheered and chanted pro-[Saddam Hussein] slogans. One went: "Bush, Bush, listen well, we all love Saddam Hussein."

Full Text (150 words)

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THOUSANDS of Iraqis, many carrying Kalashnikovs, also took to the streets yesterday...to show their support for Saddam Hussein and to denounce the United States.

But while the protesters around the world were begging for peace, those in Baghdad wanted bloodshed.

One banner read: "Our swords are out of their sheaths, ready for battle." The US flag and effigies of President George Bush were burned as people cheered and chanted pro-Saddam slogans. One went: "Bush, Bush, listen well, we all love Saddam Hussein."

Despite the anger, one protester said: "We are here to say no to **war**, no to the United States. We have a right to live in peace like all peoples of the world."

Meanwhile, Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz held talks with Pope John Paul at the Vatican on Friday. He said: "We welcome these demonstrations."

[Illustration]

Caption: HATRED: The US flag is burned in Baghdad

Sunday Mirror

Listen to Us; The People's March: A Tide of Protest

Sunday Mirror, Feb 16th 2003, page 2

THE little girl clutched her home-made cardboard placard coloured in with crayons. It was in the shape of a school crossing sign and had one word on it - "STOP".

It said all you need to know about yesterday's mass anti-war march through London.

On a crisp winter's day, the girl and her parents were among the estimated two million who tramped the time-honoured route to make their voices heard. It is an awesome feeling when the people take over the streets of the capital.

In years gone by, governments were always wary of what they called The Mob. Governments should still be frightened, very frightened. Not by thoughts of violence ...but by the sheer power of numbers.

To be there felt like history in the making.

The day began with blue skies but was soon overcast - a greyness that fitted the generally sombre mood.

In public gardens along the way and in Hyde Park, where the march ended in a huge rally, a sprinkling of snowdrops and crocuses heralded a spring that, if these protests fail, some British servicemen may never live to see.

While it was true that militants, anarchists, anti-capitalists and anti-Americans - what one weary PC called "the great unwashed" - were out in force, the heart and mind of the protest was ordinary people.

Worried mums and dads of all ages, all races and religions. Not traitors or cowards. Not faint-hearts. But people who had come to express a genuine feeling they cannot ignore - that the Prime Minister is wrong.

You should have been there, Mr Blair. If you had, you would have witnessed London's biggest-ever demonstration. With organisers claiming two million protesters, it dwarfed the 100,00 at the 1990 Poll Tax march and the 400,000 of last year's Countryside march.

Dozens of causes were represented. The professionally-produced placards of the protest groups with their fierce messages - "Blair and Bush - Wanted for Murder" - contrasted with cobbled-together banners. "Notts County supporters say Make Love Not War", said one.

"Make tea, not war," proclaimed another, over a picture of the Prime Minister with a gun in his hand and a teapot on his head.

Hundreds of Labour Party red roses were flourished. They may have been hangovers from Valentine's Day, but I doubt it.

The first knots of people began to gather beside the Thames at around 10am. The Embankment was shut to traffic and its sudden emptiness revealed how long and wide a road it is. How could it possibly be filled?

The answer came as people flooded in. Young and old, all wrapped up against the cold. Children in buggies, invalids in chairs. Some were scruffy in denims and fleeces, others wore fur-collared coats and Barbour's.

Those of us near the front, in sight of the start gate under Charing Cross bridge, waited as more and more people pressed in behind. There was chatter, some laughter, the ring of mobile phones as friends tried to meet up. People talked to friends, passed the odd remark to strangers but there was little frivolity. High spirits were not the order of the day. This was serious business.

The crush behind was now becoming so great that at 11.45am, a quarter of an hour ahead of schedule, the march began. It was good to be walking, a chance to warm up. Now the noise of whistles and shouts was deafening. We passed side streets where the police held back those waiting to join the march. They would have to tag on the end. It was clear even then that it would be a long wait.

On the other bank of the Thames, the London Eye was creeping round, like the minute hand of clock counting down to war. Big Ben struck 12 times like a death knell. It was noon as we passed beneath it. "No war" was the chant. Then it was a right turn towards Parliament Square and right again into Whitehall, away from the statue of Winston Churchill, leaning on his stick and seeming to glower at this tide of appeasement.

But Churchill - whose name has been much invoked by those urging war on both sides of the Atlantic - would have been the first to accept the need to inspire a people if you are to take them into a fight. There were no boos for the old warlord, nor even for the Foreign Office, as we passed by. Venom was reserved for Downing Street - not that anyone got near. The column was squeezed to one side of the road, giving a wide berth to the gates guarding the Prime Minister's domain. Two dozen policemen made it clear that this was our very own no-fly zone.

Violence broke out at the US Embassy as 200 protesters tried to march to the front of the building in Grosvenor Square. They were pushed to the floor as a 30-metre police line ran to force them back.

Writer Tariq Ali, who saw the flare-up, said: "There was no violent intention. The police were scared and pushed people back roughly. There was no need to do that."

Trafalgar Square was awash with people, clinging to the lions, trying to get some height to take in the extent of the ever-growing crowd.

Now unofficial streams were joining from The Strand and from St Martin's Lane. Out of the Square and into Piccadilly - and the other march, coming down Shaftesbury Avenue from the North, merged. There were loud roars of recognition and mutual admiration.

And so along towards Hyde Park Corner and on to the rapidly muddying grassland of the park. There, a passionate Bianca Jagger demanded that the government "listen to our voices".

"Carpet-bombing will not bring democracy to Iraq. Do we want this done in our name?" she demanded. "No," roared the crowd.

That was the thought that led so many ordinary people to flood the streets of London yesterday. One Lancashire mother explained how it had meant taking her toddler out of school early the day before and travelling overnight.

She cradled her five-month-old baby son to her as she said: "It was a huge decision to come. I've never been to London for a march before.

"But when the bloodshed starts I want to feel it is not in my name. When the children are older I want to be able to tell them we played a part in trying to stop it.

"I know there are extremists here whose opinions I disagree with, but they could not summon this number of people. This is Joe Public."

No one was there to defend Saddam Hussein. No one needed a finger-wagging Prime Minister to tell them that such a march would be violently suppressed in Iraq. No one was denying the evil ways of Saddam Hussein's regime. Not a single voice backed the tyrant. No followers marched in his honour as the Blackshirts did for Hitler 70 years ago.

The mood was of people not convinced. Not convinced that Iraq has the weapons we are told it has (but of which we have seen so little concrete evidence).

Not convinced that this is the only way to rid the world of Saddam. Not convinced that Bush and Blair know what they are unleashing.

It was now more than four hours after the march had begun yet the stragglers were still in Whitehall and Piccadilly was wall-to-wall with protesters. Ken Livingstone stood on the stage to tell us that the numbers had now reached two million, double the police estimate.

It had been a good day.

But not for Tony Blair. He had deserted the capital for Glasgow, where he addressed party faithful. The contempt for him was evident everywhere along the march and in Hyde Park. On placards, "You wuss" was the least of the insults.

The trouble is that the Great Deceiver has cried wolf once too often. Time and again he has asked us to believe in him. Honest Tone, a man you can trust. Now millions of people wouldn't trust him to see them safely across the road, let alone send their sons and daughters, husbands and lovers, into battle.

If it helps you to understand, Mr Blair, helps you make sense of what happened on the streets of the capital yesterday, then think of all those people as a mighty focus group - and take notice.

-Tony Rennell is the co-author with John Nichol of *The Last Escape*, the story of the demobilisation of Allied prisoners of war in Germany 1944-45

Sunday Mirror 16th Feb 2003, p2

Listen to Us; The People's March: A Tide of Protest

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/ purpose	Where?
not X but Y		The Mob...thoughts of violence / sheer power of numbers	In years gone by, governments were always wary of what they called The Mob . Governments should still be frightened, very frightened. <i>Not by thoughts of violence ...but by the sheer power of numbers.</i>	negated contrastive	violence / peace small / large (numbers)		AW/Mir/2/1
X but Y		blue / overcast.... greyness	The day began with blue skies <i>but</i> was soon overcast - a greyness that fitted the generally sombre mood.	contrastive	cheerful / gloomy colourful / colourless		AW/Mir/2/2
while X , Y		militants, anarchists / ordinary people out in force/ heart and mind	<i>While</i> it was true that militants, anarchists, anti-capitalists and anti-Americans - what one weary PC called " the great unwashed " - were out in force , the heart and mind of the protest was ordinary people .	concessive	abnormal / normal violent / peaceful physical / spiritual dirty / clean		AW/Mir/2/3
X, not Y but X		worried mums and dads .....people... .genuine feeling / traitors or cowards.... faint-hearts	Worried mums and dads of all ages, all races and religions. <i>Not traitors or cowards. Not faint-hearts. But people who had come to express a genuine feeling they cannot ignore</i> - that the Prime Minister is wrong.	negated contrastive	parents / childless people traitor/ loyal cowardly / brave fake/ genuine		AW/Mir/2/4
x contrasted with y		professionally – produced / cobbled-together	Dozens of causes were represented. The professionally-produced placards of the protest	explicit contrastive Syntactic patterning	professional / amateur for / against		AW/Mir/2/5

		placards / banners protest groups / Notts County Supporters fierce messages / Make Love not War	groups with their fierce messages - "Blair and Bush - Wanted for Murder" - contrasted with cobbled-together banners. "Notts County supporters say Make Love Not War", said one.		violent / peaceful		
x not y		tea / war	"Make tea, not war ," proclaimed another, over a picture of the Prime Minister with a gun in his hand and a teapot on his head	negated	peace / war		AW/Mir/2/6
X and Y Some X, others Y	young / old	children / invalids buggies / chairs denims and fleeces / fur-collared coats and Barbour's	Young and old , all wrapped up against the cold. Children in buggies, invalids in chairs. Some were scruffy in denims and fleeces, others wore fur-collared coats and Barbour's.	coordinated parallelism semantic trigger	young / old able-bodied / disabled scruffy / neat poor / rich		AW/Mir/2/7
X but little Y not X, Y		talked...passed the odd remark / frivolity high spirits / serious business	People talked to friends, passed the odd remark to strangers <i>but</i> there was <i>little</i> frivolity. High spirits were <i>not</i> the order of the day. This was serious business.	negated contrastive negated	serious / frivolous		AW/Mir/2/8
no X, Y			There were <i>no</i> boos for the old warlord, nor even for the Foreign Office , as we passed by. Venom was reserved for Downing Street - not that anyone <i>got</i> near	replacive	past/ present us / them		AW/Mir/2/9
X but not Y		extremists / Joe Public	"I know there are extremists here whose opinions I disagree with, <i>but</i> they could <i>not</i> summon this number of people. This is Joe Public. "	negated contrastive	extreme / moderate		AW/Mir/2/10

THE PEOPLE'S MARCH: SCOTLAND SPEAKS: 80,000 ; Huge crowd's historic Glasgow protest; [SCOTS Edition]

[ANNA ADAMS and AMY DEVINE](#). [Sunday Mirror](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 2

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People: [Blair, Tony](#), [Mosson, Provost Alex](#), [Swinney, John](#)
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Abstract (Document Summary)

At the front of the procession was a red open-top double-decker bus with No **War** On Iraq on its side. Behind it protesters including SNP leader John Swinney, former party leader Alex Salmond and Glasgow Lord [Provost Alex Mosson] held a large banner which read "Not In Our Name, Mr [Tony Blair]." Generations of families inched along the route with home-made placards. One protester - dressed as the grim reaper - waved one of many "No Blood For Oil" banners. Others marched with placards showing Tony Blair carrying an AK-47 under the message, "Make Tea Not **War**."

The Lord Provost of Glasgow, Alex Mosson, said: "We are saying quite clearly, and we are the voice of the majority, that we don't want this **war**. If Tony Blair can't hear our voices from the SECC, then he will hear them in Downing Street."

HEAD OF STEAM: SNP leader John Swinney, centre, at the front of the march through Glasgow; GATHERING OF THE MASSES: Protesters outside the SECC conference centre and, right, an anti- **war** placard on a Dumfries Burns statue

Full Text (1209 words)

(Copyright 2003 MGN LTD)

AN estimated 80,000 people marched through the streets of Glasgow yesterday in the biggest anti-**war** protest Scotland has ever seen.

A carnival atmosphere reigned as the crowds inched their way along the two-and-a-half-mile march route from Glasgow Green to surround Labour Party members at the Scottish Exhibition Centre.

But the message from the marchers who came from across Scotland and the North of England to be seen and heard was deadly serious.

Their massed ranks included union chiefs, church leaders and politicians.

But many were first-time marchers who for weeks had watched powerless as they felt themselves being railroaded

into **war** by their leaders - and were now seizing the chance to voice their concerns.

The turnout far exceeded the organisers' forecast. Although Strathclyde police estimated only 27,000 people had gathered near the exhibition conference centre, this did not include thousands of marchers who spilled onto the nearby streets.

The march had kicked off shortly after Prime Minister Tony Blair told Labour Party members at the centre that **war** must remain an option to rid the world of Saddam.

Protesters had planned to create a "Jericho Rumpus" at 2pm, when he was due to speak to party delegates.

But he took the platform nearly four hours early - a decision branded "cowardly" by Lord Provost Alex Mosson. Despite the bitter cold, crowds had begun to assemble in Glasgow Green before 10am. Dozens of police officers, including some on horseback, looked on as a police helicopter hovered above.

At 11am, a thunder of drum beats, blaring horns and whistles sounded to signal the start of the march.

It took more than three hours for the crowds to leave Glasgow Green - and some of the marchers due to speak outside the conference centre had to abandon their plans to walk through the city for fear that they would not finish in time.

At the front of the procession was a red open-top double-decker bus with No **War** On Iraq on its side. Behind it protesters including SNP leader John Swinney, former party leader Alex Salmond and Glasgow Lord Provost Alex Mosson held a large banner which read "Not In Our Name, Mr Blair." Generations of families inched along the route with home-made placards. One protester - dressed as the grim reaper - waved one of many "No Blood For Oil" banners. Others marched with placards showing Tony Blair carrying an AK-47 under the message, "Make Tea Not **War**."

Sinead Gahagan, 13, of Bishopbriggs near Glasgow was there with her parents, brother Niall, 16, and best-friend Louise Sweeney.

She said: "I don't want our country to bomb Iraq and all my schoolfriends feel the same. It's important to make a stand."

Louise added: "We have been learning about the **war** at school and the teachers have encouraged us to march.

"I feel really sad that we could be going to **war** and although I don't know much about politics it seems Tony Blair is just copying America - and that is not right." Hundreds of shoppers left busy Buchanan Street to join the crowd as it snaked towards George Square - the focal point of the city's past political protests.

Liam Nelson, 37, an occupational therapist from Edinburgh, said: "I wasn't sure whether to come today because I'd never protested against anything in my life. But the situation is just too important. Thousands of innocent Iraqis will be killed and I can't just sit back and ignore it any longer."

Claire McCartney, 19, one of hundreds of city centre workers who spent their lunch breaks marching, added: "I never dreamed I'd ever join in such a thing, but I felt it my duty. I'm not a political person, but these are drastic times and it calls for drastic measures."

An estimated 1,500 officers manned the streets. Yet despite the crowds, police reported only four minor incidents. Later as the rally got under way in conference car park, the carnival atmosphere continued with jugglers, bagpipers and drummers and communal singing.

Speakers called for the masses to use their vote on May 1 and oust Tony Blair. The resounding message to the PM was "Not in our name".

The Lord Provost of Glasgow, Alex Mosson, said: "We are saying quite clearly, and we are the voice of the

majority, that we don't want this **war**. If Tony Blair can't hear our voices from the SECC, then he will hear them in Downing Street."

SNP leader John Swinney added: "Nine out of 10 Scots are opposed to this **war**, but Tony Blair has been in that conference hall preparing for **war** while we have been marching for peace."

Mr Swinney said Britain was maintaining its own weapons of mass destruction at the Faslane base on the Clyde, less than 20 miles from where the rally was being held.

He added: "It is immoral that the Chancellor has put aside pounds 1.75 billion to fight a **war** against Iraq when he should be spending money on the **war** against poverty. Tony Blair tells us this is going to be a short **war**. This will not be a short **war** and we will have to live with the instability it will create in the Middle East."

Firebrand socialist Tommy Sheridan said: "Even though Blair has decided not to do the honourable thing and listen to the public today, the message could not be louder.

"The people of Scotland do not want **war**. People across the globe do not want **war**. Enough is enough - we will demonstrate until the threat of **war** is stopped."

STUC general secretary Bill Speirs said: "**War** will not advance the cause of democracy and progress in Iraq. Instead, it will kill many innocent people in the interests of big business, especially US oil."

Veteran Labour MP Tam Dalyell added: "If a serviceman or woman on HMS Ark Royal, HMS Ocean or in the Royal Scots Dragoon Guards or any other unit, saw pictures of their fellow countrymen protesting in such numbers against what they were being asked to do, wouldn't they ask themselves, 'Why should I risk my life'?

"The pictures of massed crowds in Hyde Park or Glasgow will make them think."

David Mackenzie, of the Scottish Coalition for Justice Not **War**, which organised the march, said: "I am honoured that the people of Scotland have united to show their disgust at the prospect of **war**."

"The demonstration has been a wonderful success. Hopefully it will be the first of many."

Blair is pushing for **war** and has not consulted the people. He is drumming up hysteria to scare us afraid but the true picture is much wider
AID WORKER DENISE DEENEY, 35 It's extreme to kill Iraqi civilians and children
THERAPIST

LIAM NELSON, 37 We have a duty to stop the **war** and promote global peace. There are better ways to achieve a better world
PREGNANT CAROLINE AUTESTIA, 24 We don't think this **war** is justified.

It is all about oil rather than the reasons we are being given.
STUDENT ANNA LASHTABEG, 23

[Illustration]

Caption: HEAD OF STEAM: SNP leader John Swinney, centre, at the front of the march through Glasgow;
GATHERING OF THE MASSES: Protesters outside the SECC conference centre and, right, an anti- **war** placard on a Dumfries Burns statue

THE PEOPLE'S MARCH: BIANCA JAGGER'S VIEW ; Ms Dynamite blasts Blair for 'lying and deceiving us'; [3 STAR Edition]

[BIANCA JAGGER. Sunday Mirror.](#) London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003.](#) pg. 4

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People: [Jagger, Bianca](#), [Blair, Tony](#)

Author(s): [BIANCA JAGGER](#)

Section: *News*

Publication title: [Sunday Mirror.](#) London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003.](#) pg. 4

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Abstract (Document Summary)

I OPPOSE the **war** and sanctions against Iraq because I have seen first hand the ravaging effects wars and sanctions have upon the most vulnerable segments of Iraqi society.

Full Text (199 words)

(Copyright 2003 MGN LTD)

I OPPOSE the **war** and sanctions against Iraq because I have seen first hand the ravaging effects wars and sanctions have upon the most vulnerable segments of Iraqi society.

Last month I travelled to Iraq and saw for myself the appalling effect of two wars, 12 years of UN security council sanctions and the impact of the Oil for Food programme.

There is clear evidence that sanctions have brought Iraq to the brink of a humanitarian disaster, with the water and sanitation system on the verge of collapse - a system that depends on an electric supply crippled during the 1991 air strikes.

During my visit to the hospitals in Baghdad, I saw emaciated children suffering from preventable diseases and malignant illnesses which can't be treated because many drugs are unavailable due to UN sanctions.

When George Bush and Tony Blair talk about a 'regime change' they claim to care about the welfare and fate of Iraqi people.

But how will they justify half a million casualties, up to two million refugees and five million people living in dire conditions?

[Illustration]

Caption: SEA OF ANGER: Hundreds of thousands pack into Hyde Park for Britain's biggest ever peacetime rally

Protest Virgins

Sunday Mirror, Feb 16 2007, page 6

THEY were marching all over the world, and David and Gill James joined them early on a frosty London street.

Two more among the millions...two more who would never have believed it a while ago had you told them they would be there at the front of some demo.

"Gracious, look at us, we're not exactly hot-headed anarchists," said Gill, 52, wrapped in her sensible tartan scarf. "But there comes a time when you have to say, 'Dear me, we really must be heard.'"

They were middle-class, middle-aged, politely-mannered and jolly angry.

On a Saturday afternoon they might usually have been doing the shopping, but instead they had packed their ramblers' backpacks, taken the 6.45am train from Birmingham, and become a part of the biggest tide of mass protest that has ever swept through the capital.

This was the day of the People's Revolt...all ages, all classes, all shades of politics, all kinds of religion, from all over the country.

David, 48, a suburban vicar, had even found his old CND badge. He never thought he would need that again. Now it was pinned to his anorak with pride, like a veteran shows off his campaign medals.

"I thought my marching days were behind me, and Gill has never been on a protest in her life before, but we never had any doubts that we should be here.

"The **war** is the issue. But it's more fundamental than that - we're on the streets because we're a democracy and we find that we have a Government who simply won't listen to us." It hasn't been total agreement in the James' household, though. Their student son Chris, 22, is a part-time soldier in the TA, liable to be called up for action and in favour of **war** against Iraq.

"There have been some heated arguments round the dinner table," Gill said. "I can speak as a mother. I want to see this **war** stopped so that my son and so many others don't have to risk their lives."

From the time the first marchers began arriving to the moment when the columns of people filling the streets finally started to move off towards Hyde Park, it was a bone-chilling three-hour wait.

Yet it was always good-humoured. "Do have a little port," said Stephanie Lucas, a 43-year-old personnel manager, from Hampshire. Slowly, at just four or five paces a minute, we edged along the route from Euston in the direction of Piccadilly.

"At this rate, we should be there by Wednesday," Stephanie's a myriad of banners...Lawyers Against The **War**, Trades Councils Against The **War**, Gay Collectives Against The **War**. But most important of all were the people of Middle Britain against the **war**. Young families wheeling pushchairs, pensioners in hiking boots, couples who looked as if they were out for an afternoon stroll. "I hate to say this, but Tony Blair has let us down, we're bitterly disappointed," said Rhona Seviour, headteacher of a secondary school in Stevenage. "I remember that day when he walked into Downing Street and made all those promises, about a new Britain and a new spirit of unity among the people, and I really believed him. Now, I don't think I have ever felt so betrayed by any politician."

Rhona and her husband Chris, 54, and their 14-year-old son William, were on one of the 1,000 chartered coaches that brought the marchers into London.

"I believed all that rubbish that Labour gave us when they came in, all that stuff about an ethical foreign policy," said Chris.

"How foolish I feel now. We elected leaders who are prepared to take us into a **war** with a first strike, without UN backing.

"I cannot justify to myself a **war** that will cost countless lives. So that's why we're here."

Another mother is flanked by her teenage sons, all three hoisting anti-**war** placards. She's a civil servant, so she's forbidden from speaking, but Raoul Lundberg, 17, and his brother Henrik, 15, voice the determination that brought them down from Coventry before dawn.

"I would have been at the cinema," said Raoul. "I would have been having a lie-in," said Henrik.

Suddenly, for two youngsters in Blair's Britain, there were more crucial matters to occupy their weekend, like a fear for the future.

"If we weren't here today, then it would make it seem as if we agreed with the politicians," Raoul said. "I don't know anyone, not one person, who ever argues in favour of going to **war**, and yet the Government are just taking us into it."

Avril Lees, 24, from Windsor, Berks, has a two-year-old in her arms, and a four-year-old daughter clutching at her coat. "It's because of the little ones that I'm here," she says. "I grew up in an easy time. We never had much to protest about. But now I'm very, very scared. I wonder if my children will be given the chance to grow up at all."

Sunday Mirror 16th Feb 2003, p6
Protest Virgins

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/ purpose	Where ?
not x but Y		hot-headed anarchists / really must be heard	"Gracious, look at us, we're <i>not</i> exactly hot-headed anarchists ," said Gill, 52, wrapped in her sensible tartan scarf. " <i>But</i> there comes a time when you have to say, 'Dear me, we really must be heard. '"	negated contrastive	extremist / moderate sensible / rash irrational / rational unprincipled / principled	Differentiating themselves from anarchists but at the same time wanting to perform the same action	AW/SMr/6/1
x but instead y		doing the shopping / become part of the biggest tide of mass protest that has ever....	On a Saturday afternoon they might usually have been doing the shopping , <i>but instead</i> they had packed their rambler's backpacks, taken the 6.45am train from Birmingham, and become a part of the biggest tide of mass protest that has ever swept through the capital	Replacive contrastive?	normal / abnormal usual/unusual ordinary / extraordinary individual / mass dull/ spectacular	Used to emphasise again that these are 'normal' people taking extraordinary action, playing on fact that Saturday is a usual shopping day. Shows how the mass is actually made up of individual human beings. It is called a replacive supposedly because it replaces what would usually be expected for those people on that particular day.	AW/SMr/6/2
never x now Y		he would need that again / pinned to his anorak	David, 48, a suburban vicar, had even found his old CND badge. He <i>never thought he would need that again</i> . <i>Now it was pinned to his anorak with pride</i> , like a veteran shows off his campaign medals.	adverbial contrast	then/now won't / will passive / active useless / useful	Comparing past and present actions. Passiveness become revitalised. The badges have moved from being useless to useful	AW/SMr/6/3
x yet y		bone-chilling three-hour wait / always good	From the time the first marchers began arriving to the moment when the columns of people	concessive	frustrated / content	Showing how potential for frustration nullified by humour, presumably to	AW/SMr/6/4

		humoured	filling the streets finally started to move off towards Hyde Park, it was a bone-chilling three-hour wait. <i>Yet it was always good-humoured.</i>			show they are 'nice' people, and not going to cause trouble.	
x now y		believed him / betrayed	"I remember that day when he walked into Downing Street and made all those promises, about a new Britain and a new spirit of unity among the people, and I really believed him. <i>Now, I don't think I have ever felt so betrayed by any politician.</i> "	adverbial contrast	then / now trust / betrayal	Speaks for itself with the superordinates!	AW/SMr/6/5
x now y		believed / foolish	" I believed all that rubbish that Labour gave us when they came in, all that stuff about an ethical foreign policy," said Chris. " How foolish I feel <i>now.</i> "	adverbial contrast	then / now belief / cynicism clever / foolish	Similar to above, except the betrayal is replaced by how stupid the believer feels.	AW/SMr/6/6
not x yet y		not one / government	"I don't know anyone, not one person, who ever argues in favour of going to war, and <i>yet</i> the Government are just taking us into it. "	concessive	against / for us / them	Showing how government seem to be taking on the people and being arrogant by not listening to them	AW/SMr/6/7
			"I grew up in an easy time. We never had much to protest about. <i>But now</i> I'm very, very scared. I wonder if my children will be given the chance to grow up at all."	adverbial contrastive	then / now safe / unsafe unafraid / afraid passive / active easy / difficult	Nostalgic about the past – how times have changed. Contrasting easy, calm, past life with present full of worries and having to combat them	AW/SMr/6/8

THE PEOPLE'S MARCH: UNITED AGAINST WAR; [3 STAR Edition]

[Sunday Mirror](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 6

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People: [Hussein, Saddam](#)

Section: *News*

Publication title: [Sunday Mirror](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 6

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Abstract (Document Summary)

[Saddam Hussein] is a despot and something must be done but this is not the way. The Iraqis have suffered enough. Bombing them again would be obscene. HARRIET HALL, 54, CLAPHAM

We're on the streets because Britain is a democracy and we have a Government who simply won't listen to us. Gill has never been on a march before in her life. DAVID, 48, AND GILL, 52, JAMES, BIRMINGHAM

19, LONDON There are plenty of other dictators who oppress their people. It is hypocritical of the West to attack Iraq after selling them weapons in the 80s. BARBARA WHITE, 57, OXFORD Sometimes there is justification for **war**, but I've yet to see any credible reason this time round. There has been no effort to look at the alternatives. NORBERT FOGARASI, 29, EAST LONDON The US feels that it can bully the rest of the world. And the Prime Minister is putting Britain in the shadow of America. I am leaving the Labour Party. SARAH RACKHAM, 53, BATTERSEA

Full Text (554 words)

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I don't believe America are acting in anyone's interest except their own. Saddam Hussein doesn't pose any kind of significant threat. ALEX BURNHAM, 17, CRICKLEWOOD

The priorities are all wrong. If the money being spent on destruction went on relief of poverty then violence in the world would decrease. FRANCIS BUXTON, 61, BIRMINGHAM

Tony Blair was elected to listen to the people so he should keep his promise and listen to the people that have come here today. PHILLIPA HILLIARD, 52, SURREY

Saddam is a despot and something must be done but this is not the way. The Iraqis have suffered enough. Bombing them again would be obscene. HARRIET HALL, 54, CLAPHAM

Britain should never make the first strike - it is immoral. Much more effort should be put into defusing the situation. MADELINE BARNES, 68, SOMERSET

We should not go to **war** without a UN resolution. Blair is doing what Bush wants and is not listening to the

British people.EMILY

PERRYMAN, 20, LEICS

It seems to me that nobody has yet proved that Saddam Hussein has actually got any weapons of mass destruction.JO NICHOL, 18, BURY

My brother was in the last Gulf **War**, and I remember watching it on television and being terrified for him. He too is against another **war**.BENJAMIN FINDLAY, 19, MANCHESTER

I'm tempted to change my nationality to Flemish or French or even German. There is a real danger that Muslims over here will suffer at the hands of whites.MICHELLE HANNING, 35, BRISTOL

We're on the streets because Britain is a democracy and we have a Government who simply won't listen to us. Gill has never been on a march before in her life.DAVID, 48, AND GILL, 52, JAMES, BIRMINGHAM

Violence is never the way to go forward, negotiation is always best option. There is no need to shed innocent blood.MARGARET

OPPONG, 48,

BATTERSEA

They need to take out Saddam, but they should not bomb Iraq as a lot of innocent people over there would suffer.MUJA AITUM,

19, LONDON There are plenty of other dictators who oppress their people. It is hypocritical of the West to attack Iraq after selling them weapons in the 80s.BARBARA WHITE, 57, OXFORD Sometimes there is justification for **war**, but I've yet to see any credible reason this time round. There has been no effort to look at the alternatives.NORBERT FOGARASI, 29, EAST LONDON The US feels that it can bully the rest of the world. And the Prime Minister is putting Britain in the shadow of America. I am leaving the Labour Party.SARAH RACKHAM, 53, BATTERSEA

George Bush is using September 11 as an excuse for this **war**. He's trying to gain money and power Everybody knows it's all about oil.TOM CULLEY, 19, MANCHESTER

War is not the answer, it is not the way to get rid of a tyrant. There are so many other tyrants in this world, where does it stop? There has to be a more intelligent solution.PETER WARREN, 56 AND GILL WHITE 64, BANBURY

Three coachloads came from Bury so there was a huge support for what's happening here. I think it proves that most of the British public are against the **war**.FRANCA WADE 18, BURY-ST-EDMONDS

There is a really strong feeling that there is not enough evidence to go to **war**. It's time to stand up and be counted.NARESH SHARMA, 33, CENTRAL LONDON

Not enough: VERDICT; [3 STAR Edition]

[CHRIS McLAUGHLIN Political Editor](#). [Sunday Mirror](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 8

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People: [Blair, Tony](#)

Author(s): [CHRIS McLAUGHLIN Political Editor](#)

Section: *News*

Publication title: [Sunday Mirror](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 8

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Abstract (Document Summary)

Mr [Tony Blair] had a mammoth task: To convince a sceptical party and public that it is right to drag Britain into a **war** on the coat tails of the United States. He failed. The theatrical tricks were there. Theatrical tricks did him no good sombre tone, the compassionate look when admitting that innocents would be killed, the personal plea to be understood, the pleading hand gestures.

Full Text (224 words)

(Copyright 2003 MGN LTD)

IT WAS a familiar performance. The message from Tony Blair to Labour members in Glasgow and the nation was a characteristic "trust me".

By the time he left the hall with only a short, dutiful standing ovation from delegates behind him, he could not be sure they would.

It was the most important speech of his premiership. And it may well turn out to mark a turning point in it.

Mr Blair had a mammoth task: To convince a sceptical party and public that it is right to drag Britain into a **war** on the coat tails of the United States. He failed. The theatrical tricks were there. Theatrical tricks did him no good sombre tone, the compassionate look when admitting that innocents would be killed, the personal plea to be understood, the pleading hand gestures.

But the substance was missing.

With no clear evidence of Saddam's stockpile of weapons of mass destruction to back up the case for **war**, Mr Blair decided instead to move not just the goalposts, but the whole playing field.

Military action against Saddam is now a moral issue. In a message to the marchers he said: "I do not seek unpopularity as a badge of honour. But sometimes it is the price of leadership and the cost of conviction."

His remarks could well turn out to be prophetic...

STOTTY ON SUNDAY: Blair marches blindly to war; [3 STAR Edition]

[Richard Stott](#), [Sunday Mirror](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 14

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People: [Blair, Tony](#), [Hussein, Saddam](#)

Author(s): [Richard Stott](#)

Section: *Features*

Publication title: [Sunday Mirror](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 14

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Abstract (Document Summary)

Yet [Tony Blair] gives us certainty where no certainty exists. He preaches **war**, but his reasons for doing so remain confused. He holds up circumstantial evidence as proof, informed conjecture as fact.

Tony Blair may be right, but we can't be certain he's right. And committing Britain to killing, maiming and starving thousands in the name of morality and freedom means we must be certain. We have to be convinced that **war** genuinely is the last resort, and not the convenient option. Osama bin Laden probably has got us in his sights. He probably has formed an unholy alliance of sorts with [Saddam Hussein] or North African terrorists or both.

He must pray for a quick victory, the toppling of Saddam and occupation of Iraq. That's why Bush and Blair talk up every small breach of the UN resolution, every bit of evidence of Saddam's involvement with bin Laden, even if it is piddling or recycled. They must have **war**. They have postured and talked themselves into it, just as Europe's leaders did in 1914.

Full Text (560 words)

(Copyright 2003 MGN LTD)

NO wonder Tony Blair looks haunted...he has a lot to look haunted about. The **war** on terror has become the terror of **war**.

Tanks roll at Heathrow, the RAF patrol the skies over London and public confidence in his Government's ability to control events is drifting away. It is the Prime Minister's darkest hour yet.

Europe is hopelessly split over what to do about Saddam Hussein, NATO is on the verge of disintegration and the stock market continues to plummet so much so that the rules governing insurance and pension funds have been changed to make sure they stay solvent. Nonetheless the savings of every family in Britain have been hit hard.

In the United States the Federal Emergency Agency has told its citizens to prepare for life after a terrorist attack, to seal up windows and stockpile food

And we are still not sure who the enemy is, or where he is.

Britain may be prepared to punch its weight, but we are punching blind, in a room where we cannot see our

opponent or even if he is there.

Yet Blair gives us certainty where no certainty exists. He preaches **war**, but his reasons for doing so remain confused. He holds up circumstantial evidence as proof, informed conjecture as fact.

The world's leaders play with the meanings of words and resolutions, dancing on pinheads all the way to the edge of the abyss.

Hans Blix's reports can mean what you want them to mean. All we can do is march in protest, however hopeless, about the speed at which the world is descending into chaos.

Yesterday many thousands did just that.

Tony Blair may be right, but we can't be certain he's right. And committing Britain to killing, maiming and starving thousands in the name of morality and freedom means we must be certain. We have to be convinced that **war** genuinely is the last resort, and not the convenient option. Osama bin Laden probably has got us in his sights. He probably has formed an unholy alliance of sorts with Saddam or North African terrorists or both.

But would he have done so without the threats of **war** from Britain? Have we created the very thing we sought to avoid?

If so, Blair will still plough on. To back down now, without big concessions from Iraq, would be political suicide.

He must pray for a quick victory, the toppling of Saddam and occupation of Iraq. That's why Bush and Blair talk up every small breach of the UN resolution, every bit of evidence of Saddam's involvement with bin Laden, even if it is piddling or recycled. They must have **war**. They have postured and talked themselves into it, just as Europe's leaders did in 1914.

Uncertainty, inaction and bickering have already inflicted the social and economic damage to Britain the Government was so anxious to prevent, one victory we have handed to the terrorists.

The tank gun barrels were meant to be trained down bin Laden's cave and along Saddam's gilded palace corridors, not Heathrow's runways.

The course of **war**, like true love, never did run smooth. Allied leaders in 1914 said it would be all over by Christmas. So it was, four years and millions dead later.

That too, we were told, was a **war** about morality and freedom.

Sunday Mirror 16th Feb 2003, p14
Two million people put their case

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/ purpose	Where?
X at the same time Y		moral case for war in Iraq / reported two million...has made that case	There is a moral case for war against Iraq , Tony Blair said yesterday. <i>At the same a reported two million people in London and many millions more throughout the world sent him a message loud, clear and unambiguous. Neither he nor George Bush has made that case.</i>	coordinated simultaneity	for / against moral / immoral them / us few / many		AW/Mir/14/1
X but nothing like Y		protest marches / yesterday's turnout	Britain is used to protest marches , <i>but we have seen nothing like yesterday's turnout</i>	negated contrastive	past / present small / large		AW/Mir/14/2
X and Y	left / right (centre) old/young (middle-aged) rich / poor lords / ladies ladies / gentlemen bosses / workers	students / housewives	They came from left, centre and right . They were old, middle-aged and young. Rich and poor. Lords, ladies, gentlemen. Students, housewives, bosses and workers from every sphere of British industry. <i>And they spoke with one voice.</i>	coordinated	left / right old / young rich / poor lords / ladies ladies / gentlemen bosses / workers		AW/Mir/14/3

X but not Y		pay lip service / change his mind	Tony Blair will pay lip service to the People's Protest <i>but</i> it will <i>not change his mind</i>	negated contrastive	physical / mental illusion / reality		AW/Mir/14/4
X not Y, X		cobbled-together student thesis..... desperate argument.../ moral high ground	We cannot go to war, and ask our own soldiers to die, based on a cobbled-together student thesis, a few shell cases and disputed evidence about missile launch sites . That is <i>not</i> the moral high ground . That smacks of a vain attempt to shore up an increasingly desperate argument by power politicians beginning to feel the heat from the people who put them there .	negator	immoral / moral amateur / professional desperate / calm		AW/Mir/14/5
X but not Y		evil...better off without him / moral case	The marchers yesterday do not doubt that Saddam is evil . They do not doubt the world would be better off without him . <i>But</i> the moral case must be proved to be just, right, honest and unanswerable . And in all conscience it has <i>not been made</i> .	negated contrastive	evil / good immoral / moral dishonest / honest		AW/Mir/14/6

Lorraine Davidson's column: He hears but does he listen?; [SCOTS Edition]

[Lorraine Davidson](#), [Sunday Mirror](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#), pg. 31

WHEN Labour swept to power in 1997 it promised us a bonfire of the country's many quangos that had been set up to give old Tories extra pocket money with which to pay their servants. But in the post- election excitement no-one could find any matches.

Now it looks as if a spectacular bonfire will be lit - and stacked not with Conservative pay cheques but Labour Party membership cards.

I have no doubt Tony Blair believes that **war** is the only way to disarm Saddam Hussein.

Equally, I don't doubt he couldn't care less about the people's obvious concerns - as expressed in yesterday's marches - or the majority view in his party.

In fact, such is Blair's contempt for activists who spend too much time in CLP meetings that he is likely to believe he must be doing the right thing if they are in such strong disagreement with him.

He will not have had a sleepless night in Scot-land on Friday because he had to shift the timing of his speech to the party faithful in Glasgow yesterday morning.

By appearing early he avoided the risk of thousands of demonstrators drowning out his plea for backing over the Iraq crisis.

Yesterday's demos were not made by a ragbag of weirdos but by ordinary men, women and children disgusted by what the country is about to do in their name.

Among their ranks were many Labour politicians saddened by their leader's position.

Some Labour leaders of the past would have been tormented by the idea of avoiding their own party supporters. But Blair seemed relieved to get in and out of a Labour conference as quickly as possible.

The demonstrators he saw in Glasgow - and the sound of Labour Party cards being ripped up in con- stituencies across the country - will do little to make him question the wisdom of bombing Baghdad without a new UN resolution.

Meanwhile, as he arrived in Glasgow, the Chancellor Gordon Brown stressed how angry he is about how people are saying he might not be standing shoulder-to-shoulder with Blair over Iraq.

Brown is a much better Labour audience-wooer than Blair and that he used his speech to tell the party faithful to rally behind their leader in his time of need means his old mate Tony owes him big time.

But Brown was also smart enough to call on the party to back the "international efforts" being made by Blair - ie, not the mad go-it- alone with-Bush scheme.

Whatever his ambitions, Gordon hardly needs to deprive Blair of support, however - the Premier is doing a great job of hurting himself.

Gordon needs only to sit and wait, as - considering how things stand this weekend - it looks as if his time is coming.

Unless Blair starts to heed some sane voices instead of his Texan cowboy friend, he will be out of Downing Street without so much as a flat in Bristol to fall back on

[Illustration]

Caption: BEATING ABOUT THE BUSH: Blair damages himself

Sunday Telegraph

One million march against war There were politicians, playwrights, leading names from showbusiness - and hundreds of thousands of ordinary Britons, all intent on delivering a stark message to Tony Blair

[RAJEEV SYAL ANDREW ALDERSON AND CATHERINE MILNER. The Sunday Telegraph.](#) London (UK): Feb 16, 2003. pg. 02

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People: [Blair, Tony](#), [Jackson, Jesse Jr](#), [Bush, George](#), [Hussein, Saddam](#)
Author(s): [RAJEEV SYAL ANDREW ALDERSON AND CATHERINE MILNER](#)
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Abstract (Document Summary)

At Hyde Park Corner, Mo Mowlam, the former Labour minister, attacked her former colleagues. "Things can only get better if we stick together. Keep it peaceful. Because being peaceful, people will have no excuse not to listen. [Tony Blair] and the Government have [boxed] themselves into a right corner," she said.

The Rev [Jesse Jackson] said he had come on the march to show President Bush and Mr Blair that there was unity among people across the world against the war. "I am here to show support for the British people, most of whom recognise that war is not the way to relieve the Iraqi people of their suffering," he said.

He decided to demonstrate against Mr Blair's plans for a war because of his belief that President [George Bush] was misguided and dangerous. "We are being rushed into a war. The British people are being dictated to by a small minority that support Bush in middle America. We are our own people and should choose for ourselves," Mr [Jonathan Callow] said.

Full Text (1073 words)

Copyright Daily Telegraph Feb 16, 2003

BRITAIN witnessed its largest demonstration yesterday when an estimated one million protesters took to the streets of London to oppose the looming war against Iraq.

The centre of the capital was paralysed by noisy but peaceful people from many political backgrounds. Former members of the Armed Forces, clergymen and young children all joined the march to Hyde Park.

On a bright but chilly day, thousands of demonstrators carried banners with messages such as "No War On Iraq" and "Make Tea, Not War". The crowds at the two starting points on the Embankment and Gower Street were so large that the police began the march early for safety reasons.

When the two strands finally met in Piccadilly Circus, there were deafening cheers from the thousands who had

gathered around the statue of Eros. Others sounded their horns and banged drums.

Large peace **protests** were also held all over the country and around the world. Up to 60,000 protesters gathered in Glasgow and up to 90,000 in Dublin, while Italy had the biggest **protest**, with an estimated two million peace campaigners on the streets of Rome.

Those taking part in the London **protest** included the Rev Jesse Jackson, the black former presidential hopeful, Ken Livingstone, the Mayor of London, and leading names from the world of showbusiness, including Harold Pinter, the playwright, and Harry Enfield, the comedian.

Some organisers from the Stop the War Coalition claimed that two million people had taken part in the **protest** - nearly five times the 400,000-plus crowd that took part in the Countryside March last September.

Officially, the police said that there were at least 750,000 demonstrators, but this did not include those who had gone direct to Hyde Park. Officers privately said that the total appeared certain to have reached at least one million.

As the march reached its peak, there were three arrests - two men were arrested for public order offences and another man for possession of an offensive weapon. More than 4,500 police were on duty in London and all leave was cancelled.

Charles Kennedy, the Liberal Democrat leader, was among the protesters. He called on the Prime Minister to recall the House of Commons when it is in recess next week. "This is the riskiest moment for Britain since Suez," he said.

At Hyde Park Corner, Mo Mowlam, the former Labour minister, attacked her former colleagues. "Things can only get better if we stick together. Keep it peaceful. Because being peaceful, people will have no excuse not to listen. Tony Blair and the Government have [boxed] themselves into a right corner," she said.

The Rev Jackson said he had come on the march to show President Bush and Mr Blair that there was unity among people across the world against the war. "I am here to show support for the British people, most of whom recognise that war is not the way to relieve the Iraqi people of their suffering," he said.

Bill Morris, the Unison trade union leader, warned that the anti-war movement could galvanise public opinion against the Prime Minister. "The anti-war movement could be significant. We all know what happened with the Vietnam War in the US. Blair needs to be careful," he said.

Outside the Ministry of Defence in Whitehall, a group of Gulf war veterans joined the march.

Brian Matthews, 40, a former sergeant in the Parachute Regiment, said he believed the last Gulf war had been justified because Saddam had invaded Kuwait. This time, however, he said he could see no reason for declaring war other than a quest for oil.

"We chose not to finish the job last time when we had a chance. This time we are going in there to save the world economy, not the people of Iraq," he said.

Many "hard-Left" groups dominated the front of the march: most of the stewards surrounding the Rev Jackson admitted to being members of the Socialist Workers Party.

There were, however, tens of thousands of "moderate" protesters. Jonathan Callow, 57, a businessman from Chelsea, west London, said he has been on only one other demonstration, when he marched with the Countryside Alliance last year.

He decided to demonstrate against Mr Blair's plans for a war because of his belief that President Bush was misguided and dangerous. "We are being rushed into a war. The British people are being dictated to by a small minority that support Bush in middle America. We are our own people and should choose for ourselves," Mr

Callow said.

Mary Chillingford, 48, a housewife from Guildford, Surrey, said that she had also been on the Countryside March last year. She carried a banner declaring "Hands Off Iraq" and said that she was demonstrating because she did not believe this was a just enough war for her son, a serving soldier, to die in.

"Saddam is not threatening us. The Government should spend the money on British jobs, hospitals and the rural economy," she said. "Britain is falling apart, and what do we do? We send troops to kill a man on the other side of the world. It's madness."

A number of well-known musicians, including Ms Dynamite, joined the march. Damon Albarn, the lead singer of Blur, said that the march had brought together people from all walks of life. "Everyone is here: members of the Labour Party, the Tory party and quite a few

Liberals. None of us can see a reason to start a war and the rest of the world thinks it's stupidity," he said.

Some marchers were chanting "Tony Blair: murderer. George Bush: murderer." Others shouted "One, two, three, four, we don't want your bloody war."

Dozens of Islamic demonstrators waved Palestinian flags. They chanted: "Destroy Israel", much to the embarrassment of Mr Livingstone, who was standing next to them.

A group of 20 actors and writers gathered outside the Duke of York Theatre in St Martin's Lane before joining the march. Emma Thompson, who was accompanied by her actor boyfriend Greg Wise, described the war as "dishonest and senseless".

In contrast to the peace march, just one man mounted a lone **protest** outside the Iraqi section of the Jordanian embassy in central London, holding a placard proclaiming his support of military action to bring down Saddam Hussein.

Jacques More, 44, a writer from Croydon, south London, said: "War is a last resort and it's a necessary resort when evil dictators rule and murder their own people."

On the march for world peace, my kids' future - and an eyeful of totty Some came for sex, others for chocolate, but we all wanted to stop the war, writes Harry Enfield

Harry Enfield. [The Sunday Telegraph](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 03

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Abstract (Document Summary)

Everyone marching agreed, though, with one thing: it is totally wrong to go to war with Iraq. America created a monster by supporting Saddam Hussein in his war against Iran in the 1980s and now it has to live with him. During the war with Iran, the United Nations proposed motions condemning Iraq but America used its veto to block them.

Then we had the Gulf war, when the Allies took over Saudi Arabia which led to the growth of al-Qaeda which led to September 11 and so on. I have absolutely no doubt that America and Britain don't know what they are taking on. I don't trust George Bush and Tony Blair. I would rather put my faith in the United Nations and let it decide what to do next.

Full Text (499 words)

Copyright Daily Telegraph Feb 16, 2003

MAKE LURVE, not war. Once I read that 70 per cent of yesterday's marchers were going to be female, I decided it was too good an opportunity to miss. I totted along to see the totty.

I am not being sexist about this. I know an American girl who went on the march yesterday because she wanted to pick up hippies. I don't understand it at all, but she genuinely finds those evil-smelling traveller sorts attractive.

You can't beat a **protest** march. I love a good walk whether it's through London with 999,999 others to oppose a war or following a hunt with a handful of friends deep in the Cornish countryside.

I joined the Countryside March in September last year because I hate everyone banning things. If it is cruel to hunt foxes, let's sort out the problem when we stop killing people.

I don't like the Government continually interfering in other people's lives. I have never hunted - and I have never played golf - but I don't want to ban either of them.

I peeled off from the Countryside March after an hour or so because people recognised me, and the kids started whingeing, but we made our point. Yesterday I travelled from my home in west London to the peace march with my wife Lucy, three young children and some friends.

I wanted to stand up and be counted. When I was growing up we were all lefties, but now the young are not really interested in politics anymore.

It was different from the Countryside March but just as impressive. This time, though, I didn't see a single Barbour, a single pair of Wellington boots or a single person who looked as though he had downed a fine bottle of wine the previous night (other than myself, but it was Valentine's Day).

Everyone marching agreed, though, with one thing: it is totally wrong to go to war with Iraq. America created a monster by supporting Saddam Hussein in his war against Iran in the 1980s and now it has to live with him. During the war with Iran, the United Nations proposed motions condemning Iraq but America used its veto to block them.

Then we had the Gulf war, when the Allies took over Saudi Arabia which led to the growth of al-Qaeda which led to September 11 and so on. I have absolutely no doubt that America and Britain don't know what they are taking on. I don't trust George Bush and Tony Blair. I would rather put my faith in the United Nations and let it decide what to do next.

I bribed my children with chocolate to go on the march yesterday even though the kids, who are all under six, put on their "this is worse than Mass" look. But I hope one day they will thank me for taking them on it, especially if the march helps to obtain its objective: peace.

Harry Enfield was speaking to Andrew Alderson

Give war a chance

[The Sunday Telegraph](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 22

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Abstract (Document Summary)

The Prime Minister was right to say yesterday that - if, hypothetically, the marchers got their way - "there are consequences paid in blood for that decision too. But these [Iraqi] victims will never be seen. They will never feature on our TV screens or inspire millions to take to the streets. But they will exist nonetheless". Iraqi exiles were conspicuous by their absence from yesterday's **protest**. Their position was well expressed by a letter in Thursday's Guardian from Dr B Khalaf, an Iraqi locum consultant in London, who wrote: "My family and almost all Iraqi families will feel hurt and anger when Saddam's media shows on the TV, with great happiness, parts of Saturday's demonstration in London. But where were you when thousands of Iraqi people were killed by Saddam's forces at the end of the Gulf war to crush the uprising?"

What the opponents of war must remember is that the prospective conflict in the Gulf is not about America's financial ambitions. Nor would it be a war on Iraq. It would be a war on Saddam. In the past 12 years, the Iraqi dictator has shown that he has nothing but contempt for international law, for UN resolutions, for UN inspectors, for the liberties of his own people. He has defied repeated demands that he account for lethal weaponry which could cause unimaginable horrors. At the same time, he has strengthened his connections with terrorist groups. The [Bush] administration's campaign to prove a link between Saddam and the events of September 11 is politically understandable but is a distraction from a greater argument. The point is not that Saddam and Osama bin Laden are allies - they are not - but that the Iraqi dictator, a deceitful, tyrannous psychopath, has shown time and again that he is willing to use any means at his disposal to harm his enemies and to aid terrorist groups which would do the same. Are those who marched through London yesterday truly confident that Saddam will not pass weapons of mass destruction to such groups if he is able so to do? How can they possibly believe that the answer is yet more inspections, yet more delay, yet more postponement of the moment of reckoning?

Full Text (1148 words)

Copyright Daily Telegraph Feb 16, 2003

If readers find the headline above familiar, it is because it appeared above a leading article published by this newspaper in October 2001. A week after the launch of Allied raids on Afghanistan, we argued that those claiming that the campaign would lead to a protracted, pointless slaughter were wrong. The rapid collapse of the Taliban removed one of the world's most barbarous regimes, and one theologically committed to harbouring terrorists. Its extinction was an unalloyed good, especially for the Afghan people.

A year and a half later, Britain and America stand on the verge of another war, against a regime with a much longer record of sustaining and equipping terrorist groups. Again, the likely military campaign faces a

cacophony of opposition: the thousands who marched through London yesterday to **protest** against war on Iraq were making exactly the same case as was advanced during the Afghan conflict and, in 1999, the Kosovo war. They had, and have, every right to express their dissent. But the cost of that right is to face scrutiny themselves.

The Prime Minister was right to say yesterday that - if, hypothetically, the marchers got their way - "there are consequences paid in blood for that decision too. But these [Iraqi] victims will never be seen. They will never feature on our TV screens or inspire millions to take to the streets. But they will exist nonetheless". Iraqi exiles were conspicuous by their absence from yesterday's **protest**. Their position was well expressed by a letter in Thursday's Guardian from Dr B Khalaf, an Iraqi locum consultant in London, who wrote: "My family and almost all Iraqi families will feel hurt and anger when Saddam's media shows on the TV, with great happiness, parts of Saturday's demonstration in London. But where were you when thousands of Iraqi people were killed by Saddam's forces at the end of the Gulf war to crush the uprising?"

Saddam must have taken further comfort from the desperate scenes at the United Nations on Friday, as the supposed "global court" descended into a Babel of juvenile point-scoring. It was easy to forget the clarity of the situation: paragraph 13 of UN Resolution 1441 states explicitly that Iraq "will face serious consequences as a result of its continued violations of its obligations". Hans Blix's report last week said that compliance with these obligations meant "more than opening doors". Iraq had to "squarely tackle this task and avoid belittling the questions". In his report on January 27, Dr Blix noted that 6,500 chemical bombs, stocks of anthrax and VX nerve agent, 3,000 tonnes of precursor chemicals, 360 tonnes of bulk agents for chemical weapons and 30,000 special munitions for the delivery of such agents were unaccounted for.

This remains the heart of the matter. On Friday, Dr Blix hailed as a "positive step" the decision of the Iraqi Parliament - if that body deserves to be so described - to "ban" weapons of mass destruction and "welcomed" the news that Saddam has set up commissions to search for such weapons. One can only hope that Dr Blix's dry delivery was meant to be parodic. If, as Saddam claims, Iraq has no such weapons, why does it need to ban them, or launch inquiries to find them?

As Sir Jeremy Greenstock, the British Ambassador to the UN, said on the BBC's Today programme yesterday, not one of the foreign ministers who applauded their French colleague on Friday believes that Saddam has complied with his disarmament obligations. The problem with the present impasse at the UN, however, is that the Iraqi dictator must now surely believe he has three options, rather than two: not just to disarm, or to face war, but also to string along the UN even longer. There was an outside chance that war would be avoided by Saddam and his family fleeing Iraq: the antics of the French and Germans have reduced that chance almost to nil. Those nations which have been most vociferous about the UN are now doing least to ensure its continued credibility. On Friday, that body looked almost as painfully irrelevant as the League of Nations in the late 1930s.

Many in Europe, used to the soothing tones of Bill Clinton, find President Bush's Texan rhetoric unsettling and, in some cases, obnoxious. They should remember that the President's language is designed to appeal to an American audience still afflicted by the atrocities of September 11. It should also be remembered that Mr Bush has not remotely lived up to the stereotype of the trigger-happy cowboy: it was Mr Clinton who tended to fire off cruise missiles instantly when faced with an aggressor. President Bush, in contrast, has shown patience during the war on terrorism, and deserves more credit for that than most on this side of the Atlantic are prepared to give him.

What the opponents of war must remember is that the prospective conflict in the Gulf is not about America's financial ambitions. Nor would it be a war on Iraq. It would be a war on Saddam. In the past 12 years, the Iraqi dictator has shown that he has nothing but contempt for international law, for UN resolutions, for UN inspectors, for the liberties of his own people. He has defied repeated demands that he account for lethal weaponry which could cause unimaginable horrors. At the same time, he has strengthened his connections with terrorist groups. The Bush administration's campaign to prove a link between Saddam and the events of September 11 is politically understandable but is a distraction from a greater argument. The point is not that Saddam and Osama bin Laden are allies - they are not - but that the Iraqi dictator, a deceitful, tyrannous psychopath, has shown time and again that he is willing to use any means at his disposal to harm his enemies and to aid terrorist groups which would do the same. Are those who marched through London yesterday truly confident that Saddam will not pass weapons of mass destruction to such groups if he is able so to do? How can they possibly believe that the answer is yet more inspections, yet more delay, yet more postponement of the moment of reckoning?

