

**Ideologies and *us* versus *them*:**  
**A comparative study using systemic functional grammar of Irish and**  
**British editorials related to the ending of the IRA's armed campaign**

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A dissertation submitted to  
The School of Humanities of the University of Birmingham  
In part fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts in Applied Linguistics

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This dissertation consists of 13,166 words

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16<sup>th</sup> September, 2011

## ABSTRACT

*This dissertation looks at how editors display their ideological standpoint and how they use language to persuade the reader to agree with their ideology. This is achieved by using Systemic Functional Grammar. Within this analysis two of the three metafunctions are used to show how the editor uses language. Within the interpersonal metafunction Mood, modality and appraisal are used to analyze the texts. In the textual metafunction, the texts are analyzed using reiteration and Theme. This dissertation shows how the ideology in two British broadsheet newspapers is different and how two Irish broadsheet newspapers are very similar in their ideological stance. It also shows how one of the British newspapers and both Irish newspapers are very similar in many of the metafunctional areas analyzed. This dissertation also shows how the editor creates two groups, us and them, and tries to persuade the reader to join us by portraying this group positively and emphasizing the negativity of them. It will be seen that there are some differences between this representation in the British and Irish newspapers.*

## **DEDICATION**

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to a number of people. First of all I am truly grateful to Matt Caldwell without whom I would never have started this