In truth, that moment of reckoning is upon us. It is a bleak prospect, and it is insulting that the marchers assume that those who accept the necessity of war do so with anything other than a heavy heart. But those at yesterday's rally, and the national governments doing their best to obstruct military action, have failed to explain what they would do to make the world and the Iraqi people safe from Saddam's psychosis. On the day that Baghdad is liberated, as the full story of his horrific rule and the terrors that he inflicted becomes clear, will they march in celebration with the same passion as they protested yesterday?

The marchers are doing Saddam's work for him David Pryce-Jones says the protesters are betraying the people of Iraq

David Pryce-Jones. [The Sunday Telegraph](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 22

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Abstract (Document Summary)

It is shocking to discover how deep lies the prejudice against Arabs being able to enjoy freedom. It is to be found in some surprising places other than the demonstration in Hyde Park: the CIA, for example, and the US State Department have long taken the view that Iraq is so tribal and retrograde a country that only a brutal dictator like [Saddam Hussein] could control it. For them, the problem with Saddam is not that he is a murderous, tyrannical son of a bitch. It is that he isn't any longer our murderous, tyrannical son of a bitch. They had to be persuaded by the supposedly militaristic Donald Rumsfeld, the Defence Secretary, and the Pentagon, to give democracy in Iraq its chance. Ahmad Chalabi of the Iraqi National Congress and other exiles are now preparing to take over. Kanan Makiya, one of the most brilliant among them, has been drafting a new constitution for sharing power among Iraq's disparate elements. Since they cannot liberate themselves, others have to do it for them. That is the point of our invasion.

Far from leading to an "explosion" in the Arab world, the removal of Saddam would do much to encourage stability in the Middle East. Baghdad would cease to be a haven for terrorists, particularly the Palestinian suicide bombers whom Saddam has subsidised. The majority of Arabs long to see Saddam removed. A number of Arab governments are tyrannies only marginally less brutal than that of Saddam Hussein. They view his removal with anxiety, for they know the precedent it will set: if a democratic Iraq flourishes, it will be an inspiration to - among others - the peoples of Saudi Arabia, Syria and Egypt. It will encourage all of them to get rid of the corrupt dictators who have oppressed, stultified and impoverished their countries - just as the fall of the Berlin Wall encouraged the whole of eastern Europe to replace tyranny with democracy and socialism with private enterprise.

Full Text (1088 words)

Copyright Daily Telegraph Feb 16, 2003

Ignorance, fear and lack of respect for Arabs - these were the most obvious traits on display in yesterday's demonstration against a war in Iraq. Could so many people really think that it is better to leave Iraqis under Saddam Hussein's vicious tyranny than to liberate them from it? Their **protests** suggest that it is not worth risking anything at all to free Arabs. To risk spilling a single drop of blood to liberate Iraq would be futile - not merely because it would be "destabilising" or "kill children", but because the Arabs have no capacity for "Western" freedom anyway. Behind the demonstrators' slogans lies the assumption that Arabs should be left alone: they don't mind being brutalised, tortured and murdered by a fascist thug like Saddam. Where they come

from, it is the natural order of things.

That line of thought is nonsense. More than that - it is racist nonsense. No one knows better than the Arabs the horror of being oppressed. No one knows better than they that tyrannical oppression is all that they will get so long as Saddam and his family are in power. Saddam's despotism is not a denial of "Western" freedom: it's a denial of the freedom that every person needs to be able to live a worthwhile life. To imagine that the Iraqis don't want to be freed, or are not entitled to it, is simply to suppose that they are less human than us.

It is shocking to discover how deep lies the prejudice against Arabs being able to enjoy freedom. It is to be found in some surprising places other than the demonstration in Hyde Park: the CIA, for example, and the US State Department have long taken the view that Iraq is so tribal and retrograde a country that only a brutal dictator like Saddam could control it. For them, the problem with Saddam is not that he is a murderous, tyrannical son of a bitch. It is that he isn't any longer our murderous, tyrannical son of a bitch. They had to be persuaded by the supposedly militaristic Donald Rumsfeld, the Defence Secretary, and the Pentagon, to give democracy in Iraq its chance. Ahmad Chalabi of the Iraqi National Congress and other exiles are now preparing to take over. Kanan Makiya, one of the most brilliant among them, has been drafting a new constitution for sharing power among Iraq's disparate elements. Since they cannot liberate themselves, others have to do it for them. That is the point of our invasion.

What is more depressing than the ignorance and fear of yesterday's demonstrators, or even than the prejudice of the State Department, is the opposition to the liberation of Iraq voiced by some of Britain's most distinguished public servants. Sir John Killick, a former ambassador to the USSR, Sir Andrew Green, recently retired as ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Sir Timothy Garden, a former air marshal, and General Sir Michael Rose, have all come out against an invasion. These men must know that the effect of not going to war will be to prolong the rule of Saddam. They nevertheless oppose any attempt to topple him because, they say, the consequences will be dire. There will be untold numbers of casualties, and there will be "explosive instability" in the Arab world.

Their claims simply do not stand up. Before the last Gulf war, there were many similar predictions of doom and disaster. In the event, the number of casualties on the allied side was less than 200. Half of those were victims of friendly fire. The number of deaths on the Iraqi side was certainly much greater, but even so, the numbers have been greatly exaggerated. This time, Iraq is much weaker after 10 years of sanctions than it was in 1991. American technology is much better: laser-guided bombs are now more accurate and will form a higher percentage of the ordnance. Saddam has no air force of any significance. It means that the moment his troops come out of their bunkers, they will be destroyed by the coalition. As a result, we can be pretty confident that they will not come out.

It is unlikely that the war in Iraq will consist only of a land invasion. Rather, teams of special forces will be used to seize and secure strategic positions, such as the oilfields and the dams on the Tigris and Euphrates, so that they can be protected from any attempt to blow them up. If this can be done quickly, there may well be no civilian casualties at all: the regime may simply implode, leaving Saddam to the fate of Ceausescu - a dictator barking orders that no one obeys. Saddam is known to be highly conscious of that possibility. According to defectors he keeps a tape of the toppling and execution of Ceausescu and watches it regularly.

Far from leading to an "explosion" in the Arab world, the removal of Saddam would do much to encourage stability in the Middle East. Baghdad would cease to be a haven for terrorists, particularly the Palestinian suicide bombers whom Saddam has subsidised. The majority of Arabs long to see Saddam removed. A number of Arab governments are tyrannies only marginally less brutal than that of Saddam Hussein. They view his removal with anxiety, for they know the precedent it will set: if a democratic Iraq flourishes, it will be an inspiration to - among others - the peoples of Saudi Arabia, Syria and Egypt. It will encourage all of them to get rid of the corrupt dictators who have oppressed, stultified and impoverished their countries - just as the fall of the Berlin Wall encouraged the whole of eastern Europe to replace tyranny with democracy and socialism with private enterprise.

When he was in Rome recently, Barham Salih, the Prime Minister of Kurdish Iraq, said that he saw around him a parliamentary democracy in a country liberated by America from the fascist Mussolini. So it would be with Saddam. Salih's implication that a democratic, prosperous Iraq is the most likely outcome of an American invasion is absolutely right. It is a testament to the power of ignorance and prejudice that so many people in Britain cannot see it. Anyone looking for evidence of the decline of this country's moral and intellectual

authority will find it in the thoughtless stampede with which the peace party has assembled.

David Pryce-Jones is the author of *The Closed Circle: an interpretation of the Arabs* and is senior editor with *National Review*.

Whatever happens, Blair's fate will be transformed Politics 'What worries me,' one Labour dove told me, 'is that the war might work'

[Matthew d'Ancona](#). [The Sunday Telegraph](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 23

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Abstract (Document Summary)

Today, another embattled [Anthony Eden] reflects on another (much larger) anti-war rally in London and its meaning for his political fortunes. I doubt Mr [Blair] is as deluded as was Eden: he and his officials know full well that yesterday's march represented more than the ritual thrashings of the rent-a-mob Left. Even so, there has been a whiff of Eden's desperation in their attempts to gloss over an event which must have been agonising for them. Number 10 continues to pluck nuggets from the (mostly dismal) opinion polls, allegedly proving that the public is coming round to Mr Blair's position on Iraq. A senior minister said to me last week that he had not received a single letter about the conflict with Saddam. Well, maybe. But the visible unease, haunted countenance and dark-rimmed eyes of his Cabinet colleagues tell a different story: shambling nervously through Whitehall, they look like a group of men gathered for an insomniacs' convention.

In one sense, New Labour has finally lived up to its name: it really is on "new" terrain now. By this I mean that its predicament is a novel one, reflecting the clash of two entirely modern - and entirely incompatible - political trends. In the first place, Mr Blair and his Government embody the belief, as expressed by the Prime Minister's chief pollster, Philip Gould, that "there is a need to win a daily mandate, in which strength comes from popularity". Policy is formulated by polling. Focus is dictated by focus group. There is no greater political crime than to be "out of touch", which is why ministers still sweat when they remember the days of the fuel crisis. If you doubt that Mr Blair continues to listen obsessively to pollsters, consider the panicked tone of his recent pronouncements on asylum.

That said, Mr Blair now confronts a political vista outside his experience. If he succeeds - if war in Iraq is swift, effective and achieved with minimal casualties - his position will be awesomely strong. "What worries me," one well-connected Labour dove said to me in a moment of candour last week, "is that it might work." If it does, Mr Blair will have shown himself both courageous and prophetic in the face of a hostile party and a wavering nation. A third term, the euro, an end to the antics of his Chancellor: all these would be within his grasp.

Full Text (1254 words)

Copyright Daily Telegraph Feb 16, 2003

There is a memorably pitiful passage in Anthony Eden's memoirs, in which the former prime minister recalls

the mass demonstration in Trafalgar Square on November 4, 1956, against his policy over Suez. The newspapers, he wrote, had concentrated upon the "rowdy" **protest**. But Eden took feeble comfort from a letter sent to his wife by a bus-driver. "Eighty per cent of the crowd were of foreign extraction," the bus-driver had written, "so that was no true census of opinion and can be ignored."

Today, another embattled Anthony reflects on another (much larger) anti-war rally in London and its meaning for his political fortunes. I doubt Mr Blair is as deluded as was Eden: he and his officials know full well that yesterday's march represented more than the ritual thrashings of the rent-a-mob Left. Even so, there has been a whiff of Eden's desperation in their attempts to gloss over an event which must have been agonising for them. Number 10 continues to pluck nuggets from the (mostly dismal) opinion polls, allegedly proving that the public is coming round to Mr Blair's position on Iraq. A senior minister said to me last week that he had not received a single letter about the conflict with Saddam. Well, maybe. But the visible unease, haunted countenance and dark-rimmed eyes of his Cabinet colleagues tell a different story: shambling nervously through Whitehall, they look like a group of men gathered for an insomniacs' convention.

Jack Straw is said still to be "spitting blood" about the botched Downing Street dossier on Iraq which plagiarised old research found on the internet. David Blunkett - an increasingly irascible figure, I gather - did not bother to conceal his testiness as he accounted for the Government's emergency counter-terrorism measures in the Commons on Thursday. These are horrible times for ministers. This Government has sometimes found itself at odds with the public; it has sometimes found itself at odds with the Labour Party. But this is the first time it has found itself at odds with both.

In one sense, New Labour has finally lived up to its name: it really is on "new" terrain now. By this I mean that its predicament is a novel one, reflecting the clash of two entirely modern - and entirely incompatible - political trends. In the first place, Mr Blair and his Government embody the belief, as expressed by the Prime Minister's chief pollster, Philip Gould, that "there is a need to win a daily mandate, in which strength comes from popularity". Policy is formulated by polling. Focus is dictated by focus group. There is no greater political crime than to be "out of touch", which is why ministers still sweat when they remember the days of the fuel crisis. If you doubt that Mr Blair continues to listen obsessively to pollsters, consider the panicked tone of his recent pronouncements on asylum.

The second political development, however, is the radical new doctrine of "pre-emption" - pre-emptive strikes on terrorist groups, and rogue states that sponsor them - which the President unveiled in his State of the Union address last year. "I will not wait on events," Mr Bush said, sweeping away in a single sentence the West's exclusive adherence to the doctrines of containment and deterrence. In logic, of course, the prospective war with Iraq would not be a "pre-emptive" conflict, since Saddam is in flagrant breach of the 1991 ceasefire, and any number of subsequent UN resolutions. But, in the mind of the public, this is undoubtedly a new and unfamiliar kind of war, undertaken as a preventive rather than a purely responsive measure. This requires a leap of imagination of the peoples of the West. It requires governments not to cleave slavishly to public opinion but to race ahead of it.

I wonder, in fact, how easy it will ever be for politicians to make the case for pre-emptive attacks. Trust in what they say has been dreadfully eroded by the era of spin: it was striking that the instinctive reaction of so many people when Britain's airports were put on high alert last week was not to panic, but to ask what the Government was up to, what propaganda stunt it was trying to pull this time. In this atmosphere, any official policy is difficult to sell. If it is hard to persuade people that you mean what you say about A-levels or transport, what chance is there for a concept as novel, alien and unsettling as "pre-emption"?

As the opinion polls show, ministers have barely made a start in this respect. There is a visceral sense in Middle England that striking first is both reckless and immoral. That sense will probably diminish over the years - as it already has in America - as the horrific consequences of inaction become apparent beyond the shores of the US. But "pre-emption" will never be an easy doctrine to proselytise. By definition, it requires people to contemplate that which has not yet happened. By definition, it requires politicians to go out on a limb, to withstand the blizzard of popular scepticism and to forget the "daily mandate". It requires our leaders to lead - to face, as Mr Blair put it commendably yesterday, "the cost of conviction".

A great many of yesterday's marchers were anti-Americans, haters of Israel, incorrigible pacifists, and tofu-eating surrender monkeys. But many were simply mystified. They do not understand what Mr Blair is up to, and because they do not understand it, they do not like it. This puts the Prime Minister in a position in which I doubt he ever expected to find himself. There is, in spite of some speculation to the contrary, not the slightest

chance that he will waver in his support for the President. Those expecting him to change his position on Iraq have not been reading his lips.

That said, Mr Blair now confronts a political vista outside his experience. If he succeeds - if war in Iraq is swift, effective and achieved with minimal casualties - his position will be awesomely strong. "What worries me," one well-connected Labour dove said to me in a moment of candour last week, "is that it might work." If it does, Mr Blair will have shown himself both courageous and prophetic in the face of a hostile party and a wavering nation. A third term, the euro, an end to the antics of his Chancellor: all these would be within his grasp.

And yet, to paraphrase Macbeth, if he should fail - well, then he courts unknowable political trauma. It is an exaggeration to claim, as some have, that his prime-ministership depends on unambiguous success in the Gulf. But it is true that a disastrous campaign in Iraq would cost the Prime Minister dearly. He would be seen to have pursued a personal crusade with calamitous consequences. His credibility would be forever tainted, his wings broken.

Either way, the Prime Minister will emerge from the coming conflict a transformed politician. I happen to agree completely with his strategy on Iraq, but I know plenty of people who think I am quite bonkers to do so. Mr Blair, whose ambition it always was to be a unifier, a broker of consensus, the ringmaster of the Big Tent - a yearning he said was part of his "irreducible core" - has become an indisputably divisive figure. On the matter in hand, one side is utterly right, and the other utterly wrong. The coming war will decide which is which.

Sunday Times

Five million march as Blair calls for toppling of Saddam; [Final 4 Edition]

David Cracknell and Sarah Baxter New York. [Sunday Times](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 1

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Abstract (Document Summary)

AS 5m people worldwide marched against a war yesterday, Tony Blair was hardening his stance on Iraq. He faced down his enemies, signalling for the first time that he would be satisfied only if Saddam Hussein was removed from power. Ridding Iraq of its dictator would be "an act of humanity", he said.

Blair said he hoped Iraq could still be disarmed peacefully. "But if we show weakness now, if we allow the plea for more time to become just an excuse for prevarication until the moment for action passes, then it will not only be Saddam who is repeating history.

Iraq's al-Samoud 2 missiles are now the prime American target in a new drive to persuade the world that Saddam must be forcibly disarmed. Officials in Washington believe Saddam will be reluctant to destroy missiles that he might want to use against advancing coalition troops.

Full Text (1011 words)

(Copyright Times Newspapers Ltd, 2003)

Biggest public **protest** in British history

AS 5m people worldwide marched against a war yesterday, Tony Blair was hardening his stance on Iraq. He faced down his enemies, signalling for the first time that he would be satisfied only if Saddam Hussein was removed from power. Ridding Iraq of its dictator would be "an act of humanity", he said.

The prime minister spoke as at least 750,000 anti-war protesters were preparing to march through London. Millions more took part in 600 demonstrations worldwide in the largest global peace **protest** ever staged.

While agreeing to give United Nations weapons inspectors more time, he warned that a delay now would make future conflict "more bloody".

He set out the moral case for military action before Labour supporters in Glasgow, some of whom brandished placards saying "No blood for oil".

Acknowledging that this has been the most difficult year of his premiership, Blair won applause when he said: "Ridding the world of Saddam would be an act of humanity. It is leaving him there that is in truth inhumane."

"The moral case against war has a moral answer. It is the moral case for removing Saddam. It is not the reason we act. That must be according to the UN mandate on weapons of mass destruction. But it is the reason, frankly, why if we do have to act, we should do so with a clear conscience."

As Blair addressed his party's spring conference, diplomats in New York said the draft of a second UN resolution preparing the way for military action could go to members of the security council as early as Wednesday.

They were considering a short simple text that would not explicitly call for war but would say that Iraq was in "material breach" of its obligations and now faced "serious consequences".

Negotiations are expected to continue until the end of the month when Hans Blix, the chief weapons inspector, presents his next report to the security council.

However, officials in Washington indicated yesterday that President George W Bush would lose patience if no agreement was reached at the UN by the first week of March.

American officials are to press for the immediate destruction of Iraqi missiles declared in violation of UN resolutions. They hope a refusal by Saddam to give up weapons will convince the security council to abandon talks with Baghdad.

If Washington concludes that it cannot obtain the nine votes needed for a resolution authorising force, Bush will come under pressure from hawks to summon a "coalition of the willing" and proceed to war without a security council vote.

Blair said he hoped Iraq could still be disarmed peacefully. "But if we show weakness now, if we allow the plea for more time to become just an excuse for prevarication until the moment for action passes, then it will not only be Saddam who is repeating history.

"The menace, and not just from Saddam, will grow; the authority of the UN will be lost; and the conflict when it comes will be more bloody."

The prime minister, who faces another battle tomorrow at a specially convened European Union summit on Iraq in Brussels, has told close colleagues that he is fully prepared to join the Americans in going to war in the absence of UN backing.

His speech was designed to win over sceptics at home and abroad with an argument for military action on both security and moral grounds. He warned that leaving Saddam in power would mean continuing misery for the Iraqi people.

Referring to the anti-war marchers, Blair added: "There will be no march for the victims of Saddam, no **protests** about the thousands of children that die needlessly every year under his rule, no righteous anger over the torture chambers which if he is left in power will be left in being."

Hilary Armstrong, the Labour chief whip, said Blair was taking a risk. "This is not something he is doing lightly, but has considered it seriously as he understands the dangers to himself in doing this," she said.

Sources on the security council suggested last night that the French, Russians and Chinese would not veto a second resolution sponsored by America and Britain if Saddam was given an "absolute last chance" to disarm. French officials reiterated, however, that they see no need for a second resolution.

At a private meeting of security council members on Friday evening Colin Powell, the US secretary of state, dismissed a French suggestion that the progress of inspections should be assessed on March 14 as too slow.

Iraq's al-Samoud 2 missiles are now the prime American target in a new drive to persuade the world that Saddam must be forcibly disarmed. Officials in Washington believe Saddam will be reluctant to destroy missiles that he might want to use against advancing coalition troops.

Blix revealed on Friday that the al-Samoud missile's range exceeded the 150km allowed by UN regulations. He confirmed yesterday that he would write to Baghdad early this week ordering their destruction along with 380 SA-2 rocket engines which have been imported by Iraq in breach of sanctions.

New concerns were raised this weekend when an Iranian dissident group based in Iraq was accused of sheltering Saddam's chemical and biological weapons at desert camps to avoid detection.

Scathing security council resistance to the Anglo-American drive to war has forced a rethink of Washington's strategy. Bush, who was spending the weekend at Camp David, is believed to be under pressure from Vice-President Dick Cheney and Donald Rumsfeld, the defence secretary, to authorise an early military attack.

Key elements of the American strike force are still en route to the Gulf and military experts believe Washington is unlikely to launch any attack on Iraq until the 101st Airborne Division, its frontline combat unit, is in place. Its equipment was shipped from Florida last week, and a full US invasion force of 200,000 men is likely to be in position by the end of this month. The moonless nights of early March are considered perfect for a ground advance.

Bleary-eyed coach parties invade London; [Final 4 Edition]

Gareth Walsh and Rachel Dobson. [Sunday Times](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 3

PAUL TATE climbed bleary-eyed from his bed in Durham at 3.30am yesterday to make his way to London. Shivering in the bitter cold, the 34-year-old researcher at Durham University was eagerly anticipating the day of **protest** ahead. But history had to wait.

Tate's 4.45am GNER train was delayed by two hours after fire broke out in the smoking carriage. Then the points froze outside Doncaster and his group of dedicated protesters were forced to change trains.

"It was a hell of a journey," said Tate. "We thought we'd never make it."

All over Britain people were stirring under the wintry skies, wrapped in woolly scarves and hats. Barbour-wearing country folk happily rubbed shoulders with "traveller" types clad in misshapen jumpers and Doc Martens boots.

At 6.30am a family of Anglo-Iraqis huddled outside the West Yorkshire Playhouse in Leeds, awaiting one of 32 coaches to London. They knew the realities of life under Saddam Hussein but were still determined to register their **protest**.

Mussab Al-Khairalla, 21, a second-year computing student at Leeds University, and his three cousins said they have relatives in Iraq while others have been killed by Saddam.

"They live in terror but if the purpose of American policy is to get rid of Saddam they should have supported the Iraqi uprising in 1991," he said. "Everyone is against America and Saddam at the same time."

At last everybody was aboard the coach, glad to be warm again. Steve Johnson, a history teacher, tried to rouse his comrades with a tambourine, but most fell asleep. Outside, bright sun failed to melt the thick frost on hedges and fields.

When the 8.40am train left Bristol Temple Meads, nearly every seat sported a reservation ticket. The marchers, stashing "Stop the war" and "Bye bye Blair" placards above the seats, munched bacon sandwiches.

"We are the middle England marchers," said Luisa Scott, 47, a seasoned Countryside March protester from Wiltshire.

Leon Tikly, 39, a lecturer at Bristol University, and his wife Ursula were taking their children. Samora, their eight-year-old son, said: "I'm worried the children in Iraq won't be able to get to school."

By 11am protesters dressed in fur-lined hats and woollen pashminas, tweed and pearls were aboard the London-bound train at Guildford. Dropped off from Volvo estate cars, Surrey's finest were going to stop the war.

Most were well-spoken and marching for the first time. Some traditional supporters wore CND badges and had dusted off "Say no to nuclear arms" banners last used on peace marches in the 1980s.

As the train sped through the suburbs Maggie Ryan, 52, said she had decided to join the march on Friday night. "I have never been on one in my life," she said.

"But I was so appalled by what was happening that I could not sit in my armchair and do nothing."

At Waterloo the Surrey contingent joined the river of humanity that snaked towards Southwark bridge. As she walked along the Embankment, Tessa Cockett, 62, from Guildford, declared that democracy should be home-grown, not imposed from outside.

"I have some nice French cheese and bread and a cup of coffee to look forward to when I get to Hyde Park," she added.

Most of the Bristol group, descending at Paddington station, opted to walk to Gower Street or Embankment, the two starting points. As noon approached and the crowds began to inch forward, Naimah Tikly, Samora's four-year-old sister, was showing impatience.

"When are we going to sing?" she asked. Obliging, some university students began to chant to drums: "Blair is a poodle, Bush is a noodle." An hour later the march had moved about 25 yards.

Among the thicket of banners were some reading "Make tea, not war" that had been distributed by Karmarama, a group of self-proclaimed "race of late galaxy ecologists" originally from "a misshapen planet that looks from orbit like a series of throw pillows with pinholes in them". The placards were handed out by group members who claim to be "extremely laid-back and easy-going".

By 2pm the organisers claimed the crowd had reached 1m. The most disparate people were making common cause. Clobin Wilson-Cott, a former public-school boy wearing a waistcoat and cravat, glanced wryly at the Socialist Worker placard that he carried.

"I was going to fly to Paris to see my girlfriend but I decided to do this instead as it is far more fun," he said. "I am not a socialist, but I am opposed to double standards. If they can't have nukes neither should we."

Other protesters were stirred by their personal experience of conflict. "I know the horrors of war and that's why I am here," said Ian Clark, 78, a veteran of the battle of Normandy.

Not everyone sang from the same hymn sheet. Jacques More, 44, a writer from Croydon, south London, mounted a lone counter-**protest**, holding a placard proclaiming his support for military action.

At 4.30pm some protesters finally reached the edge of Hyde Park and, finding it full, sat under their banner and drank coffee from flasks. "I always find these occasions inspiring," said John Morris, leader of the Surrey coalition. Then they began the trek back towards Waterloo.

That they had made tea - and coffee - rather than war was borne out last night by Scotland Yard which praised the marchers' behaviour. It said there had been just seven arrests, less than one for every 100,000 marchers.

Additional reporting: Brendan Bourne, Will Iredale, Adam Nathan, Dipesh Gadher Peter Macdiarmid

Oppose America and you are at war with yourself; [Final 1 Edition]

[Minette Marrin](#). [Sunday Times](#). London (UK): [Feb 16, 2003](#). pg. 21

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Abstract (Document Summary)

Their arguments for peace are legion. Nobody, they say, can hope to predict the wider consequences of crushing Iraq. Far from deterring Muslim terrorists and the states who support them, it might inflame them to still worse atrocities. It might even, by some miracle, actually unite Islam against the West. War in Iraq might provoke the apocalyptic Muslim-Christian conflict that we all fear so much. And if not the war, then the defeat. History suggests that America is not good at dealing with the aftermath of war:

Forget gratitude. Forget what America has already done for Europe, for the Third World, for science. (Incidentally, President [George Bush] has just promised \$15billion to fight Aids in Africa, yet another example of American generosity which anti Americans prefer to ignore.) And forget contempt. Forget Donald Duck and gas- guzzling obesity.

The fact is that the United States is the greatest power in the history of the world and, to our astonishing good fortune, it is - warts and all - a benevolent and civilised power. It is wholly committed to universal values that all civilised people think, in the end, are worth dying for. That is not true of any Muslim state in the Middle East. By any standards we respect they are not really civilised; their governments are mostly repressive, backward, totalitarian and horribly corrupt. Religion shows its most shameful, unenlightened face in the Middle East.

Full Text (1222 words)

(Copyright Times Newspapers Ltd, 2003)

My heart was with the hundreds of thousands of people marching for peace on Saturday. War is terrible and the Iraqis have suffered horribly already. The heart does **protest** at the misery that more bombing will bring down on them.

Besides, there are any number of powerful political arguments against war on Iraq.

It hardly matters that many of these arguments are expounded by unreasonable people with bad or mixed motives.

The imagination lurches from an illiterate and impoverished Arab, whose anger has been cynically turned against the West, to a self- indulgent, anti-American lounge lizard in Paris or Berlin. But let's not be nasty to

the Germans or the French. A good argument is a good argument, regardless of who makes it, and besides, many of those opposed to the war are both good and reasonable people.

Their arguments for peace are legion. Nobody, they say, can hope to predict the wider consequences of crushing Iraq. Far from deterring Muslim terrorists and the states who support them, it might inflame them to still worse atrocities. It might even, by some miracle, actually unite Islam against the West. War in Iraq might provoke the apocalyptic Muslim-Christian conflict that we all fear so much. And if not the war, then the defeat. History suggests that America is not good at dealing with the aftermath of war:

Pulling out and leaving behind ruins and resentment will only make things worse.

Think of Afghanistan, both after the Soviet war and now. The rise of Osama Bin Laden and Saudi-born terrorists is a fearful reminder of how poor the United States' foreign policy judgment has sometimes been.

The world might well be better off without Saddam Hussein, the doves would argue, but would it be better off with the United States and hangers-on as self-appointed neocolonial enforcers of a Pax Americana? Iraq may indeed be full of rockets and poisons and nuclear components, but there doesn't seem to be any incontrovertible evidence so far, even after the weapons inspectors' report to the United Nations on Friday. Surely containment would be just as effective as war and much less risky.

Saddam's connections with Al-Qaeda are tenuous, at best. Besides, after Alastair Campbell's absurd "intelligence dossier" fiasco, cribbed off the internet, the public are deeply sceptical about any claims made by either George Bush or Tony Blair.

Our trust has been persistently abused with spin, news manipulation, exaggeration and mission creep; we are too cynical now to respond to any supposedly moral appeal that the government might make. We even thought the tanks at Heathrow last week were probably window-dressing.

Throughout the run-up to this war it has seemed that what is most important is probably what we are not being told. If so, how can we support anything so terrible as war in good conscience? And so on. To say all this is to make only a few of the most obvious arguments for peace - or, rather, for doing nothing.

Yet despite all this, and although my heart is for peace, my head is not. I mean my considered response. After months of opposing the war, I've finally and reluctantly, after many bitter arguments, come to support it, if it comes to that.

There does seem to me to be a clear way to be hacked through the thick undergrowth of morality, hypocrisy and ignorance. The only real question is whose side you should be on. This is, or ought to be, easy. Westerners who are not on the side of the United States are somehow ignoring the values upon which our civilisation is based.

Forget gratitude. Forget what America has already done for Europe, for the Third World, for science. (Incidentally, President Bush has just promised \$15billion to fight Aids in Africa, yet another example of American generosity which anti-Americans prefer to ignore.) And forget contempt. Forget Donald Duck and gas-guzzling obesity.

The fact is that the United States is the greatest power in the history of the world and, to our astonishing good fortune, it is - warts and all - a benevolent and civilised power. It is wholly committed to universal values that all civilised people think, in the end, are worth dying for. That is not true of any Muslim state in the Middle East. By any standards we respect they are not really civilised; their governments are mostly repressive, backward, totalitarian and horribly corrupt. Religion shows its most shameful, unenlightened face in the Middle East.

So whose side are you on?

What's more, we are entirely dependent on the United States to protect both us and our values. Whether we want to be on their side or not, we have to be.

All the wishful thinking about our special relationship is irrelevant. They don't really need us, but we really need them. Only vaingloriousness or silliness can have tempted the French and the Germans to ignore that brutally obvious fact. The Americans don't really need the UN either - that bunch of kleptocrats, bandits and murderers. The Americans can stand alone and if they must they will.

Personally, I am proud to be on the side of the Americans, however little difference it may make to them. My father was American and he met my English mother in England during the second world war, when the Americans were over here to defend us. I've always felt great affection and respect for the United States.

They have been and are the defenders - right or wrong - of everything that matters to me, of everything that Europe has struggled over centuries to create, of freedom, justice, tolerance and invention.

Stripping away all sentiment, what confronts America is a very unstable, very angry part of the world which produces rogue regimes, terrorists and oil. It is also a miserable place for most of its inhabitants - they might come to welcome American intervention if it made some of their lives better, as Americans are well aware.

What centrally concerns the United States (and its hangers-on) is to try to get control and keep control of this region, as far as possible - and, starting with Iraq, to pre-empt serious conflict in the future. This is a matter of survival.

I wish people wouldn't talk so sanctimoniously about oil - "It's all about oil". Of course oil is a factor.

The West is heavily dependent on it. However, shortages and blackmail are unlikely to be serious; oil producers have to sell their oil and are heavily dependent on western buyers and their dollars.

It seems to me that what all this is really about is nuclear proliferation, and its threat to our basic values. The bottom line is that the rogue states of the Middle East (and elsewhere) cannot be allowed to go nuclear or to equip nuclear terrorists. America must pre-empt that, starting now, and maybe at unthinkable cost. Maybe Iraq is the wrong place to start, for the wrong reasons, but it is a start to the right war.

All the other concerns and arguments are a side-show. And this makes everything very simple. Which side would you like to have nuclear weapons; which states would you trust with them - the United States or the rogue states? Whose side are you on? It is easy in the end.

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Countryside Alliance demonstration

News articles (23 Feb 2002) and analyses

N.B. Data tables have only been produced for those articles deemed to contain sufficiently significant oppositions. These tables are located immediately after the article to which they refer.

Daily Mail

Picture an FA Cup Final crowd all walking down Whitehall. Then comes another one. And another ; HOW I SEE IT; [2ND Edition]

[ROBERT HARDMAN](#). [Daily Mail](#). London (UK): [Sep 23, 2002](#). pg. 2

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People: [Blair, Tony](#), [Jones, Vinnie](#)

Author(s): [ROBERT HARDMAN](#)

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Abstract (Document Summary)

I spied the Duchess of Devonshire, Channel 4 commentator John McCririck in a huge furry hat, and people of all ages in all clothes carrying the following banners: 'Bomb the Ban', 'Ex-Labour Voter - Let's Roll', '[Tony Blair], You Are The Weakest Link, Goodbye', 'Let's Ban Soccer', 'Cat Lover Supports Hunting' and thousands of Daily Mail 'Save Our Countryside' posters.

Mr [Duncan Smith] surveyed it all and declared: 'See all those people. It takes a lot to make them march and it is indecent to criminalise them.' They would certainly make interesting criminals. There were two junior members of the Royal Family doing their best to blend in with the public - Lady Helen Taylor, daughter of the Duke of Kent, and Lord Frederick Windsor, son of Prince Michael. No sign of Camilla Parker Bowles but her ex-husband, Andrew, was up near the front of the Liberty crowd as was their son, Tom.

Men such as William Hancock, 65. As a master of foxhounds, he should slot easily into the file marked T for toff. Except that he runs a garage and is master of the Banwen Miners' Hunt. His working- class membership, drawn from Labour's South Wales citadels, pay pounds 100 for a year's hunting and a fiver to follow on foot. It is cheaper than following bottom-of-the-league Swansea City. 'It's our life and we won't stop. Our huntsman, David, would be out of a job,' he told me.

Full Text (1567 words)

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Sep 23, 2002

THE FORLORN last blast of a doomed minority - that was how the urban knowalls and class warriors had billed it. Some minority.

Some blast.

This was not simply a march or a show of strength. This was a phenomenon - the biggest civil liberties protest in British history.

No war, no atrocity, no tax, however iniquitous, has ever managed to generate a protest to match the surge of rural anger which saturated London yesterday.

Picture an FA Cup Final crowd.

Picture that entire crowd walking in the same direction down Whitehall.

And every hour, along comes another one.

Hour after hour.

That is the sight that greeted Parliament yesterday. By last night, the total figure agreed by police, organisers and independent auditors had reached 407,000. Another 70,000 had registered with the organisers to say they could not make it but were 'there in spirit'.

Whether it has any impact on Parliament's occupants, as they prepare a renewed assault on hunting, remains to be seen. Only a handful of MPs were there to see it and only one of them was from Tony Blair's side of the House.

As for the Prime Minister himself, he was enjoying a quiet weekend in the country at Chequers, with its 1,000 acres and wonderful views of the Chilterns.

But he cannot ignore the scale of the fight that he is picking with this lot.

Soon after dawn, a coach fleet of DDay dimensions was rumbling into a bleary-eyed capital. By the 10am official start, humanity stretched back to the Hyde Park horizon while many West Country contingents were still miles from town.

Down at **Countryside Alliance** HQ in Pall Mall, footballer turned Hollywood skullcracker Vinnie Jones was holding forth on liberty. 'If your garden's only a postage stamp, it's still your kingdom and you should be able to do what you like there,' he declared.

'You want a right to roam?

Then let me roam through your garden.' Pity the rambler who strays on to the Jones acres uninvited.

Two routes and two armies was the organisers' solution to the vast numbers expected.

Mr Jones moved off to Blackfriars to join the Tory leader Iain Duncan Smith and half of East Anglia at the head of the route marked 'Livelihood'.

Larger still was the gathering I found in Hyde Park following the other route - 'Liberty'.

There, at its head, I found a random collection of protesters including Kate Hoey, Labour MP for inner-city Vauxhall and tireless champion of field sports; Lord Carrington, the former Tory Foreign Secretary; and most of the Scottish Gamekeepers' Association.

Off they set to a pipe band, a great deal of whooping, not much horn blowing (for fear of alienating city folk) and huge applause from the thousands marching in the other direction towards the start.

I spied the Duchess of Devonshire, Channel 4 commentator John McCririck in a huge furry hat, and people of all ages in all clothes carrying the following banners: 'Bomb the Ban', 'Ex-Labour Voter - Let's Roll', 'Blair, You Are The Weakest Link, Goodbye', 'Let's Ban Soccer', 'Cat Lover Supports Hunting' and thousands of Daily Mail 'Save Our Countryside' posters.

In St James's, club servants lined balconies and doorways to cheer on the marchers who, doubtless, included many of their members. Those members would soon be back for their lunch at White's or Boodle's - places that have never opened on a Sunday since, well, the last Countryside March. 'Jeans and trainers in Brooks's?' asked an old boy in Batemanesque tones. Yes, it was true.

Round in Trafalgar Square, the most bizarre stunt of the day was taking place. The RSPCA was flying a

barrage balloon with the slogan 'Ban foxhunting'.

'That's the last time I give them a bean,' muttered everyone. Within an hour, the balloon had its own police guard after a handful of hunt supporters tried to cut the rope.

'I'm cancelling my subscription,' a middle-aged woman in an anorak told the RSPCA man. 'Good,' he replied. 'But I don't even hunt,' she went on.

'I just can't believe you're wasting charity funds to antagonise all these people.' Some were really quite antagonised. One hunter managed to grab the rope, four more piled in and a tug-o'-war broke out with two policemen who started yelling for reinforcements. I noticed the balloon had vanished by mid-afternoon.

This, though, was a rare moment of confrontation.

Overall, the mood was goodnatured, upbeat and summed up by the hilariously English message on the bibs worn by the 3,000 stewards: 'Sorry for the delay'.

FARLOW'S, the country outfitters in Pall Mall, attracted huge guffaws for its window display of Barbour waxed jackets.

The dummies turned out to be real humans who every now and then would wave promarch banners.

Round in Whitehall, a hefty din went up as those fellow tributaries, Liberty and Livelihood, came together for the last push through a huge arch and down to Parliament. This was where the counting started, where it all mattered.

And then, suddenly, all that boisterous bonhomie vanished as the procession approached the Cenotaph. Not only did signs ask marchers to observe a respectful silence for 'The Glorious Dead' but silence monitors moved among the crowds pointing at the word 'silence' on their chests.

A beady-eyed gent of retired colonelish demeanour wobbled on a ladder and gesticulated furiously at anyone who had forgotten to remove their hat on this hallowed patch.

This meant that Downing Street, a few yards from the Cenotaph, was spared all abuse. The odd two-fingered salute was waved in its direction but, in fact, this total lack of noise seemed much more sinister than any chant might have been.

At Parliament Square, the two rivers parted again and finished either side of the Thames.

By now, Liberty was becoming seriously overcrowded. Not only was it the designated route for all those huntingmad hordes from the West Country, not only the 'smart' route for anyone hoping for a decent lunch en route, but it was also the natural startpoint for every Sloane from Cirencester to Knightsbridge.

And there were regiments of those. At one point, people were waiting three hours to cross the start line.

Mr Duncan Smith surveyed it all and declared: 'See all those people. It takes a lot to make them march and it is indecent to criminalise them.' They would certainly make interesting criminals. There were two junior members of the Royal Family doing their best to blend in with the public - Lady Helen Taylor, daughter of the Duke of Kent, and Lord Frederick Windsor, son of Prince Michael. No sign of Camilla Parker Bowles but her ex-husband, Andrew, was up near the front of the Liberty crowd as was their son, Tom.

Up popped Sir Michael Parker, the genius behind the Golden Jubilee weekend, the Queen Mother's 100th and other great state occasions.

'This is great, isn't it?' he reflected. 'Peaceful and very well organised!' Praise indeed from the master.

Tory MEP Nirj Deva seemed particularly incandescent.

'This government is clueless about rural life,' said the Euro member for the Home Counties.

Echoing the Prince of Wales, the Sri Lankan-born ex-MP agreed that hunters were being subjected to the sort of discrimination no government would dare impose on ethnic minorities.

Many issues were to be found intertwined yesterday. And the villain of the piece, in almost every case, was Tony Blair.

This occasion was not exclusively about hunting. I met falconers, shooters, farriers, jockeys, schoolgirls and actors, all convinced that the countryside is being marginalised, patronised and, generally, neglected.

Most had never hunted. But if Parliament wants to make hunting the focal point of this nebulous sense of unhappiness, so be it. Everyone I met was passionately opposed to a ban.

Men such as William Hancock, 65. As a master of foxhounds, he should slot easily into the file marked T for toff. Except that he runs a garage and is master of the Banwen Miners' Hunt. His working-class membership, drawn from Labour's South Wales citadels, pay pounds 100 for a year's hunting and a fiver to follow on foot. It is cheaper than following bottom-of-the-league Swansea City. 'It's our life and we won't stop. Our huntsman, David, would be out of a job,' he told me.

This protest was not just substantially larger than the last Countryside March of 1998. It was also notably more combative.

Back then, when asked if they would defy a ban, most hunters replied: 'Let's see what happens.' Yesterday, most said they would break the law and the non-hunters said they would support them.

'If it comes to it, I'm going to break the law,' declared Josh Lake, 12, an avid keeper of ducks and chickens and an equally avid follower of the Surrey Union Hunt.

'So will I,' said his father Mick, a haulage contractor in a 'Born To Hunt, Ready To Fight' sweatshirt.

When you hear upstanding fathers and sons from Surrey start advocating the merits of lawlessness outside the Institute of Directors in Pall Mall, you do start to wonder if the Government really has the appetite for a ban.

These people streaming as far as the eye could see were, obviously, a minority.

For every person marching yesterday, 150 were not. Mr Blair's pollsters might not feel unduly troubled by it all. But his Home Secretary and chief constables should be very worried indeed.

Daily Mail page 2 – Picture an FA Cup Final

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
This was not X, this was Y		march / phenomenon show of strength / phenomenon	<i>This was not</i> simply a march or a show of strength . <i>This was</i> a phenomenon - the biggest civil liberties protest in British history .	Negator Parallelism	ordinary / extraordinary	Comparing standard march with this march to emphasise its uniqueness, on a semantic dimension of 'strength'	CA/M/2/1
not X but Y		not make it / there in spirit	Another 70,000 had registered with the organisers to say they could not make it but were 'there in spirit'.	negated contrastive Equivalence	absence / presence physical/ spiritual	A relationship of equivalence? in that there are those who are there and not there at the same time. The rhetorical value of this is to emphasise that there were even more people who wanted to go than actually made it.	CA/M/2/2
x but not Y		enjoying/ ignore quiet weekend / scale of the fight	As for the Prime Minister himself, he was enjoying a quiet weekend in the country at Chequers, with its 1,000 acres and wonderful views of the Chilterns. <i>But he cannot ignore the scale of the fight</i> that he is picking with this lot.	negated contrastive parallelism	peace / conflict tranquillity / disturbance awareness / obliviousness	Possibly portraying Blair as burying his head in the sand by surveying and enjoying the very countryside that people are fighting for. Blair therefore portrayed as being oblivious to the conflict around him	CA/M/2/3
X while Y		humanity / West Country contingents Hyde Park horizon / miles from town	By the 10am official start, humanity stretched back to the Hyde Park horizon while many West Country contingents were still miles from town .	concessive?	presence / absence town / country	While expressing simultaneity to show size of demo – comparing the already present large amount of demonstrators with those who haven't made it – therefore demo massive despite not everybody being there	CA/M/2/4

If only X still Y		postage stamp / kingdom only / still	'If your garden's only a postage stamp , it's still your kingdom and you should be able to do what you like there,' he declared.	conditional? syntactic parallelism equivalence? auto- evocation?	small / big lacking / containing	Interesting example of oppositional equivalence in that garden is both small, but at same time something associated with being massive. The oppositional pair in this case need 'garden' to link them as the thing which is both simultaneously one or the other. To what extent are <i>only</i> and <i>still</i> oppositional triggers? The use of the adverb ' <i>only</i> ' implies something is <i>not</i> something else, that it is lacking in some way. <i>Still</i> indicates continuity. Regardless of size, the defence of people's land continues to need defending, whether it is large or small. Is the large auto-evoked from kingdom?	CA/M/2/5
X not (much) Y	great deal of / not much	great deal of / not much whooping / horn blowing	Off they set to a pipe band, a great deal of whooping, not much horn blowing (for fear of alienating city folk) and huge applause from the thousands marching in the other direction towards the start.	syntactic parallelism negated? ancillary	presence / absence loud / quiet? acceptable / unacceptable	Two types of sound contrasted – much of that deemed acceptable, presumably because it is quieter, as opposed to less of what is unacceptably loud. There is a typical negator <i>not</i> but this is qualified by <i>much</i> , so although the whooping and horn blowing are being presented as opposites, there is not a total absence of sound so not at the end of a noise level semantic dimension	CA/M/2/6
A was X B was Y	rare moment / overall	confrontation / goodnatured, upbeat, hilariously English message rare moment /	This, though, was a rare moment of confrontation. Overall, the mood was goodnatured, upbeat and summed up by the	parallel ancillary?	conflict / harmony serious / good- humoured	Stressing the lack of violence on demo so not tarred with the same brush as other demos. The actual confrontation is minor anyway. Contrasting between what there is little of and what there is much of.	CA/M/2/7

		overall	hilariously English message on the bibs worn by the 3,000 stewards: 'Sorry for the delay'.		rare/ common	Mentioning the former allows writer a way into emphasizing the latter	
X vanished Y [takes its place] not only X but Y		boisterous bonhomie / respectful silence signs / silence monitors only / [also]	And then, suddenly, all that boisterous bonhomie vanished as the procession approached the Cenotaph. <i>Not only</i> did signs ask marchers to observe a respectful silence for 'The Glorious Dead' <i>but</i> silence monitors moved among the crowds pointing at the word 'silence' on their chests.	transitional negated cumulative contrastive? auto-evocation	good humoured / serious noise /silence inanimate / animate few / many	Straightforward noise versus silence contrast using a transitional trigger. Used by writer to emphasise the respectful and compliant nature of the protestors. More interesting is the way the <i>not only..but</i> construction works. The negator contrasts the static signs with the moving stewards, emphasizing contrast between one and more than one method of controlling noise levels. The adverb <i>only</i> makes <i>not</i> refer to the quantity of methods (i.e. signs being one method), not the signs themselves, so there is a cumulative equivalence effect rather than a contrast between methods – need a term for this – negated cumulative contrastive? bah!	CA/M/2/8
X1 but X2....er than Y		odd two-fingered salute / total lack of noise total lack of noise / chant	The odd two-fingered salute was waved in its direction but, in fact, <i>this total lack of noise</i> seemed much <i>more sinister</i> than any chant might have been.	contrastive comparative equivalence	disrespect / respect silence / noise absence / presence	The total lack of noise is contrasted in two ways 1) As a marker of respect against disrespectful V-signs, although curiously they are also equivalents in that they are both silent forms of protest, the equivalence triggered by <i>this</i> , referring anaphorically to the salute. The contrastive trigger <i>but</i> sets it up in opposition with that it is equivalent to because of the comparative which follows it, and that which it is being compared to (a chant) is also by association equivalent to its first opposite but on a different semantic dimension	CA/M/2/9

						2) Compared therefore also to chant, so that it is being shown to be both respectful and effective at the same time, which why the equivalence is important. So the lack of noise makes it on one level equivalent to the salute, but it is opposite to it by nature of its respect and effectiveness and is opposite to chant for the same reasons, which curiously makes chant and two-fingered salute also both equivalent (lack of respect) and opposite (noise)	
No X but Y		Camilla Parker-Bowles/ ex-husband Andrew son, Tom	No sign of Camilla Parker Bowles <i>but</i> her ex-husband, Andrew , was up near the front of the Liberty crowd as was their son, Tom .	negated contrastive	absence / presence husband / wife mother / son	Is this a dig at Camilla? She has to be mentioned so as to be able to add her ex-husband to the list of worthies who attended the demo. Perhaps his identity is only important as that of a relationship with the Charles new wife. The opposition is between being absent or present at the demo. Emphasises to Mail readers the respectability of the demo.	CA/M/2/ 10
X not Y		hunting / falconers, shooters, farriers, jockeys, schooldgirls and actors	This occasion was <i>not</i> exclusively about hunting . I met falconers, shooters, farriers, jockeys, schoolgirls and actors , all convinced that the countryside is being marginalised, patronised and, generally, neglected.	negated	homogeneity / heterogeneity single / varied	One activity being counterpoised to other professions to show that the demo has broad appeal, possibly to reject any accusations that this was a demo made up purely of the people who's livelihoods may be threatened. Same semantic dimension – 'occupations'	CA/M/2/ 11
never X but Y		never hunted / hunting focal point / nebulous most / Parliament	Most had never hunted . <i>But</i> if Parliament wants to make hunting the focal point of this nebulous sense of	negated contrastive	Experienced/ inexperienced General / specific	Opposition between those whose grievance is greater than just the hunting issue and what the govt is trying to turn it into. Again, complex interweaving of at least three oppositional concepts to express a	CA/M/2/ 12

			unhappiness , so be it.		protestors / government	condensed idea. Function is to show that 1) Govt out of touch with issues 2) Demo is concerned with a lot more than just hunting 3) Challenge to govt that hunting bill will still be challenged, despite wider grievances	
X should.... except Y [isn't]		toff / runs a garage and is master of the Banwen Miners' Hunt	As a master of foxhounds, he <i>should</i> slot easily into the file marked T for toff . <i>Except</i> that he runs a garage and is master of the Banwen Miners' Hunt .	a version of negated antonymy?	upper class / working class/ perception / reality	Attempt to smash potential illusion that those involved in hunting are purely aristocracy, running a garage and being involved in Miner's organisation <i>implies</i> he is working class.	CA/M/2/ 13
This X not just .....er than that Y, also .....er than the last Y		This protest / the last Countryside Alliance protest larger / more combative	This protest was not just substantially larger than the last Countryside March of 1998. It was also notably more combative.	comparative negative	small /large passive / aggressive past / present quantity / quality	Arguing that this demo is both quantitatively and qualitatively more effective than previous one – using comparatives to show it is bigger and more combative. Backed up in the next paragraph.	CA/M/2/ 14
Back then X Yesterday Y		Back then / yesterday 'Let's see what happens' / break the law hunters / non-hunters	Back then , when asked if they would defy a ban, <i>most hunters replied: 'Let's see what happens.'</i> Yesterday , <i>most said they would break the law</i> and the non-hunters said they would support them.	Adverbial contrast Ancillary? parallelism	distal past / proximal past legality / illegality conformance / defiance indecision/ decision specific / general	Reinforcing the qualitatively contrastive nature of this demo compared with others. In past suggests the lobby was mainly hunters and that they were fairly passive, whereas today there is broader and more militant support	CA/M/2/ 15
X were...Y were not For every X,		These people... minority... every person marching / 150	These people streaming as far as the eye could see <i>were</i> , obviously, a minority .	negative parallelism	active / passive presence / absence	Showing that in the big scheme of things the demo may not be big enough to trouble the govt (backed up by next sentence). The demo is	CA/M/2/ 16

Y not		marching / not [marching]	For every person marching yesterday, 150 were not.		small / large one / many	small compared to the population of Great Britain ie 400,000 x 150 = 60 million!	
X not X1 but Y...Y1		Mr Blair's pollsters / his Home Secretary and chief constables feel unduly troubled / be very worried	Mr Blair's pollsters might <i>not</i> feel unduly troubled by it all. <i>But</i> his Home Secretary and chief constables should be very worried indeed.	negated contrastive parallelism	worried / unworried non-powerful / powerful analysts / practitioners no threat future /present	Contrasts those who predict the future and the apparent lack of threat to Blair, with very real current challenge to the govt itself. Interesting opposition between those who stand on the outside analysing and actual practitioners	CA/M/2/ 17

There were more hairy ears than at a convention of bunny rabbits ; Quentin Letts The Daily Mail's brilliant Parliamentary sketch writer (and the chap above with the whistle) joins his Gloucestershire neighbours on their trip to the capital; [2ND Edition]

QUENTIN LETTS. [Daily Mail](#). London (UK): [Sep 23, 2002](#). pg. 4

NUMBER 297,125 reporting for duty, sir! Anyone who has done National Service 'or time in prison' can always tell you his serial number.

Well yesterday, at precisely 3.16pm by Big Ben time, I passed under the huge arches in Whitehall and was clicked by the automatic counter.

All those of us who marched will wear our numbers with bloody-minded British pride.

Minutes later the 300,000 mark was passed and such a cheer went up, my flat cap almost blew away. Hats off to one mesmerising day.

For me it began soon after dawn deep in the Cotswolds. Squadrons of pheasant squawked skywards through the morning mist as Land Rovers and farmyard Subarus smoked off in the direction of Tony Blair's capital.

This was personal, let's have no doubt. On the big screen by Blackfriars flashed a picture of two men in plastic Tony Blair masks. 'Boo', went thousands of derisive voices. 'Legalise Blair baiting' shouted one.

On the journey up, farmer Jab Taylor, 67, told me he was giving up on cattle - the badgers are running out of control, spreading disease. He'd kill them if he could but the modern nanny state will not permit it.

On the journey we had stopped at an M4 service station. Hundreds of coaches were there, all filled with ruddyfaced, good-natured sons and daughters of the land. There were more hairy ears than at a convention of bunny rabbits.

My village contingent caught an 8am bus - the mood excited but a little nervous. Would there, could there, really be such a great turnout as expected? Of course there could, but the huge crowds did cause problems.

Our coach got stuck in traffic in Wimbledon and a few of us baled out to take the train.

There was a two-hour queue simply to start the march. But it was worth every minute.

The ceremonial mounts in Horse Guards can never have known such a knowledgeable crowd of onlookers. Marchers stroked the horses' muzzles and murmured stable-yard compliments, many with a peppermint on the palm.

Back near Pudding Lane, where the Great Fire of London started, we had passed a pub with window boxes. Some lads from the East Sussex and Romney Marsh Hunt paused to do some civic-minded deadheading of geraniums.

The Tower of London's gilt pinnacles loomed to our left, just as a banner passed which read: 'I'll go to prison Tony.' A terrier man with a neck as thick as a 25-year-old oak said: 'Labour is the best government that money can buy.' Cue lots of burrs of agreement.

There might not have been violence but civil dissent is not far below the surface.

Bethany Ansdell, just five months old, was one of the younger members of the march. Bethany, from North Devon, was with her parents Angela and Toby.

'We've been on the go since 6.30am,' said Mrs Ansdell.

'We're farmers and we were hit by foot and mouth. I've brought along Bethany because this is as much for her future as anyone's.' With that it was breastfeeding time, so I made my excuses and left.

Once the march got going, the pace was as brisk as on a blood-pumping country hike.

Antis? There were just two little groups of Animal Rights protesters, mingy-looking most of them. They shouted insults, 'Fat slob! You're history!' and tried to single out individual marchers to try to pick a fight.

No one rose to the bait.

2.15pm down came the rain. On went deerstalkers, wax hats, flat caps, head brollies, baseball caps and one or two well-knotted plastic bags.

On the Embankment someone had stuck a large **Countryside Alliance** sticker over the lens of a traffic speed camera.

But that was the only illegality I saw. A policeman on London Bridge said he had never known a quieter mass protest for trouble. The volume from the whistles and klaxons and horns and rustic larynxes, mind you, was something else.

Sandy Sempliner, 49, a U.S-born artist and keen shot, leaned across with a fat flask of something way stronger than diet coke. Joe Xuereb-Brennan, 64, originally from Malta, handed me a plastic water bottle filled with gin and tonic.

Well, gin and very little tonic.

When we turned into Whitehall and the Cenotaph loomed, everyone fell silent and we removed our hats. This was extraordinarily, unexpectedly moving. After so much good cheer and cacophony, tears pricked at the eye. Here we were marching for a liberty two generations of men, including my two late grandfathers, fought and fell to save.

As we passed the Cenotaph a bright sun cut through the clouds and myriad voices swelled. 'Guy Fawkes had a point,' said a banner. Let's hope it doesn't come to that, but after yesterday it's hard to know. What an indictment of our politicians that so many hundreds of thousands of good, honest people feel so left out.

Downing Street sat just to the right but hardly a single marcher looked past those citadel gates. County and country faces turned the other ruddy cheek.

They spurned Blair's Number 10, just as it spurns them.

Daily Mail 23rd Sept 2002, p4

There were more hairy ears than at a convention of bunny rabbits ; Quentin Letts The Daily Mail's brilliant Parliamentary sketch writer (and the chap above with the whistle) joins his Gloucestershire neighbours on their trip to the capital;

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
X but not X		kill/not permit it	He'd kill them if he could <i>but</i> the modern nanny state will not permit it .	negated contrastive	permit / deny	Simple choice between being allowed or not allowed to do something. As I should also be looking at gradability, this is either a one or the other choice (he is talking about badgers).	CA/M/4/1
X but Y		excited / nervous	My village contingent caught an 8am bus - the mood excited but a little nervous	contrastive	excited / bored nervous / calm	Two terms treated as mutually exclusive, but possible to be both at the same time (why not use 'and' instead of 'but'?), Nervous also suggest excitability?	CA/M/4/2
X but Y		great / problems	Would there, could there, really be such a great turnout as expected? Of course there could, <i>but</i> the huge crowds did cause problems .	contrastive	problematic / straightforward prepared / unprepared	The fact that there were problems implies lack of preparedness? Opposition relies on the implication that they didn't expect there to be problems, only a big crowd.	CA/M/4/3
X but Y		two-hour queue / worth every minute	There was a two-hour queue simply to start the march. <i>But</i> it was worth every minute .	contrastive	quick / slow worthwhile/ worthless tedious / exciting	Need to investigate how these prototypes blend together to create new meaning. Implication of two-hour wait is that it is slow moving, and potentially tedious, but the implication of tediousness comes from the fact it is being contrasted with 'worth every minute', so two-hour wait on its own doesn't evoke the tediousness concept. Another question – to what extent does the use of the contrastive 'but' automatically trigger a negator in concept (if not a lexical item) – therefore what is triggered is 'but it was not a waste of time...'	CA/M/4/4
not X but Y		violence /	There might <i>not</i> have been	negated	violence /	Making the point that civil dissent is legitimate	CA/M/4/5

		civil dissent	violence <i>but</i> civil dissent is not far below the surface.	contrastive	peace uncivilised / civilised illegitimate / legitimate	and doesn't necessarily involve violence, however is there the implication here that there is a fine line between the two – the low modality of 'might not' and 'not far below the surface'? Dissent implies challenging the legitimacy of the rulers. Something new is emerging which in certain circumstances and contexts MAY result in violence but not amongst this lot, because they wouldn't stoop to this.	
X but Y X mind you [however] Y..something else		stuck a large ...sticker over the lens.../ never known a quieter mass protest... quieter mass protest / volume from the whistles....	On the Embankment someone had stuck a large Countryside Alliance sticker over the lens of a traffic speed camera. But that was the only illegality I saw. A policeman on London Bridge said he had never known a quieter mass protest for trouble. The volume from the whistles and klaxons and horns and rustic larynxes, mind you, was something else.	contrastive contrastive?	illegality / legality individual / general expected / unexpected quiet / noise	Only mentions the speed camera anecdote to emphasise how legal and orderly everything is. 'Quieter' presumably in the first opposition is being used in a metaphorical sense, to mean orderly. An individual incident is not indicative of a general pattern. The second use of 'quieter' is its more literal usage contrasted with the noise. So we have a boisterous and passionate demo, but this is only channelled into noise, not violence or illegality – it's that tightrope again!	CA/M/4/6
After X, Y		good cheer and cacophony / tears pricked at the eye	<i>After</i> so much good cheer and cacophony, tears pricked at the eye	adverbial contrast	happiness / sadness	What sensitive souls they are. Showing crowds awareness and control over appropriacy of noise levels. Contrasting places it is appropriate to make noise around. They are sad around the Cenotaph, the symbolic nature of which has allowed them to demonstrate in the first place.	CA/M/4/7
X but Y		hope it doesn't come to that / hard to know	'Guy Fawkes had a point,' said a banner. Let's hope it doesn't come to that, but after yesterday it's hard to know.	contrastive adverbial contrastive	violence / peace certainty / uncertainty	Contrasting a relative certainty that before the demo when strength of feeling was unclear that nobody would do anything illegitimate, with how that has changed things to make them more unpredictable, so the demo is a kind of turning point in people's reactions to the government.	CA/M/4/8
X but Y		sat just to the right / hardly... looked past those citadel	Downing Street sat just to the right but hardly a single marcher looked past those citadel gates.	contrastive	acknowledge / ignore expected / unexpected?	One of those that relies on overlapping superordinate concepts. DS is a respected centre of power which these people were walking right past, and one would expect them to feel a sense of awe and respect. However by turning the	CA/M/4/9

		gates			respect / disrespect	other cheek they have snubbed it and shown their disillusionment. The contrastive marker implies that respect would be expected, however the opposite happens.	
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Ban hunting and I might as well leave, says Charles; [2ND Edition]

[GRAEME WILSON](#). [Daily Mail](#). London (UK): [Sep 23, 2002](#). pg. 5

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Abstract (Document Summary)

He told a private gathering, which included a senior politician: 'If the Labour government ever gets around to banning foxhunting, I might as well leave this country and spend the rest of my life skiing.' The Prince has also suggested that Ministers would never dare treat ethnic minorities or homosexuals in the way they have treated farmers and rural communities.

Former Minister for Sport Tony Banks said: 'I think quite a lot of people will find it both invidious and offensive to talk about minorities, whether they are ethnic minorities or minorities based on sexual orientation, and to compare that with a minority of people who want to carry on ripping wild animals to pieces.' Nottingham South MP Alan Simpson said: 'His comparison with ethnic minorities is bizarre.

That is all he is doing.' Labour peer Baroness Mallalieu, president of the **Countryside Alliance**, claimed the moves to ban hunting were a throwback to the days of class war.

Full Text (831 words)

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Sep 23, 2002

PRINCE Charles has made plain his exasperation at moves to ban foxhunting.

He told a private gathering, which included a senior politician: 'If the Labour government ever gets around to banning foxhunting, I might as well leave this country and spend the rest of my life skiing.' The Prince has also suggested that Ministers would never dare treat ethnic minorities or homosexuals in the way they have treated farmers and rural communities.

In a private letter to the Prime Minister, Charles made clear that he backed the view of a farmer from Cumbria who told him 'if we, as a group, were black or gay, we would not be victimised or picked upon'.

The Prince of Wales is understood to have gone on to accuse Mr Blair's Government of 'destroying the countryside'.

It was not clear last night whether Mr Blair had replied to the letter, which was sent following a meeting between the two men.

Both Downing Street and St James's Palace refused to comment on the furore, insisting that they never discuss private correspondence between the Prince and Mr Blair.

Charles's comments will delight countryside campaigners who claim Mr Blair is prepared to sacrifice

foxhunting as a sop to his disgruntled backbenchers.

The revelations come just over a month after it emerged that the Prince had written to the Prime Minister to urge Ministers to do more to help families fleeing Robert Mugabe's brutal regime in Zimbabwe.

Charles has previously infuriated Downing Street by issuing a blunt warning about the dangers of genetically-modified crops.

His intervention was given short shrift yesterday by Leftwing Labour MPs who have led the campaign to outlaw hunting with hounds.

Former Minister for Sport Tony Banks said: 'I think quite a lot of people will find it both invidious and offensive to talk about minorities, whether they are ethnic minorities or minorities based on sexual orientation, and to compare that with a minority of people who want to carry on ripping wild animals to pieces.'
Nottingham South MP Alan Simpson said: 'His comparison with ethnic minorities is bizarre.'

'The issue about their treatment is not remotely comparable to the treatment of people in the countryside.' He went on to describe the Prince's threat to leave the country as a 'generous offer' and added: 'I have never known a monarch who would abdicate on behalf of a fox.' Rural Affairs Minister Alun Michael insisted yesterday that the Government was tackling rural problems.

He claimed that supporters of hunting had 'attempted to hijack the genuine concerns many people have about things like jobs, education and transport which are a very real challenge in country areas'.

Tory leader Iain Duncan Smith, who marched with his wife Betsy, condemned the way Ministers had handled the issue.

'Mr Blair should now recognise that what he is about to do in terms of hunting is indecent,' he said. 'He is throwing red meat to his backbenchers.'

That is all he is doing.' Labour peer Baroness Mallalieu, president of the **Countryside Alliance**, claimed the moves to ban hunting were a throwback to the days of class war.

'A lot of what the Government is proposing to do on hunting is based on class bigotry which very sadly still resides in parts of the Labour Party,' she said.

Baroness Mallalieu said protesters on the march opposed a ban on hunting but were also angry about a whole range of other issues.

'The people taking part in this march are not single-issue fanatics, they are the sort of people who are the salt of the earth,' she said.

'They've probably never been on a march like this before.'

'I don't know whether the Government will listen or whether they will not, but if they choose to ignore it then they are going to be looking at really serious political crises in a year or 18 months.'

'This is not just people from the countryside. A lot of people who live in the towns and urban areas have the same concerns and would support people's right to live as they choose.' However, the scale of the protest was dismissed by the veteran Labour backbencher Gerald Kaufman.

'One quarter of a million people marching means that 99.6 per cent of the British population are not marching,' he told ITV1's Jonathan Dimbleby programme.

'This is a small minority putting forward a section of interest which they have got every right to do, but it is an interest which only reflects the needs and wishes of a tiny proportion of the people in this country.' Comment -

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Image that captured the spirit of the day

THE Daily Mail's Save Our Countryside poster became the unofficial emblem of the marchers.

Thousands clearly saw the image as encapsulating everything they were fighting for and had made placards from the picture. Others took advantage of plastic-backed versions distributed on the route by the Mail.

'It summed up the mood of the day perfectly,' said a march spokesman.

Revolt of the secret people ; John Mortimer on how New Labour's intolerance forced the countryside army into action SAVE OUR COUNTRYSIDE

'SMILE at us, pass us but do not quite forget, for we are the people of England who have not spoken yet.'
So wrote GK Chesterton in his poem, The Secret People.

Yesterday, the 'secret' people of the English, Welsh and Scottish countryside broke their silence because the condition of the farms and fields in Britain seems so desperate.

In the recent past, these people from Yorkshire villages, on Welsh hillsides, in Cumberland pubs and cottages, farmers, farmers' wives and farm workers, gamekeepers and gardeners, farriers and woodmen, all sorts of men and women whose life depends on the countryside they knew and loved, would have read of urban protest marches with only moderate interest.

To them, marching seemed for political hotheads interested in remote events in distant countries.

But yesterday all that changed.

The country people came to London to join in a well-organised, well-behaved march through the streets.

They contrasted dramatically with the crowds who sat down for CND, or marched against the Vietnam war, in the days when the amplified voices of Michael Foot and Tony Benn filled Trafalgar Square and sent Leftwing pulses racing.

Yesterday, the protest was directed at the Leftwing orthodoxy which believes that all rough shooters, followers of hunts, Pony Club girls and elderly women flyfishers are Rightwing toffs and that farmers are a curmudgeonly collection of conservative whingers whose daily milking of cows amounts to cruelty to animals.

It was aimed at those who can't accept the fact that people who hunt, shoot and fish know more and care more about animals than city dwellers who have never shot a pheasant or netted a salmon.

Confidence in the urban, politically correct New Labour majority in Parliament has broken down in the countryside.

If Mrs Thatcher presided over the collapse of heavy industry, Tony Blair has watched the slow death of farming.

AS A RESULT, yesterday's march was the biggest demonstration ever seen in London. The army of protesters all but equalled the crowds who celebrated our victories after two world wars in 1918 and 1945.

Unfortunately the countryside has no such victories to celebrate.

To say that farming is in crisis is an understatement.

In the three years up to June 2001, 60,000 farmers and farm workers lost their jobs, and thousands more have become unemployed since that date.

Our average farmer earns pounds 10,000 a year, pay far below the minimum wage.

The Government's confused and panic-stricken reaction to foot and-mouth disease, leading to the mass holocaust of animals and the long-delayed permission to move them, led to 200 farms going out of business.

A million breeding cows, four million breeding ewes and thousands of breeding pigs have been lost.

Farmers work over 60 hours a week (as compared to the national average of 38 hours) and once a week we hear of a farmer's suicide.

In this situation it's small wonder that all of us who live in, understand and love the countryside should have been on the move yesterday. I was not walking, but heading up the wheelchair brigade.

This is not on account of anything so dashing as a fall in the hunting field but because I have now lived long enough to remember what things were like when I was a child in the house I still live in on the edge of the Chiltern Hills.

We had, within a mile or two, three shops, three pubs, two schools, two churches and a chapel.

We now have no shops, no schools, no church and a very rare appearance of a single bus. Life here would be impossible without a car to go shopping in the nearest town, and rises in the cost of petrol are another blow to life in the countryside.

Now our local farmer is on income support, the police station in the nearest town has been closed and the cottage hospital abolished.

Because of lack of affordable housing young people are drifting away from the land.

Villages are turning into weekend rest centres or dormitories for commuting TV executives and merchant bankers.

Ramblers are given the right to roam over a countryside which they have no responsibility for looking after.

THE Government seems unaware of the basic fact that the only people who are going to maintain our countryside, among the most beautiful landscapes in the world, are the farmers and farm workers.

If farming goes, urban ramblers will be left struggling through brambles and shrub in a wasteland bare of fields and animals.

At a recent Labour Party conference both the **Countryside Alliance** and the 'Leave Country Sports Alone' group were refused rooms in the conference hotel. John Prescott, a noted torturer of the English language, announced that every time he saw the 'contorted faces of the **Countryside Alliance**' he redoubled his determination to criminalise foxhunting.

This heralded an ill-advised attempt by government sources to portray the **Countryside Alliance** as a Rightwing group. In fact the president is Anne Mallalieu, a Labour peer, the chairman is a dedicated Fabian and the chief executive a member of the Labour Party.

The Government has also shown its lack of concern with country matters by threatening us with a Bill which would turn the many decent, honourable and lawabiding people who take part in hunting into criminals liable to be cast into our overcrowded jails.

Those in favour of the measure have, presumably, never seen their chickens and lambs slaughtered by foxes. They eat the product of abattoirs, put up with such excessive cruelty as battery hens, kosher and halal butchery and, in many cases, have little knowledge or sympathy with life in the country.

The ban, if it ever came to pass, would lead to the loss of about 14,000 jobs and the destruction of 400,000 hounds, terriers and lurchers. It seems, to country people, not only to add insult to injury but a prelude to an attack on shooting and fishing.

So urban politicians have been seen not only failing to support the farmers, not only threatening to concrete over great parts of rural England, to build millions of houses for which there is no obvious need, not only to make country life doubly difficult by high petrol prices and collapsing public transport, but they are now taking it on themselves to tell us in the country how we should conduct our lives.

Adopt the values, they say, follow the example, they seem about to order, of an occasionally rambling, dedicated university vegan lecturer in sociology from Camden and if they, under their new power of search, find anything that looks remotely like a hunting horn or a pink coat in our bedrooms, it'll be up to us to prove our innocence.

Pro- and anti-hunters will never agree. What is at issue, though, is a tolerance of other people's values, the ability to agree to disagree, the respect for a way of life which may be different from your own.

New Labour's intolerance brought the countryside to London yesterday in record numbers and Mr Prescott, after surveying the many untwisted faces, may want to consider how many votes scattered in how many marginal constituencies the long line of wellington boots, parkas and well-weathered complexions represents.

But there's something far more important than votes at stake here.

If England is thought of with affection it's often because of our countryside.

OUR literature, among the finest in the world, is borne of the countryside and breathes the country air.

From Chaucer to Shakespeare, Milton, the Brontes, Hardy and DH Lawrence, it's the countryside, bleak and masterful, brilliant and welcoming, that has inspired their greatest work.

We are a nation of nature lovers who, even in towns, fills small front gardens, window boxes, patios and flat roofs with shrubs and flowers.

In these dark days and when there is the merest hint of spring or autumn sunshine where I live the woods are full of town dwellers come to see the first snowdrops, the turning leaves and often picnicking in the rain.

The countryside is the lung which allows us to breathe, the way of escape from the pressure, and often the loneliness of cities.

Wordsworth was perhaps the poet who came nearest to understanding the deep and undying importance of nature and the countryside. He wrote: 'I have learned to look on nature Hearing always the still, sad music of humanity.'

A sense sublime Of something far more deeply interfused.

Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns, And the round ocean and the living air, And the blue sky, And in the mind of man.' It is to preserve these things that the secret people were on the march.

The global views

MARCHERS came from at least 26 countries. Laura Sommer- Skrzynski, 37, from Washington DC, said: 'I do not like to see traditions going. Traditions are part of what makes England the place it is.' Claudia Piech, 38, of the Austrian Farmers and Foresters Association, said: 'The Government has no right to interfere with the rights of individual citizens and to criminalise them. These people are not criminals. Whatever happens here will spread to Europe.'

Wedding march

PHILIP HALL and Katie Potter turned the march into their honeymoon.

Mr Hall, 31, a farmer, and his bride, a 25-year-old nurse, married on Saturday in Chippenham, Wiltshire, and less than 24 hours later took part in the protest in full wedding garb.

Mr Hall said: 'We both grew up on farms and have hunted all our lives. When we heard the date of the march we decided to arrange our honeymoon around it.'

We are surrounded by friends and likeminded people and it is great fun.'

How they got there

MARCHERS converged on London from all around the country in 31 chartered trains and 2,500 coaches.

The capital's buses and the Underground were packed with extra passengers.

Twenty roads in central London were closed to traffic.

Not everyone had travelled long distances. Three thousand supporters made sure they were in London the night before - for an eve-of-march party hosted by the **Countryside Alliance**.

A record turnout

THE last time the **Countryside Alliance** came to town, 285,000 took to the streets in a record-breaking protest.

That march, in 1998, was said to have been Britain's largest 20th century demonstration.

It was exceeded only by the 1381 Peasants' Revolt and much later, the Tolpuddle Martyrs protest of 1834, in which thousands were outraged at the treatment of six farm workers who were transported to Australia for forming a branch of a union.

Daily Mail 23rd Sept 2002, p39

Revolt of the secret people ; John Mortimer on how New Labour's intolerance forced the countryside army into action SAVE OUR COUNTRYSIDE

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Form	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
X but not Y		smile...pass / not quite forget	'SMILE at us, pass us <i>but</i> do <i>not</i> quite forget, for we are the people of England who have not spoken yet.		negated contrastive	short-term / long-term acknowledge / ignore forget / remember	Using a poetic quote to call on someone (government in this case?) to acknowledge, via smiling and passing, the demo and remember it (don't forget), so interesting created opposition between smiling and remembering.	CA/M/39/1
X but Y		political hotheads... remote events.... distance countries/ changed	To them, marching seemed for political hotheads interested in remote events in distant countries. <i>But</i> yesterday all that changed.		contrastive auto-evocation? deixis?	distant / proximal passive / active extreme / moderate/ foreign / native	Implication is that marching is now the opposite of what it might initially have been seen to be, giving it credibility by (almost literally) distancing itself from the kind of march they may be worried about being associated with.	CA/M/39/2
x contrasted with Y		country people / crowds join in / sat down well-organised,	The country people came to London to join in a well-organised, well-behaved march through the streets. They <i>contrasted</i> dramatically <i>with</i> the crowds who sat down for CND, or marched		explicit contrastive	rural / urban ordered / chaotic moderate / extreme moderate /	A typical attempt to distance the march from other forms of protest, and it implies that speeches and passion are not be condoned as judged against the value-judgements of being well-behaved and organised.	CA/M/39/3

		well-behaved / pulses racing (?)	against the Vietnam war, in the days when the amplified voices of Michael Foot and Tony Benn filled Trafalgar Square and sent Leftwing pulses racing.			passionate		
... in the x broken down in the Y		confidence / broken down urban, politically correct New Labour majority / countryside	Confidence in the urban, politically correct New Labour majority in Parliament <i>has broken down</i> in the countryside .		transitional	confidence / cynicism urban / rural	Two oppositions, based on assuming there was once confidence in New Labour and that has changed into its opposite. Political correctness being used in its usual derogatory sense, implying that country folk have no truck with it. Also associates New Labour with being inherently urbanistic.	CA/M/39/4
If X, Y		Mrs Thatcher / Tony Blair presided / watched collapse / slow death heavy industry / farming	If Mrs Thatcher presided over the collapse of heavy industry, Tony Blair has watched the slow death of farming.		subordinator of equivalence? parallelism	Tory / Labour urban / rural industry / farming quick / slow	A densely packed syntactic parallel simultaneously comparing and contrasting Blair and Thatcher. They are synonymous in overseeing the demise of a productive force, whilst contrasted by the speed and type of force that has decayed. Presumably by comparing Blair to Thatcher in an era where employment was rife, this is no compliment. Not quite sure how to describe the role of 'if' – bit like 'while' (concessive), however, while implies simultaneity, whereas 'if' doesn't necessarily – acts more like 'just as' – bit like a simile, comparing one to the other.	CA/M/39/5
X equals Y1. Unfortunately no Y2 X equalled Y		victories / no such victories two world wars / countryside army of protestors / crowds	The army of protesters all but equalled the crowds who celebrated our victories after two world wars in 1918 and 1945. Unfortunately the countryside has no such victories to celebrate.		negator parallelism? Contrastive Concessive? Equivalence	past / present celebrate / protest victory / defeat for / against	Another complex one. Two sets of crowds, equivalent in their size, but contrasting in their effect and purpose. Previous crowds coming together to celebrate the end of something, whereas today, trying to stop something. 'Unfortunately' acts as a 'concessive' (bit like however) but with judgement implied. The comparison also of course evokes the spirit of nationalism, as if what is at stake is equivalent to beating	CA/M/39/6

							the Nazis – suppression of freedom etc.	
X compared to Y		Farmers / national average 60 hours / 38 hours	Farmers work over 60 hours a week (as compared to the national average of 38 hours) and once a week we hear of a farmer's suicide		Explicit contrastive	Extreme / moderate	In what sense are these hours comparisons being treated as opposites? as on a scale, average is in the middle. However, the extreme / moderate contrast works well, as these are contrasts constantly set up in the media politically, so on a scale of size they aren't opposite, but on a social acceptability scale they are. If it was bottom of number scale – zero hours, on the social scale they could be equivalent as two extremes, against average?	CA/M/39/7
not X but Y		walking / heading up the wheelchair brigade	I was <i>not walking</i> , but heading up the wheelchair brigade.		negated contrastive	able bodied / disabled	Uses this to try to make point that because he is old, he has seen the changes meted out to the countryside over the years	CA/M/39/8
not X but Y		fall in the hunting field / lived long enough to remember	This is <i>not</i> on account of anything so dashing as a fall in the hunting field but because I have now lived long enough to remember what things were like when I was a child in the house I still live in on the edge of the Chiltern Hills.		negated contrastive	dramatic / undramatic short term / long term	Linked to previous point, possibly showing both how exciting country life can be, but also that he is qualified to talk about the changes, as he has lived through them, consolidated in next paragraph when then and now contrasted. Interesting opposition between quick injury and slow deterioration of the body.	CA/M/39/9
[then] X now Y		three shops, three pubs, two schools, two churches and a chapel / no shops, no schools, no church.....	<i>We had</i> , within a mile or two, three shops, three pubs, two schools, two churches and a chapel. <i>We now have</i> no shops, no schools, no church and a very rare appearance of a single bus		adverbial contrast parallelism	past / present presence / absence	Past / present contrast indicated by past tense verb of 'to have' against present tense, emphasises by time adverbial 'now'. Idealising the past by describing what was present and is now absent	CA/M/39/10
X turning into Y		villages / weekend rest centres	Villages are turning into weekend rest centres or dormitories for commuting TV executives and		transitional	rural / urban tranquillity / noise	Keeping up the past v present theme but showing how modern business world is intruding on the tranquillity of traditional rural life	CA/M/39/11

			merchant bankers.			past / present traditional/ modern		
A has X A has no Y		the right to roam / no responsibility	<i>Ramblers are given the right to roam over a countryside which <i>they have no responsibility for looking after.</i></i>		negator equivalence?	rights / restrictions responsibility / no responsibility give / take	Interesting! An equivalence here in that both sets of conditions apply to the ramblers, but there is a higher level contrast between those two conditions i.e they 'take' rights, but don't 'take' responsibility – ie. they don't give anything back, so gives impression the urban folk are draining the countryside of its resources	CA/M/39/ 12
If X goes Y [happens]		farming / wasteland bare of fields and animals	<i>If farming goes, urban ramblers will be left struggling through brambles and shrub in a wasteland bare of fields and animals.</i>		concessive conditional? auto-evocation transitional	order / chaos presence / absence rural / urban fertility / barrenness present / future	Is he appealing to the urbanites to show how they may be cutting off their nose to spite their face? Contrasting potential future, apocalyptic scenario with present, the orderliness of which is implied because its disappearance would lead to these consequences - 'goes' is the trigger here for transition between present and future. NB: surely auto-evocation has some significant pragmatic basis?	CA/M/39/ 13
X in fact Y		Rightwing / Labour... Fabian	This heralded an ill-advised attempt by government sources to portray the Countryside Alliance as a Rightwing group . <i>In fact</i> the president is Anne Mallalieu, a Labour peer , the chairman is a dedicated Fabian and the chief executive a member of the Labour Party .		Contrastive	appearance / reality right wing / left wing	Trying to anticipate criticisms of CA, by coming up with an alternative image (not that Labour/Fabian can in any way be really seen as a contrast to the right – certainly a created opposition!)	CA/M/39/ 14
turn X into Y		law abiding people /	The Government has also shown its lack of concern		transitional	legal / illegal	Showing how scandalous it would be to criminalise those who don't deserve to	CA/M/39/ 15

		criminals	with country matters by threatening us with a Bill which would turn the many decent, honourable and law abiding people who take part in hunting <i>into criminals</i> liable to be cast into our overcrowded jails.			moral / immoral	be – hyperbole of course, as implying they will all carry on doing this after bill passed (which of course they do!).	
A never X A Y and little X		seen chickens and lambs slaughtered / eat the product of abattoirs	Those in favour of the measure have, presumably, never seen their chickens and lambs slaughtered by foxes. They eat the product of abattoirs, put up with such excessive cruelty as battery hens, kosher and halal butchery and, in many cases, have little knowledge or sympathy with life in the country.		Negated auto-evocation equivalence	seeing / not seeing passive / active tolerance / intolerance cruelty / kindness process / end product	More implied stuff through equivalence – not seeing but eating. Process of foxes killing lambs seen as equivalent to worst excesses of butchery. Implies that the slaughter of animals by traditional methods is kinder than both what foxes do and that of other cultures. Equivalence based on a huge presupposition about those who support the bill. Modality important here (although slightly qualified by ‘presumably’). Sympathy with life in the country also seen as equivalent to being against chickens and lambs being slaughtered by foxes.	CA/M/39/ 16
not only X but Y		failing to support farmers etc / tell us in the country how we should conduct our lives	So urban politicians have been seen not only failing to support the farmers, not only threatening to concrete over great parts of rural England, to build millions of houses for which there is no obvious need, not only to make country life doubly difficult by high petrol prices and collapsing public transport, but they are now taking it on themselves to tell us in the country how we		negated contrastive of equivalence	few / many acceptable / unacceptable? only / also singular / additional gradual / sudden	To what extent does the <i>not only, but</i> construction act as an opposition trigger? It is the <i>only</i> that is being negated, not the phrases after it. So we have a contrast between <i>only</i> and <i>also</i> ? the additional info after <i>also</i> it is implied is unexpected (in this case unwelcome). There’s also a contrast between passively and slowly imposing its will on the countryside and a sudden quick-fix law.	CA/M/39/ 17

			should conduct our lives.					
X if Y [happens] If Y [happens] X [is consequence]		an occasionally rambling, dedicated university vegan lecturer in sociology from Camden / a hunting horn or a pink coat....us	Adopt the values, they say, follow the example, they seem about to order, of an occasionally rambling, dedicated university vegan lecturer in sociology from Camden and <i>if</i> they, under their new power of search, find anything that looks remotely like a hunting horn or a pink coat in our bedrooms, it'll be up to us to prove our innocence.		auto-evocation conditional	left / right town / country trendy / traditional vegan / meat- eater moderate / extreme minority / majority guilt / innocence	Relies as much on semantic as syntactic knowledge. No obvious syntactic markers. although <i>if</i> contributes, not but not necessarily fundamentally. He aligns himself with the hunting lobby explicitly by use of pronoun 'us'. Chooses extreme caricature example of anti-fox-hunter to contrast against moderate elements associated with hunting – so contrast between the activities of one person and those things which are mild indexes of other activities of another (note there is no gun mentioned). Also the guilt innocence contrast is supposed to parody what being guilty is, by choosing tow innocuous indexes of hunting	CA/M/39/ 18
X will never... though Y		agree ... / tolerance... agree to disagree... respect	Pro- and anti-hunters will <i>never</i> agree. What is at issue, though, is a tolerance of other people's values, the ability to agree to disagree, the respect for a way of life which may be different from your own.		concessive equivalence	tolerance / intolerance respect / disrespect Absence / presence fixed / flexible dogmatic / pragmatic	Just to quote Quirk (p745) a concessive clause implies a contrast between two circumstances; ie that in the light of the circumstance in the dependent clause, that in the main clause is surprising. So <i>though</i> can be the equivalent of <i>but</i> . When the concessive goes with 'if' then called a concessive-conditional – both tend to assume initial position on the superordinate clause. In this example we have equivalence between being able to disagree but have respect at same time, but contrast between what they will not do and what they <i>should</i> do.	CA/M/39/ 19
X but er than X, [i.e.] Y		votes / countryside	New Labour's intolerance brought the countryside to London yesterday in record numbers and Mr Prescott, after surveying the many untwisted faces, may want to consider how		Contrastive comparative	trivial / important	The relative triviality of votes is being compared to the importance of the state of the countryside – defending themselves as guardians of the country, a cause worth sacrificing a few trivial votes for....	CA/M/39/ 20

			many votes scattered in how many marginal constituencies the long line of wellington boots, parkas and well-weathered complexions represents. <i>But</i> there's something <i>far more important</i> than votes at stake here. If England is thought of with affection it's often because of our countryside.					
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**Ignore this mighty army at your peril ;
SAVE OUR COUNTRYSIDE; [1ST Edition]**
SIMON HEFFER. [Daily Mail](#). London (UK): [Sep 23,](#)
[2002](#). pg. 44

AS WE REACHED the end of Pall Mall just before noon, and the tens of thousands of us marching slowed down before turning into Trafalgar Square, there was a palpable air of detestation of the Government.

Placards abused Tony Blair for his ignorance, bigotry and even 'fascism'.

There was even a reference to the kulaks, the peasant farmers liquidated by Stalin in the 1930s. The fact that the Government can be compared to such a monster without those on the march feeling it was much of an exaggeration was a testament to the anger they felt.

The obvious question after yesterday's demonstration - particularly given its astonishing scale - is 'will it change anything?' The answer, regrettably, is probably not - at least, not in the short term.

The reason the Liberty and Livelihood march happened was the Government's determination to abolish hunting with hounds. A Bill to enforce such a ban is expected to be introduced in the forthcoming session of Parliament.

This is despite the fact that there is little enthusiasm for the ban among senior Cabinet ministers, including the Prime Minister, because they foresee the unrest and division it is certain to cause.

However, it is highly unlikely that it will be postponed: the Bill was a sop to backbenchers to buy them off, earlier this year, in return for their support of Stephen Byers.

With a huge Labour majority in the Commons, the Bill will certainly pass there. The House of Lords should, with equal certainty, reject it, raising the possibility of the controversial use by the Government of the Parliament Acts - which prevent the Lords from vetoing legislation.

However startling the size of yesterday's protests, the Government will simply reason that hardly any of those who turned out would vote Labour anyway. If Mr Blair felt that public opinion could be made to turn against him, he would quickly seek to treat the problems identified by the marchers.

He does not yet believe that; his only fear is that it might strike millions who did not march that the protesters had a point, and that both freedom and the countryside are in peril unless the Government alters some of its policies.

Well aware of the further damage that could be done to its credibility by pressing ahead on hunting when there is so much of a more urgent nature that requires its attention, the Government will seek other ways of appeasing rural opinion.

This can only be done by increased public subsidies to keep post offices open and bus services running, to provide housing that poorer country people can afford to live in, and, above all, to do something constructive to help farmers. That is all easier said than done, and so hated is the Government by many in rural areas that it might be too late to have any effect.

The Government remains woefully ignorant of the countryside and fails to understand that the problems of poverty, isolation and social exclusion that it readily identifies in inner cities are also found in rural areas.

There is also little understanding that the countryside as a resource for the recreation of townspeople is in danger if the Government persists with its opposition to country sports, a prime motivation for conservation. Nor, despite the lessons of BSE and foot-and-mouth, does there appear to be any urgency to secure the long-term future of farmers, inside the Common Agricultural Policy or, better still, out of it.

Unless something is done, large areas of prime farmland could within a generation be derelict wilderness. We would become almost entirely dependent on imported food. Historic skills of animal husbandry and cultivation could be lost to us for good.

It becomes apparent that nothing has changed as a result of this enormous demonstration, some elements will become restive: indeed, some already are.

Advice is even now being disseminated to more radical protesters about how to engage in civil disobedience without breaking the law - the sort of advice that organised Leftwing militants have been handing out to their foot-soldiers for decades.

The **Countryside Alliance** have fired more or less the last shot in their locker. They have been criticised by activists for taking too gentlemanly an approach and for seeking to co-operate with the Government as far as possible.

If it chooses to do nothing, the Government will effectively emasculate the Alliance. Some of its most ferociously anti-hunting backbenchers will regard that as a great victory.

The result, though, will be to create even deeper divisions between town and country, and to spur those in the countryside who feel they are being patronised and ignored to act in a way the Government will find far harder to brush aside.

Yesterday's march was predominantly civilised, good-humoured and cheerful.

It would be a mistake for the Government to think they can count on the good behaviour of Little England indefinitely.

Daily Mail 23rd Sept 2002, p44

Ignore this mighty army at your peril; SAVE OUR COUNTRYSIDE

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
X [will happen] despite the fact Y		expected to be introduced / little enthusiasm	A Bill to enforce such a ban is expected to be introduced in the forthcoming session of Parliament. This is <i>despite the fact</i> that there is little enthusiasm for the ban among senior Cabinet ministers, including the Prime Minister, because they foresee the unrest and division it is certain to cause.	concessive?	expected / unexpected enthusiastic / unenthusiastic	Blending of superords again? Works on the presupposition that if something is to be introduced it has some support (enthusiasm) So the ban has little support amongst the people who are implementing it, working against the grain. To what extent does 'despite' act as an 'unexpected' trigger. Despite also triggers the concept that the contrasting pair perhaps create some disjuncture between two things that are happening concurrently.	CA/M/44/1
however X, Y [will happen] X, if Y [consequences] X not Y		size of yesterday's protests / hardly any of those... would vote Labour anyway hardly any of those... would vote Labour / public opinion could be made to turn against him / that	<i>However</i> startling the size of yesterday's protests , the Government will simply reason that hardly any of those who turned out would vote Labour anyway . <i>If</i> Mr Blair felt that public opinion could be made to turn against him , he would quickly seek to treat the problems identified by the marchers. He does <i>not</i> yet believe that ;	concessive conditional contrastive? negated	expected / unexpected big / small trustworthy / cynical actual / hypothetical disbelieve / believe	'However' is acting in similar manner to 'despite' (as opposed to in a contrastive sense) – ie we expect a big demo to bring a result. But the implication is that Labour are cynically only pandering to their own voting constituency, hence the number of people that matter is minor. This is consolidated in the next sentence, which contrasts with the assumption that public opinion is still on Blair's side. In an ideal world, Blair would feel that pressure and be forced to do something about it. The 'if' works as a conditional, i.e. there would have to be certain conditions in place for this to happen and they are contrasted with the actual conditions. This is added to be the last sentence in which the journalist claims Blair thinks these conditions have not arrived.	CA/M/44/2
X also Y?	city / rural	inner cities / rural areas	The Government remains woefully ignorant of the	adverbial equivalence?	urban / rural	Conventional opposites being treated as synonymous through the common factor of	CA/M/44/3

			<p>countryside and fails to understand that the problems of poverty, isolation and social exclusion that it readily identifies in inner cities are <i>also</i> found in rural areas.</p>			<p>social problems. Does this show that when we use conventional opposites we are often being selective about the traits we focus on to emphasise that oppositeness. So the urban / rural contrast works only on certain dimensions and in particular contexts, despite the fact they are regions that people live in where class divisions are alive and kicking.</p>	
<p>despite X, Y [doesn't happen]</p>		<p>lessons of BSE and foot-and-mouth / nor...appear to be any urgency to secure the long-term future of farmers.</p>	<p>Nor, <i>despite the lessons of BSE and foot-and-mouth</i>, does there appear to be any urgency to secure the long-term future of farmers, inside the Common Agricultural Policy or, better still, out of it.</p>	<p>concessive</p>	<p>urgent / complacent learn / forget secure / endanger</p>	<p>Another 'despite' – this time implies that we would expect the government to have made significant changes to its policies following foot and mouth, but instead is complacent about the livelihoods of farmers. It seems to have forgot it and therefore put the long-term future of farmers in jeopardy.</p>	<p>CA/M/44/4</p>
<p>unless X [happens], Y [will happen] X would become Y X could be Y</p>		<p>something is done.....historic skills of animal husbandry and cultivation / derelict wilderness..... dependent on imported food prime farmland / derelict wilderness</p>	<p><i>Unless something is done</i>, large areas of prime farmland could within a generation <i>be derelict wilderness</i>. <i>We would become</i> almost entirely dependent on imported food. Historic skills of animal husbandry and cultivation could be lost to us for good.</p>	<p>conditional contrastive transitional</p>	<p>actuality / possibility present / past cultivated / uncultivated native / foreign fertile / barren</p>	<p>Predicting future possible world against present, based on condition that govt does or does not secure the long-term future of farmers. The blending of schemas links lack of cultivation, foreignness, barrenness etc. Interesting that imported food is counterpoised with animal husbandry etc, suggesting that foreign countries don't have the skills we have. Although may just be trying to say that we would lose our skills, it therefore assumes a nationalist default position</p>	<p>CA/M/44/5</p>
<p>If X [happens], Y [will happen]</p>		<p>nothing has changed... / become restive</p>	<p><i>[If?]</i> It becomes apparent that nothing has changed as a result of this enormous demonstration, some elements will become restive: indeed, some already are.</p>	<p>conditional transitional</p>	<p>stagnation / change passive / active present / future</p>	<p>Am presuming there is an 'if' missing at the beginning of the sentence otherwise it doesn't make sense. Meaning is linked to previous paragraph [above], in that he is predicting what might happen i.e a disguised threat that action will move onto a more militant plane, developed in the paragraphs following this one. So the contrast is between current good-natured. Legitimate protest which only manages to maintain the status quo, and more militant civil</p>	<p>CA/M/44/6</p>

						disobedience which may guarantee more of a change in the future.	
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Daily Mirror

Vermin, cunning vermin (AND NO I'M NOT TALKING ABOUT THE POOR FOXES); BRIAN READE on how the fox hunters hijacked the countryside protest

Daily Mirror, 23 Sept, 2002. page 6

WHEN it was all over and the Barbours and bumpkins retreated to their villages for a quick snifter in the Firkin Fox, the chinless wonders behind it all were positively orgasmic.

The flawlessness of their operation, the polite exuberance of their marchers, the carefully managed media images of "decent British citizens making a stand for their civil rights" and the sheer scale of their numbers had exceeded their wildest expectations.

"Anybody who still thinks this march was all about hunting must be from a different planet," said **Countryside Alliance** chairman John Jackson as the Tweed Army pulled out of town.

Well, as someone who spent a day with both the pro-hunting puppet-masters and their marching stooges, it was the sheer scale of the deception which did it for this extra-terrestrial.

Thanks to pounds 1million worth of backing, which saw them charter 37 trains, 2,500 coaches, close 22 roads, erect five giant screens and take over the Institute of Directors building for the day to pump out their propaganda, they had succeeded in creating the illusion that their march was a democratic uprising against the oppression of ordinary, decent rural folk by a spiteful urban elite.

IN truth it was simply a desperate demonstration against the imminent ban on murdering animals with dogs, backed by rural pressure groups after even more hand-outs, and right-wing political forces who want to see this Labour government removed.

It was the unspeakable in pursuit of the undemocratic.

They claim 400,000 bodies on the streets of London is reason enough for the government to do a U-turn on hunting. Well, if the marches I'd been on - supporting miners, shipbuilders and dockers - had billionaire landowners and businessmen on the payroll, we would have taken 15million down to Whitehall. And still have been told where to go.

Virtually every time I asked a protester why they were marching we went through the same ritual as the one experienced with a group from Cumbria: "It's about self-determination for the countryside," said Mike Forster, pictured left.

You ask them to be specific and it triggers the word "liberty." You ask them to define liberty and they waffle on foot-and-mouth and the despicable Tony Blair. You say it's really about fox-hunting isn't it, and at least one of them loudly agrees.

I even performed this dance with former Tory minister Peter Lilley. After an anti-Labour rant he told me: "This march is about liberty. It's about freedoms which may be here today and gone tomorrow." I suggest it's all about hunting then? "Yes. They shouldn't be stopped doing what they believe in," he answers.

I was on the last **Countryside Alliance** march four years ago and much had changed. Last time they made the mistake of being honest.

By encouraging hunts to turn up with their horns in sporting dress, and hold a rally in Hyde Park which allowed their odd-ball spokesmen to rant bile against the government, they had scored an own goal. Us townies had seen their loutish aims for what they were. Yesterday there was a different strategy.

It was a human sea of comfortable respectability, dressed in Barbours, tweeds, paisley caps, shirts, ties and strange red trousers. Nowhere to be seen were the packs of hounds, or horses, or even the traditional red jackets.

They had been cast aside for the day to show this was about everything but the "H" word.

THE crowds were buoyant but nowhere near as noisy as the last one. Gone were the mass tally-ho horns, the rabble-rousing, the loud threats to bring down the government and the homophobic rants to loud applause.

However scratch below the Barbour jacket and you could easily find them. Roger Wadsworth, a 52-year-old from Kent, told me he was marching for the freedom to hunt and shoot.

When I pointed out that blood sports were opposed by the majority of the nation he swiftly answered: "So is homosexuality. But homosexuals have their interests protected."

Yes but they don't go around killing for fun do they, I suggested? "Some do," he replied. Another liberal-minded chap, 51-year-old James Catterall, from Cornwall, claimed Asian immigrants were not under threat so why should the hunting community be?

I answered that 82 per cent of the nation don't want Asian immigrants abolished.

He answered with a dead-pan expression: "Exactly. About 90 per cent of us do. But who listens to us any more?"

That's another thing which had changed. It was no longer about Listen To Us, it was about Fear Us.

"Born to hunt. Forced to march. Ready to fight," was the theme on their placards. "We'll keep our cowshit in the country if you keep your bullshit in the city," read another.

A couple of American women brought plenty of their city bullshit along. Angela Graham, who now lives in Hammersmith, said she was marching because: "Tony Blair keeps putting his fingers in everything. I hate his style of government. He is taking away countryside rights."

Her friend Diana Christopher, from urban Essex, said: "Those who want it banned don't understand hunting. Besides, if it was banned, what would the country put on its Christmas cards?" Their loathing of all things Labour, especially their leader, was a joy to behold.

Never has Tony Blair felt more like a hero. And never have I seen so many banners explaining his evil: According to the marchers his name stands for: British Liberty Almost In Ruins, or Bullying Labour Axes Individual Rights.

Keep this up Tony and you'll be a new Che Guevara.

Among the protesters Sophie Large, aged 12 months, was perhaps the most oblivious. Fast-asleep clutching a Tinky-Winky soft toy, a large sign attached to her pushchair read: "When I grow up I want to go hunting with my daddy." Surely a case of putting words into the mouths of babes? Or maybe the sign referred to Tinky-Winky?

Derbyshire hunt worker Paul Larby, 43, had made his 11-year-old son Richard hold up a banner saying "Please Mr Blair Don't Make Me Homeless."

I asked him why: "I have been working with hounds for 28 years. If hunting is banned that job will never be replaced and I will be out of my home," he explained.

So what about the millions of manufacturing jobs which disappeared in our cities under Mrs Thatcher I ask. "That was economics. This is different. This is simply class war," he replies.

BUT is it? I'll admit I have no time for these people. And I'll also admit there is a thirst for revenge here. About getting back at traditional Tory supporters by doing to them what they did to us for 18 years.

That was at the beginning of the fight to ban hunting. Had it gone the democratic way it was supposed to, we would have forgotten about the hunting-classes and moved on.

It is they who choose to make it a class war because they refuse to accept the democratic will of the people. They who put themselves above the law, and thus, once again, above the rest of us.

And it is the re-writing of their free-market political philosophy to suit their own ends which is quite staggering. At the media briefing we were told farmers earn two-thirds of the minimum wage while Tesco has just announced a 13 per cent profit.

I asked **Countryside Alliance** chief executive Richard Burge if this march was about demands to nationalise supermarkets and re- distribute wealth to the poor farmers. He said it wasn't.

I asked him where these great countryside fighters were when the mines were shut under Margaret Thatcher. Communities like those in Nottinghamshire which today are hosting public inquiries to find out why heroin addiction is rife.

"The **Countryside Alliance** had not been formed then," he answered. I wonder why?

The Alliance bosses cited the day's numbers as a massive two- fingers to Tony Blair. There were also veiled threats about his members taking the law into their own hands if government fails to give in to their demands.

"The countryside will erupt in fury," he warned.

Let it erupt, I say. Let pro-hunting fanatics pollute our water supplies and block our roads.

Let us pull back the veil of deception and see the smiling country bumpkins as the bloodthirsty anarchists they truly are.

Let us show them that it is they, not us, who belong to a different planet.

**Vermin, cunning vermin (AND NO I'M NOT TALKING ABOUT THE POOR FOXES);
BRIAN READE on how the fox hunters hijacked the countryside protest**

Daily Mirror, 23 Sept, 2002. page 6

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
X and Y	masters / stooges	pro-hunting puppet masters / marching stooges	Well, as someone who spent a day with both the pro-hunting puppet- masters and their marching stooges , it was the sheer scale of the deception which did it for this extra-terrestrial.	coordinated	master / slave	Journalist Brian Read, obviously critical of the demo – using his experience with different sections of the march to construct two ends of a spectrum based on a master / slave dichotomy and possibly drawing on feudal imagery. The coordinator doesn't contrast them however, but is used in an inclusive way to show how HE has experienced both ends of the scale. The opposition relies to a certain extent on the conventional semantic contrast of master / stooge confirming my belief that weak syntactic triggers needs strong semantic ones for the opposition to be recognised.	CA/M/6/1
oppression of X by a Y X against a Y	urban / rural decent / spiteful? ordinary / elite	ordinary, decent rural folk / spiteful urban elite democratic uprising / oppression	Thanks to pounds 1million worth of backing, which saw them charter 37 trains, 2,500 coaches, close 22 roads, erect five giant screens and take over the Institute of Directors building for the day to pump out their propaganda, they had succeeded in creating the illusion that their <i>march was a democratic uprising against the oppression of ordinary, decent rural folk</i> by a spiteful urban elite .	explicit contrastive semantic ancillary	urban / rural decent / indecent oppressed / oppressors common / elite freedom / oppression democracy / autocracy	Some standard semantic triggers here, which means the opposites are fairly conventional and work on two planes. Reade is being sarcastic about the aims of the demonstrators, by satirising their claim that 1) This is democracy versus oppression i.e march versus government law, using an explicit contrastive trigger – 'against'. 2) There are two types of people involved – the honest down-to-earth country folk and the nasty urban government types. Interestingly Reade is drawing attention to constructed oppositions here. The second opposition doesn't really have a syntactic trigger – down purely to conventional oppositions of urban / rural and ordinary, decent/spiteful.	CA/M/6/2a

A was X against Y. In truth A was X1 against Y1	illusion / truth	democratic uprising / desperate demonstration oppression of ordinary decent folk.../ imminent ban on murdering animals with dogs illusion / truth	<i>IN truth it was simply a desperate demonstration against the imminent ban on murdering animals with dogs, backed by rural pressure groups after even more hand-outs, and right-wing political forces who want to see this Labour government removed. It was</i> the unspeakable in pursuit of the undemocratic.	explicit contrastive syntactic pattern	illusion / truth sincere / cynical hopeful / desperate positive / negative	This just gets bigger and bigger. Missed the truth / illusion one first time around. This analysis goes with the one above (CA/M/6/2). We've got one thing opposed to the other OPPOSED to another thing opposed to another – centring around truth / illusion and sub-categories of this i.e. that the illusion is based on pretending to be sincere, idealist and hopeful for change campaigning against something which is generally accepted as a bad thing, whereas instead in reality it is cynical, manipulative and desperate attempt to campaign against something which is supposed to be for the better	CA/M/6/2b
	specific / waffle	specific... .define / waffle liberty / foot-and-mouth and the despicable Tony Blair	You ask them to be specific and it triggers the word "liberty." You ask them to define liberty and they waffle on foot-and-mouth and the despicable Tony Blair.	semantic trigger syntactic pattern? ancillary?	specific / general define / confuse general / specific	Mainly semantically triggered between specific & define / waffle. No obvious syntactic triggers despite the fact there is some syntactic patterning – 'you ask them to be...' which is used for synonymous rather than antonymous purposes. 'Waffle' is mainly a slang word for unspecified so it's as good as a conventional opposition. Bizarrely you've got on the one hand liberty being treated as a specific concept in the first half, but then a general one as opposed to the specificity of foot-an-mouth!	CA/M/6/3

everything but Y			the traditional red jackets. <i>They had been cast aside for the day to show this was about everything but the "H" word.</i>	contrastive			
A was X but nowhere near as Y Gone were the Xs, however X [exist]		buoyant ... / noisy... mass tally-ho horns.. rabble-rousing...loud threats	THE crowds were buoyant but nowhere near as noisy as the last one. <i>Gone</i> were the mass tally-ho horns, the rabble-rousing, the loud threats to bring down the government and the homophobic rants to loud applause. <i>However</i> scratch below the Barbour jacket and you could easily find them. Roger Wadsworth, a 52-year-old from Kent, told me he was marching for the freedom to hunt and shoot.	negated contrastive? or comparative? contrastive	quiet / noisy peaceful / violent absence / presence illusion / reality	Continuing the comparison between past and present. The trigger seems to be more of a comparative than contrastive despite use of 'but'. However it does have a sense of explicit contrastiveness to it too. Not sure how these things matter. 'Gone' seems more of an explicit contrast between past and present. All of this is of course continuing the idea that this is all a charade anyway as the conditions which made the former noisier are still there. The 'however' is there to contrast the illusion created by the relative peace and the costumes, with the reality of what is there under the surface.	CA/M/6/6
[It was] no longer about X [it was] about Y		Listen to Us / Fear Us	That's another thing which had changed. It was no longer about Listen To Us, it was about Fear Us.	negated comparative?	listen / ignore protect / threaten democracy / oppression	Interesting contrast between fear and listen. The bridge between the two I think is that a democracy is supposed not to rule by fear, and people are listened to whereas opposite is the case in an oppressive state. So Reade arguing that the tone of the protests becomes much more sinister. It's refreshing to see it isn't purely the left who are accused of 'extremism' in the national press.	CA/M/6/7
X not Y		want it banned / understand hunting	"Those who want it banned don't understand hunting	negated	banned / authorised want / dislike emotional / rational	Not sure how much mileage in this. Is there a contrast here between wanting and understanding, and therefore emotion and rational responses? Probably	CA/M/6/8
[that was] X. This is	that / this	economics / class war	"That was economics. This is <i>different</i> . This is simply	explicit contrastive	rational / emotional	This is a good one. A very artificial distinction, as economics usually forms part of	CA/M/6/9

different. [this is] Y			class war ," he replies.	parallelism	peaceful / violent determinism / free will neutral / prejudiced	any vision of class war. However economics suggests something out of the control of human beings, having a logic of its own, whereas class war suggests the motivations of human individuals – with prejudices, and obviously the term ‘war’ implies violence on some level.	
see X as the Y [they truly are]		smiling country bumpkins / bloodthirsty anarchists veil of deception / truly are	Let us <i>pull back the veil of deception</i> and see the smiling country bumpkins as the bloodthirsty anarchists they truly are.	explicit contrastive	peaceful / violent deceit / truth illusion / reality order / anarchy	A novel, metaphorical way of making explicit a contrast between two states – illusion and reality. Kind of ancillary thing here in that the bumpkin/anarchist dichotomy is created through comparison between what they claim to be and what they really are – one of the main thrusts of the latter half of the article. Might be worth having an extended look at how different types of triggers can be used to make specific points, if indeed there IS any relationship here?	CA/M/6/10
X not Y	they / us	they / us [who belong to a different planet]	Let us show them that it is they, not us, who belong to a different planet.	negated semantic trigger	them / us alien / human realist / deluded	Completes a three part list of rhetorical imperatives at end of article. Trying to create classic them/us distinction with readership who he clearly aligns with supporters of the ban, and reinforces that by assuming they agree with his construction of society into those who support fox-hunting and are deluded alien types, whilst opponents of hunting are humanist/realists!	CA/M/6/11

Daily Telegraph

407,791 voices cry freedom When the country march ended at 5.38pm yesterday, it had become the biggest civil liberties protest in British history. Stephen Robinson was there

Stephen Robinson, [The Daily Telegraph](#), London (UK): [Sep 23, 2002](#), pg. 01

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Abstract (Document Summary)

In the clubs of St James's, unusually full for a weekend, the grander marchers breakfasted heartily. Some way away at the mainline railway stations, chartered trains were hauling the countryside to the town, and under the streets the marchers were making their way by Tube to the mustering points for the two marches, at Blackfriars for Livelihood, Hyde Park for Liberty, depending on where you had travelled from.

Past the Cenotaph, the Liberty and Livelihood marches, still separated by metal barriers, surged together towards the finishing line at the foot of Whitehall, where the marchers were counted by tellers. To the delight of all, their final steps over the counting line were captured by video cameras and the images projected on giant screens above Whitehall.

In the square, the marches again separated, with Livelihood heading south over Westminster Bridge, and Liberty petering out amid the dreary office blocks of Victoria Street. There were no speeches, no rally, no concert to raise the spirits before the long journey home. Once they had passed the counting station, the marchers were asked simply to disperse to allow those behind to complete the route.

Full Text (1483 words)

Copyright Daily Telegraph Sep 23, 2002

IT STARTED so quietly that at first one wondered if it was all going to be an embarrassing flop. At 7am yesterday the only people visible on the streets of central London were hundreds of police, closing roads and putting up tape and barriers.

In the clubs of St James's, unusually full for a weekend, the grander marchers breakfasted heartily. Some way away at the mainline railway stations, chartered trains were hauling the countryside to the town, and under the streets the marchers were making their way by Tube to the mustering points for the two marches, at Blackfriars for Livelihood, Hyde Park for Liberty, depending on where you had travelled from.

But early on the mobilisation was invisible to most Londoners, and it was only when you walked down Park Lane to the starting point of the Liberty march in Hyde Park that the sheer scale of the event became obvious. One minute it seemed like another late summer Sunday in London; the next the huge banks of people came into view, backed deeply into the normally vacant green acres of the park.

There was a palpable sense of excitement that something big was afoot. Most of the crowd queued for three or four hours before they could actually begin their march.

At the head of the Liberty march, a couple of activists from the Union of Country Sports Workers, loudly denouncing the Countryside Alliance "and their establishment friends", demanded to march at the front of the Liberty rally, but the alliance's press officers wanted cute 12-month-old Sophie Large in her pushchair, with her camera-friendly placard: "When I grow up I want to go hunting with my Daddy."

After a certain awkward negotiation, the pushchair prevailed.

The placards, swaying in the sunshine, conveyed an attitude of defiance. "We will not be culturally cleansed", read one; "Future Criminal" read another carried by an eight-year-old; "Revoltin' Peasant" another, carried by an adult, dressed in the Sloane Ranger's weekend uniform of plum-coloured corduroys.

Then, at precisely 10am, with whistles, horns and bagpipes blaring, the Liberty march began to roll from the eastern corner of Hyde Park, and into Piccadilly.

Kate Hoey, the Labour MP and darling for many of the marchers for her brave and lonely stance within her party, stood at the front, alongside Richard Burge, the alliance's chief executive.

Mr Burge held his hands aloft, clapping the supporters who lined the route, in the way a footballer extravagantly applauds the terraces as he leaves the pitch, to show he is not cross about being substituted. One placard read: "Hoey for Prime Minister".

The crowd eased forward at about half normal walking pace, into Piccadilly and past the Ritz where Londoners lined the pavement, shouting their support.

The marchers cheered one placard at the Ritz: "Kiwis Support Country Poms", carried by John Falloon, a New Zealand farmer visiting friends in England. Hunting is popular in New Zealand, and Mr Falloon said he worried that a ban in Britain might have a knock-on effect in his country.

As the giant procession snaked rightwards into St James's, the gentleman's clubs had all opened up. At Boodle's, the staff stood on the first floor balcony in their waiter's uniforms, quietly applauding the marchers.

The marchers loved that touch. Most of the the upmarket St James's traders were closed, but they had left banners of encouragement in their windows.

On surged the crowd, down Pall Mall, and into Trafalgar Square, where Mayor Ken Livingstone, no friend of the countryside or hunting, had left his mark.

The road narrowed into an uncomfortable funnel because of the continuing roadworks, forcing the marchers to furl their giant Liberty & Livelihood banner, as they eased around the construction equipment of the mayor's half-finished pedestrianisation scheme.

The Liberty march turned into Whitehall where - with immaculate timing - it merged with the Livelihood march which had been making its way over from its eastern starting point.

There were whistles and cheers and shouts of recognition as these two tributaries met in the middle of Whitehall to form a giant river of humanity heading towards the Cenotaph, where the marchers fell silent as a mark of respect.

This meant the marchers could not shout their true feelings towards Downing Street, which was just as well as the mood was specifically hostile to the Prime Minister. One man, dressed as the grim reaper with a Tony Blair mask, was wildly cheered.

If the well-heeled of St James's were sending their best wishes, the tone of the march was not at all grand. Early yesterday, a presenter on Radio Five Live put on a jokey posh accent as he spoke to a reporter in Hyde Park,

perhaps to convey the BBC's general disdain for the event.

The presenter should have spoken to Mike Idle and Ewan Gaskell, keen members of the Ullswater fell pack, whose Cumbrian accents were so thick they warned "you might need an interpreter to interview us". Both had been to London only twice before, to attend the previous countryside marches, and they were in no hurry to come back.

They said they were incensed that the media always suggested hunting was for rich people on horseback. "There are no toffs in our hunt," said Mr Gaskell, a van driver, rather giving the impression that they would not be welcome there. "And I'll tell you now, we're not going to stop because of what Blair says. How are they going to stop it? They don't police the towns in Cumbria, so how will they police the hunts?"

There was a definite edge of defiance on the streets. From

a different perspective, Richard Fry, who owns a business in London and a farm in Dorset, had brought his family, along with another 1,000 or so supporters of the Cattistock Hunt.

"Make no mistake," he said, "this one is the last peaceful march I'm coming on. If they press on with a ban now, the gloves will really come off."

Past the Cenotaph, the Liberty and Livelihood marches, still separated by metal barriers, surged together towards the finishing line at the foot of Whitehall, where the marchers were counted by tellers. To the delight of all, their final steps over the counting line were captured by video cameras and the images projected on giant screens above Whitehall.

They could see the tally constantly rising on the digital counter so they had a sense of contributing, personally, to the final total.

Perhaps a hundred anti-hunting protestors had gathered in Parliament Square, yelling abuse and banging drums, but there was no trouble, and the marchers seemed more bemused than offended by the occasional shouts of "Go home, scum".

In the square, the marches again separated, with Livelihood heading south over Westminster Bridge, and Liberty petering out amid the dreary office blocks of Victoria Street. There were no speeches, no rally, no concert to raise the spirits before the long journey home. Once they had passed the counting station, the marchers were asked simply to disperse to allow those behind to complete the route.

The very sparseness of the march somehow added to its power. Some 400,000 people came to London from all over the country to tramp along the streets, and simply be counted.

The walk took a good two hours, and the wait could be double that. No gift packs were offered to the children, no jugglers or clowns along the way, no computer games to take home - just long journeys by coach or train, and a long, tiring, march, and aching bones. "It was brilliant, brilliant," said Daisy Walker, 12. She was there with her parents, Sean and Karen, north Londoners who carry no candle for hunting - Daisy strongly disapproves of it as well - yet adamant that they should support the countryside.

"It's a matter of individual choice," said Mr Walker.

To be on the streets yesterday was to feel you were part of something much larger even than the important issues that had drawn the masses to the capital.

As hard as a BBC presenter might try, you could not generalise about these people. No cosy British social snobbery or inverted snobbery helps you out, for the crowds were so socially and geographically diverse. So, too, were the issues that brought them together. For every marcher talking about hunting, there was another telling you about the local bus service, the closing Post Office, the price of lamb, and the greed of the supermarkets.

One of the last banners read: "Mr Blair, see what a minority looks like." This was a pretty good joke when 200,000

were expected, but became better still when more than double that figure turned up.

The only question now is whether Mr Blair still treats those hundreds of thousands of people as an irrelevant minority, or accepts that this time, the countryside really has spoken.

Daily Telegraph 23rd Sept 2002, p1

407,791 voices cry freedom. When the country march ended at 5.38pm yesterday, it had become the biggest civil liberties protest in British history. Stephen Robinson was there

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
X but Y... only when that X		chartered trains... marchers / mobilisation was invisible	Some way away at the mainline railway stations, chartered trains were hauling the countryside to the town , and under the streets the marchers were making their way by Tube to the mustering points for the two marches, at Blackfriars for Livelihood, Hyde Park for Liberty , depending on where you had travelled from. <i>But</i> early on the mobilisation was invisible to most Londoners , and it was <i>only when</i> you walked down Park Lane to the starting point of the Liberty march in Hyde Park that the sheer scale of the event	contrastive	visibility / invisibility appearance / reality	Trying to portray the enormity of the demo against expectations by dramatising the seemingly sudden appearance of the marchers. Possibly attempting to show how this has been a hidden protest which has finally had a chance to come out in to the open?	CA/T/1/1

			became obvious.				
One minute X ... the next Y		One minute / the next another late summer Sunday in London / huge banks of people seemed / came into view	One minute it seemed like another late summer Sunday in London; the next the huge banks of people came into view, backed deeply into the normally vacant green acres of the park.	adverbial contrasts parallelism	Before / after appearance / reality few / many usual / unusual	Backing up previous point. Contrast between appearance and reality, for dramatic effect to show the sudden transformation of London of usually empty areas into full ones – reiterates how special and unusual the day is	CA/T/1/2
x but y		activists from the Union of Country Sports Workers / cute 12-month-old Sophie Large	At the head of the Liberty march, a couple of activists from the Union of Country Sports Workers , loudly denouncing the Countryside Alliance "and their establishment friends", demanded to march at the front of the Liberty rally, <i>but</i> the alliance's press officers wanted cute 12-month- old Sophie Large in her pushchair, with her camera- friendly placard : "When I grow up I want to go hunting with my Daddy."	contrastive	unappealing / appealing old / young loud / quiet	Contrast between loud, antagonistic activists and quiet young girl. Possibly showing inclusive nature of demo and control steward have over demo to suppress any trouble? Girl used as credible quote to back up aims of demonstrators	CA/T/1/3
X but Y		were closed / left banners of encouragement	Most of the upmarket St James's traders were closed, <i>but</i> they had left banners of encouragement in their windows.	equivalent contrastive	appearance / reality passive / active	Do not mistake a surface lack of activity with lack of support. The shopkeepers are simultaneously doing nothing on one level, but showing support on another level	CA/T/1/4
If X was X1, Y was not X1		well-heeled / [not well- heeled]	If the well-heeled of St James's were sending their best wishes, the tone of the march was not at all grand.	negative auto-evocation	upper class / lower class	Attempt to show diversity on demo and to emphasise that this wasn't solely the bleatings of the snobby country folk. Built on in next paragraph.	CA/T/1/5
	jokey posh accent/	jokey posh accent / Cumbrian accent	Early yesterday, a presenter on Radio Five	semantic trigger?	Standard / non- standard	Critical of BBC by showing they were unfairly parodying the type	CA/T/1/6

	Cumbrian accent		<p>Live put on a jokey posh accent as he spoke to a reporter in Hyde Park, perhaps to convey the BBC's general disdain for the event.</p> <p>The presenter should have spoken to Mike Idle and Ewan Gaskell, keen members of the Ullswater fell pack, whose Cumbrian accents were so thick they warned "you might need an interpreter to interview us</p>		<p>norm / variety</p> <p>false / real</p> <p>comprehensible / incomprehensible</p> <p>upper class / lower class</p>	of person who may attend the demo, and that the reality of the social spread of demonstrator was very different. Accent as an implied marker of class.	
the last X ... will Y	peaceful / gloves will really come off	last peaceful march / gloves will really come off	"Make no mistake," he said, "this one is the last peaceful march I'm coming on. If they press on with a ban now, the gloves will really come off. "	semantic trigger adverbial autoevocation?	now / future peaceful/ aggressive	Semantic triggers based on idioms which imply a more aggressive stance in the future. Words function as threat to government to show they are being respectful at moment, but if govt don't listen then have a fight on their hands.	CA/T/1/7
X but no Y more x than Y		<p>hundred anti-hunting protestors / marchers</p> <p>yelling abuse and banging drums / no trouble</p> <p>bemused / offended</p>	Perhaps a hundred anti-hunting protestors had gathered in Parliament Square, yelling abuse and banging drums, but there was no trouble , and the marchers seemed <i>more bemused than offended</i> by the occasional shouts of "Go home, scum".	<p>negated contrastive</p> <p>comparative</p> <p>auto-evocation</p>	<p>anti-hunting / pro-hunting</p> <p>noise / peace</p> <p>aggression/ passivity</p> <p>mild reaction / strong reaction</p>	Describing actions of antis and comparing them with the dignified reaction of marchers. May be an implication that anti-hunters bring trouble because of the contrast with the reaction of the marchers. The latter's bemusement as opposed to being offended may be to show how they refuse to take bait?	CA/T/1/8

no x [three times]...simply Y		speeches...rally...concert.../ disperse speeches etc / asked simply	There <i>were no speeches, no rally, no concert</i> to raise the spirits before the long journey home. Once they had passed the counting station, the marchers <i>were asked simply to disperse to allow those behind to complete the route.</i>	negative parallelism	climax / anti-climax possibility / actuality spectacular / dull	Is this stressing the hardiness and self-sacrificing nature of the protestors, who are not there for fun, but just to make their point and then allow to make theirs. So contrast is between what is implied 'might have been' (as it is in other rallies), and reality, possibly to mark it out as special compared to other protests (special in its ordinariness and unfussiness). Contrast between spectacular nature of what there was not, and what there actually was, helped by 'simply' (auto-evokes the others as 'complex'?)	CA/T/1/9
no X, just X		gift packs.. jugglers.. .clowns... computer games / long journeys... long, tiring march, and aching bones	<i>No gift packs</i> were offered to the children, <i>no jugglers or clowns</i> along the way, <i>no computer games</i> to take home - <i>just long journeys by coach or train, and a long, tiring, march, and aching bones</i>	negative	reward / punishment pleasure / pain	(reminds me of a Wilfred Owen poem – Anthem for doomed Youth?) the three-part list of negators adds to the rhetorical effect. Builds on previous example, reinforcing stoicism of marchers – that they are doing this for serious, not trivial reasons. Also possibly a highly overgeneralised claim. How can writer know there were none of these things?	CA/T/1/ 10
X yet Y		carry no candle for hunting... strongly disapproves of it / should support the countryside	She was there with her parents, Sean and Karen, north Londoners who carry no candle for hunting - Daisy strongly disapproves of it as well - <i>yet</i> adamant that they should support the countryside.	concessive contrastive? (like while?) equivalence?	approval / disapproval support / reject specific / general hunting / anti-hunting	Infers (through the trigger 'yet') that being anti-hunting equates with not supporting the countryside, however this family are in favour and therefore simultaneously both anti a specific but in favour of the general of which the specific is a constituent part. Writer demonstrating the lack of a dogmatism, and variety of protestor.	CA/T/1/ 11
no X for		generalise.... cosy British	As hard as a BBC	negated	general /	This is becoming a trend in these	CA/T/1/ 12

[because] Y		social snobbery / crowds were so socially and geographically diverse	presenter might try, you could <i>not generalise about these people</i> . No cosy British social snobbery or inverted snobbery helps you out, for the crowds were so socially and geographically diverse	[how do we define effect of 'for'?]	specific homogeneity / heterogeneity uniformity / diversity	CA texts –i.e. an emphasis on variety at the demo, avoidance of generalisation – trying to claim they are representative of British life rather than a narrow minority. The opposition consists of claim – justification (using subordinator 'for')	
For every X there was a Y		hunting / local bus service, the closing Post Office, the price of lamb, and the greed of the supermarkets	<i>For every marcher talking about hunting, there was another telling you about the local bus service, the closing Post Office, the price of lamb, and the greed of the supermarkets</i>	Simultaneity? Parallelism	general / specific national / local	Interesting – another technique to emphasise the range of complaints on the demo – as if a dam of frustration has burst. Builds on previous sentence, against uniformity of complaint. Opposition triggered by mixture of semantic and syntactic triggers – is a mixture rather than any single one. The 'For every X there was a Y' seems like one expects opposition, but need more evidence. Also, the function of the opp is to stress inclusivity on the march rather than privilege one over the other.	CA/T/1/ 13
X but became ...er when Y		minority.... 200,000 / more than double expected / turned up	One of the last banners read: "Mr Blair, see what a minority looks like." This was a pretty good joke when 200,000 were expected , but became <i>better still</i> when more than double that figure turned up .	contrastive transitional	small / large expectations / reality	Of course, 'minority' is being used ironically here, so the irony is only strengthened by the doubling in numbers. But the contrast is between what they expected and what they actually got. It could be transitional because illusion turns into a different reality	CA/T/1/ 14
X or Y		irrelevant minority / really has spoken	The only question now is whether Mr Blair still treats those hundreds of thousands of people as	coordinated	small / large ineffective / effective	'Or' is a coordinator, but performs very different function to 'and' so should there be a separate category here? Acts to	CA/T/1/ 15

			<p>an irrelevant minority, <i>or</i> accepts that this time, the countryside really has spoken.</p>		<p>irrelevant / relevant</p>	<p>mark boundary between two opposing <i>choices</i> – in this case, whether Blair listens or not. Writer challenging Blair to interpret the demo in one of two ways, although the inference is that the interpretation has already been made by the writer, it is whether Blair acts on the interpretation that is the choice.</p>	
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**The demonstrators who had to watch themselves. Peter Foster observes
some odd behaviour and poor spelling
Telegraph 23/9/2002 Page 3**

PRINCE Charles may have forbidden his companion Camilla Parker Bowles from attending yesterday's march, but no such restrictions were to be placed on her 84-year-old father, Major Bruce Shand MC.

Major Bruce, who could not be dissuaded from walking the entire way, chose an unlikely companion to steady himself along the route - a 20-stone American rap artist who goes by the name of Ade.

Mr Ade, who played Tyrone in Guy Ritchie's gangster flick *Snatch*, was introduced to the Major through Mrs PB's precocious nephew, the 26-year-old society fixer Ben Elliot. "They've become firm friends," says a family friend.

VANITY is a terrible thing - and the primary reason why many of yesterday's protesters found themselves facing such a long wait even to reach the start line in Hyde Park.

The allure of watching oneself on television proved irresistible for most protesters, who stopped to admire themselves on the giant screens which were erected at the end of Whitehall "to provide a sense of occasion".

Despite the best efforts of stewards to move people on the problem was only solved by a rustic message to the man up on the camera platform. "Pan out! Pan out! Don't let the buggers see the whites of their eyes."

THE giant screens also provided early-morning entertainment for London's joggers who couldn't resist saluting themselves, much as if they had just won the marathon in a record time.

Waiting stewards amused themselves by offering Liberty and Livelihood stickers to the runners as they passed. Most accepted graciously, but refuseniks found themselves being harried down Whitehall by portly farming types desperately trying to tag their quarry. Like the foxes, most of them got away.

OVERHEARD at a St John Ambulance station. "Nothing serious so far; one person suffering dizzy spells, a twisted ankle, three headaches and a man complaining his gout was playing up."

QUESTION: What is the connection between the Liberty and Livelihood March and the anti-capitalist May Day demonstrations?

Answer: the cockney traders selling pounds 1 whistles attached to fluorescent strings. Andy, who reckons to sell 500 a day when the anti-capitalists are in town, reports that the countryside crowd are much harder work.

This may be down to his sales pitch, delivered in best barrow- boy voice, to demonstrators clutching placards asking if townies could live on pounds 7,000 a year. "A paaaand a whistle. . .a paaaand a whistle. . .support the common man!"

LABOUR MPs may be overwhelmingly in favour of a ban against hunting, but the Party was in the majority in the front ranks of the Liberty march as it entered Whitehall. Kate Hoey, MP for Vauxhall, represented the Commons and from the Lords came Bernard Donoughue, Ann Mallalieu and Llin Golding. Richard Burge, the chief executive of the **Countryside Alliance**, is also a paid-up member of the Labour Party.

For the Tories, Iain Duncan Smith had to wait for his moment of glory, which duly came as he reached the end of the "silent zone". After a bruising week defending the first year of his leadership the rousing cheer that accompanied the image of his balding pate flashing up on the giant screens must have been very uplifting.

THE arrival of the first wave of marchers was heralded by the blood-curdling sound of the bagpipes, rendered all the more powerful when they fell eerily silent at the Cenotaph.

The pipers were provided by a 25-strong group from the Pinstripe Highlanders, who hoped their slow air would send the same chill down the spine of Mr Blair's government as they had done on countless battlefields down the centuries. The playlist comprised all the old favourites - The Skye Boat Song, Amazing Grace and, most appropriately of all, The Herding Song.

COMPETITION was intense for the title of Best Banner 2002. The dunce's cap goes to the National Gamekeepers Organisation who arrived to support the Liberty and "Livelihood" - perhaps emphasising the need for more rural schools. The Duchess of Devonshire, marching with her daughter Sophy Topley came straight to the point with their placard: "I'm ready to go to jail". Was the Duchess serious? "You bet I am," she says.

Aside from predictable adaptations of Kitchener's famous WWI recruitment poster (Your Country-side Needs You), Mr Blair was the focus of many demonstrators' inventiveness. He appeared with an Adolf Hitler toothbrush moustache, in effigy as "a man of straw" and converted into an acronym for his party's approach to the countryside: Bigotry, Lies, Animal rights, Intolerance, Red tape.

MOST unlikely historical figure to be roped into supporting Liberty and Livelihood was the Cuban revolutionary Che Guevara, who appeared on several posters in a huntsman's hat. What would Senor Guevara make of this, were he alive to speak for himself? "He was a libertarian, wasn't he?" offers one demonstrator.

"He'd say 'oi, you bourgeois, public school gits sitting in Downing Street. Ban Hunting? No way!'"

Daily Telegraph 23rd Sept 2002, p3

The demonstrators who had to watch themselves.

Peter Foster observes some odd behaviour and poor spelling

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
X but not Y		Camilla Parker Bowles / Major Bruce Shand QC forbidden / no restrictions	PRINCE Charles may have forbidden his companion Camilla Parker Bowles from attending yesterday's march, <i>but no</i> such restrictions were to be placed on her 84-year-old father, Major Bruce Shand MC.	negated contrastive	daughter / father young / old restricted / unrestricted	Camilla being counterpoised to her father, based on the fact that she is married to a royal person, so her father is 'an important person on the demo' by implication. Implies that Camilla still wanted to go, so has backing from the highest places.	CA/T/3/1
Despite X, Y [happened]		efforts of stewards to move people / rustic message to the man on the camera platform	<i>Despite the best efforts of stewards to move people on the problem was only solved by a rustic message to the man up on the camera platform. "Pan out! Pan out! Don't let the buggers see the whites of their eyes."</i>	concessive?	failure / success persuasion / manipulation	Does the trigger 'despite' act a bit like 'while'? Means same as regardless of. Works by subverting our expectations, so expect one thing, but get another. In this case the personal persuasive touch doesn't work, rely on manipulating crowd through camera techniques	CA/T/3/2
X but Y		Most [of the demonstrators] / refusniks accepted graciously / harried down Whitehall	Most accepted graciously, but refusniks found themselves being harried down Whitehall by portly farming types desperately trying to tag their quarry.	contrastive	accept / refuse majority / minority passive / active peace /	Tongue-in-cheek, comparing those who accept stickers and get peace and quiet and those who don't and get chased! Contrast between those who accept and refuse based on the consequences of the choice i.e. to be left alone, or to be harried....	CA/T/3/3

					harassment		
X but Y		in favour of a ban / in the majority in the front ranks of the Liberty march	LABOUR MPs may be overwhelmingly in favour of a ban against hunting, but the Party was in the majority in the front ranks of the Liberty march as it entered Whitehall.	contrastive	for / against opposition / support quantity / quality	Stressing that despite Labour majority in favour of ban, those against it are high profile, important people, as list after this sentence tries to attest.	CA/T/3/4
X more than Y?	blood-curdling sound / silent	Blood-curdling sound / eerily silent	THE arrival of the first wave of marchers was heralded by the blood-curdling sound of the bagpipes , rendered all the more powerful when they fell eerily silent at the Cenotaph.	comparative transitional	noise /silence	One of the rare examples where the semantic trigger may be stronger than the syntactic one, and this is matched by the fact that the prototype is an almost exact match of the trigger – it doesn't need to draw on any superordinate for it to make sense. Function in this context is to show how respect makes way for tradition	CA/T/3/5

**Heart of the capital beats with undying spirit of the country
The length of the march was matched only by the depth of its feeling.
Robert Uhlig is swept along by the tide of humanity**

Daily Telegraph 23 Sept 2002, page 4

IRRESPECTIVE of political outlook, view on hunting or concern for farmers and the countryside, there came a point shortly after the march began yesterday when the sheer mass of people made the jaw drop.

In an era of political apathy, the sight of a vast tide of humanity - and not all of them welly-booted, tweeded or flat-capped - standing up to be counted was enough to put a lump in the throat of anyone who valued democracy.

The Liberty and Livelihood March began ostensibly divided into two camps - those whose primary concern was liberty and the hunting issue, and those whose livelihoods depended on farming and a healthy rural economy.

But long before the two processions converged on the heart of Government at Whitehall, it was clear that yesterday's demonstration signified a great spiritual coming together of rural-minded people.

Unprompted, every hunter acknowledged farming's role as the cornerstone of the countryside, its current crisis putting all of rural life at risk. Likewise, farmers repeatedly spoke of hunting's place at the heart of their communities, something vital and treasured, without which rural life would be considerably poorer.

And all spoke of the proposed ban - even if it would not affect them directly - as symbolic of a Government ignorant of rural ways. For them, a ban was only the thin end of a wedge of urban values imposed with little understanding of, and no regard for, the way they had led their lives for a very long time.

The night before the march, at a party in the vaults beneath London Bridge, two daughters of a sheep farmer in South Wales spoke of the small but significant impact a ban would make on their livelihoods. Florence and Meggie Morgan of Ffordd y Gyfraith Farm, near Bridgend, south Wales, keep hens and ducks, selling their eggs at a farmers' market to earn some pocket money.

While painting a placard for the march, Meggie, 13, and Florence, 10, spoke of millennium night, when an old fox decapitated every one of their chickens and ducks, and savaged their father's lambs.

"I have never forgotten it. If people saw what foxes did they would not want a ban," Meggie said.

"We like foxes and respect them, but we know that any other method of controlling them does not work as well as hunting.

"It is only the older, lazy foxes that are trouble, killing 10 lambs in a night, but it is mainly the older foxes that are caught by hunters. Other methods do not discriminate."

The Morgan sisters marched yesterday on the Livelihood route, also protesting at the supermarkets' hegemony over farmers, with their mother, Gaina. Meanwhile, their father and brother worked on the farm, the volume of work precluding their attendance.

For thousands of farmers the march came at the wrong time of the year, the tail end of the harvest, when preparations are made for planting winter crops.

Nevertheless, large contingents from the National Farmers' Union, the Women's Food and Farming Union and other farming organisations headed the Livelihood march.

They were led by three pipers from the Pinstripe Highlanders, Vinnie Jones, the film star and former footballer, and John Jackson, chairman of the **Countryside Alliance**, riding on an electric scooter.

Jones, who lives in Hertfordshire and shoots, said: "The message we want to give to the Government is that they can walk over our lands but they can't walk over us.

"I shoot and fish; my boy is 11, he shoots and fishes, but the countryside might not be there for my boy if we don't come here and march and tell the Government how strongly we feel. I'm marching for my rights, that I want my boy to grow up in the countryside like I did."

The marchers behind him came from all around, blowing whistles or plastic horns and carrying placards that ranged from the succinct (Countryside not Countrycide) and the surreal (Swish if you Fish: Anglers Marching for the Rural Economy) to the trite (Let's Ban Soccer) and the desperate (Farming Family at Risk).

Kevin Worsley, 34, from Harlow, Essex, carried a banner that simply said: "Hi Mum". Nevertheless it made a statement. "There is a point to be made today and the point is the number of people marching," he said.

"Many of the banners go too far, attacking individuals. That is not the point of the march. And my mother does not like hunting, so there's a personal message, too."

From Hampshire came Colin Smith, 51, protesting at plans to make the New Forest a national park.

"Prescott is ramming it through with no regard for something the locals do not want. They listen to no one and then they wonder why they are unpopular," he said.

From Virginia in America came Bill Wicks, 53, and Cameron Eaton, 41.

"Today is my birthday and he asked me what I wanted for it. I said, 'Go to England for the march to show solidarity and support for something we value very strongly'," Miss Eaton said.

Even that supposedly elusive species - the urban marcher - was out in force. Susie Plant, 27, Georgie Denham, 22, and Arthur Godsall, five today, were all London born and bred, but felt compelled to join the protest.

"This march is all about liberty and freedom of speech," Miss Plant said.

"It's highly arrogant of a Government obsessed with spin and indifferent to rural concerns to impose its views on the countryside."

From suburbia came Anne Trenchard, 52, a retired accountant from Chorleywood, Herts, carrying a placard protesting about the closure of a post office in Shop, a north Cornish village where she once spent a holiday.

"The post office was there one week and gone the next. They have also lost a school and a shop, and the vicar is now stretched across six parishes. Village life has been destroyed," she said.

For those lucky enough to be near the front, the march - from Blackfriars, along the embankment, booing as they passed the Department of the Environment's office at Whitehall before falling into silence at the Cenotaph, then through Parliament Square and on to Westminster Bridge - took about an hour to cover little more than one mile.

But for most on the Livelihood march it took five or six hours to reach the finish. Then, having stopped traffic in the streets of central London and clutching photocopied travel instructions, they clogged the Tube and buses as they made their way back to the waiting coaches and the long ride back to the country.

Daily Telegraph 23rd Sept 2002, p4

Heart of the capital beats with undying spirit of the country. The length of the march was matched only by the depth of its feeling. Robert Uhlig is swept along by the tide of humanity

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
not X [Y implied]		welly-booted, tweeded or flat-capped / [implied opposite]	In an era of political apathy, the sight of a vast tide of humanity - and <i>not all of them welly-booted, tweeded or flat-capped</i> - standing up to be counted was enough to put a lump in the throat of anyone who valued democracy.	negated auto-vocation	upperclass / working class rural / urban typical / non-typical	Presumably the clothes are supposed to evoke a particular stereotype of country folk. the negator 'not' counterpoises them with other types who are not named, so we have to use our imagination!	CA/T/4/1
divided into X / Y X and Y		Liberty / Livelihood liberty and the hunting issue / farming and a healthy rural economy	The Liberty and Livelihood March began ostensibly <i>divided into two camps - those whose primary concern was liberty and the hunting issue, and those whose livelihoods depended on farming and a healthy rural economy.</i>	coordinated explicit contrastive (distinguished) parallelism equivalence?	abstract / concrete idealism / necessity or practicality	Liberty and Livelihood crops up many times, but this seems to be the best place to deal with it, owing to the explicit distinction drawn between them. Hard to pick out the superord category that it might be based on, but something to do with the fact that the first deals with principles and morals, whilst the latter with necessity/reality	CA/T/4/2
X but Y		divided into two camps / great spiritual coming together of rural-minded people	<i>But</i> long before the two processions converged on the heart of Government at Whitehall, it was clear that yesterday's demonstration signified a great spiritual coming	contrastive equivalence	division / unity illusion / reality physical / spiritual	Previous example is embedded in this one. On the surface the splitting of the demo might look like disunity, but the two physical marches unified in spirit (common cause). So the oppositions here acting very much to aid inclusivity	CA/T/4/2a

			together of rural-minded people.				
X likewise Y (?)		hunter / farmer hunting / farming	Unprompted, every hunter acknowledged farming's role as the cornerstone of the countryside, its current crisis putting all of rural life at risk. Likewise, farmers repeatedly spoke of hunting's place at the heart of their communities, something vital and treasured, without which rural life would be considerably poorer.	parallelism equivalence	destroy / create abstract / concrete work / pleasure	Tricky one in sense that this is being used so inclusively, and the syntactic trigger also suggests it, that hard to justify them being treated as opposites at all. However, builds on the Liberty/Livelihood distinction – two sides of the same coin, and there are prototype distinctions implied, plus 'unprompted' suggests they aren't sometimes the happiest of bedfellows. Hunter's destroy and get pleasure out of the sport, whereas farming is graft.	CA/T/4/3
X but Y		small / significant	The night before the march, at a party in the vaults beneath London Bridge, two daughters of a sheep farmer in South Wales spoke of the small but significant impact a ban would make on their livelihoods	contrastive equivalence	small / large quantity / quality	Simple one stressing how finely balance their livelihood is, and therefore what seems to be trivial, is big to them.	CA/T/4/4
X but Y		like.... respect / hunting	"We like foxes and respect them, <i>but</i> we know that any other method of controlling them does not work as well as hunting ."	contrastive equivalence	life / death respect / disrespect idealism / reality	Contrasting having respect for a thing, whilst also wanting to kill it! Implies they have no choice, despite higher moral framework	CA/T/4/5
X but Y Y not X1		killing /caught caught by hunters / other	" <i>It is only the older, lazy foxes that are trouble, killing 10 lambs in a night, but it is mainly the older foxes that are caught</i> "	contrastive negative equivalence	killing / being killed hunter / hunted discriminate /	Trying to prove that hunting is the best way to control unruly foxes, as it is selective, compared to other non-specified ways of killing them.	CA/T/4/6

		methods	by hunters. Other methods do <i>not</i> discriminate."	parallelism	indiscriminate		
X nevertheless Y		wrong time of the year / large contingents	For thousands of farmers the march came at the wrong time of the year, the tail end of the harvest, when preparations are made for planting winter crops. Nevertheless, large contingents from the National Farmers' Union, the Women's Food and Farming Union and other farming organisations headed the Livelihood march.	simultaneity?	small / large inconvenience / convenience expect / surprise	Strength of feeling of farmers illustrated by contrast between inconvenience of timing and large numbers who turned out. Here is a good example of how the two prototype categories overlap and form a network – so inconvenience leads to expectations that turnout will be small.	CA/T/4/7
X but not Y		lands / us	Jones, who lives in Hertfordshire and shoots, said: "The message we want to give to the Government is that <i>they can walk over our lands but they can't walk over us.</i>	negated contrastive parallelism	passive / defiant non- human / human	The contrast between 'lands' and 'us' is only possible because of the idiomatic use of 'walk over' in the second half. Nevertheless contrast between defiance and passivity quite effective. People can fight back, land can't.	CA/T/4/8
X but not Y		shoot and fish / countryside might not be there	"I shoot and fish ; my boy is 11, he shoots and fishes , but the countryside might not be there for my boy <i>if</i> we don't come here and march and tell the Government how strongly we feel.	negated contrastive	present / future presence / absence	Contrast what happens now and what will be cancelled if no action taken	CA/T/4/9
ranged from X to Y		succinct & surreal / trite & desperate?	The marchers behind him came from all around, blowing whistles or plastic horns and carrying placards that <i>ranged from the</i>	distinguished explicit contrastive	short / long serious / trivial trivial /	Very forced oppositions – if ranging, presumably you are using two ends of a spectrum on which to base the range, but trite and desperate are 'better' opposites than trite and succinct (which one can be simultaneously), yet being placed on same	CA/T/4/10

			succinct (Countryside not Countrycide) and the surreal (Swish if you Fish: Anglers Marching for the Rural Economy) to the trite (Let's Ban Soccer) and the desperate (Farming Family at Risk).		desperate	end of the scale. Possibly the explicitness of the syntactic trigger makes us accept these as opposites more than other ones? Opposite of surreal = real? Not sure how efficient this sentence would be at triggering any oppositional concepts – more a rhetorical technique to illustrate the range of marchers.	
X not X		individuals / [groups or messages]	"Many of the banners go too far, attacking individuals . That is <i>not</i> the point of the march. And my mother does not like hunting, so there's a personal message, too."	negated auto-evocation	individual / social person / policy subjective / objective	The opposite of attacking individuals has to be evoked, presumably to mean, addressing the policies rather than the personalities (although saying Hi Mum hardly illustrates this!)	CA/T/4/11
X but Y		London born and bred / compelled to join the protest	Susie Plant, 27, Georgie Denham, 22, and Arthur Godsall, five today, were all London born and bred , <i>but</i> felt compelled to join the protest .	contrastive simultaneity? equivalence?	urban / rural	Not just full of countryfolk, assumes urbanites won't be sympathetic to march. Again, stressing range on demo.	CA/T/4/12
X falling into Y	booing / silence	booing / silence Dept of Environment / Cenotaph	For those lucky enough to be near the front , the march - from Blackfriars, along the embankment, booing as they passed the Department of the Environment's office at Whitehall before <i>falling</i> into silence at the Cenotaph , then through Parliament Square and on to Westminster Bridge - took about an hour to cover little more than one mile .	transitional	noise / silence change / tradition	Strong semantic triggers – ridiculing modern bureaucrats, respecting tradition	CA/T/4/13
X but Y	the front / livelihood March an hour / five		<i>But</i> for most on the Livelihood march it took five or six hours to reach the finish .	contrastive	front / back quick time / long time	Presumably emphasising size and efficiency of the demo – contrasting speed at which those at front reached destination, compared with those at the back	CA/T/4/14

	or six hours						
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Daily Telegraph, page 11, 23 Sept 2002

If anything is more pernicious.....

IF anything is more pernicious than the abuse of power, it is the abuse of freedom by those in power, and racing has been an unwitting victim of such a monstrous assault in recent weeks - from within.

It may not have escaped your notice that a rather large number of rural folk descended on London yesterday for the 'Liberty And Livelihood' march. We did so for a variety of reasons, all linked to the erosion of life in the countryside, including the contentious issue of hunting.

Whether you agree or disagree with the Government's plans to outlaw hunting, there can be no question that it is a subject of enormous public interest and debate, with strong views held by both sides.

That is especially true for people interested in racing, given the arguments advanced by the pro-hunting lobby that a ban would impact on the sport, particularly in the point-to-point arena, and could spell the beginning of the end for National Hunt.

You might reasonably think, therefore, that the largest peacetime demonstration for decades, prompted in part by an issue with a direct bearing on racing, would be deserving of informed coverage by the two media outlets who devote most time to the sport: namely Channel 4 Racing and the Racing Post. Well, think again.

A self-imposed ban by Channel 4 Racing on any mention of the march or hunting was introduced after the publicity stunt carried out by Peter Walwyn at Sandown, on July 5, when he held up a banner in front of their cameras advertising the march.

The gagging order on Big Mac and the team was supposedly introduced to prevent others 'hijacking' their programme. It was lifted briefly on Saturday for the Morning Line programme to reflect the 'news value' of yesterday's events, underlined by massive coverage in Saturday's national newspapers.

To my mind, Channel 4's draconian action owes more to the tender feelings of media luvvies rather than a stand on a point of principle. Be that as it may, at least they have an excuse, albeit a very flimsy one.

I can find none for the Racing Post, our sport's daily trade paper, which has been silent on the march and the issues involved, save for eight anodyne paragraphs buried on page 19 of Saturday's edition under the awe-inspiring headline of 'Racing to be represented at **Countryside Alliance** march.'

This deafening silence has not happened by chance. I am reliably informed the newspaper's galaxy of star columnists has been actively discouraged from writing a single syllable about the march, in favour or against.

What has brought about this Soviet-style diktat? The Racing Post is part of the pro-Government Mirror stable, but a column in yesterday's Sunday Mirror about the potential effect a hunting ban would have on racing, written by Alastair Down, the No 1 columnist on the Post, showed this is not party political.

No, this is about editorial cowardice and political correctness of the very worst kind. Someone somewhere has decided the 'hunting issue' is too hot to handle. It might split readers down the middle. Heaven forbid, it might drive some of them away and annoy advertisers. Best not to mention it at all. Place it in the 'too difficult' tray, then no one will be upset.

However, this ostrich-like approach has not prevented the Racing Post from bolstering their coffers by accepting full-page advertising for the march. Add hypocrisy to the charge sheet. They have taken the

money but refused to allow an editorial debate to take place on an issue directly affecting racing communities.

Is this lily-livered attitude now the norm for the sport's monopoly trade paper? What is to say they won't shy away from other hot potatoes?

Will they give in meekly to 'persuasion' from bookmakers, who are responsible for most of their advertising revenue, or cower to the more forceful personalities within the bloodstock world and racing's corridors of power? Will the team of excellent writers be urged to concentrate their editorial firepower instead on 'easy' targets, such as the Jockey Club, and duck unpopular issues?

I hope not and so will the vast majority of people who bring out a newspaper which, until now, has served the punter well. But don't bet on it.

Daily Telegraph 23rd Sept 2002, p11

If anything is more pernicious.....

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
X more.... than Y		power / freedom	IF anything is <i>more</i> pernicious <i>than</i> the abuse of power , it is the abuse of freedom by those in power , and racing has been an unwitting victim of such a monstrous assault in recent weeks - from within.	comparative parallelism	abuse / care corruption / honesty freedom / restriction	To what extent are power and freedom being treated as opposites here? Is the use of a comparative guarantee of opposition generation? Need to investigate comparatives more and their function here (see Jones)	CA/T/11/1
more to X rather than Y		tender feelings / stand ... point of principle	To my mind, Channel 4's draconian action owes <i>more</i> to the tender feelings of media luvvies <i>rather than a stand on a point of principle</i>	comparative explicit contrastive?	emotional / rational subjective / objective	Having a dig at cautious approach of Ch 4 and reasons for banning coverage of demo – undermining their claims by satirising the types who work there.	CA/T/11/2
X but Y		taken the money / refused to allow an editorial debate	They have taken the money <i>but refused to allow an editorial debate</i> to take place on an issue directly affecting racing communities.	contrastive	unprincipled / principled freedom / restrictions action / inaction	Highlighting hypocrisy of Racing Post – comparing its actions in taking money, but lack of action in having a debate on issue.	CA/T/11/3

Were you listening, Tony Blair? We were talking to you
Charles Moore, Editor of The Daily Telegraph, explains what made the British take to the streets of London in the biggest march in our history

Charles Moore. [The Daily Telegraph](#). London (UK): [Sep 23, 2002](#). pg. 22

Above all, it was the numbers. As soon as we reached our village railway station (yes, it is one of the few that still has one), we joined a crowd. The special train arranged by the hunt and local farmers was wildly overbooked, and crawled from station to station, hunting horns blowing, until it came to rest in the London suburbs, becalmed by "engineering works". Exhausted by having our children perched on our knees or having to stand, we began to suspect a Blairite plot to prevent us from reaching the march at all.

When we finally made it, the march to the march began. We, on the allegedly plebbier, and smaller, "Livelihood" route, had to snake over London Bridge, circle round almost to the Tower and thence back towards Westminster. The crowds were so huge that it took us two hours to reach the start at Blackfriars Bridge. I rang friends on "Liberty", the other route, and they reported even larger queues.

From the official start, it was another hour and a half to the finish. Thanks to the Countryside Alliance's excellent choreography, more sophisticated than on the march four years ago, the rising numbers gave drama to the scene. Huge screens projected them, and by about 3pm people came running back, shouting "over 300,000", beating last time's record. **As we filed past the Cenotaph, in the astonishing pool of respectful silence between the great roar of Whitehall behind and of Parliament Square in front, we could see the figures rising on the screen by about 1,000 a minute.**

It felt something to be part of the largest public demonstration in British history.

The reaction of Alun Michael, the rural affairs minister, was to say that he still wasn't sure what the march was about. One can see why that seemed the safest (though also the silliest) thing to say. For, to an extent that surprised me, the march was about his leader.

Among all the sometimes imaginative and witty, sometimes crude and scrawled placards that people carried, the words "Tony Blair" occurred more often than anything apart from "hunting". It is the Prime Minister's misfortune, of course, that his name is short and rhymes with "hare" and "care", and so lends itself to rural protest slogans. But even if his name had been Milosevic, I suspect it would have been plastered everywhere. More than 400,000 marchers do not buy his act.

I have never known a protest quite like this one, because it managed to be good-humoured and angry at the same time, much angrier than its predecessors. Lots of posters lumped Mr Blair with Robert Mugabe, the only other world leader currently trying to take on white farmers. Unfair, of course, and yet, if I were Prime Minister, I would worry that I had established a reputation for persecuting the most viscerally British of my fellow countrymen. The consent of the governed is a very important concept in a parliamentary democracy, more important, in some respects, than a simple parliamentary majority. That consent is now being withheld by huge numbers of the people who normally give it most readily.

Surely Tony Blair never wanted it to be this way. New Labour is supposed not to threaten anyone. **Mr Blair's selling point is One Nation Toryism with a faintly Leftish tinge. Yet the nation he actually controls would show up on the map not as one, but as islands of urban pink in a vast expanse of rural sludge (not, automatically, blue). Like the Sheriff of Nottingham, he can drag outlaws into the city and throw them into prison, but, outside the gates, his writ does not run.**

When they won in 1997, Labour's class warriors thought they could carry all before them on their pet issue of hunting - and take it out on farmers into the bargain. They have found it harder than they expected, and yesterday an army of 400,000 grass warriors confronted them.

Mr Blair does not like confrontation, at least not within these shores. **His first reaction to his own unpopularity is to disbelieve it, but he is not stupid, and he will have noticed that yesterday was a cosmic version of the famous booing that he got from the Women's Institute before the last**

election. His next reaction will be to try to placate it. The fact that we have now had five years of Labour government without the ban on hunting that most of the party's MPs want suggests that he might like a way out if one could be found.

When I saw Mr Blair shortly before he became Prime Minister for the first time, we chatted about many, apparently bigger, things and I said to him as I left that I thought his party's promise to ban hunting would cause no end of trouble. **He seemed very surprised, but said, no doubt mindful of his audience, that, if people took it into their heads to pursue a fox, it really didn't bother him very much. That is the reasonable view of a person not interested in the subject, but he seems unfortunately also to have thought that because the sport didn't matter, nor did banning it.** There he made a mistake about the nature of culture and the nature of freedom.

One's idea of one's own culture is formed by many things that are small in themselves. In British culture, it might be cricket or Marmite or Radio 4 or driving on the left or, as Robin Cook once said, chicken tikka marsala, or any god of small things. It will be a combination of smells and sights and songs and jokes. **You won't spend much time talking about Britishness, but you will recognise its symptoms, and you will mind if they are attacked.**

In that still large part of British culture that has any link with rural life, hunting is firmly ingrained, and so is farming. **If you are part of that culture, you may not yourself know anything much about either, and you may dislike some of the practices of both, but your prejudice - your cultural DNA - is invincibly on their side. And while you might very well listen to criticism of hunter or farmer from people who move in their world (rural life is full of such internal conflicts), you will set your face like flint against people who abuse them without knowing about them.** When the Prince of Wales told Mr Blair that the treatment of rural people was even worse than that meted out to black people, he was on to something in his comparison. Hunting and farming people, and their supporters, feel insulted by this Government in the way that black people feel insulted by racism - the horrible sense that you are hated simply for what you are.

That is the mistake about the nature of culture. **The mistake about the nature of freedom is to think that an existing freedom must be made to justify itself. It is the other way round. The onus of proof should lie on the people who want to take an existing freedom away.** You may believe that hunting is cruel, but you must prove not only that (something that endless reports and consultations have failed to do): you must also prove the "therefore" that says that disapproval must lead to ban. In this case, it is unproved. Indeed, it is virtually unargued.

Most of the 400,000 marching yesterday were unpolitical people, but it is when unpolitical people feel affronted by politics that the politicians have to start worrying. If I were Mr Blair, trying to lead my nation into a war abroad, I would not be wanting another one at home.

Daily Telegraph Page 22

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
between X and Y	behind/ in front roar silence	Whitehall / Parliament great roar / respectful silence	As we filed past the Cenotaph, in the astounding pool of respectful silence <i>between the great roar of Whitehall</i> behind and of Parliament Square <i>in front</i> , we could see the figures rising on the screen by about 1,000 a minute.	Distinguished Ancillary Adverbial contrast	behind/ in front loudness/ quietness (presence/ absence)	Two historical places contrasted according to their position in relation to a group of marchers, but linked because both associated with noise. Marchers are in a silent area in the middle. Purpose – to imply that the marchers are both enthusiastic about and committed to the cause but respectful to traditional past monuments (war heroes) – it is a march in favour of the preservation of tradition	CA/T/22/1
sometimes X sometimes Y		imaginative & witty / crude and scrawled	Among all the <i>sometimes</i> imaginative and witty , <i>sometimes</i> crude and scrawled placards that people carried, the words "Tony Blair" occurred more often than anything apart from "hunting".	Parallelism	skilful/ unskilful (absence/ presence)	Be worth experimenting with the 'sometimes' trigger to see to what extent it produces opposites – does suggest mutual exclusivity. Here it suggests a range of placards possibly to emphasise variety and inclusivity. Wittiness is unconventionally associated with neatness (can we argue this is a typical traditionalist obsession with form having prominence over content?)	CA/T/22/2
X and Y at the same time this X .....er than [that]Y	good humoured/ angry	good humoured / angry this one / predecessors	I have never known a protest quite like this one , because it managed to be good-humoured <i>and</i> angry <i>at the same time</i> , much angrier <i>than</i> its predecessors	Coordinated Simultaneity (Jones) comparative deictic	angry/ calm or contented past/ present	Ties in with the roar/silence opposition above in that writer wants to portray the crowd as having a measured/moderate response to the cause. Something being the sum of its extremes mathematically might make it moderate? The comparative is hard to decipher as it depends what 'predecessors' refers to. But contrast between past and present to emphasise	CA/T/22/3

						the seriousness in which they are taking the anti-fox-hunting bill as opposed to the past.	
X yet actually not X but Y not X	urban/rural	<p>One Nation Toryism / islands of urban pink</p> <p>selling point/actually</p> <p>faintly Leftish tinge / vast expanse of rural sludge</p> <p>islands / sludge</p> <p>pink & blue / sludge</p> <p>pink / blue</p> <p>urban/rural</p>	<p>Mr Blair's selling point is One Nation Toryism with a faintly Leftish tinge. <i>Yet</i> the nation he actually controls would show up on the map <i>not as one, but as islands of urban pink</i> in a vast expanse of rural sludge (<i>not, automatically blue</i>).</p>	<p>Negated contrastive</p> <p>Negator</p>	<p>right wing/left wing homogeneity/heterogeneity</p> <p>illusion/reality</p> <p>tiny/vast</p> <p>hint/...?</p> <p>separate/blended separate/blended</p> <p>left wing/right wing</p> <p>town/country</p>	<p>A complex arrangement, embedding and interweaving oppositions within oppositions. Writer is contrasting how he alleges Blair would like the nation to be - unified with a hint of disunity - with the way it actually is - disunified, with left wing urban areas surrounded by disunified rural areas. So rather than a homogenous middle ground with subtle shades, we've a divided nation split between Labour and Tory, town and country (the latter which itself is messily divided)</p>	CA/T/22/4
X but not Y	into/ outside?	<p>can drag outlaws into the city and throw them into prison/his writ does not run</p> <p>Sheriff of Nottingham/outside the</p>	<p>Like the Sheriff of Nottingham, he can drag outlaws into the city and throw them into prison, but outside the gates, his writ does not run.</p>	<p>Negated contrastive</p>	<p>powerful/powerless</p> <p>inside/outside</p>	<p>Not sure the metaphor entirely makes sense. The emphasis is one Blair being a town man, and here is where his power lies. He has no control outside of his own territory. As to imprisoning those from outside, does this mean he will try and prosecute those who break the new fox-hunting laws? If so, then surely he does have some power outside of the town/city? Nevertheless, there is a continuing theme of a divided</p>	CA/T/22/5

		gates				country which Blair own rules part of.	
When X.... yesterday Y Y ...er than X [X] = adj 1 noun1/ [Y] = adj 2 noun1	X take it out on/ Y confronted	in 1997/ yesterday take it out on the farmers/ an army of 400,000 grass warriors confronted them class / grass	<i>When they won in 1997,</i> Labour's class warriors thought they could carry all before them on their pet issue of hunting – and take it out on the farmers into the bargain. They have found it <i>harder than they expected,</i> and <i>yesterday an army of 400,000 grass warriors confronted them</i>	adverbial contrast (ancillary) comparative parallelism	then/now acceptance/ defiance town/country socialist/ conservative	Continuing the theme of showing the limits of Blair's power, this time by contrasting past and present as well as town and country. Interesting reversal of agents in material action processes, so in first half Labour does it to the farmers, and in second they do it to Labour. The class v grass warriors is a perfect example of an unconventional opposite expressed through sound patterning, with neither grass nor class having conventional opposite, it's an intriguing way of expressing dichotomy between town and country, socialist and Tory.	CA/T/22/6
x but not y A first is X A A next is Y A		stupid / [clever] first / next placate / disbelieve	<i>His first reaction</i> to his own unpopularity is <i>to disbelieve it, but he is not stupid,</i> and he will have noticed that yesterday was a cosmic version of the famous booing that he got from the Women's Institute before the last election. <i>His next reaction</i> will be to try <i>to placate it.</i>	negated contrastive auto-evocation adverbial contrastive (ancillary) & syntactic parallelism& ancillary	stupid/clever disbelief/ belief passive/active	Link drawn between past disbelief and potential stupidity if he continues with disbelief (of his unpopularity) after this demo, therefore emphasising the strength of the demo (through contrasting Blair's potential reactions in past and present). His placatory action may be auto-evoked as being clever (i.e. not stupid). Placate as the opposite of disbelief work on a semantic dimension of levels of activity, however to what extent disbelief equates with inactivity is open to question (you can actively disbelieve something), although this kind of belief talked about here is more being deluded about reality?	CA/T/22/7
X but also Y		reasonable / [unreasonable]	He seemed very surprised, but said, no doubt mindful of his audience, that, if people took it into their heads to pursue a fox, it really didn't bother him very much. That is the reasonable view of a person not interested in the subject, <i>but</i> he seems	contrastive auto-evocation	reasonable / unreasonable conserve / change	Writer is implying that it is unreasonable to be actively not bothered about an issue rather than passive? which acts as the opposite view to the previous example where he does well to act rather than not act! Conserving something is seen as reasonable and the opposite is implied for changing it.	CA/T/22/8

			unfortunately also to have thought that because the sport didn't matter, nor did banning it.			Conservation + apathy = reasonable Change + apathy = unreasonable	
won't [will not] X but will Y		talking / recognise talking / mind Britishness / symptoms	You won't spend much time talking about Britishness, but you will recognise its symptoms, and you will mind if they are attacked.	negated contrastive (ancillary) parallelism	language / cognition a thing in itself (whole) / a measure of the thing itself (part)	Implying that nationalism is so ingrained that there is no need to talk about it or it is hard to talk about as a general concept, however we understand those things which symbolise it and feel affronted if they are attacked. Interesting opposition between the whole and the part of the whole – making sweeping epistemic categorical modality statements, assuming audience is like-minded.	CA/T/22/9
not X but Y		know anything / prejudice – cultural DNA dislike / prejudice – cultural DNA	If you are part of that culture, you may <i>not</i> yourself know anything much about either, and you may dislike some of the practices of both, <i>but</i> your prejudice - your cultural DNA - is invincibly on their side	negated contrastive	conscious awareness / instinct free will / determinism	Arguing that you can't escape your cultural roots even though your consciousness may try to counteract this. Creating a contrast being knowing, having conscious awareness of something and having something ingrained – ideology here of tradition, embedded prejudice, loyalty to country to persuade that it is not even worth trying to change things?	CA/T/22/ 10
while X, ...Y		listen / set your face like flint criticism / abuse move in their world / without knowing them	And <i>while</i> you might very well listen to criticism of hunter or farmer from people who move in their world (rural life is full of such internal conflicts), you will set your face like flint against people who abuse them without knowing about them.	conditional (acts like whereas?)	empathy/ lack of empathy insider/ outsider knowledge/ ignorance	Contrast between those who are justified in being critical of rural life because they are part of it, and those who aren't (because they aren't). Interesting contrast between criticism and abuse, which both fall on negative ends of a 'tendency to conflict' spectrum. Presumably if you set your face like flint, then listening involves a different facial manner	CA/T/22/ 11
It is the other way round		existing freedom/ take an existing	The mistake about the nature of freedom is to think that an existing freedom must	Explicit contrastive	conservative / reform?	Writer trying to imply that freedoms should be taken for granted but that they aren't by Labour. The second half	CA/T/22/ 12

		freedom itself / people	be made to justify itself. It is the other way round. The onus of proof should lie on the people who want to take an existing freedom away			of the pair is saying that freedom's shouldn't have to justify themselves, and first half that there is no 'onus of proof' on Labour taking away existing freedom. So in other words, Labour are taking away freedoms with no justification. Implies that change has to be justified.	
X but not only X, also Y	prove / unproved	believe / prove cruel / ban prove / unproved – unargued	<i>You may believe that hunting is cruel, but you must prove not only that (something that endless reports and consultations have failed to do): you must also prove the "therefore" that says that disapproval must lead to ban. In this case, it is unproved. Indeed, it is virtually unargued.</i>	negated contrastive Parallelism	lack of evidence / evidence intuition / intellect	Contrasting emotional responses to a phenomenon, with something that needs measured thought, implying that Labour have made a rash decision and not thought through all the consequences of their decision.	CA/T/22/ 13
x but y		unpolitical people/ affronted unpolitical people	Most of the 400,000 marching yesterday were unpolitical people, but it is when unpolitical people feel affronted by politics that the politicians have to start worrying.	contrastive transitional	passivity / anger?	Warning to Labour not to take a static view of society, that most people seem to be unpolitical, but events can change them	CA/T/22/ 14

Financial Times

Huge country protest fails to move ministers

Financial Times 23 Sept 2002 Page 1

The pro-hunting "Liberty and Livelihood" countryside march through London yesterday became the largest political protest in recent British history.

More than 407,000 people marched through Whitehall demonstrating about the threatened hunting ban, the depressed farming industry and poor rural services.

However, ministers indicated they were unmoved by the size of the demonstration organised by the **Countryside Alliance**. Alun Michael, the rural affairs minister, said the scale of the march and the feelings of people taking part had to be recognised.

"But I have to ask what it was all about. There is a muddle at the heart of the march," he said. The protest was "incoherent" with no clarity whether the protest was about hunting, rural services or the state of farming.

Defending the government's record, Mr Michael said: "I want to nail the lie that this is a government that does not understand rural areas."

Marchers followed two routes, with one starting at Hyde Park Corner and the other at St Paul's Cathedral. Both met in Whitehall where marchers fell silent when passing the war memorial before dispersing after reaching Parliament Square.

Despite the numbers, the march was peaceful. Police had few problems other than the extensive traffic jams.

Marchers included the young and old and came from a variety of backgrounds.

Mr Michael promised the government's proposals for hunting, to be published this autumn and given a free vote by MPs, would be fair and based on the principles of cruelty and practicality.

Earlier, John Jackson, chairman of the Alliance, had warned the countryside might "erupt with fury" if the government's handling of the hunting issue was unfair. "What form that will take I am not certain but I have no doubt about the depth of feeling," he said.

Afterwards, the Alliance called for the creation of a "rural council" to operate as a countryside version of the Confederation of British Industry.

Downing St said after the march: "We have always said there are real issues affecting the countryside and we have been addressing those issues."

Huge country protest fails to move ministers

Financial Times 23, Sept, 2002, page 1

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
X however Y		More than 407,000 people marched/ unmoved by the size of the demonstration	More than 407,000 people marched through Whitehall demonstrating about the threatened hunting ban, the depressed farming industry and poor rural services. <i>However</i> , ministers indicated they were unmoved by the size of the demonstration organised by the Countryside Alliance .	concessive	large / small significant / insignificant expected / unexpected moved / unmoved	This concept of the concessive and the expected / unexpected binary seems to crop up a lot – probably a huge pragmatic issue here which needs investigating – so the translation of the main idea is one would expect ministers to be moved by the fact that 407,000 people marched through Whitehall....and the <i>however</i> acts as a conjunction to then pose the opposite scenario.	CA/FT/1/1
X but Y		the scale of the march and the feelings of the people taking part / ask what it was all about	Alun Michael, the rural affairs minister, said the scale of the march and the feelings of people taking part had to be recognised. " <i>But</i> I have to ask what it was all about. "	contrastive	big / small emotional / rational meaningful / meaningless unfocussed / focussed intangible / tangible	Tricky one to work out. Basically size isn't everything in terms of numbers of people or strength of emotional outburst. These are contrasted (it is implied) with being focused or having meaning, implying that the size isn't really based on anything tangible. Don't know how significant this is yet, but the pairs are split over indirect and direct speech. Probably not that significant really.	CA/FT/1/2
Despite X, Y [happened]		numbers / peaceful	<i>Despite</i> the numbers , the march was peaceful .	concessive	big / small violent / peaceful	Usual thing of implying that large numbers mean a greater likelihood of trouble. Again the 'despite' implies a breaking of expectations.	CA/FT/1/3

Countryside protestors enjoy field day in city; There was plenty of passion but the marchers remained good-natured, write Marianne Brun-Rovet and John Mason

Financial Times 23 Sept 2002 page 3

They wanted more government support but less government interference; to be left alone but not to be ignored. Yesterday's Countryside Alliance march may not have been the most coherent of political protests but there could be no doubt about its scale or the passion expressed by some of the 400,000 protesters.

Their anger was aimed at the prime minister, with banners reading "Blair Beware" and "Towney Blair". This was the largest political protest in London since the second world war and made the turnout for the 1990 poll tax riots look puny. But it remained a good-natured, even well-mannered affair.

There were no fiery speeches and the climax was a silent walk past the Cenotaph. Stewards recruited by the Countryside Alliance donned fluorescent yellow tops reading "Sorry for the Delay". Police were generally relaxed. "This is the largest march I have ever seen. But it's all very pleasant," said one.

Some officers joined in the spirit of the occasion. Those guarding the front door to the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs offices laughed, clapped and cheered the marchers as they passed.

It had been hailed as the toffs' march, and the gentlemen farmers were out in force. The Liberty route, from Hyde Park Corner through St James' and Pall Mall to Whitehall, was a sea of tweed and Barbour jackets. It was led by bagpipers calling themselves the Pinstripe Highlanders - City workers from the country.

Ewan McGarrie, one of the kilt-clad group and communications director for a City company, was marching for the right of the countryside to be left alone. "I was brought up in the country so I know the impact all this legislation is having on the rural community."

Kim Fraser, a financial consultant, was marching for liberty. "I believe people should be allowed to do what they want to do," he said, swigging whisky from his hip flask between tunes.

Many poured out of the gentlemen's clubs of Pall Mall and a banner reading "British beef is safer than sex", was hanging from the RAC club. Some had stayed in the Ritz and the Savoy and, after a long night of revelling, were a little late for the march.

But yesterday was not just a demonstration of the gentry: just as many people were going into McDonalds as into the Travellers' for lunch. An overwhelming majority of marchers were ordinary farming folk. Their banners reflected the range of issues in the minds of this diverse crowd. "Born to hunt - ready to fight" screamed one; "The rural economy is our business" read another.

Wendy and Malcolm Shepherd, farmers from Northamptonshire, complained the government took back with one hand, through tax, what it gave with the other in the form of subsidies. "We don't like the decisions the government is making about the countryside. They are for the benefit of town people, not us. We don't like being told what to do with our land."

Malcolm Jenkins, a keen angler from North Walsham in Norfolk, marched carrying his fishing bag. "I am hopeful the turnout will make government listen. The anti-hunters have made it very clear that hunting is only the first step and that shooting and fishing will follow. But this is also about rural services being poor."

Another marcher said: "I am here because I had to leave the countryside and move to Norwich to get a job. I don't want others to have to do what I did."

John Smith, of Hatfield Heath, Essex, insisted hunting was not the main issues for many marchers. "I don't hunt, shoot or fish. What worries me are the closures of shops, pubs, post offices and bus services. If you are fit and able you can manage. But if you are not, then you must rely on others."
www.ft.com/ruralpoll

**Countryside protestors enjoy field day in city:
There was plenty of passion but the marchers remained good-natured..**

Financial Times 23, Sept, 2002, page 3

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
X but Y		passion / good-natured	There was plenty of passion <i>but</i> the marchers remained good-natured.	contrastive	passionate / passionless bad-natured / good-natured	Again – typical implicature that potential trouble to be caused at marches, and interestingly the implication here is that it is unusual for passion and good-naturedness to occur at the same time, despite the fact that of course this is precisely what is being described. Does this also imply that passion usually leads to trouble? Yes!	CA/FT/3/1
more X but less Y X but Y	more / less	support / interference left alone / be ignored	They wanted more government support <i>but less government interference; to be left alone but not to be ignored.</i>	contrastive negated contrastive	more / less support		CA/FT/3/2
							CA/FT/3/3

Guardian

Countryside March: 400,000 bring rural protest to London

Guardian 23 Sept 2002, p4

Four hundred thousand protesters descended on central London yesterday for the Liberty and Livelihood march, claimed to be the largest demonstration in Britain since the 19th century.

As Alun Michael, the minister for rural affairs, promised to release proposals on the future of hunting within weeks, supporters flocked to the **Countryside Alliance** protest against a ban. The march, which cost pounds 1m to organise, also aimed to increase awareness of other rural issues such as low incomes and poor services.

Organisers will today present Tony Blair with a list of 10 demands covering hunting, farming and the provision of local services. It calls for government legislation and action to be "rural-proofed" so that it does not inadvertently penalise countryside communities.

The demonstration was due to end at 6pm, but at 5pm as many as 40,000 campaigners were still queuing at Hyde Park Corner, the beginning of the Liberty march route. The alliance said 360,000 had already left the park or taken the Livelihood route which started at Blackfriars, converging in Parliament Square. They had travelled from around the country on 2,500 coaches and 31 specially chartered trains. The final tally of marchers was 407,791, the alliance said last night.

A Metropolitan police spokesman confirmed the total number of protesters at around 400,000. He said that the force, which closed off 20 roads, still hoped to reopen them by 10pm. Although traffic outside the area was heavier than usual, there were no major congestion problems.

The Opposition leader Iain Duncan Smith joined the march, as did Earl Spencer, comedian Rory Bremner and footballer-turned-actor Vinnie Jones. Supporters from the United States, Australia and Europe flew in to take part.

Organisers said that protecting the right to hunt was the "touchstone" of the rural campaigners' demands. They asked the government to safeguard rural people from attacks on all field sports; respect rural values and custom; ensure they consented to laws directed at them; and address the real problems in the countryside.

"What we are saying is that we want government legislation on hunting to be clearly based on the evidence, to be just and to recognise the rights of local communities," said John Jackson, chairman of the **Countryside Alliance**.

If it was not, he warned: "I think the countryside will erupt in fury. What form that fury will take I'm not certain, but I have no doubts about the depth of feeling you will see."

He also called for the creation of a rural council within 40 days to focus on the issues raised by marchers. "Unions have the TUC; businesses have the CBI; the countryside needs a council. Such representation is long overdue," he said.

Richard Burge, the alliance's chief executive, said that the march was about tolerating differences and respecting "ordinary guys".

Mr Michael has promised to publish proposals on the future of hunting with hounds within weeks, following a public consultation which ended last week. The government has said that MPs will have a free vote on the issue.

There has been speculation that Mr Michael may propose introducing a licensing system rather than an outright ban in certain areas. He said yesterday that he had to balance the issue of utility, the need to manage land and control the fox population, with that of cruelty.

He added: "A lot of people have recognised that the two sides have become too polarised. Activities with dogs may be no more cruel, or actually less cruel, than other ways of dealing with it. On the other hand, people are saying we cannot just go on as we always have done. But that doesn't necessarily mean accepting the 'middle way' option."

Mr Duncan Smith had earlier promised that a future Tory administration would allow government time for a bill to repeal a ban on hunting.

He added: "There are huge problems in the countryside - transport is really difficult, hospitals are centralised miles away from people, village shops are closing, there are all sorts of problems with farming. Why waste time on hunting legislation when there are many more important issues?"

Baroness Mallalieu, president of the alliance and a Labour peer, said: "A lot of what the government is proposing to do on hunting is based on class bigotry which very sadly still resides in parts of the Labour party."

Two anti-hunt demonstrators were arrested for public order offences, but a 150-strong anti-hunt counter-protest in Parliament Square remained peaceful. There were 1,600 police officers on duty and an extra 1,800 alliance stewards on patrol.

A spokeswoman for the International Fund for Animal Welfare said: "There are a lot of people on the streets here, but the majority of people in Britain - 74% - think that hunting is cruel and would like to see it banned."

A spokesman for the RSPCA added: "Parliament has spoken twice on the hunting issue and the people have spoken and the general view is that it should be banned."

Guardian 23rd Sept 2002, p4
Countryside March: 400,000 bring rural protest to London

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
X but Y		6pm / 5pm	The demonstration was due to end at 6pm, but at 5pm as many as 40,000 campaigners were still queuing at Hyde Park Corner , the beginning of the Liberty march route.	contrastive	punctual / unpunctual small / large predicted / actual	Contrast between what the organisers might have planned for a smaller demonstration against what actually occurred.	CA/G/4/1
Although X, Y		traffic... heavier than usual / no major congestion problems	<i>Although traffic outside the area was heavier than usual, there were no major congestion problems.</i>	concessive?	heavy / light congested / uncongested problematic / unproblematic expected / unexpected	No a particularly spectacular example, but still produces at least four superordinates. 'Although' seems to work in similar way to 'despite' but produces a less sensational tone, and leads to a slightly different grammatical construction in the sub clause – i.e <i>despite traffic being heavier..</i> (so has to use progressive form). How interesting is this! Again this is another of those examples in which expectations are not met which is where the contrast lies.	CA/G/4/2
X. If not [X], Y [happens]		based on evidence.... Just... rights of local communities / countryside erupt in fury	"What we are saying is that we want government legislation on hunting to be clearly based on the evidence, to be just and to recognise the rights of local communities, " said John Jackson, chairman of the Countryside Alliance . <i>If it was not</i> , he warned: "I think the countryside will erupt in fury. "	negatable conditional alternative?	cause / effect satisfied / dissatisfied calm / furious action / inaction	To what extent are potential alternatives built into conditionals? Is the 'not' essential for an intrinsic alternative to be suggested? The opposition here is based around cause and effect – if this doesn't happen, this follows, in this case acting as a warning, threat. One action is contrasted with a potential consequence of that lack of action consequence	CA/G/4/3
not X but Y	not certain / no doubts	form / depth of feeling	What form that fury will take I'm not certain, but I have no	negated contrastive	uncertainty / certainty	There is a conventional certain/uncertain contrast, and with it tagged along, based on the	CA/G/4/4

	[certain]	not certain / no doubts	doubts about the depth of feeling you will see. "	ancillary?	physical / spiritual	same trigger, ancillary style, form and feeling, which on one level are also fairly conventional oppositions.	
X rather than Y		licensing system / outright ban	There has been speculation that Mr Michael may propose introducing a licensing system rather than an outright ban in certain areas.	replacive contrastive	moderate / extreme sanction / ban	Why is it that only two choices are given I wonder? Is there no other alternative to these two?	CA/G/4/5
balance X with Y		utility, need to manage land and control the fox population / cruelty	He said yesterday that he had to <i>balance</i> the issue of utility, the need to manage land and control the fox population, with that of cruelty.	explicit comparative?	compassion / cruelty human / animal rational / emotional practical / impractical	This is the first 'balance' trigger found. Felt first a bit like an explicit contrastive because a balance strongly implies there are two sides one can lean towards. Here, it is not present as an either/or alternative however, so this could make it more like a comparative, an explicit one? All the other comparative triggers so far are privileging one alternative over another however, whereas this wants to strike a happy medium. It is only posing the opposites as extremes to avoid. The actual opposition is between making a moderate cull of foxes and an extreme unnecessary slaughter.	CA/G/4/6
X, Y polarised X no more less ... than Y X on the other hand Y X but not Y	two sides	two sides activities with dogs / other ways of dealing with it activities with dogs / cannot go on as we always have done go on as we have always	He added: "A lot of people have recognised that the two sides have become too <i>polarised</i> . Activities with dogs may be <i>no more cruel</i> , or actually <i>less cruel</i> , <i>than other ways of dealing with it</i> . On the other hand , people are saying we cannot just go on as we always have done . <i>But</i> that doesn't necessarily mean accepting the 'middle way' option."	explicit contrastive comparative explicit contrastive negated contrastive	one side / other side cruelty / compassion current / alternative stability / change	Fantastic – one of the richest examples yet. All interlinked. Some kind of metalinguistic thing going on here, linked to the previous example. Spoken by Alun Michael, minister for Rural Affairs. Makes explicit the concept of two sides – ie utility v cruelty, and for the first time so far the XY opposites are textually instantiated in the same phrase – recognises that there is a third way. Second eg is comparing alleged lack of cruelty with other alternatives. Third – <i>on the other hand</i> , again an explicit contrastive of sorts, proposes there is an alternative to sticking with the status quo, i.e. activities with dogs? SO he is on the one hand	CA/G/4/7

		done / middle way option				recognising that hunting may not be that bad, but bad enough for there to be a change – classic middle-of-the-road stuff. The last example contrasts the need for change with what that change might mean	
why X when Y		hunting legislation / many more important issues	Why waste time on hunting legislation when there are many more important issues?"	contrastive alternative	current / alternative trivial / important one / many	Intuitively this feels like an opposite – struggling to explain why. It is questioning one action when there are alternatives available, so the opposition is based around choices between one thing and another – contrastive alternative? This is in the form of a rhetorical question and it would be hard to think of an example which wouldn't be used rhetorically, sooo 'rhetorical contrastive?' Is the first of all examples in which a question form is inherent in the frame.	CA/G/4/8
X but Y		public order offences / remained peaceful	Two anti-hunt demonstrators were arrested for public order offences, but a 150-strong anti-hunt counter-protest in Parliament Square remained peaceful	contrastive syntactic parallelism	violent / peaceful anti-hunt / pro-hunt small / large	Basic comparison between violent and peaceful protest. Not sure what an anti-hunt counter protest is? Is it a protest against the protest, or an alternative anti-hunt protest?!	CA/G/4/8
X but Y		a lot of people / majority think that hunting is cruel...	There are a lot of people on the streets here, but the majority of people in Britain - 74% - think that hunting is cruel and would like to see it banned.	contrastive	minority / majority cruelty / compassion	This is a bit like a concessive, in that the speaker concedes something about one of the pair (a bit like 'although'), and the <i>but</i> acts like a 'nevertheless'. So there is an interesting contrast between 'a lot' which on a gradable scale of size is obviously more than a small amount, but is actually bottom of the scale when placed in a mutually exclusive position against majority, so it becomes 'minority'.	CA/G/4/9

Countryside march: For club and country, the day the rules were bent: City's swankiest institutions open doors for special occasion

Guardian 23 Sept 2002, page 5

If the **Countryside Alliance** had sought to claim that yesterday's march represented the fears of the entire rural community, there were no such pretensions at inclusivity in London's unashamedly elitist clubland.

The venerable institutions lining Pall Mall and St James's had thrown out the rulebook by opening on a Sunday, and by permitting members' guests - women, children, and, in one instance, even dogs - to enter their premises. But they were damned if they were going to go so far as to allow non-members to cross their polished thresholds.

Anyone with any doubts about the strength of the British class system would have been instantly reassured by the steeliness of the liveried doormen of Pratt's, Brooks's, Boodle's, White's, The Carlton, The Turf, The Oxford and Cambridge and The Traveller's.

A polite inquiry as to whether the Duke of Devonshire's club Pratt's was throwing open its doors to allow non-members to see the shabby splendour of its wood-panelled games room - with its vast snooker table and stag's antlers - brought the sharp rejoinder: "No, we are definitely not."

Young girls in fraying jeans, toddlers, and even mobile phones were permitted at the likes of The Traveller's. But members of the public desperate for the loo, or craving a drink, were assessed with a practised eye - and consistently turned down. If the odd club member did agree to temporarily "adopt" someone as a guest, he had to escort them to the toilet, wait patiently outside, and then escort them out.

The extent to which rules were bent varied slightly. "We've relaxed everything: children, denim, women, dogs," said one manager at the Traveller's, as he raised his eyebrow at a denim-clad teenager following her father.

"We don't want babes in arms, but we're looking after members on what's a special occasion," said Simon Allen, the Royal Automobile Club's general manager. "And, yes, we're helping [non-members] with the loo if they're women and children." He sniffed. "It's easier for the men out there."

But at the Oxford and Cambridge, there was no flexibility. The Bishop of Hereford's son, Tom Oliver, 38, was thrown out for not wearing a tie while another woman in his party was dispatched for wearing trousers. "They obviously have their rules, but I was slightly surprised", admitted the bishop's 65-year-old wife Merriel Oliver.

What protesters without any vital club membership - gained after being proposed and seconded; having been on a waiting list; and then spending hundreds in membership - missed out on was the chance to collapse on sumptuous sofas in drawing rooms bedecked with chandeliers and oil paintings, while surveying the march through sash windows.

The offer of a hot meal was also a draw. At Brooks's, where tweed- cap-clad young men cheered marchers from the upper windows while clutching chilled white wine and cigarettes, 400 enjoyed a sit-down buffet. At the Royal Automobile Club, 350 dined at the fully-booked brasserie, or sampled beef stroganoff and cold meats at the pounds 25 buffet; and at The Traveller's, 180 paid pounds 30 for a sit-down meal of roast beef or salmon followed by apple pie.

The Carlton Club offered 200 members food designed to be eaten in a hurry - chicken curry or beef jardiniere followed by cheese or fruit for pounds 19, or a pounds 15 all-day breakfast.

But there was little inclination to rush at the Turf, where 500 aristocratic club members milled on the terrace or chattered beneath classical oil paintings, before enjoying a prebooked luncheon or buffet of cold meats, patisserie, breads and Greek salad in the gracious dining rooms.

Perhaps the sheer numbers packing the rich-red bar were also to blame - but at least one marcher had the answer. "God it's heaving," the patriarch complained. "Shall I just get champagne?"

"Well it's easiest, isn't it?" replied his companion.

Guardian 23rd Sept 2002, p5

Countryside March: For club and country, the day the rules were bent: City's swankiest institutions open doors for special occasion

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
[even] if X [in A] no X [in B]		fears of the entire rural community / no pretensions of inclusivity	If the Countryside Alliance had sought to claim that yesterday's march represented the fears of the entire rural community, there were <i>no such pretensions at inclusivity in London's unashamedly elitist clubland.</i>	conditional concessive auto-evocation	inclusivity / exclusivity democratic / elitist pretend / real exception / norm rural / urban?	Another newish category – conditional concessive – i.e. it acts a bit like 'despite', 'although' etc – using the subordinate clause to set out one state of affairs which is then negated in the main clause. Not sure whether the fact it use the conditional makes it any different. In this case it aims to expose the CA's claim to inclusivity as false by contrasting it with a club in which it implied the same kind of membership will be involved. The latter is implied BY the fact that they form part of a pair of oppositions, and 'sought to claim (modality issue). 'Pretensions' suggest that their claim is false.	CA/G/5/1
X but [not] Y	members / non-members	members' guests – women, children, and, in one instance, even dogs/ non-members	The venerable institutions lining Pall Mall and St James's had thrown out the rulebook by opening on a Sunday, and by permitting members' guests - women, children, and, in one instance, even dogs - to enter their premises. <i>But</i> they were damned if they were going to go so far as to allow non-members to cross their polished thresholds.	negated contrastive	members / non-members democratic / elitist inclusive / exclusive	A version of the negated contrastive in that 'were damned if' stands in for 'not'. Continues train of thought from last para. So dogs become opposite to (and privileged to) people who aren't members of this exclusive club. Emphasising the exclusivity of the club by contrasting it a list of those who were allowed in.	CA/G/5/2
	doubts / reassured	doubts / instantly	Anyone with any doubts about the strength of the	semantic?	doubts / certainties	Are getting into subordinate trigger stuff here? That is, this is a version of 'If anyone had any	CA/G/5/3

		reassured [lack of] strength of the British class system / steeliness of the liveried doormen	British class system would have been instantly reassured by the steeliness of the liveried doormen of Pratt's, Brooks's, Boodle's, White's, The Carlton, The Turf, The Oxford and Cambridge and The Traveller's.	concessive?	worried / reassured weak / strong	doubts...'. Another thought-provoking one in that initially I thought there was no obvious syntactic trigger and opted for a semantic one of doubts / reassured, but was concerned that these are not entirely conventional. But then the syntactic trigger became clearer. The oppositional pair are not matched on the same levels, in that the first of pair refers to general strength whereas the second half refers to specific strength, as a specific example of the general opposite.	
X, not X		throwing open its doors / [closing doors]	A polite inquiry as to whether the Duke of Devonshire's club Pratt's was throwing open its doors to allow non-members to see the shabby splendour of its wood-panelled games room - with its vast snooker table and stag's antlers - brought the sharp rejoinder: "No, we are definitely not."	negated auto-evocation	non-members / members open / closed	Rare example of auto-evocation in that what it is that the <i>not</i> is negating is based on a simple opposition to open, and therefore it can easily be inferred that doors will stay closed to non-members, so the Y of the pair is only implied. There may be a rhetorical point here in that journo could have written Pratt's was 'closing' its doors on ...etc, however, the alternative posed first allows the writer to wax lyrical about what non-members would be missing, which is probably just as much the point of the paragraph.	CA/G/5/4
X but Y	permitted / turned down	young girls...toddlers, mobile phones / members of the public.... permitted / turned down	Young girls in fraying jeans, toddlers, and even mobile phones were permitted at the likes of The Traveller's. <i>But members of the public desperate for the loo, or craving a drink, were assessed with a practised eye - and consistently turned down.</i>	contrastive ancillary?	allowed / disallowed trivial / important desperate / hopeful crave / satiated	This is one of those strange mutually exclusive in-group/out-group contrasts in which the logic is that you cannot be a young girl, toddler etc and a member of the public at the same time. The writer has chosen a rhetorical 3-part list of 'non-standard' attenders to exclusive drinking clubs. The fraying jeans presumably implying scruffiness, toddlers often not allowed anywhere that sells alcohol, and mobile phones, presumably abnormal because they are new and trendy? – a list of trivia, set up against people with genuine needs, like going to the toilet and wanting a drink, usually associated with basic service at a pub. These are tagged on ancillary-style to the more conventional opposite of permitted / turned down. Can we assume that people being desperate	CA/G/5/5

						implies that those in the first half of the list are not, and are therefore having all their needs satiated?	
If X, Y [at the same time]		adopt someone as a guest / escort them to the toilet...and then escort them out	<i>If the odd club member did agree to temporarily "adopt" someone as a guest, he had to escort them to the toilet, wait patiently outside, and then escort them out.</i>	conditional concessive	member / non-member acceptable / unacceptable expected / unexpected	This is one of those expectations things. Need to think about how and indeed if conditionals do indeed trigger oppositions. The expectations of the first half of the clause are broken with the second. Perhaps it isn't a conditional? Does 'if' automatically make it conditional? Not sure it does. Acts more like 'despite' in this case [even if]. Writer trying to show draconian nature of the rules by illustrating how what we would expect from membership would expect the opposite to being escorted to the toilet!	CA/G/5/6
not X but Y		babes in arms / members	"We don't want babes in arms, but we're looking after members on what's a special occasion," said Simon Allen, the Royal Automobile Club's general manager	negated contrastive	non-members / members children / adults	You can be a member but don't hold a baby at the same time!	CA/G/5/7
[doing] A if X [not] Y X but no Y	women / men	women and children / men helping non-members with the loo / flexibility	"And, yes, we're helping [non-members] with the loo if they're women and children. " He sniffed. "It's easier for the men out there." <i>But</i> at the Oxford and Cambridge, there was no flexibility.	conditional negated contrastive	women / men difficult / easy vulnerable / safe flexible / inflexible	Standard distinction between men and women, in this case distinguished owing to ability to go to the toilet! Simply implying that allowing people to go to the loo is being flexible as opposed to those that aren't. But the implied flexibility of the first pub is only partial as they've distinguished between those whose needs are greatest and those that aren't.	CA/G/5/8
X but Y		have their rules / surprised	"They obviously have their rules, but I was slightly surprised ", admitted the bishop's 65-year-old wife Merriel Oliver.	contrastive	unsurprised / surprised obvious / unexpected	One of those opposites which I need to do more work on – in that each of the pair works on a different level. So she is surprised as opposed to the implication that having rules is unsurprising. So there isn't an opposite to 'having rules' which would be 'no rules', but	CA/G/5/9

						an opposite to the expectation of how those rules are going to be implemented.	
X or Y		chicken curry / beef jardinière	The Carlton Club offered 200 members food designed to be eaten in a hurry - chicken curry or beef jardinière followed by cheese or fruit for pounds 19, or a pounds 15 all-day breakfast. <i>But</i> there was little inclination to rush at the Turf, where 500 aristocratic club members milled on the terrace or chattered beneath classical oil paintings, before enjoying a prebooked luncheon or buffet of cold meats, patisserie, breads and Greek salad in the gracious dining rooms.	coordinated	one / the other	How can we justify chicken and beef meals being treated as opposites other than them being a choice between one or the other, and presumably you aren't allowed to have both? The other food contrasts between buffet and non-buffet, acts a bit like an ancillary in that they are tagged onto hurried v unhurried types of food. Again artificial, as you can of course hurry a buffet and eat a curry slowly. There may also be a class contrast here in that the latter is aristocratic whereas the Carlton is the 'Tory' club so could be a business v inherited wealth contrast – ie a contrast between two different kinds of wealthy person?	CA/G/5/10
X but Y		cheese / fruit		contrastive	hurried / unhurried		
		hurry / little		ancillary	served / self-service?		
		inclination to rush			business / aristocracy		
		chicken curry...beef jardinière... cheese...fruit / cold meats, patisserie, breads and Greek salad					
X but Y		to blame / the answer	Perhaps the sheer numbers packing the rich-red bar were also to blame - <i>but</i> at least one marcher had the answer.	contrastive	blame / exonerate	The <i>but</i> here acts as a coordinator between the problem of a packed bar and the solution to coping with it. Again it seems we have oppositions on two levels – the implied problem (for which there is a cause – someone or something to blame) and a solution to that problem. So the implied opposite to blame is not exonerate (not blame) but a response to the thing for which there is something to blame. The writer is only tentatively suggesting that sheer numbers are the reason why food is being eaten in a hurry, which does have the effect of posing it as a question, for which we have the opposite 'answer', but the answer isn't to the question 'why is it so packed?' but 'what can we do to cope with it?' So there is some kind of ambiguity here based around the way 'answer' can be interpreted.	CA/G/5/11
					question / answer		
					problem / solution		

Countryside March: In at the kill as the hunt rides into town: Stephen Moss makes it London after four days on horseback

Guardian Sept 23, 2002, page 5

Andrew German, who led the four-day South and West Wilts hunt's ride into London, had injured himself. Not on the ride, but by walking into a taxi door at 5am after a night of pre-march partying. The gash on the crown of his head seemed to confirm his suspicion about London.

The last leg of the journey from Dorset had taken us from Leatherhead to Wimbledon. As we came in on Saturday morning, Ashted was asleep, Epsom supportive, Morden suspicious. We stopped for lunch at a drive (or, in this case, ride) through McDonalds, where children patted the horses and the manager fretted about his car park. When the country comes to town things can get messy.

We reached Wimbledon just after 2pm and were greeted by a piper, a small group of **Countryside Alliance** supporters and several TV crews. One of the greeters was the senior master of foxhounds in the US, who had brought across 200 hunting supporters for the march. "This is the frontline," he said. "If hunting is banned here we will be next."

Despite his cut - and lack of sleep - Mr German was at Hyde Park Corner, where the Liberty half of the march began, at 10am yesterday. He wasn't wearing his hunting regalia; no one was: the organisers evidently felt that massed red jackets would send the wrong signal.

It was reckoned to be the biggest protest in London since the Chartists assembled at Kennington in 1848; it was certainly the largest number of people with shooting sticks to attend a demo. Police forces can rarely have had so little to fear. One elderly woman berated two teenage boys for pulling conkers off a tree. Violence seemed unlikely.

There were few anti-hunting demonstrators along the way, though the Urban Alliance had plastered stickers on the gates of the park. "Proof that incest leads to genetic malfunction," read one. Hard to chant but pleasingly witty.

Mr German was marching with his wife, his mother, and friends from the hunt. The march came to a standstill in Pall Mall and did a succession of Mexican waves for the other breed of clubbers on the balconies. A young Scottish soldier offered whisky from a hip flask and explained why he, against regulations, had come along. "It's the thin end of the wedge. It'll be shooting and fishing next. Then what are people in the country supposed to do? Sit around drinking cups of tea?"

As we reached Parliament Square, Mr German said he felt he had achieved what he set out to do: to take his cause from his home at the kennels in Motcombe to the door of parliament.

This morning, he resumes hunting in earnest; he regretted the days he had to miss to make his point. This afternoon, he will take the hounds to the funeral of a hunt member who died of cancer at 38. It was her last wish that she be buried to the sound of their yelps. Hunting knows how to deal with any death - except of course its own.

Guardian 23rd Sept 2002, p5

**Countryside March: In at the kill as the hunt rides into town:
Stephen Moss makes it London after four days on horseback**

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
not X but Y		the ride / walking into a taxi door	Andrew German, who led the four-day South and West Wilts hunt's ride into London, had injured himself. Not on the ride, but by walking into a taxi door at 5am after a night of pre-march partying	negated contrastive	expected / unexpected serious / trivial	Opposites work as part of a choice of adverbials, an expectation set up that the injury has come from his four day trek, and then subverted by the revelation that it has come from a more frivolous partying incident, which may have the effect of deflating the seriousness with which the reader may have perceived the marchers. The specific dimension on which the oppositions lie is 'ways in which you can injure yourself', but the oppositions themselves are based around the superordinates in the previous column rather the specifics of the injuries.	CA/G/5/1
despite X, Y [happens]		his cut – and lack of sleep / at Hyde Park Corner... at 10am yesterday	Despite his cut - and lack of sleep - Mr German was at Hyde Park Corner , where the Liberty half of the march began, at 10am yesterday	concessive	expected / unexpected	Similar to above – except the oppositional pair don't work on the same dimension contrasting the way someone looks and their physical state with their arrival at a specific time. The opposition is between what might be expected of someone in this state, thanks to the concessive (despite) and what actually happened, the unexpected. The cut is reference to the fact that he isn't wearing his hunting regalia (mentioned in next sentence).	CA/G/5/2
X except Y		any death / its own [death]	Hunting knows how to deal with any death - <i>except</i> of course its own	negated contrastive	many / one general / specific literal / metaphorical	At moment am putting the trigger 'except' in negated contrastive category as in a sense it seems to go with 'not' although its function IS slightly different – it suggests inclusivity with an element of exclusivity – i.e. the member of the oppositional pair it is attached to. It also acts a bit like 'but' and can be substituted for 'but not'. What is the difference in nuance? 'Except' has more connotations of 'exception'	CA/G/5/3

					cope / mismanage	(obviously!) in that it seems to put added emphasis on the exception. Need some more examples I like the literal/metaphorical distinction.	
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Independent

Country invades town in a show of force

Independent 23rd Sept 2002, Page 1

CAMPAIGNERS CLAIMED to have sent a defiant message to the Government yesterday when an estimated 400,000 farmers, hunters and rural workers joined one of the biggest protests held in London.

But the Government said it was pressing ahead, without delay, with plans to introduce a fox-hunting Bill. The march organisers warned that the country would "erupt in fury" if the Government ignored its demands on hunting.

The **Countryside Alliance** claimed that more than 400,000 people turned up for the Liberty and Livelihood march, which used two routes through the centre of London. The Alliance claims that the protest was the largest "by a mile" that the country had seen, surpassing the CND demonstrations of the early 1980s and the later, bitter disputes over the poll tax. The Metropolitan Police estimated the numbers at 300,000.

Fox hunting dominated the march, which passed along Whitehall and past Downing Street, but farmers complaining about low prices and the Government's handling of the foot-and-mouth outbreak also joined the throng that disrupted central London all day. The marchers arrived in 2,500 coaches in response to a huge publicity campaign.

John Jackson, the chairman of the **Countryside Alliance**, said: "Anybody who thinks this is just about hunting must be living on a different planet from the rest of us." However, hunting was a litmus test for the Government to show willingness to deal justly with rural issues, he said. "If they make the mistake of doing something that's unjust, I have no doubt that the countryside will erupt in fury," he said.

Despite the presence of 150 anti-hunt protesters in Parliament Square, the march was peaceful. It was split in two because of the expected crowds, with starting points at Hyde Park and Blackfriars Bridge. Both began at 10am and people were still passing down Whitehall at 5.30pm.

The two routes converged in Whitehall where protesters were urged to fall silent as they approached the Cenotaph to demonstrate respect and the strength of their feeling. The organisers spent an estimated pounds 1m, some of it on giant screens along the routes displaying live pictures of the protest.

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Country invades town in a show of force

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
X invades Y?	country / town	country / town	Country invades town in a show of force	semantic trigger	urban / rural	Headline of article. Nothing special about the oppositional pair, but maybe in the way the trigger(s) work? Because the semantic triggers are very conventional, doesn't require a standard syntactic trigger, if one at all. However, 'invade' has something of a trigger about it, but perhaps not wouldn't work with unconventional opposites. 'Invade' has connotations of one thing not belonging in something else suggesting some kind of mutual exclusivity. It is the first instance of anything like 'invade' being used which suggests its rather obscure use as a trigger	CA/I/1/1
X but Y		one of the biggest protests... / pressing ahead...fox-hunting bill	CAMPAIGNERS CLAIMED to have sent a defiant message to the Government yesterday when an estimated 400,000 farmers, hunters and rural workers joined one of the biggest protests held in London . <i>But</i> the Government said it was pressing ahead, without delay, with plans to introduce a fox-hunting Bill .	contrastive	big / small effective / ineffective influential / insignificant	Importantly this is a 'straight' news report so lacks the rhetoric and density of oppositions of other eye-witness reports and opinion columns. The oppositions work through the reporting of verbalisation processes and the clash between what the protestors claim about numbers and the Government's actions, leaving the reader to make inferences about the potential mismatch between the size of the demo and its actual ineffectiveness as regards its influence on the government.	CA/I/1/2
X but also Y		fox hunting / low prices... handling of the foot and mouth outbreak	Fox hunting dominated the march, which passed along Whitehall and past Downing Street, <i>but</i> farmers complaining about low prices and the Government's handling of the foot-and-mouth outbreak also joined	inclusive contrastive	specific / general	This is a rare example of an inclusive use of an oppositional trigger and initially I found it difficult to see whether there is actually an opposition being set up here. However, I'm convinced that 'but' does force some kind of contrast, and here, there is a semantic dimension of 'issues that farmers might complain about', and the contrast is between	CA/I/1/3

			the throng that disrupted central London all day.			the specific headline focus of fox-hunting, with more general problems farmers have with their situation.	
X however Y		hunting / rural issues	John Jackson, the chairman of the Countryside Alliance , said: "Anybody who thinks this is just about hunting must be living on a different planet from the rest of us. " <i>However, hunting</i> was a litmus test for the Government to show willingness to deal justly with rural issues , he said	contrastive?	specific / general narrow / wide	Follows on from last point. Direct quote retranslated means this is not just about hunting, it's about rural issues, but that the specific (hunting) is a way into get the govt to deal with wider issues	CA/1/1/4
Despite X, Y		150 anti-hunt protestors / peaceful	Despite the presence of 150 anti-hunt protestors in Parliament Square, the march was peaceful.	concessive	violent / peaceful	A stereotyped assumption that focussed groups of protestors, it is assumed, have potential to cause trouble. Despite acts to show how what happens in the main clause works against expectations	CA/1/1/5

COUNTRYSIDE PROTEST: Government brushes aside the 'muddled' marchers

Independent Sept 23 2002, page 4

THE GOVERNMENT has announced that it will press ahead without delay with plans to outlaw hunting in a direct rebuff to the Countryside Alliance marchers.

Alun Michael, the Rural Affairs minister, said he would not be influenced by the strength of feeling shown by the demonstration and accused its organisers of being in a "muddle."

Mr Michael has just completed a six-month review into the future of bloodsports and is expected to recommend a ban on hunting with hounds, with only limited exceptions. He predicted his plans would be published "in weeks rather than months" and that the divisive issue could finally be settled within a year.

Unlike the previous Countryside Alliance lobby of London, no minister was present at yesterday's march and Tony Blair spent the day away from the noisy demonstration at his Buckinghamshire residence of Chequers. Mr Michael dismissed as a lie claims by organisers that he had been invited and he claimed the march has been hijacked by the pro-hunting lobby.

He added: "Some of those marchers spoke as if they thought it was an attempt to intimidate Parliament ... I think it would be wrong to be intimidated. In politics I don't think it's right to be intimidated." His unyielding tone suggested the Government was preparing to risk the political backlash from rural areas and to put through a near-total ban on hunting.

MPs have twice voted, on free votes, for hunting to be outlawed, only to have the proposal blocked by the Lords. This time, the Government could use the Parliament Act, overriding the second chamber, to turn the proposal into law.

The senior Labour MP Gerald Kaufman said: "One quarter of a million people marching means 99.6 per cent of the British population are not marching. This is a small minority putting forward a section of interest which they have every right to do, but it is an interest which reflects the needs and wishes of a tiny proportion of the people in this country."

Downing Street refused to comment yesterday on claims in Sunday newspapers that the Prince of Wales had relayed rural concerns directly in a letter to Mr Blair.

The Prince was reported to have complained that the Prime Minister would not have dared to attack an ethnic minority in the way that supporters of hunting were being persecuted.

Iain Duncan Smith, the Conservative leader, was among several members of the Shadow Cabinet who attended the protest. He said: "It is wrong, with all the problems that exist in the countryside at the moment ... that the Government should be giving government time to a Bill which will ultimately only make criminals out of a large section of the British public."

He also promised that a future Conservative government would allow parliamentary time for a new free vote to repeal any ban on hunting.

Baroness Mallalieu, president of the Countryside Alliance, said: "Hunting is the trigger for this march, but I would imagine that everybody on the march wants the Government to deal with a wide range of problems in the countryside. The point is that the people don't want to talk about hunting, they want to talk about all the other issues that are affecting them.

"A lot of what the Government is proposing to do on hunting is in fact based on class bigotry which, very sadly, still resides in parts of the Labour Party."

The former Labour minister Kate Hoey added: "Tony Blair needs to show leadership on this whole issue. If hunting is banned, then shooting and fishing will follow. The Government was elected to create unity in this country and not to create division."

Charles Kennedy, the Liberal Democrat leader, speaking from Brighton where his party was gathering for its annual conference, said that the issue of hunting was one in which there were different opinions in all political parties. But he added: "The Government is not listening nearly enough to people's views and we will continue to press them."

Mr Kennedy also said that the Government was not dealing with declines in agriculture, rural tourism and public transport, or with the closure of post offices in rural areas.

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COUNTRYSIDE PROTEST: Government brushes aside the ‘muddled’ marchers

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
X rather than Y		weeks / months	He predicted his plans would be published "in weeks rather than months " and that the divisive issue could finally be settled within a year.	replacive (preferential?) contrastive	short-term / long-term	Rhetoric from Labour minister trying to show that they are working at speed.	CA/I/4/1
Unlike X, Y	present / away	previous / yesterday's present / away [absent]	<i>Unlike the previous Countryside Alliance lobby of London, no minister was present at yesterday's march and Tony Blair spent the day away from the noisy demonstration at his Buckinghamshire residence of Chequers</i>	explicit contrastive?	past / present presence / absence	First instance of this particular semantic trigger – should we call it a contrastive, possibly an explicit contrastive? Grammatically it acts a bit like ‘despite’ as a subordinator, but without the meaning of ‘against expectation’. It is explicit because it utilises an oppositional prefix ‘un’ which turns it into the opposite of like (similar to). Comparison between previous and present demos, and the fact ministers were present at former but not latter. The presence on former is not specifically mentioned but strongly alluded to.	CA/I/4/2
X but Y		small minority...tiny proportion / the people in this country section of interest / needs and wishes of a tiny proportion	This is a small minority putting forward a section of interest which they have every right to do, <i>but</i> it is an interest which reflects the needs and wishes of a tiny proportion of the people in this country. "	contrastive	small / large insignificant / significant instance / mass part / whole	Bit of a tricky one as it compares interest with interest, and in both cases it suggests the interest group is small. In the second of the pair however the size of the interest is put against the size of that of which it is part, so perhaps we understand it as a part/whole dichotomy?	CA/I/4/3
not X in the way that Y		ethnic minority / supporters of	The Prince was reported to have complained that the	negated comparative?	supported / persecuted	This is a great one! There is a new category – negated comparative – i.e it uses the negator	CA/I/4/4

		hunting	Prime Minister would <i>not</i> have dared to attack an ethnic minority in the way that supporters of hunting were being persecuted.		defended / attacked	'not' but makes a more explicit comparison between the pair (I think!). Also fascinating that an 'ethnic minority' is being treated as the benchmark by which to judge levels of persecution, with this category at the non-persecuted end of the scale! Implication that ethnic minorities being given preferential treatment. Does this mean you can't both be a supporter of hunting and an ethnic minority?	
X but Y		hunting / wide range of problems in the countryside	Baroness Mallalieu, president of the Countryside Alliance, said: " Hunting is the trigger for this march, <i>but</i> I would imagine that everybody on the march wants the Government to deal with a wide range of problems in the countryside. "	contrastive	one / many individual / collective narrow / wide	Similar to previous point but perhaps more explicit. The demonstration is organised around a single narrow issue but the protest is about a wide range of issues.	CA/I/4/5
not X, Y		hunting / other issues	The point is that the people <i>don't want to talk about hunting</i> , they <i>want to talk about all the other issues that are affecting them.</i>	negated syntactic parallelism ancillaries?	individual / collective one / many irrelevant / relevant	Same point as above except more categorical about lack of interest in hunting itself. Uses syntactic patterning. NB: this could be expressed as a negated contrastive 'don't want to talk about hunting but about all the other...', but the parallelism has a stronger rhetorical effect, and negates the need for the 'but' (which would sound clumsy if included as well).	CA/I/4/6
X not Y	unity / division	unity / division	The Government was elected to <i>create unity</i> in this country and <i>not to create division.</i> "	negated semantic trigger syntactic parallel	unity / division	One of the 'purest' examples yet! (Quote from Kate Hooey, Minister in favour of hunting) We have semantic trigger which conforms to the superordinate, a classic negator and a parallelism. Perhaps the rhetorical nature of this, as spoken by an experienced politician is one of the reasons. The inclusion of the opposite of unity, which one would assume is the opposite thanks to the trigger anyway is purely for rhetorical effect and also emphasises the propaganda point that the government may be being divisive.	CA/I/4/7
X but not Y		different	Charles Kennedy, the Liberal	negated	speaking /	A classic bland Kennedyism! Fence-sitter! It is	CA/I/4/8

		opinions / not listening ...to people's views	Democrat leader, speaking from Brighton where his party was gathering for its annual conference, said that the issue of hunting was one in which there were different opinions in all political parties . <i>But</i> he added: "The Government is not listening nearly enough to people's views and we will continue to press them."	contrastive	listening	a bland opposition between people expressing / articulating opinions i.e. by speaking (or indeed writing) and people listening....	
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PROTEST: Brogue mail looms large as a minority are mobilised, all the way from Sloane Street

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DAVID JENNET arrived at Hyde Park Corner shortly after 9am yesterday, not to march, but to flog whistles for a pound each. By 10.45 he had sold almost his entire consignment of 500. Did he agree with the grievances of those marching? "I don't know nothing about it, mate," he said. "I'm from Southend-on-Sea."

Jim, in the ice-cream van opposite Knightsbridge Barracks, was a little more clued-up. "It's about the right to hunt, innit," he said, handing a 99 to a girl in jodhpurs. "Which as I see it is no different to my right to sell ice creams." His face darkened at the very idea that someone might threaten to confiscate his Hundreds and Thousands.

As for the hundreds and thousands marching from Hyde Park - a multitude so great that those at the back took more than three hours to start moving, and remained standing in the shadow of the Albert Memorial long after the vanguard had reached the end of Piccadilly, some two miles east - their placards and banners declared a bewildering range of grievances, way beyond the proposed ban on fox hunting. Susan Philipps from Wiltshire had a beef with the BBC. "Biased Bigoted Cronies", thundered her banner. "I heard a woman on News 24 saying that we should sell our farms for low- cost housing," she spluttered. "And yesterday they wouldn't let [the **Countryside Alliance** spokesman] Simon Hart finish what he was saying."

Ianthe Blake, also from Wiltshire, wielded another pointed placard - "Pissed Off about Post Offices Closing!" Her village, Pewsey, had lost two post offices in three years, she said, not to mention a butcher, a bank and a building society. She blamed supermarkets and the Government.

The Prime Minister, indeed, has surely never been more demonised than he was yesterday. Anti-Blair slogans ranged from the cruel - "TB, Nasty Little Bug, Stamp Him Out" - to the cute - "I'm Tony Blair, Get Me Out Of Here" - to the curious - "Toe Knee Blur, Get Your Priorities Right" - to the clumsy - "Tony Blair Your [sic] Not Fair If You Won't Let Us Coarse [sic] a Hare" - to the considerably more direct - "Bollocks to Blair".

Several banners likened him to Robert Mugabe. "Blair - UK's Magabe [sic]" proclaimed one. I gently pointed out the spelling error. "Oh no," wailed John East-Rigby, from the New Forest. "I looked it up on the internet last night." I shared with him one way of never misspelling Mugabe, pointing out that it is "E ba gum" backwards. "I'm afraid he's dyslexic," explained his wife, Cherry.

The East-Rigbys, like almost everyone on the march, were in excellent cheer, although the general air of joviality seemed to depress Hugh Earl of Highgate, north London, proprietor of Prometheus Pellets. "This won't achieve anything, we're far too well- behaved," he moaned.

Whether or not it will achieve anything, the Liberty march succeeded impressively in its aim of mobilising the self-styled minority. What it did not quite cast off was the perception that, as distinct from the simultaneous Livelihood march, it was an outing for toffs. Brogue male loomed large. As did Annabel Lewis, marching to defend fly-fishing in a pair of roe- deer antlers. "Hands off my Hairy Mary", said her placard. "It's a type of fly," she explained. I asked where she was from. "Sloane Street," she said.

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**COUNTRYSIDE PROTEST: Brogue mail looms large as a minority are mobilised,
all the way from Sloane Street**

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
not X but Y		march / flog whistles	DAVID JENNET arrived at Hyde Park Corner shortly after 9am yesterday, not to march, but to flog whistles for a pound each	negated contrastive	participate / observe principled / unprincipled knowledgable / ignorant	Quite hard to find a superordinate here. Whether the writer wants to portray the whistle-seller as unprincipled is hard to ascertain. However the following sentence does portray him as participating purely to make money out of a cause, like a mercenary. As this is the Independent we are not quite getting the positive spin that glows around the <i>Telegraph</i> and <i>Mail</i> . These are of course artificial binaries, as it would be possible to march and sell whistles.....	CA/1/5/1
A ranged from the X to the Y1 to the Y2 to the Y3 to the Y4		cruel / cute...curious... clumsy.. considerably more direct	Anti-Blair slogans <i>ranged from the cruel</i> - "TB, Nasty Little Bug, Stamp Him Out" - <i>to the cute</i> - "I'm Tony Blair, Get Me Out Of Here" - <i>to the curious</i> - "Toe Knee Blur, Get Your Priorities Right" - <i>to the clumsy</i> - "Tony Blair Your [sic] Not Fair If You Won't Let Us Coarse [sic] a Hare" - <i>to the considerably more direct</i> - "Bollocks to Blair".	explicit gradable contrastive	negative / positive	A non- standard version of the range from to construction as there are four 'to's, so this is a really artificial use of the trigger. It is not as if 'cruel' is being contrasted with the other four specifically, rather (to use the trigger!) than it helps emphasise the inclusivity on the demo, and allows a list to be constructed. Although 'cruel' is much more negative than the others so perhaps we can argue that a range of opposites to cruel are being constructed to create a negative/positive binary? The alliteration plays a key part in the writer's choice of slogans.	CA/1/5/2
whether or not X, Y [happened]		not achieve anything/ succeeded impressively in mobilising the	<i>Whether or not</i> it will achieve anything , the Liberty march succeeded impressively in its aim of mobilising the self-styled	tentative (projected?/ potential/) negation	fail / achieve uncertainty / certainty	Another new category – one half of the pair expresses uncertainty and the other certainty. This emphasises the positive qualities of the thing under description but poses only a potential opposite. Does this act bit like	CA/1/5/3

X not Y		<p>self-styled minority</p> <p>mobilising the self-styled minority / cast off the perception....itwas an outing for toffs</p>	<p>minority. What it did <i>not</i> quite cast off was the perception that, as distinct from the simultaneous Livelihood march, it was an outing for toffs.</p>	negated	<p>success / failure</p> <p>sincere / pretentious</p> <p>perceived / actual</p>	<p>'while' with 'may' – a concessive? Some kind of modality thing going on here?</p> <p>The second opposition is between the success of the mobilisation whilst casting doubt on its effectiveness in terms of self-presentation, so its may look impressive but not in the way that the demonstrators might want it to the general public/media.</p>	
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Sun

Here to be Herd

Capital swamped as 400,000 stage biggest protest in history

The Sun 23, Sept, 2002, page 4

THE countryside came to London yesterday as more than 400,000 lovers of the rural way of life demanded to be seen and heard.

The staggering size of the protest - Britain's biggest-ever - amazed even its organisers.

Although the demonstrators included rich landowners and rosy-cheeked farmers in green wellies and waxed jackets, they were joined by an amazing array of like-minded folk such as poverty-stricken labourers and humble craftsmen. And though many were there to protest about the Government's plan to ban fox hunting, they raised a whole host of other country issues as well.

They shouted about produce prices being forced down by big supermarket chains; the ongoing closure of rural shops, pubs and schools - and thousands of jobs being put at risk by what they see as "townie" policies.

Tony Blair was left in no doubt that feelings across Britain's fields and hedge-lined lanes are running high.

Meddle

And the defiant mood was summed up by one blunt banner declaring: "Leave us with our cow s*** and we will leave you to your city bulls***."

Another warned Mr Blair and his ministers: "Don't meddle in things you don't understand."

Amazingly, there were just four arrests. Two pro-hunt demonstrators and two opponents were held for public order offences.

The protest, dubbed the Countryside March, was split into two themes - liberty and livelihood.

The Liberty leg started at Hyde Park Corner while the Livelihood marchers set off from Blackfriars Bridge, with the two converging at Whitehall for a spectacular finale.

More than 20 roads were closed as demonstrators poured in from across the land in 31 chartered trains and 2,500 coaches.

The Countryside Alliance organisers had hoped for a similar turnout to a demo staged four years ago, when 280,000 took part. But in the event it was MUCH bigger.

Thousands had to queue for more than three hours before they could even BEGIN marching a few steps at a time.

London streets were flooded by human rivers for nearly ten hours.

And at the end a team of 18 officials with clickers counted 407,791 protesters passing by the Cenotaph.

Whistles and hunting horns were blown and a huge cheer went up as the amazing total was flashed on to an electronic screen.

A string of famous names joined the protest - including soccer ace turned film star Vinnie Jones, actor Edward Fox, celebrity chef Antony Worrall Thompson and Neil and Christine Hamilton.

Prince Charles banned keen huntswoman Camilla Parker Bowles from taking part on the grounds the demo was too politically-charged.

But Camilla's ex-husband Andrew and son Tom were there among the masses.

Channel 4 horse racing pundit John McCririck said as he marched: "This is a real issue the Government must listen to.

"If hunting were to go it would have a devastating effect on the lives of millions of people in the countryside."

Lord Spencer, owner of the Althorp estate in Northamptonshire, said: "The numbers are simply amazing. Anyone who works and lives in the countryside appreciates the problems people face."

"Given the size of this march the Government will have to listen."

Rebel Labour MP Kate Hoey and Tory leader Iain Duncan Smith joined the heaving crowds.

Ms Hoey said: "If hunting is banned then shooting and fishing will follow. The Government was elected to create unity in this country and not create division."

Mr Duncan Smith said: "This is a statement by those in the countryside and many others in towns and cities about how this Government tells people how to live their lives."

The protesters included mums with babies, old folk hobbling on walking sticks and groups of giggling teenagers.

The poor walked beside the rich. Shopkeepers in butcher and baker aprons rubbed shoulders with squires in tweeds. And thousands of city dwellers with sympathy for the country life joined in.

Some angry demonstrators muttered about resorting to direct action if the PM did not listen to their grievances.

But Countryside Alliance spokesman Richard Burge said: "I do not condone breaking the law. Those here are hundreds of thousands of law-abiding decent people."

Humble

He told how he felt "humble and proud" because of the support from townies. And he added: "A peaceful demonstration on this scale deserves its place in history."

The group's jubilant chairman John Jackson said a letter had been sent to Mr Blair calling on him to govern "for all people".

It called on him to consider ten key points under the heading What The Countryside Needs.

They include an assurance that legislation on hunting is just - and respects rights of local communities. The PM was also urged to "put the needs and aspirations of country people at the forefront of rural change" and to let farmers to make a fair living in fair markets.

BRITAIN'S previous biggest demo was the last Countryside March in 1998. Before that, the largest was a 1981 CND rally when 250,000 protested about new US nuclear missiles in the UK.

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Here to be Herd
Capital swamped as 400,000 stage biggest protest in history
The Sun 23, Sept, 2002, page 4

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
Although X, [also] Y		rich landowners and rosy-cheeked farmers / poverty-stricken labourers and humble craftsmen	<i>Although</i> the demonstrators included rich landowners and rosy-cheeked farmers in green wellies and waxed jackets , they were joined by an amazing array of like-minded folk such as poverty-stricken labourers and humble craftsmen	concessive simultaneity	rich / poor high class / low class expected / unexpected	Another new category and a classic demonstration opposition being used for inclusive purposes. The concessive part – <i>although</i> – works by putting the expected situation next to the subordinator. In this case there is an implied ‘also’ (were joined by), so show how the two (constructed?) sides of the class divide are coming together to fight for a common cause.	CA/S/4/1
Though X, [also] Y		plan to ban fox-hunting / whole host of other country issues	<i>And though</i> many were there to protest about the Government's plan to ban fox hunting , they raised a whole host of other country issues as well .	concessive simultaneity	single / many	Similar frame to above and similar function, to show inclusivity, this time in what it is they are protesting about i.e. they are not just single issue protests.	CA/S/4/2
X and Y	cow / bull us / you our / your	cow / bull us / you our / your	" <i>Leave us with our cow s*** and we will leave you to your city bulls***.</i> "	coordinated parallelism semantic	cow / bull female / male us / you our / your addresser/ addressee	This is a corker – a slogan on one of the banners. The oppositions in the main are conventional, and the syntactic trigger has little role to play, although the parallelism is important. The impact to the slogan works through the literal / metaphorical contrast, in which the country folk, from whose point of view it is written, portray themselves as ordinary, honest folk up to their knees in crap, whilst city folk live in a word of lies and deceit. There may also be	CA/S/4/3

					country / city literal / metaphorical sincere / insincere	a female v macho opposition here? The basic message is – ‘don’t interfere’ and is an appeal for the country / city divide to remain intact.	
X while Y [at the same time]		Liberty / Livelihood Hyde Park Corner / Blackfriars Bridge	The Liberty leg started at Hyde Park Corner <i>while</i> the Livelihood marchers set off from Blackfriars Bridge , with the two converging at Whitehall for a spectacular finale.	coordinated simultaneity? parallelism	freedom / responsibility	The fact there are two marches based on different principles forms the premise that they have to start from opposing places (constructed of course, very context bound), and they fact they converge makes the initial fairly contrived opposition just that little bit stronger. Highly symbolic that two differing causes join together, having an inclusive function. Is it a concessive though? Because if the sentence started with <i>while</i> , it would much more strongly imply an expected alternative. It is more of a coordinated simultaneity? Acts more like and, put while implies at the same time much more strongly. ‘While’ has time built into its meaning, whereas ‘and’ doesn’t.	CA/S/4/4
X but Y ...er		four years ago / [yesterday] 280,000 / much bigger	The Countryside Alliance organisers had hoped for a similar turnout to a demo staged four years ago, when 280,000 took part. But in the event it was MUCH bigger.	contrastive comparative	past / present predicted / unpredicted expected / unexpected	Main aim is to show how size of demo exceeded expectations, so main oppositions works through expected / unexpected binary	CA/S/4/5
X but Y		Camilla Parker Bowles / ex-husband Andrew and son John	Prince Charles banned keen huntswoman Camilla Parker Bowles from taking part on the grounds the demo was too politically-charged. <i>But</i> Camilla’s ex-husband Andrew and son Tom	contrastive	female / male wife / husband	Obviously highly sexist!	CA/S/4/6

			were there among the masses.				
X not Y	unity / division	unity / division	"The Government was elected to create unity in this country and <i>not create division</i> ."	negated semantic parallelism	unity / division	A pure form of opposition in which the semantic/syntactic/subordinate triggers are all on the same plane – typically rhetorical as coming from Labour MP Kate Hoey. The second of the pair is unnecessary in that it doesn't change the meaning. Becomes tautological, but of course used for emphasis.	CA/S/4/7
X beside the Y X rubbed shoulders with Y X and Y	poor / rich	poor / rich shopkeepers / squires shopkeepers...squires / city dwellers	The poor walked <i>beside</i> the rich . Shopkeepers in aprons rubbed shoulders with squires in tweeds . <i>And thousands of city dwellers</i> with sympathy for the country life joined in .	explicit inclusive semantic explicit inclusive coordinated	poor/ rich poor / rich country / city	A nice example of the variety of ways in which inclusivity can be triggered. The simple coordinator 'and' wouldn't work in this syntactic environment, because these are more than just an aside. The point of the first two sentences is to make explicit this inclusivity. So if it was 'The poor and the rich' then main verb needed to complete the sentence. So 'walked beside' and 'rubbed shoulders' as verb phrases make explicit the importance the paper attaches to highlighting this temporary alliance between rich and poor, country and city. The last sentence doesn't actually rely on the coordinator 'and' to specifically set up the opposition. The concluding 'joined in' linked to the explicit reference to the city matched with the implicit mention of country folk – especially squires, means the opposite relies quite a lot on semantic triggers.	CA/S/4/8
X but not Y		direct action / law-abiding decent people	Some angry demonstrators muttered about resorting to direct action if the PM did not listen to their grievances. <i>But</i> Countryside Alliance spokesman Richard Burge said: " I do not condone breaking the law . Those here are hundreds of	negated contrastive	illegal / legal indecent / decent	The Sun making its stance about sticking within the law and being opposed to 'illegal' action'. Words like 'muttered' imply some kind of conspiratorial whisperings. The CA spokesman seems to be also therefore acting as the Sun's voice because it is contrasted with that which is deemed negative. Nice constructed opposite of decent v direct action. Law-abiding and decency go hand in hand. So	CA/S/4/9

			thousands of law-abiding decent people. "			you can decently shoot someone if it is deemed legal (like police raiding Muslim house.....rant)	
--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Bloody Nose for Labour

The Sun 23rd Sept, 2002. page 8

NEW Labour's Achilles heel is arrogance.

It is what has turned so many against Tony Blair.

And it helps explain why hundreds of thousands turned out to protest on the streets of London yesterday.

It isn't so much what this government does, it is the way it goes about it.

Foot-and-mouth was not Blair's fault.

But the attitude towards the farmers - and the late moving of the General Election date - was.

And why does Blair feel the need to ban hunting? It is not an issue our 10 million readers list among their top five worries.

Schools? YES! Hospitals? YES! Foxes? NO!

Labour is fighting a class war in the country and we do not like the spectacle.

Angry

It is trying to settle old scores by taking on "the toffs."

But the countryside marchers were not toffs - they were real people, hard working people, genuine people.

Yet New Labour thinks it can ignore them all.

It calculates that all those who marched are natural Tories.

And Blair knows that the sight of so many angry hunters is good box office in the Labour party.

But watch out, Tony.

It takes a lot to get Middle England to join a protest march.

If you arrogantly ignore people, they will get angry.

There were millions in towns and cities who watched the march on TV last night.

Many of them will have thought the same thing:

Good on you for giving Blair a bloody nose!

The Sun 23rd Sept 2002, p8
Bloody Nose for Labour
The Sun 23, Sept, 2002, page 8

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
It is not X, it is Y		does / way it goes about it	<i>It isn't</i> so much what this government does, it is the way it goes about it.	negated syntactic patterning	content / style function / form	Treading a fine line between moderate and outright criticism of the govt as the Sun still backing Labour at this stage, but not wanting to alienate its country supporters, so differentiating supporting govt policies against being critical of the methods by which those policies are carried out – the cliché is basically ‘it ain’t what you do, it’s the way that you do it...’	CA/S/8/1
X not A, but Y is A		foot-and-mouth / attitude towards the farmers...late moving of the general election date	Foot-and-mouth was <i>not</i> Blair's fault. <i>But the attitude towards the farmers - and the late moving of the General Election date</i> - was.	negated contrastive ancillary?	blameless / at fault events / human actions	Contrasting two kinds of political events – that which was out of anyone’s control, i.e. the spread of a disease, with that of human volition – there’s a kind of fundamental material/ideal or determinism/free will binary here which may express the superordinate concept? Both connected ancillary style by whether it was or was not Blair’s fault, which actually does correlate to the idea of being in control – all part of this Sun balancing act of critical support for Labour.	CA/S/8/2
X is not A. Y is A	Yes / No	hunting...foxes / schools.... hospitals	And why does Blair feel the need to ban hunting ? It is <i>not</i> an issue our 10 million readers list among their top five worries. Schools? YES! Hospitals? YES! Foxes? NO!	negated semantic	unimportant / important negative / affirmative	Contrasting two sets of issues – those which it implies are unimportant with those it assumes it readers will agree are much more important – assumption partly based on the fact it states these are the priorities of its readership. Cleverly mentions 10 million readers, as if all of them have been consulted to form this top five worries list. A very specifically focussed form of constructed opposite in that it makes the top five somehow special, so that even if it was number six it would still imply that it	CA/S/8/3

						wouldn't be worth worrying about, even if there was a fraction of difference between that and number five in the results poll (if there ever was one).	
A not X, A is Y X yet Y		toffs / real ... hard-working... genuine people real... hard-working... genuine people / ignore them all	It is trying to settle old scores by taking on " the toffs. " <i>But the</i> countryside marchers were <i>not toffs</i> - they were real people, hard working people, genuine people. <i>Yet</i> New Labour thinks it can ignore them all.	negated concessive	false / genuine unreal / real lazy / hardworking posh / down-to earth acknowledge / ignore	Funny how the Sun imposes a category on Labour which is one they would usually use! Accusing Labour of stereotyping, and in doing so reinforces a stereotype which they then contrast with the classic consensus of what constitutes an ordinary person. The concessive opposition works by assuming we would expect these ordinary people to not be ignored.	CA/S/8/4

Times

400,000 march in London: hardliners warn Blair of civil unrest; [Final 5 Edition]

Valerie Elliott Countryside Editor. [The Times](#). London (UK): [Sep 23, 2002](#). pg. 1

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People: [Blair, Tony](#)

Author(s): [Valerie Elliott Countryside Editor](#)

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Abstract (Document Summary)

Michael Clayton, chairman of the Alliance in the East Midlands and former chairman of the Cottesmore Hunt, also predicted a backlash in the countryside with "more aggressive" protests if a fair decision was not reached. He said: "A hunting ban will wipe out the biggest hunts in Britain and people are ready to be criminalised."

Full Text (306 words)

(Copyright Times Newspapers Ltd, 2002)

The biggest peaceful street protest in British history ended yesterday with a warning to Tony Blair that a ban on foxhunting could lead to civil unrest.

The **Countryside Alliance**, organisers of the Pounds 1 million event, said that 407,791 people made their way home last night after staging the Liberty and Livelihood march through the streets of Central London.

But there are already signs that the fragile coalition of the alliance could be starting to splinter. John Jackson, the Alliance chairman, predicted a hardline backlash if a ban on hunting is enforced. "I think the countryside will erupt in fury."

Groups such as Real Country Action and the Countryside Action Network have indicated they are ready to bring havoc to motorways and air travel by blocking access routes with convoys and farm machinery if Alun Michael, the Rural Affairs Minister, adopts proposals which ignore the evidence in support of hunting that emerged during the public hearings to discuss the issue. Other threats include the contamination of reservoirs with dye.

Michael Clayton, chairman of the Alliance in the East Midlands and former chairman of the Cottesmore Hunt, also predicted a backlash in the countryside with "more aggressive" protests if a fair decision was not reached. He said: "A hunting ban will wipe out the biggest hunts in Britain and people are ready to be criminalised."

Yesterday's turnout, however, failed to impress Mr Michael, who made it clear that it would have no effect on the proposals he will finalise within weeks.

He doubted that there would be mass civil unrest in rural areas and said that the real concerns of the countryside

had been "hijacked" by the hunting lobby.

Protest, pages 4-5

[Illustration]

Caption: Fed up: pro-countryside marchers bring the message to Central London that they will fight to maintain their way of life. Photograph by Dave Caulkin/AP

It's Livestock and Two Smoking Barrels as country goes to town; [Final 5 Edition]

[Ben Macintyre](#). [The Times](#). London (UK): [Sep 23, 2002](#). pg. 1

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People: [Blair, Tony](#)

Author(s): [Ben Macintyre](#)

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Abstract (Document Summary)

Some 400,000 people -farmers and foxhunters, dog lovers, gun enthusiasts, farriers, harriers, ferret-fanciers, ramblers, bagpipers, lords and labourers, Sloane Rangers and silage makers, urbanites with country leanings, countryfolk who happen to live in cities, and fans of Emmerdale. If, as many loudly proclaimed, the countryside is dying, then it can still boast an astonishing variety of human fauna.

The distinctions between marchers were reflected in the very name of the Liberty and Livelihood march through London, with some concerned about the liberty to continue hunting and others more worried about making a living from the land regardless of the fate of foxes. The tweed caps of the Liberty marchers met the tractor caps of the Livelihood walkers in Whitehall, and marched on to Parliament.

As the cortege of blood sportsmen and women came into view, the pigeons in Trafalgar Square took off in a dense cloud and didn't come back, which was pretty sensible of them in the circumstances. But this was not just, or even largely about, hunting. "Only Stupid Sheep hide under Bushes, [Tony Blair]" one placard said, in what appeared to be a reference to Iraq, but may be a piece of old country lore. Rather more alarmingly, another placard declared: "British Beef is Safer than Sex." Someone must explain to this person, and quickly, that British beef has absolutely nothing to do with sex.

Full Text (825 words)

(Copyright Times Newspapers Ltd, 2002)

"Anybody can be good in the country," Oscar Wilde said. So yesterday, to show that it is fed up with being good, the country came to town in numbers never seen before.

It came in tweed and moleskin, in Range Rover and bus, in wellie and woolly, in stout shoes carrying shooting-sticks and a picnic lunch. It came in sorrow, and in anger, and in droves. It came in defence of foxhunting, and for a wide array of other rural reasons.

Some 400,000 people -farmers and foxhunters, dog lovers, gun enthusiasts, farriers, harriers, ferret-fanciers, ramblers, bagpipers, lords and labourers, Sloane Rangers and silage makers, urbanites with country leanings, countryfolk who happen to live in cities, and fans of Emmerdale. If, as many loudly proclaimed, the countryside is dying, then it can still boast an astonishing variety of human fauna.

Here were hard-riding, rubicund squires straight out of Surtees, people in camouflage gear with the mud on their boots still damp, young rural families, old landed families and a rather unlikely, but perhaps confused figure upholstered entirely in Barbour material, carrying a fishing rod in one hand and a tennis racket in the other.

The distinctions between marchers were reflected in the very name of the Liberty and Livelihood march through London, with some concerned about the liberty to continue hunting and others more worried about making a living from the land regardless of the fate of foxes. The tweed caps of the Liberty marchers met the tractor caps of the Livelihood walkers in Whitehall, and marched on to Parliament.

In the "Liberty" column strode John McCririck, the Channel 4 racing pundit, wearing a dead fox on his head. Leading the "Livelihood" procession marched Vinnie Jones, Wimbledon's gift to cinema, looking about as agricultural as Bethnal Green: Livestock and Two Smoking Barrels.

Hunting horns blaring, the marchers processed merrily past a series of memorable historic landmarks, including The Ritz, Whitehall, and Lord Deedes. The Working National Terrier Federation worked its way to the front of the procession and clung on, despite some snarling from the Jack Russell group.

As the cortege of blood sportsmen and women came into view, the pigeons in Trafalgar Square took off in a dense cloud and didn't come back, which was pretty sensible of them in the circumstances. But this was not just, or even largely about, hunting. "Only Stupid Sheep hide under Bushes, Tony" one placard said, in what appeared to be a reference to Iraq, but may be a piece of old country lore. Rather more alarmingly, another placard declared: "British Beef is Safer than Sex." Someone must explain to this person, and quickly, that British beef has absolutely nothing to do with sex.

The sheer complexity of the foxhunting debate was reflected in the slogans. One marcher had clearly spent hours painstakingly printing the following argument onto her T-shirt: "There are no natural predators of foxes and deer yet they have to be controlled. Let us mirror nature." Another, rather more pithy, declared: "For Fox Sake, Listen".

Baroness Mallalieu, the Labour peer and **Countryside Alliance** president, insisted, apparently without irony, that the majority of marchers were "the salt of the earth".

If the class divisions were evident, they were suppressed in the effort to show that foxes, hunters and farmers are on the same track: Four legs good, two legs bad, and four-wheel drive absolutely essential.

And while the marchers' rhetoric was angry, the mood was generally jovial. In Parliament Square, three dreadlocked representatives of something called Cambridge Class War hurled abuse from behind a metal barrier. One elderly farmer paused to observe them, as if inspecting a rare breed of bullock at a country fair. " 'Ow do you get your 'air to go loik that, then?" he asked mildly. "Get off our land," shouted the class warriors.

Perhaps the single most important thing this wide array of countryside demonstrators had in common was a bitter sense of exclusion from the Blair project, of being both meddled with and left behind. "Forget Umbria, Think Cumbria," read the placards. "Back off Blair."

It was hard to escape the feeling that while yesterday's march could be the last Hurrah (or, in some cases, Harrumph) of the foxhunters, it might also mark the development of a genuinely widespread countryside protest against this Government.

A group of Portuguese farmers had come to show solidarity, but found there was only space to unroll half their banner, which thus read: "Portuguese Countryside Is".

And that, perhaps, was what finally emerged from yesterday's vast, colourful and resentful march. An emphatic reminder to Tony Blair: British Countryside Is.

THOUSANDS TAKE TO THE STREETS

- * 407,791 marchers counted by **Countryside Alliance**
- * 1,600 police on duty
- * 1,800 **Countryside Alliance** stewards on patrol
- * 31 chartered trains and 2,500 coaches brought the demonstrators to London
- * 500,000 "Liberty and Livelihood" car stickers distributed
- * Two anti-hunt protestors and two others were arrested for breach of the peace

'Money matters but freedom brought us here'; [Final 4 Edition]

[Patrick Barkham and Gabriel Rozenberg](#). [The Times](#). London (UK): [Sep 23, 2002](#). pg. 4

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Companies: [Countryside Alliance](#)
Author(s): [Patrick Barkham and Gabriel Rozenberg](#)
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Abstract (Document Summary)

Behind the banner wobbled a profusion of hand-made signs reflecting a huge range of rural concerns, from rights for pistol shooters to the price of wheat. Distrust of the Government was a common thread: "Blair -run the country, don't ruin the countryside", "For fox sake, fox off Blair", "Towney Blair's got rid of more farmers than Mugabe", "We do not like being Defra-cated on", were among them.

Jeremy Clayton, a farmer from Royston, Hertfordshire, said that farming was in crisis. "We're not being allowed to compete with our foreign competitors in Europe," he said. "It would be handy if it was a level playing field." On his first visit to London, Alan Todd, 55, who farms a smallholding in the Eden Valley near Penrith, said that he would rather still be in Cumbria. "But this is all about like-minded people standing together. The press tell us that farming has no consequence and tourism, pleasure and leisure are important, but somebody has to manage the countryside."

Toby Mounsey-Heysham, 18, from Carlisle, was the first marcher recorded by [Countryside Alliance](#) counters. The crowd tally was relayed on an electronic screen on a temporary arch just beyond Downing Street. "You've got everyone from the country set in their twinsets and pearls to the local ratcatcher," said Keith Simpson, Conservative MP for Mid Norfolk. "I've seen most of Norfolk go past."

Full Text (768 words)

(Copyright Times Newspapers Ltd, 2002)

Hunting is the burning issue, Patrick Barkham and Gabriel Rozenberg find

Thousands of protesters cut swaths of green and brown through the grey streets of Central London yesterday as lords, ratcatchers, gamekeepers, merchant bankers, babies and dogs joined the countryside march.

The sun had hardly risen above the Hyde Park trees when the crowds began to assemble. Many marchers said they had got up at 3am or 4am to catch coaches - after feeding their animals, of course.

Twenty roads were closed to traffic as the march got under way, supervised by 1,600 police. Officers praised the march for passing so peacefully and being well-organised.

With cheers, whistles and blasts on air horns, the marchers set off just after 10am under a giant 30ft **Countryside Alliance** Liberty and Livelihood banner.

Holding one corner was Freddie Morby, 14, from Steyning in West Sussex, who works as an underkeeper, helping a local gamekeeper, in his spare time. "City people don't understand the country at all," he said. "I like shooting and the fresh air. But these people are building houses and it's wrecking it all."

Behind the banner wobbled a profusion of hand-made signs reflecting a huge range of rural concerns, from rights for pistol shooters to the price of wheat. Distrust of the Government was a common thread: "Blair -run the country, don't ruin the countryside", "For fox sake, fox off Blair", "Towney Blair's got rid of more farmers than Mugabe", "We do not like being Defra-cated on", were among them.

For some the issue was freedom. Ashraf Issak, born in Kenya, bred in Bolton and living in the Middle East, walked with his wife and daughter. "I'm working in Jedda, Saudi Arabia, and we wouldn't dare do anything like this," he said. "We would be killed. This is a symbol of democracy."

Others felt their country freedoms oppressed by the Government. "We are going back to dictatorship," said a woman from Ashington, West Sussex.

Across London, the eastern group of "Livelihood" marchers walked from Blackfriars to converge with the Hyde Park marchers at the south end of Trafalgar Square. Many participating farmers doubted they could make a living for much longer.

Jeremy Clayton, a farmer from Royston, Hertfordshire, said that farming was in crisis. "We're not being allowed to compete with our foreign competitors in Europe," he said. "It would be handy if it was a level playing field." On his first visit to London, Alan Todd, 55, who farms a smallholding in the Eden Valley near Penrith, said that he would rather still be in Cumbria. "But this is all about like-minded people standing together. The press tell us that farming has no consequence and tourism, pleasure and leisure are important, but somebody has to manage the countryside."

But as the crowds inched along, the vast majority of the protesters said that they were moved to march on London by the proposal to ban foxhunting.

"The countryside is like a piece of cloth. You take one weft out and you ruin the whole lot," Paul Storey, a small farmer from Hexham, Northumberland, said.

David Hunt, who farms 1,000 acres in Woburn, Bedfordshire, said: "We are getting Pounds 50 a tonne for wheat, which is disastrous. We're unhappy about that but we wouldn't march on London for it. What we will march for is our country sports. We will not be dictated to." Like many demonstrators, Mr Hunt came with his family. Small children snoozed as placards were wedged in pushchairs. "When I grow up I want to go hunting, Daddy" read one.

"It's exercising our right to democracy. It's a freedom issue," said a teenager, Alice Cockwell, who wore a fox pelt around her neck and "hunt me" scribbled on the back of her T-shirt. She and dozens of other pupils had travelled from Sherborne School in Dorset with, they said, the blessing of their teachers.

Toby Mounsey-Heysham, 18, from Carlisle, was the first marcher recorded by **Countryside Alliance** counters. The crowd tally was relayed on an electronic screen on a temporary arch just beyond Downing Street. "You've got everyone from the country set in their twinsets and pearls to the local ratcatcher," said Keith Simpson, Conservative MP for Mid Norfolk. "I've seen most of Norfolk go past."

Robbie Millen, page 10 William Rees-Mogg and Richard Willson, page 18 Leading article and Letters, page 19 Jane Shilling, T2, page 5

[Illustration]

Caption: Photographs by Richard Pohle and Sang Tan/AP;Foot soldiers: the **Countryside Alliance** brought marchers to London on many issues, but at the heart of most complaints was a distrust of the Government over foxhunting. Photograph by Ben Gurr

Celebrities rally to the call of the alliance's hunting horn; [Final 4 Edition]

[Laura Peek](#), [The Times](#), London (UK): [Sep 23, 2002](#), pg. 5

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People: [Jones, Vinnie](#), [Blair, Tony](#)

Author(s): [Laura Peek](#)

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Abstract (Document Summary)

Some -such as Lord Frederick Windsor -chose to march incognito; others -Rory Bremner, Edward Fox, Frederick Forsyth -had registered their support with the **Countryside Alliance**. All spoke of the same rural grievances as the farmers, huntsmen, farriers and saddlers who marched alongside them: falling farm incomes, mishandling of foot-and-mouth disease, excessive regulation and declining rural services.

"Fat Lady" Clarissa Dickson Wright, in bulging plus-twos and a green quilted jacket, said: "There are a lot of things I do not approve of -I deplore soccer, for instance -but I would not wish to ban it. Hunting is not only about pest control; it is about liberty." Thumping the carpet with her shepherd's crook, she added: "Nobody stopped Spaniards bullfighting or banned elk-hunting for the Danes.

Other well-known figures who marched included the Labour peer Lord Bragg; the comedian Jim Davidson; the yachtswoman Tracy Edwards; the journalist Sir Max Hastings; the Editor of Ecologist magazine Zac Goldsmith; the Labour MP Kate Hoey; the cricketer Allan Lamb; and General Sir Peter de la Billiere.

Full Text (749 words)

(Copyright Times Newspapers Ltd, 2002)

The blast of the hunting horn summoned a good number of celebrities to the countryside cause.

Some -such as Lord Frederick Windsor -chose to march incognito; others -Rory Bremner, Edward Fox, Frederick Forsyth -had registered their support with the **Countryside Alliance**. All spoke of the same rural grievances as the farmers, huntsmen, farriers and saddlers who marched alongside them: falling farm incomes, mishandling of foot-and-mouth disease, excessive regulation and declining rural services.

The day began in the gilt and chandelier setting of the Institute of Directors on Pall Mall, with a press conference by the alliance. The footballer-turned actor Vinnie Jones was wearing sunglasses, a shooting jumper with leather elbow patches and a tie decorated with pheasants.

"I just wish Tony Blair had the balls to come out and see us," Jones said. "People should not poke their noses into other people's business. I shoot and fish, my boy is 11 and he shoots and fishes. I want my boy to get to my age doing those things but the way things are going...it's frightening." Jones recently shot a fox on his lawn in front of a

quivering BBC camera crew making a documentary about his life.

"Fat Lady" Clarissa Dickson Wright, in bulging plus-twos and a green quilted jacket, said: "There are a lot of things I do not approve of -I deplore soccer, for instance -but I would not wish to ban it. Hunting is not only about pest control; it is about liberty." Thumping the carpet with her shepherd's crook, she added: "Nobody stopped Spaniards bullfighting or banned elk-hunting for the Danes.

"If Mr Blair takes us to war we will be very glad of the farmers. It only takes a bomb to hit Pakistan to cut off trade routes."

Miss Dickson Wright said that she had started hunting at the age of ten but gave up 20 years ago "when drink and debauchery took its toll. But I got back on a horse last year. Now I have a beautiful set of hunting clothes so I cannot give up now as I don't just want to wear them in my coffin."

Other well-known figures who marched included the Labour peer Lord Bragg; the comedian Jim Davidson; the yachtswoman Tracy Edwards; the journalist Sir Max Hastings; the Editor of Ecologist magazine Zac Goldsmith; the Labour MP Kate Hoey; the cricketer Allan Lamb; and General Sir Peter de la Billiere.

The Duchess of Devonshire marched but the Duke stayed at Chatsworth in Derbyshire to guard the estate. He said: "The police said the antis were going to build houses in the trees in the park. I'm staying at home in case there is any trouble but I'm marching in spirit.

"The Government does not understand rural problems. No member of the Cabinet is a countryman."

The jockey Willie Carson, who was marching with his family, said: "I am marching because farming communities are dying." He said that he did a bit of farming, and the huge amount of paperwork had "gone too far.

"This Government does not seem to want any produce from this country if they can buy it cheap from Poland.

"People should be able to do what they want within reason. A hunting ban is going to mean a lot of people break the law.

"Hunting is not run by toffs. It is ordinary working people who get their hands dirty during the week then go out hunting at the weekend. I am not a toff. I take the mickey out of people who have the plum in the mouth. A lot of working people go hunting."

The actor and writer Julian Fellows was marching with his wife, Emma, a lady-in-waiting to Princess Michael of Kent. He said: "With or without hunting the fox will continue to be put down, so to concentrate on the fox is ridiculous.

"If it is about animal cruelty, there are examples of that on your plate every day.

"This is about the Government turning its back on rural communities. It is class warfare made respectable, and frankly in this day and age Mr Blair should know better. Class warfare bedevils this country and holds it back. That is why I am marching."

The polar explorer Sir Ranulph Fiennes said that rural services had steadily declined around his wife's hill farm on Exmoor.

He said: "If this Government continues to ignore our views and our rights, it will suffer politically. This march should alert it to this fact

Syntactic triggers

Data tables

N.B. These data tables were designed for the initial exploration and development of some of the subsequent provisional categories utilised in the thesis. They are in no way proposed as definitive categories, there being some overlap between oppositional triggers in many of the examples

Syntactic triggers

Comparative

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
X more than Y?	blood-curdling sound / silent	Blood-curdling sound / eerily silent	THE arrival of the first wave of marchers was heralded by the blood-curdling sound of the bagpipes , rendered all the more powerful when they fell eerily silent at the Cenotaph.	comparative transitional	noise /silence	One of the rare examples where the semantic trigger may be stronger than the syntactic one, and this is matched by the fact that the prototype is an almost exact match of the trigger – it doesn't need to draw on any superordinate for it to make sense. Function in this context is to show how respect makes way for tradition	CA/T/3/5
X but no Y more x than Y		hundred anti-hunting protestors / marchers yelling abuse and banging drums / no trouble bemused / offended	Perhaps a hundred anti-hunting protestors had gathered in Parliament Square, yelling abuse and banging drums , <i>but</i> there was no trouble , and the marchers seemed <i>more bemused than offended</i> by the occasional shouts of "Go home, scum".	negated contrastive comparative auto-evocation	anti-hunting / pro-hunting noise / peace aggression/ passivity mild reaction / strong reaction	Describing actions of antis and comparing them with the dignified reaction of marchers. May be an implication that anti-hunters bring trouble because of the contrast with the reaction of the marchers. The latter's bemusement as opposed to being offended may be to show how they refuse to take bait?	CA/T/1/8

X more.... than Y		power / freedom	IF anything is <i>more</i> pernicious <i>than</i> the abuse of power , it is the abuse of freedom by those in power , and racing has been an unwitting victim of such a monstrous assault in recent weeks - from within.	comparative parallelism	abuse / care corruption / honesty freedom / restriction	To what extent are power and freedom being treated as opposites here? Is the use of a comparative guarantee of opposition generation? Need to investigate comparatives more and their function here (see Jones)	CAT/11/1
more to X rather than Y		tender feelings / stand ... point of principle	To my mind, Channel 4's draconian action owes <i>more</i> to the tender feelings of media luvvies <i>rather than a stand on a point of principle</i>	comparative explicit contrastive?	emotional / rational subjective / objective	Having a dig at cautious approach of Ch 4 and reasons for banning coverage of demo – undermining their claims by satirising the types who work there.	CAT/11/2
X1 but X2....er than Y		odd two-fingered salute / total lack of noise total lack of noise / chant	The odd two-fingered salute was waved in its direction <i>but</i> , in fact, <i>this total lack of noise</i> seemed much <i>more sinister</i> than any chant might have been.	contrastive comparative equivalence	disrespect / respect silence / noise absence / presence	The total lack of noise is contrasted in two ways 1) As a marker of respect against disrespectful V-signs, although curiously they are also equivalents in that they are both silent forms of protest, the equivalence triggered by <i>this</i> , referring anaphorically to the salute. The contrastive trigger <i>but</i> sets it up in opposition with that it is equivalent to because of the comparative which follows it, and that which it is being compared to (a chant) is also by association equivalent to its first opposite but on a different semantic dimension 2) Compared therefore also to chant, so that it is being shown to be both respectful and effective at the same time, which why the equivalence is important. So the lack of noise makes it on one level equivalent to the salute, but it is opposite to it by nature of its respect and effectiveness and is opposite to	CA/M/2/9

						chant for the same reasons, which curiously makes chant and two-fingered salute also both equivalent (lack of respect) and opposite (noise)	
This X not just .....er than that Y, also .....er than the last Y		This protest / the last Countryside Alliance protest larger / more combative	This protest was not just substantially larger than the last Countryside March of 1998. It was also notably more combative.	comparative negative	small /large passive / aggressive past / present quantity / quality	Arguing that this demo is both quantitatively and qualitatively more effective than previous one – using comparatives to show it is bigger and more combative. Backed up in the next paragraph.	CA/M/2/ 14
X, Y polarised X no more less ... than Y X on the other hand Y X but not Y	two sides	two sides activities with dogs / other ways of dealing with it activities with dogs / cannot go on as we always have done go on as we have always done / middle way option	He added: "A lot of people have recognised that the two sides have become too <i>polarised</i> . Activities with dogs may be <i>no more cruel</i> , or actually <i>less cruel</i> , than other ways of dealing with it . <i>On the other hand</i> , people are saying we cannot just go on as we always have done . <i>But</i> that <i>doesn't</i> necessarily mean accepting the 'middle way' option."	explicit contrastive comparative explicit contrastive negated contrastive	one side / other side cruelty / compassion current / alternative stability / change	Fantastic – one of the richest examples yet. All interlinked. Some kind of metalinguistic thing going on here, linked to the previous example. Spoken by Alun Michael, minister for Rural Affairs. Makes explicit the concept of two sides – ie utility v cruelty, and for the first time so far the XY opposites are textually instantiated in the same phrase – recognises that there is a third way. Second eg is comparing alleged lack of cruelty with other alternatives. Third – <i>on the other hand</i> , again an explicit contrastive of sorts, proposes there is an alternative to sticking with the status quo, i.e. activities with dogs? SO he is on the one hand recognising that hunting may not be that bad, but bad enough for there to be a change – classic middle-of-the-road stuff. The last example contrasts the need for change with what that change might mean	CA/G/4/7
more important than X is Y		Labour / mankind	But <i>more important than the fate of Labour is the fate of</i>	comparative	one / many trivial /		AW/NoW/8/1

			mankind.		important		
Unlike X, Y		Jubille-trippers, the Soham mobsters...Coutryside Alliance/ no social or political barcode	<i>Unlike the Jubilee-trippers, the Soham mobsters and even the Countryside Alliance, they bore no social or political barcode.</i>	comparative	categorisable / uncategorisable distinct / fuzzy narrow / diverse (wide?)	The barcode metaphor suggest the named groups are easily distinguishable as a group, whereas these are a diverse group of people	AW/Ob/4/4

Concessive

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
X nevertheless Y		wrong time of the year / large contingents	For thousands of farmers the march came at the wrong time of the year, the tail end of the harvest, when preparations are made for planting winter crops. Nevertheless, large contingents from the National Farmers' Union, the Women's Food and Farming Union and other farming organisations headed the Livelihood march.	concessive?	small / large inconvenience / convenience expect / surprise	Strength of feeling of farmers illustrated by contrast between inconvenience of timing and large numbers who turned out. Here is a good example of how the two prototype categories overlap and form a network – so inconvenience leads to expectations that turnout will be small.	CA/T/4/7
while X, Y		cheap 'starter' homes / only 300 of the 10,000 planned new houses	<i>While</i> the Government had announced a £250 million programme for cheap "starter homes" for essential public workers, only 300 of the 10,000 planned new houses would be in rural areas.	concessive	urban / rural small amount / large amount potential / actuality	The concessive is expressing dashed hopes, setting up one state of affairs which has potential, and then contrasting it with the actual state of affairs. The CA spokesman emphasising how countryside ignored by contrasting benefits	CA/T/2/6
Despite X, Y [happened]		efforts of stewards to move people / rustic message to the man on the camera platform	<i>Despite the best efforts of stewards to move people on the problem was only solved by a rustic message to the man up on the camera platform. "Pan out! Pan out! Don't let the buggers see the whites of their eyes."</i>	concessive?	failure / success persuasion / manipulation	Does the trigger 'despite' act a bit like 'while'? Means same as regardless of. Works by subverting our expectations, so expect one thing, but get another. In this case the personal persuasive touch doesn't work, rely on manipulating crowd through camera techniques	CA/T/3/2
X yet Y		carry no candle for hunting... strongly	She was there with her parents, Sean and Karen, north Londoners who carry no candle for hunting -	concessive contrastive? (like while?)	approval / disapproval support /	Infers (through the trigger 'yet') that being anti-hunting equates with not supporting the countryside, however this family are in favour and therefore	CA/T/1/ 11

		disapproves of it / should support the countryside	Daisy strongly disapproves of it as well - yet adamant that they should support the countryside.	equivalence?	reject specific / general hunting / anti-hunting	simultaneously both anti a specific but in favour of the general of which the specific is a constituent part. Writer demonstrating the lack of a dogmatism, and variety of protestor.	
X equals Y1. Unfortunately no Y2 X equalled Y		victories / no such victories two world wars / countryside army of protestors / crowds	The army of protesters all but <i>equalled</i> the crowds who celebrated our victories after two world wars in 1918 and 1945. <i>Unfortunately</i> the countryside has no such victories to celebrate.	negator parallelism? Contrastive Concessive? Equivalence	past / present celebrate / protest victory / defeat for / against	Another complex one. Two sets of crowds, equivalent in their size, but contrasting in their effect and purpose. Previous crowds coming together to celebrate the end of something, whereas today, trying to stop something. 'Unfortunately' acts as a 'concessive' (bit like however) but with judgement implied. The comparison also of course evokes the spirit of nationalism, as if what is at stake is equivalent to beating the Nazis – suppression of freedom etc.	CA/M/39/6
If X goes Y [happens]		farming / wasteland bare of fields and animals	<i>If farming goes</i> , urban rambles will be left struggling through brambles and shrub in a wasteland bare of fields and animals.	concessive conditional? auto-evocation transitional	order / chaos presence / absence rural / urban fertility / barrenness present / future	Is he appealing to the urbanites to show how they may be cutting off their nose to spite their face? Contrasting potential future, apocalyptic scenario with present, the orderliness of which is implied because its disappearance would lead to these consequences - 'goes' is the trigger here for transition between present and future. NB: surely auto-evocation has some significant pragmatic basis?	CA/M/39/13
X will never... though Y		agree ... / tolerance... agree to disagree... respect	Pro- and anti-hunters will <i>never agree</i> . What is at issue, though, is a tolerance of other people's values, the ability to agree to disagree, the respect for a way of life which may be different from your own.	concessive equivalence	tolerance / intolerance respect / disrespect Absence / presence fixed / flexible	Just to quote Quirk (p745) a concessive clause implies a contrast between two circumstances; ie that in the light of the circumstance in the dependent clause, that in the main clause is surprising. So <i>though</i> can be the equivalent of <i>but</i> . When the concessive goes with 'if' then called a concessive-conditional – both tend to assume initial position on the superordinate clause. In this example	CA/M/39/19

					dogmatic / pragmatic	we have equivalence between being able to disagree but have respect at same time, but contrast between what they will not do and what they <i>should</i> do.	
X if Y [happens] If Y [happens] X [is consequence]		an occasionally rambling, dedicated university vegan lecturer in sociology from Camden / a hunting horn or a pink coat....us	Adopt the values, they say, follow the example, they seem about to order, of an occasionally rambling, dedicated university vegan lecturer in sociology from Camden and <i>if</i> they, under their new power of search, find anything that looks remotely like a hunting horn or a pink coat in our bedrooms, it'll be up to us to prove our innocence.	auto-evocation concessive conditional	left / right town / country trendy / traditional vegan / meat-eater moderate / extreme minority / majority guilt / innocence	Relies as much on semantic as syntactic knowledge. No obvious syntactic markers. although <i>if</i> contributes, not but not necessarily fundamentally. He aligns himself with the hunting lobby explicitly by use of pronoun 'us'. Chooses extreme caricature example of anti-fox-hunter to contrast against moderate elements associated with hunting – so contrast between the activities of one person and those things which are mild indexes of other activities of another (note there is no gun mentioned). Also the guilt innocence contrast is supposed to parody what being guilty is, by choosing tow innocuous indexes of hunting	CA/M/39/18
X will never... though Y		agree ... / tolerance... agree to disagree... respect	Pro- and anti-hunters will <i>never agree</i> . What is at issue, though, is a tolerance of other people's values, the ability to agree to disagree, the respect for a way of life which may be different from your own.	concessive equivalence	tolerance / intolerance respect / disrespect Absence / presence fixed / flexible dogmatic / pragmatic	Just to quote Quirk (p745) a concessive clause implies a contrast between two circumstances; ie that in the light of the circumstance in the dependent clause, that in the main clause is surprising. So <i>though</i> can be the equivalent of <i>but</i> . When the concessive goes with 'if' then called a concessive-conditional – both tend to assume initial position on the superordinate clause. In this example we have equivalence between being able to disagree but have respect at same time, but contrast between what they will not do and what they <i>should</i> do.	CA/M/39/19
X while Y		humanity / West Country contingents	By the 10am official start, humanity stretched back to the Hyde Park horizon	concessive?	presence / absence	While expressing simultaneity to show size of demo – comparing the already present large amount of	CA/M/2/4

		Hyde Park horizon / miles from town	<i>while many West Country contingents were still miles from town.</i>		town / country	demonstrators with those who haven't made it – therefore demo massive despite not everybody being there	
If only X still Y		postage stamp / kingdom only / still	<i>'If your garden's only a postage stamp, it's still your kingdom and you should be able to do what you like there,' he declared.</i>	conditional concessive? syntactic parallelism equivalence? auto-evocation?	small / big lacking / containing	Interesting example of oppositional equivalence in that garden is both small, but at same time something associated with being massive. The oppositional pair in this case need 'garden' to link them as the thing which is both simultaneously one or the other. To what extent are <i>only</i> and <i>still</i> oppositional triggers? The use of the adverb ' <i>only</i> ' implies something is <i>not</i> something else, that it is lacking in some way. <i>Still</i> indicates continuity. Regardless of size, the defence of people's land continues to need defending, whether it is large or small. Is the large auto-evoked from kingdom?	CA/M/2/5
X [will happen] despite the fact Y		expected to be introduced / little enthusiasm	A Bill to enforce such a ban is expected to be introduced in the forthcoming session of Parliament. This is <i>despite the fact</i> that there is little enthusiasm for the ban among senior Cabinet ministers, including the Prime Minister, because they foresee the unrest and division it is certain to cause.	concessive?	expected / unexpected enthusiastic / unenthusiastic	Blending of superords again? Works on the presupposition that if something is to be introduced it has some support (enthusiasm) So the ban has little support amongst the people who are implementing it, working against the grain. To what extent does 'despite' act as an 'unexpected' trigger. Despite also triggers the concept that the contrasting pair perhaps create some disjuncture between two things that are happening concurrently.	CA/M/44/1
however X, Y [will happen] X, if Y [consequences]		size of yesterday's protests / hardly any of those... would vote Labour anyway	<i>However</i> startling the size of yesterday's protests , the Government will simply reason that hardly any of those who turned out would vote Labour	concessive conditional	expected / unexpected big / small trustworthy / cynical	'However' is acting in similar manner to 'despite' (as opposed to in a contrastive sense) – ie we expect a big demo to bring a result. But the implication is that Labour are cynically only pandering to their own voting constituency, hence the number of people that matter is	CA/M/44/2

X not Y		hardly any of those... would vote Labour / public opinion could be made to turn against him / that	anyway. <i>If Mr Blair felt that public opinion could be made to turn against him, he would quickly seek to treat the problems identified by the marchers.</i> He does <i>not</i> yet believe that;	concessive? negated	actual / hypothetical disbelieve / believe	minor. This is consolidated in the next sentence, which contrasts with the assumption that public opinion is still on Blair's side. In an ideal world, Blair would feel that pressure and be forced to do something about it. The 'if' works as a conditional, i.e. there would have to be certain conditions in place for this to happen and they are contrasted with the actual conditions. This is added to be the last sentence in which the journalist claims Blair thinks these conditions have not arrived.	
despite X, Y [doesn't happen]		lessons of BSE and foot-and-mouth / nor...appear to be any urgency to secure the long-term future of farmers.	Nor, <i>despite the lessons of BSE and foot-and-mouth</i> , does there appear to be any urgency to secure the long-term future of farmers, inside the Common Agricultural Policy or, better still, out of it.	concessive	urgent / complacent learn / forget secure / endanger	Another 'despite' – this time implies that we would expect the government to have made significant changes to its policies following foot and mouth, but instead is complacent about the livelihoods of farmers. It seems to have forgot it and therefore put the long-term future of farmers in jeopardy.	CA/M/44/4
Despite X, Y		150 anti-hunt protestors / peaceful	<i>Despite the presence of 150 anti-hunt protestors in Parliament Square, the march was peaceful.</i>	concessive	violent / peaceful	A stereotyped assumption that focussed groups of protestors, it is assumed, have potential to cause trouble. Despite acts to show how what happens in the main clause works against expectations	CA/1/1/5
despite X, Y [happens]		his cut – and lack of sleep / at Hyde Park Corner... at 10am yesterday	<i>Despite his cut - and lack of sleep - Mr German was at Hyde Park Corner, where the Liberty half of the march began, at 10am yesterday</i>	concessive	expected / unexpected	Similar to above – except the oppositional pair don't work on the same dimension contrasting the way someone looks and their physical state with their arrival at a specific time. The opposition is between what might be expected of someone in this state, thanks to the concessive (despite) and what actually happened, the unexpected. The cut is reference to the fact that he isn't wearing his hunting regalia (mentioned in next sentence).	CA/G/5/2

Although X, Y		traffic... heavier than usual / no major congestion problems	<i>Although</i> traffic outside the area was heavier than usual , there were no major congestion problems .	concessive?	heavy / light congested / uncongested problematic / unproblematic expected / unexpected	No a particularly spectacular example, but still produces at least four superordinates. 'Although' seems to work in similar way to 'despite' but produces a less sensational tone, and leads to a slightly different grammatical construction in the sub clause – i.e. <i>despite</i> traffic <i>being</i> heavier.. (so has to use progressive form). How interesting is this! Again this is another of those examples in which expectations are not met which is where the contrast lies.	CA/G/4/2
[even] if X [in A] no X [in B]		fears of the entire rural community / no pretensions of inclusivity	<i>If</i> the Countryside Alliance had sought to claim that yesterday's march represented the fears of the entire rural community , there were no such pretensions at inclusivity in London's unashamedly elitist clubland .	conditional concessive auto-evocation	inclusivity / exclusivity democratic / elitist pretend / real exception / norm rural / urban?	Another newish category – conditional concessive – i.e. it acts a bit like 'despite', 'although' etc – using the subordinate clause to set out one state of affairs which is then negated in the main clause. Not sure whether the fact it use the conditional makes it any different. In this case it aims to expose the CA's claim to inclusivity as false by contrasting it with a club in which it implied the same kind of membership will be involved. The latter is implied BY the fact that they form part of a pair of oppositions, and 'sought to claim' (modality issue). 'Pretensions' suggest that their claim is false.	CA/G/5/1
	doubts / reassured	doubts / instantly reassured [lack of] strength of the British class system / steeliness of the liveried doormen	Anyone with any doubts about the strength of the British class system would have been instantly reassured by the steeliness of the liveried doormen of Pratt's, Brooks's, Boodle's, White's, The Carlton, The Turf, The Oxford and Cambridge and The Traveller's.	semantic? concessive?	doubts / certainties worried / reassured weak / strong	Are getting into subordinate trigger stuff here? That is, this is a version of 'If anyone had any doubts...'. Another thought-provoking one in that initially I thought there was no obvious syntactic trigger and opted for a semantic one of doubts / reassured, but was concerned that these are not entirely conventional. But then the syntactic trigger became clearer. The oppositional pair are not matched on the same levels, in that the first of pair refers to general strength whereas	CA/G/5/3

						the second half refers to specific strength, as a specific example of the general opposite.	
If X, Y [at the same time]		adopt someone as a guest / escort them to the toilet...and then escort them out	<i>If</i> the odd club member did agree to temporarily "adopt" someone as a guest , he had to escort them to the toilet, wait patiently outside, and then escort them out.	conditional concessive	member / non-member acceptable / unacceptable expected / unexpected	This is one of those expectations things. Need to think about how and indeed if conditionals do indeed trigger oppositions. The expectations of the first half of the clause are broken with the second. Perhaps it isn't a conditional? Does 'if' automatically make it conditional? Not sure it does. Acts more like 'despite' in this case [even if]. Writer trying to show draconian nature of the rules by illustrating how what we would expect from membership would expect the opposite to being escorted to the toilet!	CA/G/5/6
Although X, [also] Y		rich landowners and rosy-cheeked farmers / poverty-stricken labourers and humble craftsmen	<i>Although</i> the demonstrators included rich landowners and rosy-cheeked farmers in green wellies and waxed jackets , they were joined by an amazing array of like-minded folk such as poverty-stricken labourers and humble craftsmen	concessive simultaneity	rich / poor high class / low class expected / unexpected	Another new category and a classic demonstration opposition being used for inclusive purposes. The concessive part – <i>although</i> – works by putting the expected situation next to the subordinator. In this case there is an implied 'also' (were joined by), so show how the two (constructed?) sides of the class divide are coming together to fight for a common cause.	CA/S/4/1
Though X, [also] Y		plan to ban fox-hunting / whole host of other country issues	And <i>though</i> many were there to protest about the Government's plan to ban fox hunting , they raised a whole host of other country issues as well.	concessive simultaneity	single / many	Similar frame to above and similar function, to show inclusivity, this time in what it is they are protesting about i.e. they are not just single issue protests.	CA/S/4/2
A not X, A is Y X yet Y		toffs / real ... hard-working... genuine people	It is trying to settle old scores by taking on " the toffs. " <i>But</i> the countryside marchers were <i>not</i> toffs - they were real people, hard working people, genuine people. <i>Yet</i> New	negated concessive	false / genuine unreal / real lazy / hardworking	Funny how the Sun imposes a category on Labour which is one they would usually use! Accusing Labour of stereotyping, and in doing so reinforces a stereotype which they then contrast with the classic consensus of what constitutes an ordinary person.	CA/S/8/4

		real... hard-working... genuine people / ignore them all	Labour thinks it can ignore them all.		posh / down-to earth acknowledge / ignore	The concessive opposition works by assuming we would expect these ordinary people to not be ignored.	
X however Y		More than 407,000 people marched/ unmovd by the size of the demonstration	More than 407,000 people marched through Whitehall demonstrating about the threatened hunting ban, the depressed farming industry and poor rural services. <i>However</i> , ministers indicated they were unmovd by the size of the demonstration organised by the Countryside Alliance.	concessive	large / small significant / insignificant expected / unexpected movd / unmovd	This concept of the concessive and the expected / unexpected binary seems to crop up a lot – probably a huge pragmatic issue here which needs investigating – so the translation of the main idea is one would expect ministers to be movd by the fact that 407,000 people marched through Whitehall....and the <i>however</i> acts as a conjunction to then pose the opposite scenario.	CA/FT/1/1
Despite X, Y [happened]		numbers / peaceful	<i>Despite</i> the numbers , the march was peaceful.	concessive	big / small violent / peaceful	Usual thing of implying that large numbers mean a greater likelihood of trouble. Again the 'despite' implies a breaking of expectations.	CA/FT/1/3
while X , Y		militants, anarchists / ordinary people out in force/ heart and mind	<i>While</i> it was true that militants, anarchists, anti-capitalists and anti-Americans - what one weary PC called " the great unwashed " - were out in force , the heart and mind of the protest was ordinary people.	concessive	abnormal / normal violent / peaceful physical / spiritual dirty / clean		AW/Mir/2/3
not X yet Y not X, Y		freedom fighter....sell a pacifist cause / movement has taken off...organised people with clear aims	They have no great freedom fighter to support ; only Saddam. You could not sell washing powder on that basis, let alone a pacifist cause that may crush a Prime Minister. <i>Yet</i> the movement has taken off and its subscribers, on yesterday's	concessive negative	passive / active dull / inspirational disorganised / organised chaos / order	Two sets of opposites. First contrasts unexpected organised nature and strength of revolt with fact there seems to have been no obvious leadership. While one thing has happened the opposite of what would be expected has happened. Second example compares the kind of stereotype of a protestor expected, implying in the past peace	AW/Ob/4/6

		reissued set of hoary peaceniks / organised people with clear aims	evidence, are <i>not</i> a reissued set of hoary peaceniks . These are organised people with clear aims		not credible / credible unfocussed / focussed	demonstrators were a bit disorganised, whereas this lot are not. Seems to imply that often today's demonstrators wouldn't usually be peace-loving? Discuss!	
x yet y		bone-chilling three-hour wait / always good humoured	From the time the first marchers began arriving to the moment when the columns of people filling the streets finally started to move off towards Hyde Park, it was a bone-chilling three-hour wait . Yet it was always good-humoured .	concessive	frustrated / content	Showing how potential for frustration nullified by humour, presumably to show they are 'nice' people, and not going to cause trouble.	AW/SM/6/4
not x yet y		not one / government	"I don't know anyone, not one person, who ever argues in favour of going to war , and yet the Government are just taking us into it. "	concessive	against / for us / them	Showing how government seem to be taking on the people and being arrogant by not listening to them	AW/SM/6/7
X though y		Nightmare / good day	The M1 was a car park, someone said, and the Tube a nightmare . It was a good day , <i>though</i> , for the street traders who were selling whistles on rainbow necklaces and loud horns.	concessive	bad /good	How one particular scenario – in this case congestion – can frustrate and benefit at the same time.	AWIoS/4/9
X despite Y		<i>eerily quiet / crowds and helicopters</i>	Many streets had been blocked off to become pedestrian zones and the capital was an eerily quiet and vastly improved place for it, <i>despite the crowds and the helicopters hovering overhead</i> .	concessive	quiet / noise unusual / usual	Unexpected quiet when usually noisy things happening. This is because the noise of the demo has replaced the noise of everyday life so contrasting two types of masses of people, the everyday with the unusual.	AWIoS/4/14

Contrastive

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
X but Y		divided into two camps / great spiritual coming together of rural-minded people	<i>But</i> long before the two processions converged on the heart of Government at Whitehall, it was clear that yesterday's demonstration signified a great spiritual coming together of rural-minded people.	contrastive equivalence	division / unity illusion / reality physical / spiritual	Previous example is embedded in this one. On the surface the splitting of the demo might look like disunity, but the two physical marches unified in spirit (common cause). So the oppositions here acting very much to aid inclusivity	CA/T/4/2a
X but Y		London born and bred / compelled to join the protest	Susie Plant, 27, Georgie Denham, 22, and Arthur Godsal, five today, were all London born and bred , <i>but</i> felt compelled to join the protest.	contrastive simultaneity? equivalence?	urban / rural	Not just full of countryfolk, assumes urbanites won't be sympathetic to march. Again, stressing range on demo.	CA/T/4/12
X but Y		small / significant	The night before the march, at a party in the vaults beneath London Bridge, two daughters of a sheep farmer in South Wales spoke of the small but significant impact a ban would make on their livelihoods	contrastive equivalence	small / large quantity / quality	Simple one stressing how finely balance their livelihood is, and therefore what seems to be trivial, is big to them.	CA/T/4/4
X but Y		like.... respect / hunting	"We like foxes and respect them, <i>but</i> we know that any other method of controlling them does not work as well as hunting.	contrastive equivalence	life / death respect / disrespect idealism / reality	Contrasting having respect for a thing, whilst also wanting to kill it! Implies they have no choice, despite higher moral framework	CA/T/4/5
X but Y Y not X1		killing /caught caught by hunters /	" <i>It is only the older, lazy foxes that are trouble, killing 10 lambs in a</i>	contrastive negative	killing / being killed	Trying to prove that hunting is the best way to control unruly foxes, as it is selective, compared to other non-	CA/T/4/6

		other methods	night, but it is mainly the older foxes that are caught by hunters. Other methods do not discriminate."	equivalence parallelism	hunter / hunted discriminate / indiscriminate	specified ways of killing them.	
X falling into Y	booing / silence	booing / silence Dept of Environment / Cenotaph	For those lucky enough to be near the front , the march - from Blackfriars, along the embankment, booing as they passed the Department of the Environment's office at Whitehall before <i>falling</i> into silence at the Cenotaph , then through Parliament Square and on to Westminster Bridge - took about an hour to cover little more than one mile.	transitional	noise / silence change / tradition	Strong semantic triggers – ridiculing modern bureaucrats, respecting tradition	
X but Y	the front / livelihood March an hour / five or six hours		<i>But</i> for most on the Livelihood march it took five or six hours to reach the finish.	contrastive	front / back quick time / long time	Presumably emphasising size and efficiency of the demo – contrasting speed at which those at front reached destination, compared with those at the back	
X but Y		alliance / whole country...community	"The Government will make a formal response to the alliance's statement shortly, <i>but</i> it must be understood that we seek to govern for the whole country and for every community, " he said.	contrastive	one / many individual / community	CA as a group being counterposed to rest of country to imply they are being selfish if govt only deals with their needs.	CA/T/2/9
X but Y		Most [of the demonstrators] / refuseniks accepted graciously / harried down	Most accepted graciously, but refuseniks found themselves being harried down Whitehall by portly farming types	contrastive	accept / refuse majority / minority passive /	Tongue-in-cheek, comparing those who accept stickers and get peace and quiet and those who don't and get chased! Contrast between those who accept and refuse based on the consequences of the choice i.e. to be	CA/T/3/3

		Whitehall	desperately trying to tag their quarry.		active peace / harassment	left alone, or to be harried....	
X but Y		in favour of a ban / in the majority in the front ranks of the Liberty march	LABOUR MPs may be overwhelmingly in favour of a ban against hunting, but the Party was in the majority in the front ranks of the Liberty march as it entered Whitehall.	contrastive	for / against opposition / support quantity / quality	Stressing that despite Labour majority in favour of ban, those against it are high profile, important people, as list after this sentence tries to attest.	CA/T/3/4
X but Y... only when that X		chartered trains... marchers / mobilisation was invisible	Some way away at the mainline railway stations, chartered trains were hauling the countryside to the town , and under the streets the marchers were making their way by Tube to the mustering points for the two marches, at Blackfriars for Livelihood, Hyde Park for Liberty , depending on where you had travelled from. <i>But</i> early on the mobilisation was invisible to most Londoners , and it was <i>only when</i> you walked down Park Lane to the starting point of the Liberty march in Hyde Park that the sheer scale of the event became obvious .	contrastive	visibility / invisibility appearance / reality	Trying to portray the enormity of the demo against expectations by dramatising the seemingly sudden appearance of the marchers. Possibly attempting to show how this has been a hidden protest which has finally had a chance to come out in to the open?	CA/T/1/1
x but y		activists from the Union of Country	At the head of the Liberty march, a couple of	contrastive	unappealing / appealing	Contrast between loud, antagonistic activists and quiet young girl.	CA/T/1/3

		Sports Workers / cute 12-month-old Sophie Large	activists from the Union of Country Sports Workers , loudly denouncing the Countryside Alliance "and their establishment friends", demanded to march at the front of the Liberty rally, <i>but</i> the alliance's press officers wanted cute 12-month-old Sophie Large in her pushchair, with her camera- friendly placard : "When I grow up I want to go hunting with my Daddy."		old / young loud / quiet	Possibly showing inclusive nature of demo and control steward have over demo to suppress any trouble? Girl used as credible quote to back up aims of demonstrators	
X but Y		were closed / left banners of encouragement	Most of the upmarket St James's traders were closed, <i>but</i> they had left banners of encouragement in their windows.	equivalent contrastive	appearance / reality passive / active	Do not mistake a surface lack of activity with lack of support. The shopkeepers are simultaneously doing nothing on one level, but showing support on another level	CA/T/1/4
X but became....er when Y		minority.... 200,000 / more than double expected / turned up	One of the last banners read: "Mr Blair, see what a minority looks like." This was a pretty good joke when 200,000 were expected , but became <i>better still</i> when more than double that figure turned up .	contrastive transitional	small / large expectations / reality	Of course, 'minority' is being used ironically here, so the irony is only strengthened by the doubling in numbers. But the contrast is between what they expected and what they actually got. It could be transitional because illusion turns into a different reality	CA/T/1/ 14
X but Y		taken the money / refused to allow an editorial debate	They have taken the money but refused to allow an editorial debate to take place on an issue directly affecting racing communities.	contrastive	unprincipled / principled freedom / restrictions action / inaction	Highlighting hypocrisy of Racing Post – comparing its actions in taking money, but lack of action in having a debate on issue.	CA/T/11/3
X but Y		excited / nervous	My village contingent caught an 8am bus - the	contrastive	excited / bored	Two terms treated as mutually exclusive, but possible to be both at	CA/M/4/2

			mood excited <i>but a little nervous</i>		nervous /calm	the same time (why not use 'and' instead of 'but?'), Nervous also suggest excitability?	
X but Y		great / problems	Would there, could there, really be such a great turnout as expected? Of course there could, <i>but</i> the huge crowds did cause problems.	contrastive	problematic / straightforward prepared / unprepared	The fact that there were problems implies lack of preparedness? Opposition relies on the implication that they didn't expect there to be problems, only a big crowd.	CA/M/4/3
X but Y		two-hour queue / worth every minute	There was a two-hour queue simply to start the march. <i>But</i> it was worth every minute.	contrastive	quick / slow worthwhile/ worthless tedious / exciting	Need to investigate how these prototypes blend together to create new meaning. Implication of two-hour wait is that it is slow moving, and potentially tedious, but the implication of tediousness comes from the fact it is being contrasted with 'worth every minute', so two-hour wait on its own doesn't evoke the tediousness concept. Another question – to what extent does the use of the contrastive 'but' automatically trigger a negator in concept (if not a lexical item) – therefore what is triggered is 'but it was not a waste of time....'	CA/M/4/4
X but Y X mind you [however] Y..something else		stuck a large ...sticker over the lens.../ never known a quieter mass protest... quieter mass protest / volume from the whistles....	On the Embankment someone had stuck a large Countryside Alliance sticker over the lens of a traffic speed camera. <i>But</i> that was the only illegality I saw. A policeman on London Bridge said he had never known a quieter mass protest for trouble. The volume from the whistles and klaxons and horns and rustic larynxes, mind you, was something else.	contrastive contrastive?	illegality / legality individual / general expected / unexpected quiet / noise	Only mentions the speed camera anecdote to emphasise how legal and orderly everything is. 'Quieter' presumably in the first opposition is being used in a metaphorical sense, to mean orderly. An individual incident is not indicative of a general pattern. The second use of 'quieter' is its more literal usage contrasted with the noise. So we have a boisterous and passionate demo, but this is only channelled into noise, not violence or illegality – it's that tightrope again!	CA/M/4/6

X but Y		hope it doesn't come to that / hard to know	'Guy Fawkes had a point,' said a banner. Let's hope it doesn't come to that , <i>but after yesterday it's hard to know</i> .	contrastive adverbial contrastive	violence / peace certainty / uncertainty	Contrasting a relative certainty that before the demo when strength of feeling was unclear that nobody would do anything illegitimate, with how that has changed things to make them more unpredictable, so the demo is a kind of turning point in people's reactions to the government.	CA/M/4/8
X but Y		sat just to the right / hardly... looked past those citadel gates	Downing Street sat just to the right but hardly a single marcher looked past those citadel gates .	contrastive	acknowledge / ignore expected / unexpected? respect / disrespect	One of those that relies on overlapping superordinate concepts. DS is a respected centre of power which these people were walking right past, and one would expect them to feel a sense of awe and respect. However by turning the other cheek they have snubbed it and shown their disillusionment. The contrastive marker implies that respect would be expected, however the opposite happens.	CA/M/4/9
X but Y		political hotheads... remote events.... distance countries/ changed	To them, marching seemed for political hotheads interested in remote events in distant countries . <i>But yesterday all that changed</i> .	contrastive auto-evocation? deixis?	distant / proximal passive / active extreme / moderate/ foreign / native	Implication is that marching is now the opposite of what it might initially have been seen to be, giving it credibility by (almost literally) distancing itself from the kind of march they may be worried about being associated with.	CA/M/39/2
X in fact Y		Rightwing / Labour... Fabian	This heralded an ill-advised attempt by government sources to portray the Countryside Alliance as a Rightwing group . <i>In fact</i> the president is Anne Mallalieu, a Labour peer , the chairman is a dedicated Fabian and the chief executive a	Contrastive	appearance / reality right wing / left wing	Trying to anticipate criticisms of CA, by coming up with an alternative image (not that Labour/Fabian can in any way be really seen as a contrast to the right – certainly a created opposition!)	CA/M/39/14

			member of the Labour Party.				
X but er than X, [i.e.] Y		votes / countryside	New Labour's intolerance brought the countryside to London yesterday in record numbers and Mr Prescott, after surveying the many untwisted faces, may want to consider how many votes scattered in how many marginal constituencies the long line of wellington boots, parkas and well-weathered complexions represents. <i>But</i> there's something <i>far more important</i> than votes at stake here. If England is thought of with affection it's often because of our countryside.	Contrastive comparative	trivial / important	The relative triviality of votes is being compared to the importance of the state of the countryside – defending themselves as guardians of the country, a cause worth sacrificing a few trivial votes for....	CA/M/39/20
X1 but X2 ....er than Y		odd two-fingered salute / total lack of noise total lack of noise / chant	The odd two-fingered salute was waved in its direction but, in fact, <i>this total lack of noise</i> seemed much <i>more sinister</i> than any chant might have been.	contrastive comparative equivalence	disrespect / respect silence / noise absence / presence	The total lack of noise is contrasted in two ways 1) As a marker of respect against disrespectful V-signs, although curiously they are also equivalents in that they are both silent forms of protest, the equivalence triggered by <i>this</i> , referring anaphorically to the salute. The contrastive trigger <i>but</i> sets it up in opposition with that it is equivalent to because of the comparative which follows it, and that which it is being compared to (a chant) is also by association equivalent to its first opposite but on a different semantic dimension	CA/M/2/9

						2) Compared therefore also to chant, so that it is being shown to be both respectful and effective at the same time, which why the equivalence is important. So the lack of noise makes it on one level equivalent to the salute, but it is opposite to it by nature of its respect and effectiveness and is opposite to chant for the same reasons, which curiously makes chant and two-fingered salute also both equivalent (lack of respect) and opposite (noise)	
X but Y		one of the biggest protests... / pressing ahead...fox-hunting bill	CAMPAIGNERS CLAIMED to have sent a defiant message to the Government yesterday when an estimated 400,000 farmers, hunters and rural workers joined one of the biggest protests held in London. <i>But</i> the Government said it was pressing ahead, without delay, with plans to introduce a fox-hunting Bill.	contrastive	big / small effective / ineffective influential / insignificant	Importantly this is a 'straight' news report so lacks the rhetoric and density of oppositions of other eye-witness reports and opinion columns. The oppositions work through the reporting of verbalisation processes and the clash between what the protestors claim about numbers and the Government's actions, leaving the reader to make inferences about the potential mismatch between the size of the demo and its actual ineffectiveness as regards its influence on the government.	CA/1/1/2
X but also Y		fox hunting / low prices... handling of the foot and mouth outbreak	Fox hunting dominated the march, which passed along Whitehall and past Downing Street, <i>but</i> farmers complaining about low prices and the Government's handling of the foot-and-mouth outbreak also joined the throng that disrupted central London all day.	inclusive contrastive	specific / general	This is a rare example of an inclusive use of an oppositional trigger and initially I found it difficult to see whether there is actually an opposition being set up here. However, I'm convinced that 'but' does force some kind of contrast, and here, there is a semantic dimension of 'issues that farmers might complain about', and the contrast is between the specific headline focus of fox-hunting, with more general problems farmers have	CA/1/1/3

						with their situation.	
X however Y		hunting / rural issues	John Jackson, the chairman of the Countryside Alliance , said: "Anybody who thinks this is just about hunting must be living on a different planet from the rest of us. " <i>However, hunting</i> was a litmus test for the Government to show willingness to deal justly with rural issues , he said	contrastive?	specific / general narrow / wide	Follows on from last point. Direct quote retranslated means this is not just about hunting, it's about rural issues, but that the specific (hunting) is a way into get the govt to deal with wider issues	CA/1/1/4
X but Y		small minority....tiny proportion / the people in this country section of interest / needs and wishes of a tiny proportion	This is a small minority putting forward a section of interest which they have every right to do, <i>but</i> it is an interest which reflects the needs and wishes of a tiny proportion of the people in this country. "	contrastive	small / large insignificant / significant instance / mass part / whole	Bit of a tricky one as it compares interest with interest, and in both cases it suggests the interest group is small. In the second of the pair however the size of the interest is put against the size of that of which it is part, so perhaps we understand it as a part/whole dichotomy?	CA/1/4/3
X but Y		hunting / wide range of problems in the countryside	Baroness Mallalieu, president of the Countryside Alliance, said: " Hunting is the trigger for this march, <i>but</i> I would imagine that everybody on the march wants the Government to deal with a wide range of problems in the countryside. "	contrastive	one / many individual / collective narrow / wide	Similar to previous point but perhaps more explicit. The demonstration is organised around a single narrow issue but the protest is about a wide range of issues.	CA/1/4/5
despite X, Y [happens]		his cut – and lack of sleep / at Hyde Park	<i>Despite his cut - and lack of sleep</i> - Mr	concessive	expected / unexpected	Similar to above – except the oppositional pair don't work on the	CA/G/5/2

		Corner... at 10am yesterday	German was at Hyde Park Corner , where the Liberty half of the march began, at 10am yesterday			same dimension contrasting the way someone looks and their physical state with their arrival at a specific time. The opposition is between what might be expected of someone in this state, thanks to the concessive (despite) and what actually happened, the unexpected. The cut is reference to the fact that he isn't wearing his hunting regalia (mentioned in next sentence).	
X but Y		6pm / 5pm	The demonstration was due to end at 6pm , <i>but</i> at 5pm as many as 40,000 campaigners were still queuing at Hyde Park Corner , the beginning of the Liberty march route.	contrastive	punctual / unpunctual small / large predicted / actual	Contrast between what the organisers might have planned for a smaller demonstration against what actually occurred.	CA/G/4/1
why X when Y		hunting legislation / many more important issues	<i>Why waste time on hunting legislation when there are many more important issues?"</i>	contrastive alternative	current / alternative trivial / important one / many	Intuitively this feels like an opposite – struggling to explain why. It is questioning one action when there are alternatives available, so the opposition is based around choices between one thing and another – contrastive alternative? This is in the form of a rhetorical question and it would be hard to think of an example which wouldn't be used rhetorically, sooo 'rhetorical contrastive?' Is the first of all examples in which a question form is inherent in the frame.	CA/G/4/8
X but Y		public order offences / remained peaceful	Two anti-hunt demonstrators were arrested for public order offences , <i>but a 150-strong anti-hunt counter-protest in Parliament Square remained peaceful</i>	contrastive syntactic parallelism	violent / peaceful anti-hunt / pro-hunt small / large	Basic comparison between violent and peaceful protest. Not sure what an anti-hunt counter protest is? Is it a protest against the protest, or an alternative anti-hunt protest?!	CA/G/4/8

X but Y		a lot of people / majority think that hunting is cruel...	There are a lot of people on the streets here, <i>but the majority of people in Britain - 74% - think that hunting is cruel and would like to see it banned.</i> "	contrastive	minority / majority cruelty / compassion	This is a bit like a concessive, in that the speaker concedes something about one of the pair (a bit like 'although'), and the <i>but</i> acts like a 'nevertheless'. So there is an interesting contrast between 'a lot' which on a gradable scale of size is obviously more than a small amount, but is actually bottom of the scale when placed in a mutually exclusive position against majority, so it becomes 'minority'.	CA/G/4/9
X but Y	permitted / turned down	young girls...toddlers, mobile phones / members of the public.... permitted / turned down	Young girls in fraying jeans, toddlers, and even mobile phones were permitted at the likes of The Traveller's. <i>But members of the public desperate for the loo, or craving a drink, were assessed with a practised eye - and consistently turned down.</i>	contrastive ancillary?	allowed / disallowed trivial / important desperate / hopeful crave / satiated	This is one of those strange mutually exclusive in-group/out-group contrasts in which the logic is that you cannot be a young girl, toddler etc and a member of the public at the same time. The writer has chosen a rhetorical 3-part list of 'non-standard' attendees to exclusive drinking clubs. The fraying jeans presumably implying scruffiness, toddlers often not allowed anywhere that sells alcohol, and mobile phones, presumably abnormal because they are new and trendy? – a list of trivia, set up against people with genuine needs, like going to the toilet and wanting a drink, usually associated with basic service at a pub. These are tagged on ancillary-style to the more conventional opposite of permitted / turned down. Can we assume that people being desperate implies that those in the first half of the list are not, and are therefore having all their needs satiated?	CA/G/5/5
X but Y		have their rules / surprised	"They obviously have their rules , <i>but</i> I was slightly surprised ", admitted the bishop's 65-	contrastive	unsurprised / surprised obvious /	One of those opposites which I need to do more work on – in that each of the pair works on a different level. So she is surprised as opposed to the	CA/G/5/9

						only tentatively suggesting that sheer numbers are the reason why food is being eaten in a hurry, which does have the effect of posing it as a question, for which we have the opposite 'answer', but the answer isn't to the question 'why is it so packed?' but 'what can we do to cope with it?' So there is some kind of ambiguity here based around the way 'answer' can be interpreted.	
X but Y ...er		four years ago / [yesterday] 280,000 / much bigger	The Countryside Alliance organisers had hoped for a similar turnout to a demo staged four years ago, when 280,000 took part. But in the event it was MUCH bigger.	contrastive comparative	past / present predicted / unpredicted expected / unexpected	Main aim is to show how size of demo exceeded expectations, so main oppositions works through expected / unexpected binary	CA/S/4/5
X but Y		Camilla Parker Bowles / ex-husband Andrew and son John	Prince Charles banned keen huntswoman Camilla Parker Bowles from taking part on the grounds the demo was too politically-charged. But Camilla's ex-husband Andrew and son Tom were there among the masses.	contrastive	female / male wife / husband	Obviously highly sexist!	CA/S/4/6
X but Y		the scale of the march and the feelings of the people taking part / ask what it was all about	Alun Michael, the rural affairs minister, said the scale of the march and the feelings of people taking part had to be recognised. " But I have to ask what it was all about. "	contrastive	big / small emotional / rational meaningful / meaningless unfocussed / focussed intangible / tangible	Tricky one to work out. Basically size isn't everything in terms of numbers of people or strength of emotional outburst. These are contrasted (it is implied) with being focused or having meaning, implying that the size isn't really based on anything tangible. Don't know how significant this is yet, but the pairs are split over indirect and direct speech. Probably not that significant really.	CA/FT/1/2
X but Y		passion /	There was plenty of	contrastive	passionate /	Again – typical implicature that	CA/FT/3/1

		good-natured	passion <i>but</i> the marchers remained good-natured.		passionless bad-natured / good-natured	potential trouble to be caused at marches, and interestingly the implication here is that it is unusual for passion and good-naturedness to occur at the same time, despite the fact that of course this is precisely what is being described. Does this also imply that passion usually leads to trouble? Yes!	
more X but less Y X but Y	more / less	support / interference left alone / be ignored	They wanted more government support but less government interference; to be left alone but not to be ignored.	contrastive negated contrastive	more / less support		CA/FT/3/2
X but Y		blue / overcast.... greyness	The day began with blue skies but was soon overcast - a greyness that fitted the generally sombre mood.	contrastive	cheerful / gloomy colourful / colourless		AW/Mir/2/2
x but y		usual suspects / suburban England	The usual suspects were there - <i>but</i> so were many, many others like himself who had come up from the leafy lanes of suburban England to shout their disapproval of war.	contrastive	expected / unexpected experienced / inexperienced poor / affluent	The classic professional/amateur dichotomy stressing variety whilst privileging the newcomers by using derogatory term like 'usual suspects'. Of course there is the usual logic here that 'the usual suspects' cannot come from the leafy suburbs.	AWIoS/4/3
x but y	He / hardened political campaigners	he / hardened political campaigners simple / powerful	He was surprised to find himself there, driven to march alongside hardened political campaigners by a simple but powerful conviction that it was wrong to invade Iraq.	semantic? contrastive	inexperienced / experienced low measure / high measure? expected / unexpected	First very similar to above – difference and equivalence going on at the same time. To what extent 'surprised' acts as a kind of trigger debatable. It does suggest the unexpected has happened? But I reckon that because an opposition has been set up in the previous paragraph between man from leafy suburbs, the 'he' does the work itself alongside that placed as his opposite.	AWIoS/4/4

						The simple/powerful one must assume that something simple cannot be powerful, otherwise 'and' would be used, yet of course both qualities are acting alongside each other. Interestingly this can only happen because we have to find a semantic dimension to link them which would not be the one they would conventional rest on with their conventional opposites (complex/weak). They are both gradable, and potentially measurable qualities, so the conventional higher level opposition would be something like low measure (on a scale of complexity) v high measure (on a scale of power).	
x but y		.....talked with the measured tones..../ eyes constantly switched from the crowd to his daughters....	The 45-year-old talked with the measured tones he might use to present a set of accounts, but his eyes constantly switched from the crowd to his daughters, Ellen and Caragh.	contrastive	calm/ nervous	Here we are being triggered to note how too simultaneously but contradictory sets of behaviour are manifesting themselves at the same time. Being measured implies being calm, but nervousness reflected in fear for his children's safety. So he is represented as an officious type but who cares for his children and therefore not an automaton.	AWIoS/4/5
X but Y X wary of Y		Some people / other groups.....SWP, Palestinian solidarity and Islamic campaigners Usually dominate / stay away	Some people chose to stay away yesterday because they were wary of one or other of the groups who usually dominate such events. But the Socialist Workers, Palestinian solidarity and Islamic campaigners must have been away at the front of the march because there was little sign of them. The ranks of Barbours	Contrastive Explicit?	Inexperience / experience Prominent / hidden	Two sets of opposites intertwined. Contrasts those who aren't used to going on these demos hence stay away, with those who are always there and keep the former away. However, the contrastive 'but' works to emphasise who hidden these groups actually were on the day.	AWIoS/4/10

			and ski jackets could have been on the Countryside march.				
X but Y x against Y		<i>Leadership / public opinion</i> us/he	Leadership is one thing <i>but</i> he's there because of us , and public opinion is massively <i>against</i> what he is doing."	contrastive competition marker	Individual / group One / many autocracy / democracy	The us and them theme exemplified in two different opposites. Both rely on the group/public versus the individual leader, suggesting he has lost his authority	AWIoS/4/12
X but Y	nobody everybody	<i>nobody / everybody</i> <i>direction they should be marching in / their own route</i>	The Butlers broke away from the crowds at Lancaster Place; nobody seemed to know which direction they should be marching in , <i>but</i> everybody seemed to be taking their own route through to Hyde Park	contrastive	nobody / everybody none/ all conformity / individuality order / chaos	Making point that although it seems disorganised everybody is heading in same direction. These are not clones but they are unified all the same.	AWIoS/4/13
X but Y		<i>first-time marchers / professional agitators or anti-Israeli hatemongers</i>	At least the marchers were mostly genuine in their naivety – a mixed bag of middle and working class protestors, some first-timer marchers but others professional agitators or anti-Israeli hatemongers.	contrastive	amateur/ professional moderate / extremist	Classic artificial distinction between moderates and extremists, implying if you weren't first-time then you are a trouble-maker	

Coordinated Antonymy

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
divided into X / Y X and Y		Liberty / Livelihood liberty and the hunting issue / farming and a healthy rural economy	The Liberty and Livelihood March began ostensibly divided into two camps - those whose primary concern was liberty and the hunting issue, and those whose livelihoods depended on farming and a healthy rural economy.	coordinated explicit contrastive (distinguished) parallelism equivalence?	abstract / concrete idealism / necessity or practicality	Liberty and Livelihood crops up many times, but this seems to be the best place to deal with it, owing to the explicit distinction drawn between them. Hard to pick out the superord category that it might be based on, but something to do with the fact that the first deals with principles and morals, whilst the latter with necessity/reality	CA/Tg/4/2
X or Y		irrelevant minority / really has spoken	The only question now is whether Mr Blair still treats those hundreds of thousands of people as an irrelevant minority, or accepts that this time, the countryside really has spoken.	coordinated	small / large ineffective / effective irrelevant / relevant	'Or' is a coordinator, but performs very different function to 'and' so should there be a separate category here? Acts to mark boundary between two opposing <i>choices</i> – in this case, whether Blair listens or not. Writer challenging Blair to interpret the demo in one of two ways, although the inference is that the interpretation has already been made by the writer, it is whether Blair acts on the interpretation that is the choice.	CA/T/1/ 15
X or Y X but Y		chicken curry / beef jardinière cheese / fruit hurry / little inclination to rush chicken curry...beef jardinière...	The Carlton Club offered 200 members food designed to be eaten in a hurry - chicken curry or beef jardinière followed by cheese or fruit for pounds 19, or a pounds 15 all-day breakfast. <i>But</i> there was little inclination to rush at the Turf, where 500	coordinated contrastive ancillary	one / the other hurried / unhurried	How can we justify chicken and beef meals being treated as opposites other than them being a choice between one or the other, and presumably you aren't allowed to have both? The other food contrasts between buffet and non-buffet, acts a bit like an ancillary in that they are tagged onto hurried v unhurried types of food. Again artificial, as you can of course hurry a buffet and eat a curry	CA/G/5/10

		cheese...fruit / cold meats, patisserie, breads and Greek salad	aristocratic club members milled on the terrace or chattered beneath classical oil paintings, before enjoying a prebooked luncheon or buffet of cold meats, patisserie, breads and Greek salad in the gracious dining rooms.		served / self-service? business / aristocracy	slowly. There may also be a class contrast here in that the latter is aristocratic whereas the Carlton is the 'Tory' club so could be a business v inherited wealth contrast – ie a contrast between two different kinds of wealthy person?	
X and Y	cow / bull us / you our / your	cow / bull us / you our / your	"Leave us with our cow s*** and we will leave you to your city bulls*** ."	coordinated parallelism semantic	cow / bull female / male us / you our / your addresser/ addressee country / city literal / metaphorical sincere / insincere	This is a corker – a slogan on one of the banners. The oppositions in the main are conventional, and the syntactic trigger has little role to play, although the parallelism is important. The impact to the slogan works through the literal / metaphorical contrast, in which the country folk, from whose point of view it is written, portray themselves as ordinary, honest folk up to their knees in crap, whilst city folk live in a word of lies and deceit. There may also be a female v macho opposition here? The basic message is – 'don't interfere' and is an appeal for the country / city divide to remain intact.	CA/S/4/3
X while Y [at the same time]		Liberty / Livelihood Hyde Park Corner / Blackfriars Bridge	The Liberty leg started at Hyde Park Corner while the Livelihood marchers set off from Blackfriars Bridge , with the two converging at Whitehall for a	coordinated simultaneity? parallelism	freedom / responsibility	The fact there are two marches based on different principles forms the premise that they have to start from opposing places (constructed of course, very context bound), and they fact they converge makes the initial fairly contrived opposition just that	CA/S/4/4

			spectacular finale.			little bit stronger. Highly symbolic that two differing causes join together, having an inclusive function. Is it a concessive though? Because if the sentence started with <i>while</i> , it would much more strongly imply an expected alternative. It is more of a coordinated simultaneity? Acts more like and, but while implies at the same time much more strongly. 'While' has time built into its meaning, whereas 'and' doesn't.	
X beside the Y X rubbed shoulders with Y X and Y	poor / rich	poor / rich shopkeepers / squires shopkeepers....squires / city dwellers	The poor walked <i>beside</i> the rich . Shopkeepers in butcher and baker aprons <i>rubbed shoulders with squires in tweeds</i> . <i>And thousands of city dwellers</i> with sympathy for the country life joined in .	explicit inclusive semantic explicit inclusive coordinated	poor/ rich poor / rich country / city	A nice example of the variety of ways in which inclusivity can be triggered. The simple coordinator 'and' wouldn't work in this syntactic environment, because these are more than just an aside. The point of the first two sentences is to make explicit this inclusivity. So if it was 'The poor and the rich' then main verb needed to complete the sentence. So 'walked beside' and 'rubbed shoulders' as verb phrases make explicit the importance the paper attaches to highlighting this temporary alliance between rich and poor, country and city. The last sentence doesn't actually rely on the coordinator 'and' to specifically set up the opposition. The concluding 'joined in' linked to the explicit reference to the city matched with the implicit mention of country folk – especially squires, means the opposite relies quite a lot on semantic triggers.	CA/S/4/8
X and Y	masters / stooges	pro-hunting puppet masters / marching stooges	Well, as someone who spent a day with both the pro-hunting puppet-masters and their marching stooges , it	coordinated	master / slave	Journalist Brian Read, obviously critical of the demo – using his experience with different sections of the march to construct two ends of a spectrum based on a master / slave	CA/M/6/1

			was the sheer scale of the deception which did it for this extra-terrestrial.			dichotomy and possibly drawing on feudal imagery. The coordinator doesn't contrast them however, but is used in an inclusive way to show how HE has experienced both ends of the scale. The opposition relies to a certain extent on the conventional semantic contrast of master / stooge confirming my belief that weak syntactic triggers needs strong semantic ones for the opposition to be recognised.	
X and Y Some X, others Y	young / old	children / invalids buggies / chairs denims and fleeces / fur-collared coats and Barbours	Young and old , all wrapped up against the cold. Children in buggies, invalids in chairs. Some were scruffy in denims and fleeces, others wore fur-collared coats and Barbours.	coordinated parallelism semantic trigger	young / old able-bodied / disabled scruffy / neat poor / rich		AW/Mir/2/7
X at the same time Y		moral case for war in Iraq / reported two million....has made that case	There is a moral case for war against Iraq , Tony Blair said yesterday. <i>At the same a reported two million people in London and many millions more throughout the world sent him a message loud, clear and unambiguous. Neither he nor George Bush has made that case.</i>	coordinated simultaneity	for / against moral / immoral them / us few / many		AW/Mir/14/1
X and Y	left / right (centre) old/young (middle-aged)	students / housewives	They came from left, centre and right . They were old, middle-aged and young. Rich and poor. Lords, ladies, gentlemen. Students, housewives, bosses and	coordinated	left / right old / young rich / poor lords / ladies		AW/Mir/14/3

	rich / poor lords / ladies ladies / gentlemen bosses / workers		workers from every sphere of British industry. <i>And</i> they spoke with one voice.		ladies / gentlemen bosses / workers		
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Explicit Opposition

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
divided into X / Y X and Y		Liberty / Livelihood liberty and the hunting issue / farming and a healthy rural economy	The Liberty and Livelihood March began ostensibly divided into two camps - those whose primary concern was liberty and the hunting issue, and those whose livelihoods depended on farming and a healthy rural economy.	coordinated explicit contrastive (distinguished) parallelism equivalence?	abstract / concrete idealism / necessity or practicality	Liberty and Livelihood crops up many times, but this seems to be the best place to deal with it, owing to the explicit distinction drawn between them. Hard to pick out the superord category that it might be based on, but something to do with the fact that the first deals with principles and morals, whilst the latter with necessity/reality	CA/T/4/2
X rather than Y		support the Bill / amend it to an unqualified ban	Mr Michael said later that he would be clearer when he had spoken to fellow Labour MPs at the party conference about whether the message of the march would make them more likely to support the Bill he was drawing up, rather than voting to amend it to an unqualified ban as they had before.	explicit contrastive? Quirk – a replacive conjunct	support / disapprove maintain / amend	According to Quirk (p671) – <i>rather</i> expresses an <i>alternative</i> to what has preceded it. Could we call it a <i>replacive</i> ? Some kind of choice implied in 'rather'?	CA/T/2/3
more to X rather than Y		tender feelings / stand ... point of principle	To my mind, Channel 4's draconian action owes <i>more</i> to the tender feelings of media luvvies rather than a stand on a point of principle	comparative explicit contrastive?	emotional / rational subjective / objective	Having a dig at cautious approach of Ch 4 and reasons for banning coverage of demo – undermining their claims by satirising the types who work there.	CA/T/11/2
x contrasted		country people / crowds	The country people came to London to join	explicit contrastive	rural / urban	A typical attempt to distance the march from other forms of protest, and	CA/MI/39/3

with Y		join in / sat down well-organised, well-behaved / pulses racing (?)	in a well-organised, well-behaved march through the streets. They <i>contrasted</i> dramatically <i>with</i> the crowds who sat down for CND, or marched against the Vietnam war, in the days when the amplified voices of Michael Foot and Tony Benn filled Trafalgar Square and sent Leftwing pulses racing.		ordered / chaotic moderate / extreme moderate / passionate	it implies that speeches and passion are not be condoned as judged against the value-judgements of being well-behaved and organised.	
X compared to Y		Farmers / national average 60 hours / 38 hours	Farmers work over 60 hours a week (as <i>compared to the national average of 38 hours</i>) and once a week we hear of a farmer's suicide	Explicit contrastive	Extreme / moderate	In what sense are these hours comparisons being treated as opposites? as on a scale, average is in the middle. However, the extreme / moderate contrast works well, as these are contrasts constantly set up in the media politically, so on a scale of size they aren't opposite, but on a social acceptability scale they are. If it was bottom of number scale – zero hours, on the social scale they could be equivalent as two extremes, against average?	CA/MI/39/7
Unlike X, Y	present / away	previous / yesterday's present / away [absent]	<i>Unlike</i> the previous Countryside Alliance lobby of London, no minister was present at yesterday's march and Tony Blair spent the day away from the noisy demonstration at his Buckinghamshire residence of Chequers	explicit contrastive?	past / present presence / absence	First instance of this particular semantic trigger – should we call it a contrastive, possibly an explicit contrastive? Grammatically it acts a bit like 'despite' as a subordinator, but without the meaning of 'against expectation'. It is explicit because it utilises an oppositional prefix 'un' which turns it into the opposite of like (similar to). Comparison between previous and present demos, and the fact ministers were present at former but not latter. The presence on former is not specifically mentioned but strongly	CA/I/4/2

						alluded to.	
A ranged from the X to the Y1 to the Y2 to the Y3 to the Y4		cruel / cute...curious... clumsy.. considerably more direct	Anti-Blair slogans <i>ranged from the cruel</i> - "TB, Nasty Little Bug, Stamp Him Out" - <i>to the cute</i> - "I'm Tony Blair, Get Me Out Of Here" - <i>to the curious</i> - "Toe Knee Blur, Get Your Priorities Right" - <i>to the clumsy</i> - "Tony Blair Your [sic] Not Fair If You Won't Let Us Coarse [sic] a Hare" - <i>to the considerably more direct</i> - "Bollocks to Blair".	explicit gradable contrastive	negative / positive	A non- standard version of the range from to construction as there are four 'to's, so this is a really artificial use of the trigger. It is not as if 'cruel' is being contrasted with the other four specifically, rather (to use the trigger!) than it helps emphasise the inclusivity on the demo, and allows a list to be constructed. Although 'cruel' is much more negative than the others so perhaps we can argue that a range of opposites to cruel are being constructed to create a negative/positive binary? The alliteration plays a key part in the writer's choice of slogans.	CA/I/5/2
balance X with Y		utility, need to manage land and control the fox population / cruelty	He said yesterday that he had to <i>balance</i> the issue of utility, the need to manage land and control the fox population , with that of cruelty .	explicit comparative?	compassion / cruelty human / animal rational / emotional practical / impractical	This is the first 'balance' trigger found. Felt first a bit like an explicit contrastive because a balance strongly implies there are two sides one can lean towards. Here, it is not present as an either/or alternative however, so this could make it more like a comparative, an explicit one? All the other comparative triggers so far are privileging one alternative over another however, whereas this wants to strike a happy medium. It is only posing the opposites as extremes to avoid. The actual opposition is between making a moderate cull of foxes and an extreme unnecessary slaughter.	CA/G/4/6
X, Y polarised X no more less ... than Y	two sides	two sides activities with dogs / other ways of dealing with it activities with dogs / cannot go on as we	He added: "A lot of people have recognised that the two sides have become too <i>polarised</i> . Activities with dogs may be <i>no more cruel</i> , or actually <i>less cruel</i> , <i>than other ways of dealing with it</i> .	explicit contrastive comparative	one side / other side cruelty / compassion current / alternative	Fantastic – one of the richest examples yet. All interlinked. Some kind of metalinguistic thing going on here, linked to the previous example. Spoken by Alun Michael, minister for Rural Affairs. Makes explicit the concept of two sides – ie utility v cruelty, and for the	CA/G/4/7

<p>X on the other hand Y</p> <p>X but not Y</p>		<p>always have done</p> <p>go on as we have always done / middle way option</p>	<p><i>On the other hand</i>, people are saying we cannot just go on as we always have done. <i>But</i> that doesn't necessarily mean accepting the 'middle way' option."</p>	<p>explicit contrastive</p> <p>negated contrastive</p>	<p>stability / change</p>	<p>first time so far the XY opposites are textually instantiated in the same phrase – recognises that there is a third way. Second eg is comparing alleged lack of cruelty with other alternatives. Third – <i>on the other hand</i>, again an explicit contrastive of sorts, proposes there is an alternative to sticking with the status quo, i.e. activities with dogs? SO he is on the one hand recognising that hunting may not be that bad, but bad enough for there to be a change – classic middle-of-the-road stuff. The last example contrasts the need for change with what that change might mean</p>	
<p>X beside the Y</p> <p>X rubbed shoulders with Y</p> <p>X and Y</p>	<p>poor / rich</p>	<p>poor / rich</p> <p>shopkeepers / squires</p> <p>shopkeepers....squires / city dwellers</p>	<p>The poor walked <i>beside</i> the rich. Shopkeepers in butcher and baker aprons <i>rubbed shoulders with squires in tweeds</i>. And thousands of city dwellers with sympathy for the country life joined in.</p>	<p>explicit inclusive</p> <p>semantic</p> <p>explicit inclusive</p> <p>coordinated</p>	<p>poor/ rich</p> <p>poor / rich</p> <p>country / city</p>	<p>A nice example of the variety of ways in which inclusivity can be triggered. The simple coordinator 'and' wouldn't work in this syntactic environment, because these are more than just an aside. The point of the first two sentences is to make explicit this inclusivity. So if it was 'The poor and the rich' then main verb needed to complete the sentence. So 'walked beside' and 'rubbed shoulders' as verb phrases make explicit the importance the paper attaches to highlighting this temporary alliance between rich and poor, country and city. The last sentence doesn't actually rely on the coordinator 'and' to specifically set up the opposition. The concluding 'joined in' linked to the explicit reference to the city matched with the implicit mention of country folk – especially squires, means the opposite relies quite a lot on semantic</p>	<p>CA/S/4/8</p>

<p>oppression of X by a Y</p> <p>X against a Y</p>	<p>urban / rural</p> <p>decent / spiteful?</p> <p>ordinary / elite</p>	<p>ordinary, decent rural folk / spiteful urban elite</p> <p>democratic uprising / oppression</p>	<p>Thanks to pounds 1million worth of backing, which saw them charter 37 trains, 2,500 coaches, close 22 roads, erect five giant screens and take over the Institute of Directors building for the day to pump out their propaganda, they had succeeded in creating the illusion that their march was a democratic uprising against the oppression of ordinary, decent rural folk by a spiteful urban elite.</p>	<p>explicit contrastive</p> <p>semantic</p> <p>ancillary</p>	<p>urban / rural</p> <p>decent / indecent</p> <p>oppressed / oppressors</p> <p>common / elite</p> <p>freedom / oppression</p> <p>democracy / autocracy</p>	<p>triggers.</p> <p>Some standard semantic triggers here, which means the opposites are fairly conventional and work on two planes. Reade is being sarcastic about the aims of the demonstrators, by satirising their claim that 1) This is democracy versus oppression i.e march versus government law, using an explicit contrastive trigger – ‘against’. 2) There are two types of people involved – the honest down-to-earth country folk and the nasty urban government types. Interestingly Reade is drawing attention to constructed oppositions here. The second opposition doesn’t really have a syntactic trigger – down purely to conventional oppositions of urban / rural and ordinary, decent/spiteful.</p>	<p>CA/Mr/6/2a</p>
<p>A was X against Y. In truth A was X1 against Y1</p>	<p>illusion / truth</p>	<p>democratic uprising / desperate demonstration</p> <p>oppression of ordinary decent folk.../ imminent ban on murdering animals with dogs</p> <p>illusion / truth</p>	<p><i>IN truth it was simply a desperate demonstration against the imminent ban on murdering animals with dogs, backed by rural pressure groups after even more hand-outs, and right-wing political forces who want to see this Labour government removed. It was</i> the unspeakable in pursuit of</p>	<p>explicit contrastive</p> <p>syntactic pattern</p>	<p>illusion / truth</p> <p>sincere / cynical</p> <p>hopeful / desperate</p> <p>positive / negative</p>	<p>This just gets bigger and bigger. Missed the truth / illusion one first time around. This analysis goes with the one above (CA/M/6/2). We’ve got one thing opposed to the other OPOSED to another thing opposed to another – centring around truth / illusion and sub-categories of this i.e. that the illusion is based on pretending to be sincere, idealist and hopeful for change campaigning against something which is generally accepted as a bad thing, whereas instead in</p>	<p>CA/M/6/2b</p>

			the undemocratic.			reality it is cynical, manipulative and desperate attempt to campaign against something which is supposed to be for the better	
<p>Last time X Yesterday Y</p> <p>There was a different strategy [between X and Y]</p> <p>X had been cast aside for Y</p> <p>X was everything but Y</p>	<p>four years ago... last time / yesterday</p> <p>honest ....turn up with their horns in sporting dress...rant bile against the government... loutish aims...packs of hounds... horses... traditional red jackets / human sea of comfortable respectability... dressed in Barbours, tweeds, paisley caps caps, shirts, ties and strange red trousers</p>	<p>I was on the last Countryside Alliance march four years ago and much had changed. Last time they made the mistake of being honest.</p> <p>By encouraging hunts to turn up with their horns in sporting dress, and hold a rally in Hyde Park which allowed their odd-ball spokesmen to rant bile against the government, they had scored an own goal. Us townies had seen their loutish aims for what they were. Yesterday there was a different strategy.</p> <p>It was a human sea of comfortable respectability, dressed in Barbours, tweeds, paisley caps, shirts, ties and strange red trousers. Nowhere to be seen were the packs of hounds, or horses, or even the traditional red</p>	<p>Adverbial contrast</p> <p>explicit contrastive</p> <p>transitional</p> <p>explicit contrastive</p>	<p>past / present</p> <p>honesty / deceit</p> <p>disreputable respectable /</p> <p>work / leisure</p> <p>violent / peaceful</p> <p>traditional / modern</p>	<p>This Reade bloke is a fine utiliser of oppositions. This is one of those examples in which the collection of superordinates is extremely helpful in seeing the wood for the trees and explaining the overall thrust of the argument here.</p> <p>Basic contrast between past and present. In past, at least the hunting ban opponent were honest, wearing their traditional garb and sporting hunting horns. Now they may look respectable, peaceful and modern but it's all a sham.</p> <p>Some interesting explicit contrast markers – 'been cast aside', 'everything but', 'different strategy'.</p> <p>The dress contrast ties in nicely with the anti-war demo dress opposition which was used to show inclusivity rather than past/present dichotomy.</p>	CA/M/6/5	

			<p>jackets.</p> <p><i>They had been cast aside for the day to show this was about everything but the "H" word.</i></p>				
[that was] X. This is different. [this is] Y	that / this	economics / class war	<p>"That was economics. This is <i>different</i>. This is simply class war," he replies.</p>	explicit contrastive parallelism	rational / emotional peaceful / violent determinism / free will neutral / prejudiced	This is a good one. A very artificial distinction, as economics usually forms part of any vision of class war. However economics suggests something out of the control of human beings, having a logic of its own, whereas class war suggests the motivations of human individuals – with prejudices, and obviously the term ‘war’ implies violence on some level.	CA/M/6/9
see X as the Y [they truly are]		<p>smiling country bumpkins / bloodthirsty anarchists</p> <p>veil of deception / truly are</p>	<p>Let us <i>pull back the veil of deception</i> and see the smiling country bumpkins as the bloodthirsty anarchists they truly are.</p>	explicit contrastive	<p>peaceful / violent</p> <p>deceit / truth</p> <p>illusion / reality</p> <p>order / anarchy</p>	A novel, metaphorical way of making explicit a contrast between two states – illusion and reality. Kind of ancillary thing here in that the bumpkin/anarchist dichotomy is created through comparison between what they claim to be and what they really are – one of the main thrusts of the latter half of the article. Might be worth having an extended look at how different types of triggers can be used to make specific points, if indeed there IS any relationship here?	CA/M/6/10
A was X against Y. In truth A was X1 against Y1	illusion / truth	<p>democratic uprising / desperate demonstration</p> <p>oppression of ordinary decent folk.../ imminent ban on murdering animals with dogs</p>	<p><i>IN truth it was simply a desperate demonstration against the imminent ban on murdering animals with dogs, backed by rural pressure groups after even more hand-outs, and right-wing political</i></p>	explicit contrastive syntactic pattern	<p>illusion / truth</p> <p>sincere / cynical</p> <p>hopeful / desperate</p>	This just gets bigger and bigger. Missed the truth / illusion one first time around. This analysis goes with the one above (CA/M/6/2). We’ve got one thing opposed to the other OPPOSED to another thing opposed to another – centring around truth / illusion and sub-categories of this i.e. that the illusion is based on pretending to be	CA/M/6/2b

		illusion / truth	forces who want to see this Labour government removed. It was the unspeakable in pursuit of the undemocratic.		positive / negative	sincere, idealist and hopeful for change campaigning against something which is generally accepted as a bad thing, whereas instead in reality it is cynical, manipulative and desperate attempt to campaign against something which is supposed to be for the better	
	specific / waffle	specific... .define / waffle liberty / foot-and-mouth and the despicable Tony Blair	You ask them to be specific and it triggers the word "liberty." You ask them to define liberty and they waffle on foot-and-mouth and the despicable Tony Blair.	semantic trigger syntactic pattern? ancillary?	specific / general define / confuse general / specific	Mainly semantically triggered between specific & define / waffle. No obvious syntactic triggers despite the fact there is some syntactic patterning – ‘you ask them to be...’ which is used for synonymous rather than antonymous purposes. ‘Waffle’ is mainly a slang word for unspecified so it’s as good as a conventional opposition. Bizarrely you’ve got on the one hand liberty being treated as a specific concept in the first half, but then a general one as opposed to the specificity of foot-an-mouth!	CA/M/6/3
[that was] X. This is different. [this is] Y	that / this	economics / class war	"That was economics. This is <i>different</i> . This is simply class war ," he replies.	explicit contrastive parallelism	rational / emotional peaceful / violent determinism / free will neutral /	This is a good one. A very artificial distinction, as economics usually forms part of any vision of class war. However economics suggests something out of the control of human beings, having a logic of its own, whereas class war suggests the motivations of human individuals – with prejudices, and obviously the term ‘war’ implies violence on some	CA/M/6/9

					prejudiced level.		
x contrasted with y		professionally – produced / cobbled- together placards / banners protest groups / Notts County Supporters fierce messages / Make Love not War	Dozens of causes were represented. The professionally-produced placards of the protest groups with their fierce messages - "Blair and Bush - Wanted for Murder" - contrasted with cobbled-together banners. "Notts County supporters say Make Love Not War" , said one.	explicit contrastive	professional / amateur for / against violent / peaceful	AW/Mir/2/5	
X against y		his / ours	"So it's his conviction <i>against</i> all of ours , is it?" said Erica, shaking her head.	competition marker?/ explicit contrastive	us / them one/many for /against	Straightforward in the sense that speaker constructing an us/them scenario, except there is also a one versus many thing going on as well to demonstrate how arrogant Blair might be, in that he seems to be taking on the majority. The trigger seems to be some kind of explicit contrastive but don't know whether it could be separate sub-category as it implies not just opposition but competition?	AWIoS/4/7
X against Y		House music / war	It took more than an hour to cross the river, plenty of time to read the extraordinary array of banners, from unions, churches, mosques and "house music against war" to one that said, bizarrely, "It's the black worms working under Tony Blair's skin".	Competition marker?	Peace / war Pleasure / pain	Pleasurable activity (arguably!) contrasted with the most unpleasurable	AWIoS/4/11
X but Y x against Y		<i>Leadership / public opinion</i> us/he	Leadership is one thing <i>but</i> he's there because of us , and public opinion is massively <i>against</i> what he is doing."	contrastive competition marker	Individual / group One / many autocracy /	The us and them theme exemplified in two different opposites. Both rely on the group/public versus the individual leader, suggesting he has lost his authority	AWIoS/4/12

					democracy		
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Negated Opposition

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
not X [Y implied]		welly-booted, tweeded or flat-capped / [implied opposite]	In an era of political apathy, the sight of a vast tide of humanity - and <i>not all of them welly-booted, tweeded or flat-capped</i> - standing up to be counted was enough to put a lump in the throat of anyone who valued democracy.	negated auto-vocation	upperclass / working class rural / urban typical / non-typical	Presumably the clothes are supposed to evoke a particular stereotype of country folk. the negator 'not' counterpoises them with other types who are not named, so we have to use our imagination!	CA/T/4/1
X but Y Y not X1		killing /caught caught by hunters / other methods	"It is only the older, lazy foxes that are trouble, killing 10 lambs in a night, but it is mainly the older foxes that are caught by hunters. Other methods do not discriminate."	contrastive negative equivalence parallelism	killing / being killed hunter / hunted discriminate / indiscriminate	Trying to prove that hunting is the best way to control unruly foxes, as it is selective, compared to other non-specified ways of killing them.	CA/T/4/6
X not X		individuals / [groups or messages]	"Many of the banners go too far, attacking individuals . That is <i>not</i> the point of the march. And my mother does not like hunting, so there's a personal	negated auto-evocation	individual / social person / policy subjective / objective	The opposite of attacking individuals has to be evoked, presumably to mean, addressing the policies rather than the personalities (although saying Hi Mum hardly illustrates this!)	CA/T/4/11

			message, too."				
X not Y		colony / equal and valued part of this nation	We are not a colony, we are an equal and valued part of this nation."	negated	inequality / equality colonisers / colonised	Colonisation implies not being in control of your own land, taken over by oppressor. Implies colonisers do not value those they colonise.	CA/T/2/5
If X was X1, Y was not X1		well-heeled / [not well- heeled]	If the well-heeled of St James's were sending their best wishes, the tone of the march was not at all grand.	negative auto-evocation	upper class / lower class	Attempt to show diversity on demo and to emphasise that this wasn't solely the bleatings of the snobby country folk. Built on in next paragraph.	CA/T/1/5
no x [three times]...simply Y		speeches...rally...concert.../ disperse speeches etc / asked simply	There <i>were no speeches, no rally, no concert</i> to raise the spirits before the long journey home. Once they had passed the counting station, the marchers <i>were asked simply to disperse to allow those behind to complete the route.</i>	negative parallelism	climax / anti-climax possibility / actuality spectacular / dull	Is this stressing the hardiness and self-sacrificing nature of the protestors, who are not there for fun, but just to make their point and then allow to make theirs. So contrast is between what is implied 'might have been' (as it is in other rallies), and reality, possibly to mark it out as special compared to other protests (special in its ordinariness and unfussiness). Contrast between spectacular nature of what there was not, and what there actually was, helped by 'simply' (auto-evokes the others as 'complex'?)	CA/T/1/9
no X, just X		gift packs.. jugglers.. .clowns... computer games / long journeys... long, tiring march, and aching bones	<i>No gift packs</i> were offered to the children, <i>no jugglers or clowns</i> along the way, <i>no computer games</i> to take home - <i>just long journeys by coach or train, and a long,</i>	negative	reward / punishment pleasure / pain	(reminds me of a Wilfred Owen poem – Anthem for doomed Youth?) the three-part list of negators adds to the rhetorical effect. Builds on previous example, reinforcing stoicism of marchers – that they are doing this for serious, not trivial reasons. Also possibly a highly overgeneralised claim. How can writer know there were none of these things?	CA/T/1/ 10

			tiring, march, and aching bones				
no X for [because] Y		generalise.... cosy British social snobbery / crowds were so socially and geographically diverse	As hard as a BBC presenter might try, you could <i>not generalise about these people</i> . No cosy British social snobbery or inverted snobbery helps you out, for the crowds were so socially and geographically diverse	negated [how do we define effect of 'for?']	general / specific homogeneity / heterogeneity uniformity / diversity	This is becoming a trend in these CA texts –i.e. an emphasis on variety at the demo, avoidance of generalisation – trying to claim they are representative of British life rather than a narrow minority. The opposition consists of claim – justification (using subordinator 'for')	CA/T/1/ 12
X but not Y		smile...pass / not quite forget	' SMILE at us, pass us <i>but do not quite forget</i> , for we are the people of England who have not spoken yet.	negated contrastive	short-term / long-term acknowledge / ignore forget / remember	Using a poetic quote to call on someone (government in this case?) to acknowledge, via smiling and passing, the demo and remember it (don't forget), so interesting created opposition between smiling and remembering.	CA/M/39/1
not X but Y		walking / heading up the wheelchair brigade	I was <i>not walking, but heading up the wheelchair brigade</i> .	negated contrastive	able bodied / disabled	Uses this to try to make point that because he is old, he has seen the changes meted out to the countryside over the years	CA/M/39/8
not X but Y		fall in the hunting field /. lived long enough to remember	This is <i>not on account of anything so dashing as a fall in the hunting field</i> <i>but</i> because I have now lived long enough to remember what things were like when I was a child in the house I still live in on the	negated contrastive	dramatic / undramatic short term / long term	Linked to previous point, possibly showing both how exciting country life can be, but also that he is qualified to talk about the changes, as he has lived through them, consolidated in next paragraph when then and now contrasted. Interesting opposition between quick injury and slow deterioration of the body.	CA/M/39/9

			edge of the Chiltern Hills.				
not only X but Y		failing to support farmers etc / tell us in the country how we should conduct our lives	So urban politicians have been seen <i>not only failing to support the farmers, not only threatening to concrete over great parts of rural England, to build millions of houses for which there is no obvious need, not only to make country life doubly difficult by high petrol prices and collapsing public transport, but they are now taking it on themselves to tell us in the country how we should conduct our lives.</i>	negated contrastive of equivalence	few / many acceptable / unacceptable? only / also singular / additional gradual / sudden	To what extent does the <i>not only, but</i> construction act as an opposition trigger? It is the <i>only</i> that is being negated, not the phrases after it. So we have a contrast between <i>only</i> and <i>also</i> ? the additional info after <i>also</i> it is implied is unexpected (in this case unwelcome). There's also a contrast between passively and slowly imposing its will on the countryside and a sudden quick-fix law.	CA/M/39/17
A has X A has no Y		the right to roam / no responsibility	<i>Ramblers are given the right to roam</i> over a countryside which <i>they have no responsibility for looking after.</i>	negator equivalence?	rights / restrictions responsibility / no responsibility give / take	Interesting! An equivalence here in that both sets of conditions apply to the ramblers, but there is a higher level contrast between those two conditions i.e they 'take' rights, but don't 'take' responsibility – ie. they don't give anything back, so gives impression the urban folk are draining the countryside of its resources	CA/M/39/12

A never X A Y and little X		seen chickens and lambs slaughtered / eat the product of abattoirs	Those in favour of the measure have, presumably, never seen their chickens and lambs slaughtered by foxes. They eat the product of abattoirs, put up with such excessive cruelty as battery hens, kosher and halal butchery and, in many cases, have little knowledge or sympathy with life in the country.	Negated auto-evocation equivalence	seeing / not seeing passive / active tolerance / intolerance cruelty / kindness process / end product	More implied stuff through equivalence – not seeing but eating. Process of foxes killing lambs seen as equivalent to worst excesses of butchery. Implies that the slaughter of animals by traditional methods is kinder than both what foxes do and that of other cultures. Equivalence based on a huge presupposition about those who support the bill. Modality important here (although slightly qualified by ‘presumably’). Sympathy with life in the country also seen as equivalent to being against chickens and lambs being slaughtered by foxes.	CA/M/39/16
This was not X, this was Y		march / phenomenon show of strength / phenomenon	<i>This was not</i> simply a march or a show of strength. This was a phenomenon - the biggest civil liberties protest in British history.	Negator Parallelism	ordinary / extraordinary	Comparing standard march with this march to emphasise its uniqueness, on a semantic dimension of ‘strength’	CA/M/2/1
X not (much) Y	great deal of / not much	great deal of / not much whooping /	Off they set to a pipe band, a great deal of whooping, not	syntactic parallelism negated?	presence / absence loud / quiet?	Two types of sound contrasted – much of that deemed acceptable, presumably because it is quieter, as opposed to less of what is	CA/M/2/6

		horn blowing	<i>much horn blowing</i> (for fear of alienating city folk) and huge applause from the thousands marching in the other direction towards the start.	ancillary	acceptable / unacceptable	unacceptably loud. There is a typical negator <i>not</i> but this is qualified by <i>much</i> , so although the whooping and horn blowing are being presented as opposites, there is not a total absence of sound so not at the end of a noise level semantic dimension	
X not Y		hunting / falconers, shooters, farriers, jockeys, schooldgirls and actors	This occasion was <i>not</i> exclusively about hunting . I met falconers, shooters, farriers, jockeys, schoolgirls and actors , all convinced that the countryside is being marginalised, patronised and, generally, neglected.	negated	homogeneity / heterogeneity single / varied	One activity being counterpoised to other professions to show that the demo has broad appeal, possibly to reject any accusations that this was a demo made up purely of the people who's livelihoods may be threatened. Same semantic dimension – 'occupations'	CA/M/2/ 11
X should.... except Y [isn't]		toff / runs a garage and is master of the Banwen Miners' Hunt	As a master of foxhounds, he <i>should</i> slot easily into the file marked T for toff . <i>Except</i> that he runs a garage and is master of the Banwen Miners' Hunt .	a version of negated antonymy?	upper class / working class/ perception / reality	Attempt to smash potential illusion that those involved in hunting are purely aristocracy, running a garage and being involved in Miner's organisation <i>implies</i> he is working class.	CA/M/2/ 13
This X not just .....er than that Y, also .....er than the last Y		This protest / the last Countryside Alliance protest	This protest was <i>not just substantially larger than the</i>	comparative negative	small /large passive / aggressive	Arguing that this demo is both quantitatively and qualitatively more effective than previous one – using comparatives to show it is	CA/M/2/ 14

		larger / more combative	last Countryside March of 1998. It was also notably more combative.		past / present quantity / quality	bigger and more combative. Backed up in the next paragraph.	
X were...Y were not For every X, Y not		These people... minority... every person marching / 150 marching / not [marching]	These people streaming as far as the eye could see <i>were</i> , obviously, a minority . For every person marching yesterday, 150 were not .	negative parallelism	active / passive presence / absence small / large one / many	Showing that in the big scheme of things the demo may not be big enough to trouble the govt (backed up by next sentence). The demo is small compared to the population of Great Britain ie 400,000 x 150 = 60 million!	CA/M/2/ 16
however X, Y [will happen] X, if Y [consequences] X not Y		size of yesterday's protests / hardly any of those... would vote Labour anyway hardly any of those... would vote Labour / public opinion could be made to turn against him / that	<i>However</i> startling the size of yesterday's protests , the Government will simply reason that hardly any of those who turned out would vote Labour anyway . <i>If</i> Mr Blair felt that public opinion could be made to turn against him , he would quickly seek to treat the problems identified by the marchers. He does <i>not</i> yet believe that ;	concessive conditional concessive? negated	expected / unexpected big / small trustworthy / cynical actual / hypothetical disbelieve / believe	'However' is acting in similar manner to 'despite' (as opposed to in a contrastive sense) – ie we expect a big demo to bring a result. But the implication is that Labour are cynically only pandering to their own voting constituency, hence the number of people that matter is minor. This is consolidated in the next sentence, which contrasts with the assumption that public opinion is still on Blair's side. In an ideal world, Blair would feel that pressure and be forced to do something about it. The 'if' works as a conditional, i.e. there would have to be certain conditions in place for this to happen and they are contrasted with the actual conditions. This is added to be the last sentence in which the journalist claims Blair thinks these conditions have not arrived.	CA/M/44/2

<p>whether or not X, Y [happened]</p> <p>X not Y</p>		<p>not achieve anything/ succeeded impressively in mobilising the self-styled minority</p> <p>mobilising the self-styled minority / cast off the perception....itwas an outing for toffs</p>	<p><i>Whether or not</i> it will achieve anything, the Liberty march succeeded impressively in its aim of mobilising the self-styled minority. What it did <i>not</i> quite cast off was the perception that, as distinct from the simultaneous Livelihood march, it was an outing for toffs.</p>	<p>tentative (projected?/ potential/ negation</p> <p>negated</p>	<p>fail / achieve</p> <p>uncertainty / certainty</p> <p>success / failure</p> <p>sincere / pretentious</p> <p>perceived / actual</p>	<p>Another new category – one half of the pair expresses uncertainty and the other certainty. This emphasises the positive qualities of the thing under description but poses only a potential opposite. Does this act bit like ‘while’ with ‘may’ – a concessive? Some kind of modality thing going on here? The second opposition is between the success of the mobilisation whilst casting doubt on its effectiveness in terms of self-presentation, so its may look impressive but not in the way that the demonstrators might want it to the general public/media.</p>	<p>CA/I/5/3</p>
<p>X. If not [X], Y [happens]</p>		<p>based on evidence.... Just... rights of local communities / countryside erupt in fury</p>	<p>"What we are saying is that we want government legislation on hunting to be clearly based on the evidence, to be just and to recognise the rights of local communities," said John Jackson, chairman of the Countryside Alliance. <i>If</i> it was <i>not</i>, he warned: "I think the countryside will erupt in fury."</p>	<p>negatable conditional alternative?</p>	<p>cause / effect</p> <p>satisfied / dissatisfied</p> <p>calm / furious</p> <p>action / inaction</p>	<p>To what extent are potential alternatives built into conditionals? Is the ‘not’ essential for an intrinsic alternative to be suggested? The opposition here is based around cause and effect – if this doesn’t happen, this follows, in this case acting as a warning, threat. One action is contrasted with a potential consequence of that lack of action consequence</p>	<p>CA/G/4/3</p>

X not Y	unity / division	unity / division	"The Government was elected to create unity in this country and <i>not create division</i> ."	negated semantic parallelism	unity / division	A pure form of opposition in which the semantic/syntactic/subordinate triggers are all on the same plane – typically rhetorical as coming from Labour MP Kate Hoey. The second of the pair is unnecessary in that it doesn't change the meaning. Becomes tautological, but of course used for emphasis.	CA/S/4/7
It is not X, it is Y		does / way it goes about it	<i>It isn't</i> so much what this government does, it is the way it goes about it.	negated syntactic patterning	content / style function / form	Treading a fine line between moderate and outright criticism of the govt as the Sun still backing Labour at this stage, but not wanting to alienate its country supporters, so differentiating supporting govt policies against being critical of the methods by which those policies are carried out – the cliché is basically 'it ain't what you do, it's the way that you do it...'	CA/S/8/1
X is not A. Y is A	Yes / No	hunting...foxes / schools.... hospitals	And why does Blair feel the need to ban hunting ? It is <i>not</i> an issue our 10 million readers list among their top five worries. Schools? YES! Hospitals? YES! Foxes? NO!	negated semantic	unimportant / important negative / affirmative	Contrasting two sets of issues – those which it implies are unimportant with those it assumes it readers will agree are much more important – assumption partly based on the fact it states these are the priorities of its readership. Cleverly mentions 10 million readers, as if all of them have been consulted to form this top five worries list. A very specifically focussed form of constructed opposite in that it makes the top five somehow special, so that even if it was number six it would still imply that it wouldn't be worth worrying about, even if there was a fraction of difference between that and number five in the results poll (if there ever was one).	CA/S/8/3

A not X, A is Y X yet Y		toffs / real ... hard-working... genuine people real... hard-working... genuine people / ignore them all	It is trying to settle old scores by taking on " the toffs. " <i>But the</i> countryside marchers were <i>not toffs</i> - they were real people, hard working people, genuine people. <i>Yet</i> New Labour thinks it can ignore them all.	negated concessive	false / genuine unreal / real lazy / hardworking posh / down-to earth acknowledge / ignore	Funny how the Sun imposes a category on Labour which is one they would usually use! Accusing Labour of stereotyping, and in doing so reinforces a stereotype which they then contrast with the classic consensus of what constitutes an ordinary person. The concessive opposition works by assuming we would expect these ordinary people to not be ignored.	CA/S/8/4
[It was] no longer about X [it was] about Y		Listen to Us / Fear Us	That's another thing which had changed. It was no longer about Listen To Us, it was about Fear Us.	negated comparative?	listen / ignore protect / threaten democracy / oppression	Interesting contrast between fear and listen. The bridge between the two I think is that a democracy is supposed not to rule by fear, and people are listened to whereas opposite is the case in an oppressive state. So Reade arguing that the tone of the protests becomes much more sinister. It's refreshing to see it isn't purely the left who are accused of 'extremism' in the national press.	CA/M/6/7
X not Y		want it banned / understand hunting	"Those who want it banned don't understand hunting	negated	banned / authorised want / dislike emotional / rational	Not sure how much mileage in this. Is there a contrast here between wanting and understanding, and therefore emotion and rational responses? Probably	CA/M/6/8
X not Y	they / us	they / us [who belong to a different planet]	Let us show them that it is they, not us, who belong to a different planet.	negated semantic trigger	them / us alien / human realist /	Completes a three part list of rhetorical imperatives at end of article. Trying to create classic them/us distinction with readership who he clearly aligns with	CA/M/6/11

					deluded	supporters of the ban, and reinforces that by assuming they agree with his construction of society into those who support fox-hunting and are deluded alien types, whilst opponents of hunting are humanist/realists!	
x not y		tea / war	"Make tea , <i>not war</i> ," proclaimed another, over a picture of the Prime Minister with a gun in his hand and a teapot on his head	negated	peace / war		AW/Mir/2/6
X but little Y not X, Y		talked...passed the odd remark / frivolity high spirits / serious business	People talked to friends, passed the odd remark to strangers <i>but</i> there was <i>little frivolity</i> . High spirits were <i>not</i> the order of the day. This was serious business .	negated contrastive negated	serious / frivolous		AW/Mir/2/8
X not Y, X		cobbled-together student thesis..... desperate argument.... / moral high ground	We cannot go to war, and ask our own soldiers to die, based on a cobbled-together student thesis, a few shell cases and disputed evidence about missile launch sites . That is <i>not</i> the moral high ground. That smacks of a vain	negator	immoral / moral amateur / professional desperate / calm		AW/Mir/14/5

			attempt to shore up an increasingly desperate argument by power politicians beginning to feel the heat from the people who put them there.				
not X yet Y not X, Y		freedom fighter....sell a pacifist cause / movement has taken off...organised people with clear aims reissued set of hoary peaceniks / organised people with clear aims	They have no great freedom fighter to support ; only Saddam. You could not sell washing powder on that basis, let alone a pacifist cause that may crush a Prime Minister. Yet the movement has taken off and its subscribers, on yesterday's evidence, are <i>not</i> a reissued set of hoary peaceniks . These are organised people with clear aims	concessive negative	passive / active dull / inspirational disorganised / organised chaos / order not credible / credible unfocussed / focussed	Two sets of opposites. First contrasts unexpected organised nature and strength of revolt with fact there seems to have been no obvious leadership. While one thing has happened the opposite of what would be expected has happened. Second example compares the kind of stereotype of a protestor expected, implying in the past peace demonstrators were a bit disorganised, whereas this lot are not. Seems to imply that often today's demonstrators wouldn't usually be peace-loving? Discuss!	AW/Ob/4/6
not x, y		march / invasion	It <i>wasn't</i> a march , it was an invasion – central London taken over by a	negator syntactic pattern	expected / unexpected weak / strong	Could this be a good example of disintegration or deblending? You've a body of people which conventionally is called a march but the writer has decided to represent it	AWIoS/4/2

			million or more peace-lovers			a different way, so it is split between what was expected and what we actually got. But of course in actuality it is a march which only metaphorically might be like an invasion. So the body of people is both a march and an invasion at the same time i.e. equivalent to each other, whilst the writer privileges the invasion 'frame' (single scope network?). Tricky one though as this is a matter of representation. It is what it is, but then F & T would put this in the Single scope network category. Invasions suggest domination and the march may be a step in the process towards invasion, so march is a bit like a hyponym of invasion, which means it could also actually be a bit like a simplex network! (a blend of simplex and single-scope networks).	
X not y		Clotted cream / ruptured spleen	The family took ages to get out of the station at Waterloo, walking behind a huge, stately puppet of George Bush and a placard belonging to a group called Cornish Ravers that said: " Clotted cream <i>not</i> ruptured spleen "	negator	Peace / war Unified / disrupted Pleasant / unpleasant	An interesting variation on the 'Make Love not War' slogan – a very unusual opposition working partly through phonological similarity. However there is a contrast between what they represent as indexes of rural idyll and chaos and horror of war.	AWIoS/4/8

Negated Contrastive

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
X but not Y		lands / us	Jones, who lives in Hertfordshire and shoots, said: "The message we want to give to the Government is that they can walk over our lands but they can't walk over us.	negated contrastive parallelism	passive / defiant non- human / human	The contrast between 'lands' and 'us' is only possible because of the idiomatic use of 'walk over' in the second half. Nevertheless contrast between defiance and passivity quite effective. People can fight back, land can't.	CA/T/4/8
X but not Y		shoot and fish / countryside might not be there	"I shoot and fish ; my boy is 11, he shoots and fishes , <i>but</i> the countryside might not be there for my boy <i>if</i> we don't come here and march and tell the Government how strongly we feel.	negated contrastive	present / future presence / absence	Contrast what happens now and what will be cancelled if no action taken	CA/T/4/9
not X but Y		dismiss feelings / ask question 'what's it all about?'	He said: "I certainly don't want to dismiss either the scale or the feelings of the people who were on this march, but do have to ask the question, What's it all about?	negated contrastive ancillary parallelism	want / not want focussed / unfocussed emotional / rational dismiss / welcome	Minister using his want and don't want as opposites to trigger contrast between having a genuine feeling and it actually being based on something genuinely focussed. Or is he contrasting being compassionate with being logical – this is a good example of how you need prototypes to explain how the opposition might work.	CA/T/2/1
not X but Y		not certain / no doubts	"I think the countryside will erupt in fury. What form that fury will take I'm not certain , <i>but I have no doubts</i> about the depth and intensity of the fury you will see.	negated contrastive	certainty / doubt	Quote from chief exec of CA – disguised threat?	CA/T/2/4
X but not Y		Camilla Parker Bowles / Major Bruce Shand QC	PRINCE Charles may have forbidden his companion Camilla Parker Bowles from attending yesterday's march,	negated contrastive	daughter / father young / old	Camilla being counterpoised to her father, based on the fact that she is married to a royal person, so her father is 'an important person on the demo' by	CA/T/3/1

		forbidden / no restrictions	<i>but no</i> such restrictions were to be placed on her 84-year-old father, Major Bruce Shand MC.		restricted / unrestricted	implication. Implies that Camilla still wanted to go, so has backing from the highest places.	
X but no Y more x than Y		hundred anti-hunting protestors / marchers yelling abuse and banging drums / no trouble bemused / offended	Perhaps a hundred anti-hunting protestors had gathered in Parliament Square, yelling abuse and banging drums , <i>but</i> there was no trouble , and the marchers seemed <i>more bemused than offended</i> by the occasional shouts of "Go home, scum".	negated contrastive comparative auto-evocation	anti-hunting / pro-hunting noise / peace aggression/passivity mild reaction / strong reaction	Describing actions of antis and comparing them with the dignified reaction of marchers. May be an implication that anti-hunters bring trouble because of the contrast with the reaction of the marchers. The latter's bemusement as opposed to being offended may be to show how they refuse to take bait?	CA/T/1/8
X but not X		kill/not permit it	He'd kill them if he could <i>but</i> the modern nanny state will not permit it.	negated contrastive	permit / deny	Simple choice between being allowed or not allowed to do something. As I should also be looking at gradability, this is either a one or the other choice (he is talking about badgers).	CA/M/4/1
not X but Y		violence / civil dissent	There might <i>not</i> have been violence <i>but</i> civil dissent is not far below the surface.	negated contrastive	violence / peace uncivilised / civilised illegitimate / legitimate	Making the point that civil dissent is legitimate and doesn't necessarily involve violence, however is there the implication here that there is a fine line between the two – the low modality of 'might not' and 'not far below the surface'? Dissent implies challenging the legitimacy of the rulers. Something new is emerging which in certain circumstances and contexts MAY result in violence but not amongst this lot, because they wouldn't stoop to this.	CA/M/4/5
not X but Y		not make it / there in spirit	Another 70,000 had registered with the organisers to say they could not make it but were 'there in spirit'.	negated contrastive Equivalence	absence / presence physical/spiritual	A relationship of equivalence? in that there are those who are there and not there at the same time. The rhetorical value of this is to emphasise that there were even more people who wanted to go than actually made it.	CA/M/2/2
x but not Y		enjoying/ ignore	As for the Prime Minister himself, he was enjoying a	negated contrastive	peace / conflict	Possibly portraying Blair as burying his head in the sand by surveying and	CA/M/2/3

		quiet weekend / scale of the fight	quiet weekend in the country at Chequers, with its 1,000 acres and wonderful views of the Chilterns. <i>But he cannot ignore the scale of the fight</i> that he is picking with this lot.	parallelism	tranquillity / disturbance awareness / obliviousness	enjoying the very countryside that people are fighting for. Blair therefore portrayed as being oblivious to the conflict around him	
X vanished Y [takes its place] not only X but Y		boisterous bonhomie / respectful silence signs / silence monitors only / [also]	And then, suddenly, all that boisterous bonhomie vanished as the procession approached the Cenotaph. <i>Not only</i> did signs ask marchers to observe a respectful silence for 'The Glorious Dead' <i>but</i> silence monitors moved among the crowds pointing at the word 'silence' on their chests.	transitional negated cumulative contrastive? auto-evocation	good humoured / serious noise /silence inanimate / animate few / many	Straightforward noise versus silence contrast using a transitional trigger. Used by writer to emphasise the respectful and compliant nature of the protestors. More interesting is the way the <i>not only..but</i> construction works. The negator contrasts the static signs with the moving stewards, emphasizing contrast between one and more than one method of controlling noise levels. The adverb <i>only</i> makes <i>not</i> refer to the quantity of methods (i.e. signs being one method), not the signs themselves, so there is a cumulative equivalence effect rather than a contrast between methods – need a term for this – negated cumulative contrastive? bah!	CA/M/2/8
No X but Y		Camilla Parker-Bowles/ ex-husband Andrew son, Tom	No sign of Camilla Parker Bowles <i>but</i> her ex-husband, Andrew , was up near the front of the Liberty crowd as was their son, Tom .	negated contrastive	absence / presence husband / wife mother / son	Is this a dig at Camilla? She has to be mentioned so as to be able to add her ex-husband to the list of worthies who attended the demo. Perhaps his identity is only important as that of a relationship with the Charles new wife. The opposition is between being absent or present at the demo. Emphasises to Mail readers the respectability of the demo.	CA/M/2/ 10
never X but Y		never hunted / hunting focal point / nebulous most /	Most had never hunted . <i>But</i> if Parliament wants to make hunting the focal point of this nebulous sense of unhappiness , so be it.	negated contrastive	Experienced/ inexperienced General / specific protestors /	Opposition between those whose grievance is greater than just the hunting issue and what the govt is trying to turn it into. Again, complex interweaving of at least three oppositional concepts to express a condensed idea. Function is to show	CA/M/2/ 12

		Parliament			government	that 1) Govt out of touch with issues 2) Demo is concerned with a lot more than just hunting 3) Challenge to govt that hunting bill will still be challenged, despite wider grievances	
X not X1 but Y....Y1		Mr Blair's pollsters / his Home Secretary and chief constables feel unduly troubled / be very worried	Mr Blair's pollsters might <i>not</i> feel unduly troubled by it all. <i>But</i> his Home Secretary and chief constables should be very worried indeed.	negated contrastive parallelism	worried / unworried non-powerful / powerful analysts / practitioners no threat future /present	Contrasts those who predict the future and the apparent lack of threat to Blair, with very real current challenge to the govt itself. Interesting opposition between those who stand on the outside analysing and actual practitioners	CA/M/2/ 17
not X in the way that Y		ethnic minority / supporters of hunting	The Prince was reported to have complained that the Prime Minister would <i>not</i> have dared to attack an ethnic minority in the way that supporters of hunting were being persecuted.	negated comparative?	supported / persecuted defended / attacked	This is a great one! There is a new category – negated comparative – i.e it uses the negator 'not' but makes a more explicit comparison between the pair (I think!). Also fascinating that an 'ethnic minority' is being treated as the benchmark by which to judge levels of persecution, with this category at the non-persecuted end of the scale! Implication that ethnic minorities being given preferential treatment. Does this mean you can't both be a supporter of hunting and an ethnic minority?	CA/I/4/4
not X, Y		hunting / other issues	The point is that the people <i>don't want to talk about hunting</i> , they <i>want to talk about all the other issues that are affecting them</i> .	negated syntactic parallelism ancillaries?	individual / collective one / many irrelevant / relevant	Same point as above except more categorical about lack of interest in hunting itself. Uses syntactic patterning. NB: this could be expressed as a negated contrastive 'don't want to talk about hunting but about all the other....', but the parallelism has a stronger rhetorical effect, and negates the need for the 'but' (which would sound clumsy	CA/I/4/6

						if included as well.	
X not Y	unity / division	unity / division	The Government was elected to <i>create</i> unity in this country and <i>not to create</i> division ."	negated semantic trigger syntactic parallel	unity / division	One of the 'purest' examples yet! (Quote from Kate Hoey, Minister in favour of hunting) We have semantic trigger which conforms to the superordinate, a classic negator and a parallelism. Perhaps the rhetorical nature of this, as spoken by an experienced politician is one of the reasons. The inclusion of the opposite of unity, which one would assume is the opposite thanks to the trigger anyway is purely for rhetorical effect and also emphasises the propaganda point that the government may be being divisive.	CA/I/4/7
X but not Y		different opinions / not listening ...to people's views	Charles Kennedy, the Liberal Democrat leader, speaking from Brighton where his party was gathering for its annual conference, said that the issue of hunting was one in which there were different opinions in all political parties . <i>But</i> he added: "The Government is not listening nearly enough to people's views and we will continue to press them."	negated contrastive	speaking / listening	A classic bland Kennedyism! Fence-sitter! It is a bland opposition between people expressing / articulating opinions i.e. by speaking (or indeed writing) and people listening....	CA/I/4/8
not X but Y		march / flog whistles	DAVID JENNET arrived at Hyde Park Corner shortly after 9am yesterday, not to march, but to flog whistles for a pound each	negated contrastive	participate / observe principled / unprincipled knowledgable / ignorant	Quite hard to find a superordinate here. Whether the writer wants to portray the whistle-seller as unprincipled is hard to ascertain. However the following sentence does portray him as participating purely to make money out of a cause, like a mercenary. As this is the Independent we are not quite getting the positive spin that glows around the <i>Telegraph</i> and <i>Mail</i> . These are of course artificial binaries, as it would be possible to march and sell whistles.....	CA/I/5/1
not X but Y		the ride / walking into a taxi door	Andrew German, who led the four-day South and West Wilts hunt's ride into London, had	negated contrastive	expected / unexpected	Opposites work as part of a choice of adverbials, an expectation set up that the injury has come from his four day	CA/G/5/1

			injured himself. <i>Not on the ride, but by walking into a taxi door at 5am after a night of pre-march partying</i>		serious / trivial	trek, and then subverted by the revelation that it has come from a more frivolous partying incident, which may have the effect of deflating the seriousness with which the reader may have perceived the marchers. The specific dimension on which the oppositions lie is 'ways in which you can injure yourself', but the oppositions themselves are based around the superordinates in the previous column rather than the specifics of the injuries.	
X except Y		any death / its own [death]	Hunting knows how to deal with any death - <i>except</i> of course its own	negated contrastive	many / one general / specific literal / metaphorical cope / mismanage	At moment am putting the trigger 'except' in negated contrastive category as in a sense it seems to go with 'not' although its function IS slightly different – it suggests inclusivity with an element of exclusivity – i.e. the member of the oppositional pair it is attached to. It also acts a bit like 'but' and can be substituted for 'but not'. What is the difference in nuance? 'Except' has more connotations of 'exception' (obviously!) in that it seems to put added emphasis on the exception. Need some more examples I like the literal/metaphorical distinction.	CA/G/5/3
X, Y polarised X no more less ... than Y X on the other hand Y	two sides	two sides activities with dogs / other ways of dealing with it activities with dogs / cannot go on as we always have done go on as we have always	He added: "A lot of people have recognised that the two sides have become too <i>polarised</i> . Activities with dogs may be <i>no more cruel</i> , or actually <i>less cruel</i> , than other ways of dealing with it . <i>On the other hand</i> , people are saying we cannot just go on as we always have done . <i>But</i> that doesn't necessarily mean accepting the 'middle way' option."	explicit contrastive comparative explicit contrastive negated contrastive	one side / other side cruelty / compassion current / alternative stability / change	Fantastic – one of the richest examples yet. All interlinked. Some kind of metalinguistic thing going on here, linked to the previous example. Spoken by Alun Michael, minister for Rural Affairs. Makes explicit the concept of two sides – ie utility v cruelty, and for the first time so far the XY opposites are textually instantiated in the same phrase – recognises that there is a third way. Second eg is comparing alleged lack of cruelty with other alternatives. Third – <i>on the other hand</i> , again an explicit contrastive of sorts, proposes there is an alternative to sticking with the	CA/G/4/7

X but not Y		done / middle way option				status quo, i.e. activities with dogs? SO he is on the one hand recognising that hunting may not be that bad, but bad enough for there to be a change – classic middle-of-the-road stuff. The last example contrasts the need for change with what that change might mean	
X but [not] Y	members / non-members	members' guests – women, children, and, in one instance, even dogs/ non-members	The venerable institutions lining Pall Mall and St James's had thrown out the rulebook by opening on a Sunday, and by permitting members' guests - women, children, and, in one instance, even dogs - to enter their premises. But they were damned if they were going to go so far as to allow non-members to cross their polished thresholds.	negated contrastive	members / non-members democratic / elitist inclusive / exclusive	A version of the negated contrastive in that 'were damned if' stands in for 'not'. Continues train of thought from last para. So dogs become opposite to (and privileged to) people who aren't members of this exclusive club. Emphasising the exclusivity of the club by contrasting it a list of those who were allowed in.	CA/G/5/2
not X but Y		babes in arms / members	"We don't want babes in arms, but we're looking after members on what's a special occasion," said Simon Allen, the Royal Automobile Club's general manager	negated contrastive	non-members / members children / adults	You can be a member but don't hold a baby at the same time!	CA/G/5/7
[doing] A if X [not] Y	women / men	women and children / men	"And, yes, we're helping [non-members] with the loo if they're women and children. " He sniffed. "It's easier for the men out there." <i>But</i> at the Oxford and Cambridge, there was no flexibility.	conditional	women / men difficult / easy vulnerable / safe	Standard distinction between men and women, in this case distinguished owing to ability to go to the toilet!	CA/G/5/8
X but no Y		helping non-members with the loo / flexibility		negated contrastive	flexible / inflexible	Simply implying that allowing people to go to the loo is being flexible as opposed to those that aren't. But the implied flexibility of the first pub is only partial as they've distinguished between those whose needs are greatest and those	

						that aren't.	
X not A, but Y is A		foot-and-mouth / attitude towards the farmers...late moving of the general election date	Foot-and-mouth was <i>not</i> Blair's fault. <i>But the attitude towards the farmers - and the late moving of the General Election date</i> - was.	negated contrastive ancillary?	blameless / at fault events / human actions	Contrasting two kinds of political events – that which was out of anyone's control, i.e. the spread of a disease, with that of human volition – there's a kind of fundamental material/ideal or determinism/free will binary here which may express the superordinate concept? Both connected ancillary style by whether it was or was not Blair's fault, which actually does correlate to the idea of being in control – all part of this Sun balancing act of critical support for Labour.	CA/S/8/2
more X but less Y X but Y	more / less	support / interference left alone / be ignored	They wanted more government support but less government interference; to be left alone but not to be ignored.	contrastive negated contrastive	more / less support		CA/FT/3/2
A was X but nowhere near as Y Gone were the Xs, however X [exist]		buoyant ... / noisy... mass tally-ho horns.. rabble-rousing...loud threats	THE crowds were buoyant but nowhere near as noisy as the last one. <i>Gone</i> were the mass tally-ho horns, the rabble-rousing, the loud threats to bring down the government and the homophobic rants to loud applause. <i>However</i> scratch below the Barbour jacket and you could easily find them. Roger Wadsworth, a 52-year-old from Kent, told me he was marching for the freedom to hunt and shoot.	negated contrastive? or comparative? contrastive	quiet / noisy peaceful / violent absence / presence illusion / reality	Continuing the comparison between past and present. The trigger seems to be more of a comparative than contrastive despite use of 'but'. However it does have a sense of explicit contrastiveness to it too. Not sure how these things matter. 'Gone' seems more of an explicit contrast between past and present. All of this is of course continuing the idea that this is all a charade anyway as the conditions which made the former noisier are still there. The 'however' is there to contrast the illusion created by the relative peace and the costumes, with the reality of what is there under the surface.	CA/M/6/6
not X but Y		The Mob...thoughts of violence / sheer power of numbers	In years gone by, governments were always wary of what they called The Mob . Governments should still be frightened, very	negated contrastive	violence / peace small / large (numbers)		AW/Mir/2/1

			frightened. <i>Not</i> by thoughts of violence ...but by the sheer power of numbers.				
X, not Y but X		worried mums and dads.....people... .genuine feeling / traitors or cowards.... faint-hearts	Worried mums and dads of all ages, all races and religions. Not traitors or cowards. Not faint-hearts. But people who had come to express a genuine feeling they cannot ignore - that the Prime Minister is wrong.	negated contrastive	parents / childless people traitor/ loyal cowardly / brave fake/ genuine		AW/Mir/2/4
X but little Y not X, Y		talked...passed the odd remark / frivolity high spirits / serious business	People talked to friends, passed the odd remark to strangers <i>but</i> there was <i>little</i> frivolity . High spirits were <i>not</i> the order of the day. This was serious business .	negated contrastive negated	serious / frivolous		AW/Mir/2/8
X but not Y		extremists / Joe Public	"I know there are extremists here whose opinions I disagree with, <i>but</i> they could <i>not</i> summon this number of people. This is Joe Public ."	negated contrastive	extreme / moderate		AW/Mir/2/10
X but nothing like Y		protest marches / yesterday's turnout	Britain is used to protest marches , <i>but</i> we have seen <i>nothing like</i> yesterday's turnout	negated contrastive	past / present small / large		AW/Mir/14/2
X but not Y		pay lip service / change his mind	Tony Blair will pay lip service to the People's Protest <i>but</i> it will <i>not</i> change his mind	negated contrastive	physical / mental illusion / reality		AW/Mir/14/4
X but not Y		evil....better off without him / moral case	The marchers yesterday do not doubt that Saddam is evil . They do not doubt the world would be better off without him . <i>But</i> the moral case must be proved to be just, right, honest and	negated contrastive	evil / good immoral / moral dishonest / honest		AW/Mir/14/6

			unanswerable. And in all conscience it has <i>not been made.</i>				
not x but Y		hot-headed anarchists / really must be heard	"Gracious, look at us, we're <i>not</i> exactly hot-headed anarchists ," said Gill, 52, wrapped in her sensible tartan scarf. " <i>But</i> there comes a time when you have to say, 'Dear me, we really must be heard. '"	negated contrastive	extremist / moderate sensible / rash irrational / rational unprincipled / principled	Differentiating themselves from anarchists but at the same time wanting to perform the same action	AW/SM/6/1
not X but Y		been on a protest march ....that sort of thing / found himself marching behind a black anarchist flag...	Guy Butler had never been on a protest march before in his life. Finance directors from the Surrey broker belt <i>don't</i> do that sort of thing; but yesterday he found himself marching behind a black anarchist flag in the middle of a vast crowd of angry people who were chanting anti-government slogans	negated contrastive	past/present passive/active expected /unexpected conservative / radical	This is similar to the CA example whereby Londoners support a rural march and a rural/urban dichotomy is simultaneously set up and broken down. His being a finance director, we infer that they don't generally participate in anti-government marches. In terms of blending theory perhaps we have one organising frame i.e. a march against the war, except that one input space has finance directors and the other doesn't (a Mirror network), but also has elements of a single scope network in that the frame WITH finance directors is the one projected to organise the blend? What these kinds of oppositions do is to remind or trigger a potential scenario which would be expected, and then instantly break the stereotype to show that opposite has happened, and emphasise the unusualness (and therefore newsworthiness) of the situation.	AWIoS/4/1
not x but y		badge of honour / price of conviction	Speaking directly to the marchers from the Labour conference platform in Scotland, Mr Blair said he did <i>not</i> wear unpopularity like a	negated contrastive	proud / ashamed resolve / uncertainty	Mmm...he is justifying unpopularity. The badge of honour is a metaphor (index?) of an award, a conventional opposite of that being booby prize. So if he had not included the 'but' clause it may have	AWIoS/4/6

			badge of honour <i>but it was the price of conviction</i>		award / booby prize price / reward receive/ give	been interpreted as 'I am not proud of being unpopular', so he doesn't want to imply he is ashamed of the unpopularity so he has to put in an unconventional opposite which acts as the equivalent. Honour and conviction could be seen as equivalents in they are something to be proud of, which unpopularity often might not be. The badge of honour is a reward and the conviction is the cost. He's trying to say that he's not receiving anything from it but that he is giving the country the positive quality of his conviction. Lot trickier to explain than it looks. All to do with the representation of unpopularity and the two possible frames we might have – a single scope network? As the latter is privileged and used as the frame he wants us to go with – pride versus principle?	
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Replacive

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
X rather than Y		support the Bill / amend it to an unqualified ban	Mr Michael said later that he would be clearer when he had spoken to fellow Labour MPs at the party conference about whether the message of the march would make them more likely to support the Bill he was drawing up, rather than voting to amend it to an unqualified ban as they had before.	explicit contrastive? Quirk – a replacive conjunct	support / disapprove maintain / amend	According to Quirk (p671) – <i>rather</i> expresses an <i>alternative</i> to what has preceded it. Could we call it a <i>replacive</i> ? Some kind of choice implied in 'rather'?	CA/T/2/3
X rather than Y		forum / council	He urged the alliance to help the Government make the forum a success, rather than "diverting energy" into a new rural council.	replacive?	useful / useless success / failure economical / uneconomical	Implies the new 'rural council' will be a failure by contrasting it with the potential success of the Rural Affairs Forum	CA/T/2/8
more to X rather than Y		tender feelings / stand ... point of principle	To my mind, Channel 4's draconian action owes <i>more</i> to the tender feelings of media luvvies rather than a stand on a point of principle	comparative replacive	emotional / rational subjective / objective	Having a dig at cautious approach of Ch 4 and reasons for banning coverage of demo – undermining their claims by satirising the types who work there.	CA/T/11/2
X rather than Y		weeks / months	He predicted his plans would be published "in weeks rather than months " and that the divisive issue could finally be settled within a year.	replacive (preferential?) contrastive	short-term / long-term	Rhetoric from Labour minister trying to show that they are working at speed.	CA/I/4/1
X rather than Y		licensing system /	There has been speculation that Mr Michael may propose	replacive contrastive	moderate / extreme	Why is it that only two choices are given I wonder? Is there no other alternative to	CA/G/4/5

		outright ban	introducing a licensing system <i>rather than an outright ban in certain areas.</i>		sanction / ban	these two?	
no X, Y			There were <i>no</i> boos for the old warlord, nor even for the Foreign Office , as we passed by. Venom was reserved for Downing Street - not that anyone got near	replacive	past/ present us / them		AW/Mir/2/9
more about X than Y X rather than Y		presentation / substance spin / specifics	Never mind that in the last six years his policies have all been <i>more about presentation than substance, spin rather than specifics</i>	Replacive	form / content illusion / reality general / specific		AW/SMI/17/1
X instead of Y		might is right / the rule of law	If Bush and Blair throw away the UN rulebook then we are left with the doctrine of might is right <i>instead of the rule of law.</i>	replacive	strength / weakness right / wrong illegal / legal		AW/NoW/8/2
in place of X, Y		charismatic leader / belief that politicians are lying	<i>In place of a charismatic leader, they have the belief that politicians are lying.</i>	replacive	trust / betrayal charisma / dullness	Contrasting times of trust with times of cynicism	AW/Ob/4/5
x but instead y		doing the shopping / become part of the biggest tide of mass protest that has ever....	On a Saturday afternoon they might usually have been doing the shopping, but <i>instead</i> they had packed their rambler's backpacks, taken the 6.45am train from Birmingham, and become a part of the biggest tide of mass protest that has ever swept through the capital	Replacive contrastive?	normal / abnormal usual/unusual ordinary / extraordinary individual / mass dull/	Used to emphasise again that these are 'normal' people taking extraordinary action, playing on fact ha Saturday is a usual shopping day. Shows how the mass is actually made up of individual human beings. It is called a replacive supposedly because it replaces what would usually be expected for those people on that particular day.	AW/SMr/6/2

					spectacular		
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Syntactic parallelism

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
divided into X / Y X and Y		Liberty / Livelihood liberty and the hunting issue / farming and a healthy rural economy	The Liberty and Livelihood March began ostensibly divided into two camps - those whose primary concern was liberty and the hunting issue, and those whose livelihoods depended on farming and a healthy rural economy.	coordinated explicit contrastive (distinguished) parallelism equivalence?	abstract / concrete idealism / necessity or practicality	Liberty and Livelihood crops up many times, but this seems to be the best place to deal with it, owing to the explicit distinction drawn between them. Hard to pick out the superord category that it might be based on, but something to do with the fact that the first deals with principles and morals, whilst the latter with necessity/reality	CA/T/4/2
X likewise Y (?)		hunter / farmer hunting / farming	Unprompted, every hunter acknowledged farming's role as the cornerstone of the countryside, its current crisis putting all of rural life at risk. Likewise, farmers repeatedly spoke of hunting's place at the heart of their communities, something vital and treasured, without which rural life would be considerably poorer.	parallelism equivalence	destroy / create abstract / concrete work / pleasure	Tricky one in sense that this is being used so inclusively, and the syntactic trigger also suggests it, that hard to justify them being treated as opposites at all. However, builds on the Liberty/Livelihood distinction – two sides of the same coin, and there are prototype distinctions implied, plus 'unprompted' suggests they aren't sometimes the happiest of bedfellows. Hunter's destroy and get pleasure out of the sport, whereas farming is graft.	CA/T/4/3
X but Y Y not X1		killing / caught caught by hunters / other methods	"It is only the older, lazy foxes that are trouble, killing 10 lambs in a night, but it is mainly the older foxes that are caught	contrastive negative equivalence	killing / being killed hunter / hunted	Trying to prove that hunting is the best way to control unruly foxes, as it is selective, compared to other non-specified ways of killing them.	CA/T/4/6

			by hunters. Other methods do not discriminate."	parallelism	discriminate / indiscriminate		
X but not Y		lands / us	Jones, who lives in Hertfordshire and shoots, said: "The message we want to give to the Government is that they can walk over our lands but they can't walk over us.	negated contrastive parallelism	passive / defiant non- human / human	The contrast between 'lands' and 'us' is only possible because of the idiomatic use of 'walk over' in the second half. Nevertheless contrast between defiance and passivity quite effective. People can fight back, land can't.	CA/T/4/8
not X but Y		dismiss feelings / ask question 'what's it all about?'	He said: "I certainly don't want to dismiss either the scale or the feelings of the people who were on this march, but do have to ask the question, What's it all about?	negated contrastive ancillary parallelism	want / not want focussed / unfocussed emotional / rational dismiss / welcome	Minister using his want and don't want as opposites to trigger contrast between having a genuine feeling and it actually being based on something genuinely focussed. Or is he contrasting being compassionate with being logical – this is a good example of how you need prototypes to explain how the opposition might work.	CA/T/2/1
One minute X ... the next Y		One minute / the next another late summer Sunday in London / huge banks of people seemed / came into view	One minute it seemed like another late summer Sunday in London; the next the huge banks of people came into view, backed deeply into the normally vacant green acres of the park.	adverbial contrasts parallelism	Before / after appearance / reality few / many usual / unusual	Backing up previous point. Contrast between appearance and reality, for dramatic effect to show the sudden transformation of London of usually empty areas into full ones – reiterates how special and unusual the day is	CA/T/1/2
no x [three times]...simply Y		speeches...rally...concert.../ disperse speeches etc / asked simply	There <i>were no speeches, no rally, no concert</i> to raise the spirits before the long journey home. Once they had passed the counting station, the marchers <i>were asked simply to disperse to allow those</i>	negative parallelism	climax / anti-climax possibility / actuality spectacular / dull	Is this stressing the hardness and self-sacrificing nature of the protestors, who are not there for fun, but just to make their point and then allow to make theirs. So contrast is between what is implied 'might have been' (as it is in other rallies), and reality, possibly to	CA/T/1/9

			behind to complete the route.			mark it out as special compared to other protests (special in its ordinariness and unfussiness). Contrast between spectacular nature of what there was not, and what there actually was, helped by 'simply' (auto-evokes the others as 'complex'?)	
For every X there was a Y		hunting / local bus service, the closing Post Office, the price of lamb, and the greed of the supermarkets	<i>For every marcher talking about hunting, there was another telling you about the local bus service, the closing Post Office, the price of lamb, and the greed of the supermarkets</i>	Simultaneity? Parallelism	general / specific national / local	Interesting – another technique to emphasise the range of complaints on the demo – as if a dam of frustration has burst. Builds on previous sentence, against uniformity of complaint. Opposition triggered by mixture of semantic and syntactic triggers – is a mixture rather than any single one. The 'For every X there was a Y' seems like one expects opposition, but need more evidence. Also, the function of the opp is to stress inclusivity on the march rather than privilege one over the other.	CA/T/1/ 13
X more.... than Y		power / freedom	IF anything is <i>more</i> pernicious <i>than</i> the abuse of power , it is the abuse of freedom by those in power , and racing has been an unwitting victim of such a monstrous assault in recent weeks - from within.	comparative parallelism	abuse / care corruption / honesty freedom / restriction	To what extent are power and freedom being treated as opposites here? Is the use of a comparative guarantee of opposition generation? Need to investigate comparatives more and their function here (see Jones)	CA/T/11/1
If X, Y		Mrs Thatcher / Tony Blair	<i>If Mrs Thatcher presided over the</i>	subordinator of	Tory / Labour	A densely packed syntactic parallel simultaneously	CA/M/39/5

		<p>presided / watched</p> <p>collapse / slow death</p> <p>heavy industry / farming</p>	<p>collapse of heavy industry, Tony Blair has watched the slow death of farming.</p>	<p>equivalence?</p> <p>parallelism</p>	<p>urban / rural</p> <p>industry / farming</p> <p>quick / slow</p>	<p>comparing and contrasting Blair and Thatcher. They are synonymous in overseeing the demise of a productive force, whilst contrasted by the speed and type of force that has decayed. Presumably by comparing Blair to Thatcher in an era where employment was rife, this is no compliment.</p> <p>Not quite sure how to describe the role of 'if' – bit like 'while' (concessive), however, while implies simultaneity, whereas 'if' doesn't necessarily – acts more like 'just as' – bit like a simile, comparing one to the other.</p>	
[then] X now Y		<p>three shops, three pubs, two schools, two churches and a chapel / no shops, no schools, no church.....</p>	<p><i>We had</i>, within a mile or two, three shops, three pubs, two schools, two churches and a chapel. <i>We now have</i> no shops, no schools, no church and a very rare appearance of a single bus</p>	<p>adverbial contrast</p> <p>parallelism</p>	<p>past / present</p> <p>presence / absence</p>	<p>Past / present contrast indicated by past tense verb of 'to have' against present tense, emphasises by time adverbial 'now'. Idealising the past by describing what was present and is now absent</p>	CA/M/39/10
This was not X, this was Y		<p>march / phenomenon</p> <p>show of strength / phenomenon</p>	<p><i>This was not</i> simply a march or a show of strength. <i>This was</i> a phenomenon - the biggest civil liberties protest in British history.</p>	<p>Negator</p> <p>Parallelism</p>	<p>ordinary / extraordinary</p>	<p>Comparing standard march with this march to emphasise its uniqueness, on a semantic dimension of 'strength'</p>	CA/M/2/1
x but not Y		<p>enjoying/ ignore</p> <p>quiet weekend / scale of the fight</p>	<p>As for the Prime Minister himself, he was enjoying a quiet weekend in the country at Chequers, with its 1,000 acres and</p>	<p>negated contrastive</p> <p>parallelism</p>	<p>peace / conflict</p> <p>tranquillity / disturbance</p> <p>awareness /</p>	<p>Possibly portraying Blair as burying his head in the sand by surveying and enjoying the very countryside that people are fighting for. Blair therefore portrayed as being oblivious to the conflict</p>	CA/M/2/3

			wonderful views of the Chilterns. But he cannot ignore the scale of the fight that he is picking with this lot.		obliviousness	around him	
If only X still Y		postage stamp / kingdom only / still	' <i>If your garden's only a postage stamp, it's still your kingdom</i> and you should be able to do what you like there,' he declared.	conditional? syntactic parallelism equivalence? auto-evocation?	small / big lacking / containing	Interesting example of oppositional equivalence in that garden is both small, but at same time something associated with being massive. The oppositional pair in this case need 'garden' to link them as the thing which is both simultaneously one or the other. To what extent are <i>only</i> and <i>still</i> oppositional triggers? The use of the adverb ' <i>only</i> ' implies something is <i>not</i> something else, that it is lacking in some way. <i>Still</i> indicates continuity. Regardless of size, the defence of people's land continues to need defending, whether it is large or small. Is the large auto-evoked from kingdom?	CA/M/2/5
X not (much) Y	great deal of / not much	great deal of / not much whooping / horn blowing	Off they set to a pipe band, a great deal of whooping, not much horn blowing (for fear of alienating city folk) and huge applause from the thousands marching in the other direction	syntactic parallelism negated? ancillary	presence / absence loud / quiet? acceptable / unacceptable	Two types of sound contrasted – much of that deemed acceptable, presumably because it is quieter, as opposed to less of what is unacceptably loud. There is a typical negator <i>not</i>	CA/M/2/6

			towards the start.			but this is qualified by <i>much</i> , so although the whooping and horn blowing are being presented as opposites, there is not a total absence of sound so not at the end of a noise level semantic dimension	
A was X B was Y	rare moment / overall	confrontation / goodnatured, upbeat, hilariously English message rare moment / overall	This, though, was a rare moment of confrontation. Overall, the mood was goodnatured, upbeat and summed up by the hilariously English message on the bibs worn by the 3,000 stewards: 'Sorry for the delay'.	parallel ancillary?	conflict / harmony serious / good-humoured rare/ common	Stressing the lack of violence on demo so not tarred with the same brush as other demos. The actual confrontation is minor anyway. Contrasting between what there is little of and what there is much of. Mentioning the former allows writer a way into emphasizing the latter	CA/M/2/7
Back then X Yesterday Y		Back then / yesterday 'Let's see what happens' / break the law hunters / non-hunters	Back then , when asked if they would defy a ban, <i>most hunters replied: 'Let's see what happens.'</i> Yesterday , <i>most said they would break the law</i> and the non-hunters said they would support them.	Adverbial contrast Ancillary? parallelism	distal past / proximal past legality / illegality conformance / defiance indecision/ decision specific / general	Reinforcing the qualitatively contrastive nature of this demo compared with others. In past suggests the lobby was mainly hunters and that they were fairly passive, whereas today there is broader and more militant support	CA/M/2/15
X were...Y were not For every X, Y not		These people... minority... every person marching / 150 marching / not [marching]	These people streaming as far as the eye could see <i>were</i> , obviously, a minority . For every person marching yesterday, 150 were not.	negative parallelism	active / passive presence / absence small / large one / many	Showing that in the big scheme of things the demo may not be big enough to trouble the govt (backed up by next sentence). The demo is small compared to the population of Great Britain ie 400,000 x 150 = 60 million!	CA/M/2/16

X not X1 but Y....Y1		Mr Blair's pollsters / his Home Secretary and chief constables feel unduly troubled / be very worried	Mr Blair's pollsters might <i>not</i> feel unduly troubled by it all. <i>But</i> his Home Secretary and chief constables should be very worried indeed.	negated contrastive parallelism	worried / unworried non-powerful / powerful analysts / practitioners no threat future /present	Contrasts those who predict the future and the apparent lack of threat to Blair, with very real current challenge to the govt itself. Interesting opposition between those who stand on the outside analysing and actual practitioners	CA/M/2/17
not X, Y		hunting / other issues	The point is that the people <i>don't want to talk about hunting</i> , they want to talk about all the other issues that are affecting them .	negated syntactic parallelism ancillaries?	individual / collective one / many irrelevant / relevant	Same point as above except more categorical about lack of interest in hunting itself. Uses syntactic patterning. NB: this could be expressed as a negated contrastive 'don't want to talk about hunting but about all the other....', but the parallelism has a stronger rhetorical effect, and negates the need for the 'but' (which would sound clumsy if included as well.	CA/I/4/6
X not Y	unity / division	unity / division	The Government was elected to <i>create unity</i> in this country and <i>not to create division</i> ."	negated semantic trigger syntactic parallel	unity / division	One of the 'purest' examples yet! (Quote from Kate Hooey, Minister in favour of hunting) We have semantic trigger which conforms to the superordinate, a classic negator and a parallelism. Perhaps the rhetorical nature of this, as spoken by an experienced politician is one of the reasons. The inclusion of the opposite of unity, which one would assume is the opposite thanks to the trigger anyway is purely for rhetorical	CA/I/4/7

						effect and also emphasises the propaganda point that the government may be being divisive.	
X but Y		public order offences / remained peaceful	Two anti-hunt demonstrators were arrested for public order offences, but a 150-strong anti-hunt counter-protest in Parliament Square remained peaceful	contrastive syntactic parallelism	violent / peaceful anti-hunt / pro-hunt small / large	Basic comparison between violent and peaceful protest. Not sure what an anti-hunt counter protest is? Is it a protest against the protest, or an alternative anti-hunt protest?!	CA/G/4/8
X and Y	cow / bull us / you our / your	cow / bull us / you our / your	"Leave us with our cow s*** and we will leave you to your city bulls*** ."	coordinated parallelism semantic	cow / bull female / male us / you our / your addresser/ addressee country / city literal / metaphorical sincere / insincere	This is a corker – a slogan on one of the banners. The oppositions in the main are conventional, and the syntactic trigger has little role to play, although the parallelism is important. The impact to the slogan works through the literal / metaphorical contrast, in which the country folk, from whose point of view it is written, portray themselves as ordinary, honest folk up to their knees in crap, whilst city folk live in a word of lies and deceit. There may also be a female v macho opposition here? The basic message is – ‘don’t interfere’ and is an appeal for the country / city divide to remain intact.	CA/S/4/3
X while Y [at the same time]		Liberty / Livelihood Hyde Park Corner / Blackfriars Bridge	The Liberty leg started at Hyde Park Corner while the Livelihood marchers set off from Blackfriars Bridge , with the two converging at Whitehall for a spectacular finale.	coordinated simultaneity? parallelism	freedom / responsibility	The fact there are two marches based on different principles forms the premise that they have to start from opposing places (constructed of course, very context bound), and they fact they converge makes the initial	CA/S/4/4

						fairly contrived opposition just that little bit stronger. Highly symbolic that two differing causes join together, having an inclusive function. Is it a concessive though? Because if the sentence started with <i>while</i> , it would much more strongly imply an expected alternative. It is more of a coordinated simultaneity? Acts more like and, put while implies at the same time much more strongly. 'While' has time built into its meaning, whereas 'and' doesn't.	
It is not X, it is Y		does / way it goes about it	<i>It isn't</i> so much what this government does , <i>it is</i> the way it goes about it .	negated syntactic patterning	content / style function / form	Treading a fine line between moderate and outright criticism of the govt as the Sun still backing Labour at this stage, but not wanting to alienate its country supporters, so differentiating supporting govt policies against being critical of the methods by which those policies are carried out – the cliché is basically 'it ain't what you do, it's the way that you do it...'	CA/S/8/1
X and Y Some X, others Y	young / old	children / invalids buggies / chairs denims and fleeces / fur-collared coats and Barbour's	Young and old , all wrapped up against the cold. Children in buggies, invalids in chairs. Some were scruffy in denims and fleeces, others wore fur-collared coats and Barbour's.	coordinated parallelism semantic trigger	young / old able-bodied / disabled scruffy / neat poor / rich		AW/Mir/2/7
x contrasted		professionally – produced /	Dozens of causes were	explicit	professional /		AW/Mir/2/5

with y		<p>cobbled-together</p> <p>placards / banners</p> <p>protest groups / Notts County Supporters</p> <p>fierce messages / Make Love not War</p>	<p>represented. The professionally-produced placards of the protest groups with their fierce messages - "Blair and Bush - Wanted for Murder" - contrasted with cobbled-together banners. "Notts County supporters say Make Love Not War", said one.</p>	<p>contrastive</p> <p>Syntactic patterning</p>	<p>amateur</p> <p>for / against</p> <p>violent / peaceful</p>		
not x, y		<p>march / invasion</p>	<p>It <i>wasn't</i> a march, it was an invasion – central London taken over by a million or more peace-lovers</p>	<p>negator</p> <p>syntactic pattern</p>	<p>expected / unexpected</p> <p>weak / strong</p>	<p>Could this be a good example of disintegration or deblending? You've a body of people which conventionally is called a march but the writer has decided to represent it a different way, so it is split between what was expected and what we actually got. But of course in actuality it is a march which only metaphorically might be like an invasion. So the body of people is both a march and an invasion at the same time i.e. equivalent to each other, whilst the writer privileges the invasion 'frame' (single scope network?). Tricky one though as this is a matter of representation. It is what it is, but then F & T would put this in the Single scope network category. Invasions suggest domination and the march may be a step in the process towards invasion, so march is a bit like a hyponym of</p>	AWIoS/4/2

						invasion, which means it could also actually be a bit like a simplex network! (a blend of simplex and single-scope networks).	
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Transitional

Syntactic Trigger(s) (ST)	Semantic Trigger(s) (MT)	Opposites	Context	Provisional Category(s)	Super-ordinate/ Prototype	Comment/purpose	Where?
X falling into Y	booing / silence	booing / silence Dept of Environment / Cenotaph	For those lucky enough to be near the front , the march - from Blackfriars, along the embankment, booing as they passed the Department of the Environment's office at Whitehall before <i>falling</i> into silence at the Cenotaph , then through Parliament Square and on to Westminster Bridge - <i>took about an hour to cover little more than one mile.</i>	transitional	noise / silence change / tradition	Strong semantic triggers – ridiculing modern bureaucrats, respecting tradition	CA/T/4/13
X more than Y?	blood-curdling sound / silent	Blood-curdling sound / eerily silent	THE arrival of the first wave of marchers was heralded by the blood-curdling sound of the bagpipes , rendered all the more powerful when they fell eerily silent at the Cenotaph.	comparative transitional	noise /silence	One of the rare examples where the semantic trigger may be stronger than the syntactic one, and this is matched by the fact that the prototype is an almost exact match of the trigger – it doesn't need to draw on any superordinate for it to make sense. Function in this context is to show how respect makes way for tradition	CA/T/3/5
X but became ....er when Y		minority.... 200,000 / more than double expected / turned up	One of the last banners read: "Mr Blair, see what a minority looks like." This was a pretty good joke when 200,000 were expected , but became <i>better still</i> when more than double that figure turned up.	contrastive transitional	small / large expectations / reality	Of course, 'minority' is being used ironically here, so the irony is only strengthened by the doubling in numbers. But the contrast is between what they expected and what they actually got. It could be transitional because illusion turns into a different reality	CA/T/1/ 14
... in the x		confidence /	Confidence in the urban ,	transitional	confidence /	Two oppositions, based on assuming	CA/M/39/4

broken down in the Y		broken down urban, politically correct New Labour majority / countryside	politically correct New Labour majority in Parliament <i>has broken down</i> in the countryside .		cynicism urban / rural	there was once confidence in New Labour and that has changed into its opposite. Political correctness being used in its usual derogatory sense, implying that country folk have no truck with it. Also associates New Labour with being inherently urbanistic.	
X turning into Y		villages / weekend rest centres	Villages are turning into weekend rest centres or dormitories for commuting TV executives and merchant bankers.	transitional	rural / urban tranquillity / noise past / present traditional/ modern	Keeping up the past v present theme but showing how modern business world is intruding on the tranquillity of traditional rural life	CA/M/39/11
If X goes Y [happens]		farming / wasteland bare of fields and animals	If farming goes, urban rambles will be left struggling through brambles and shrub in a wasteland bare of fields and animals.	concessive conditional? auto-evocation transitional	order / chaos presence / absence rural / urban fertility / barrenness present / future	Is he appealing to the urbanites to show how they may be cutting off their nose to spite their face? Contrasting potential future, apocalyptic scenario with present, the orderliness of which is implied because its disappearance would lead to these consequences - 'goes' is the trigger here for transition between present and future. NB: surely auto-evocation has some significant pragmatic basis?	CA/M/39/13
turn X into Y		law abiding people / criminals	The Government has also shown its lack of concern with country matters by threatening us with a Bill which would <i>turn the many decent, honourable and law abiding people</i> who take part in hunting <i>into criminals</i> liable to be cast into our overcrowded jails.	transitional	legal / illegal moral / immoral	Showing how scandalous it would be to criminalise those who don't deserve to be – hyperbole of course, as implying they will all carry on doing this after bill passed (which of course they do!).	CA/M/39/15
X vanished		boisterous	And then, suddenly, all that	transitional	good	Straightforward noise versus silence	CA/M/2/8

Y [takes its place] not only X but Y		bonhomie / respectful silence signs / silence monitors only / [also]	boisterous bonhomie <i>vanished</i> as the procession approached the Cenotaph. <i>Not only</i> did signs ask marchers to observe a respectful silence for 'The Glorious Dead' <i>but</i> silence monitors moved among the crowds pointing at the word 'silence' on their chests.	negated cumulative contrastive? auto-evocation	humoured / serious noise /silence inanimate / animate few / many	contrast using a transitional trigger. Used by writer to emphasise the respectful and compliant nature of the protestors. More interesting is the way the <i>not only..but</i> construction works. The negator contrasts the static signs with the moving stewards, emphasizing contrast between one and more than one method of controlling noise levels. The adverb <i>only</i> makes <i>not</i> refer to the quantity of methods (i.e. signs being one method), not the signs themselves, so there is a cumulative equivalence effect rather than a contrast between methods – need a term for this – negated cumulative contrastive? bah!	
unless X [happens], Y [will happen] X would become Y X could be Y		something is done.....historic skills of animal husbandry and cultivation / derelict wilderness..... dependent on imported food prime farmland / derelict wilderness	Unless something is done, large areas of prime farmland could within a generation <i>be derelict wilderness</i> . <i>We would become</i> almost entirely dependent on imported food. Historic skills of animal husbandry and cultivation could be lost to us for good.	conditional contrastive transitional	actuality / possibility present / past cultivated / uncultivated native / foreign fertile / barren	Predicting future possible world against present, based on condition that govt does or does not secure the long-term future of farmers. The blending of schemas links lack of cultivation, foreignness, barrenness etc. Interesting that imported food is counterpoised with animal husbandry etc, suggesting that foreign countries don't have the skills we have. Although may just be trying to say that we would lose our skills, it therefore assumes a nationalist default position	CA/M/44/5
If X [happens], Y [will happen]		nothing has changed... / become restive	<i>[If?]</i> It becomes apparent that nothing has changed as a result of this enormous demonstration, some elements will become restive : indeed, some already are.	conditional transitional	stagnation / change passive / active present / future	Am presuming there is an 'if' missing at the beginning of the sentence otherwise it doesn't make sense. Meaning is linked to previous paragraph [above], in that he is predicting what might happen i.e a disguised threat that action will move onto a more militant plane, developed in the paragraphs following this one. So the contrast is between current good-natured. Legitimate protest which only manages to maintain the status quo, and more militant civil disobedience which may guarantee	CA/M/44/6

<p>Last time X Yesterday Y</p> <p>There was a different strategy [between X and Y]</p> <p>X had been cast aside for Y</p> <p>X was everything but Y</p>		<p>four years ago... last time / yesterday</p> <p>honest ....turn up with their horns in sporting dress...rant bile against the government... loutish aims...packs of hounds... horses... traditional red jackets / human sea of comfortable respectability... dressed in Barbours, tweeds, paisley caps caps, shirts, ties and strange red trousers</p>	<p>I was on the last Countryside Alliance march four years ago and much had changed. Last time they made the mistake of being honest.</p> <p>By encouraging hunts to turn up with their horns in sporting dress, and hold a rally in Hyde Park which allowed their odd-ball spokesmen to rant bile against the government, they had scored an own goal. Us townies had seen their loutish aims for what they were. Yesterday there was a different strategy.</p> <p>It was a human sea of comfortable respectability, dressed in Barbours, tweeds, paisley caps, shirts, ties and strange red trousers. Nowhere to be seen were the packs of hounds, or horses, or even the traditional red jackets.</p> <p><i>They had been cast aside for the day to show this was about everything but the "H" word.</i></p>	<p>Adverbial contrast</p> <p>explicit contrastive</p> <p>transitional</p> <p>explicit contrastive</p>	<p>past / present</p> <p>honesty / deceit</p> <p>disreputable respectable /</p> <p>work / leisure</p> <p>violent / peaceful</p> <p>traditional / modern</p>	<p>more of a change in the future.</p> <p>This Reade bloke is a fine utiliser of oppositions. This is one of those examples in which the collection of superordinates is extremely helpful in seeing the wood for the trees and explaining the overall thrust of the argument here. Basic contrast between past and present. In past, at least the hunting ban opponent were honest, wearing their traditional garb and sporting hunting horns. Now they may look respectable, peaceful and modern but it's all a sham. Some interesting explicit contrast markers – 'been cast aside', 'everything but', 'different strategy'. The dress contrast ties in nicely with the anti-war demo dress opposition which was used to show inclusivity rather than past/present dichotomy.</p>	<p>CA/M/6/5</p>
<p>X supplanted Y</p>		<p>politics/ protest</p>	<p>In the minutes before the march begins, anyone will tell you why protest has supplanted politics.</p>	<p>transitional</p>	<p>protest / passivity</p> <p>change / stability</p>	<p>Tricky one – if protest has replace politics, is she implying that politics has outworn its usefulness? Also implies that 'politics' equals conformity</p>	<p>AW/Ob/4/1</p>

					new /old		
X supplanted Y		mass meetings / leaks and soundbites	Mass meetings have been <i>supplanted by leaks and soundbites</i>	transitional	democracy/ autocracy then / now overt / covert	Again showing how times have changed – debates are no longer – control in hands of govt not the people	AW/Ob/4/2
spurned x for y		isolation / solidarity fear / fury	British marchers have <i>spurned</i> isolation for solidarity , and fear for fury	transitional	separate / together division / unity fear /courage calm / fury	Another transition fro passivity and fear to courage and anger	AW/Ob/4/3

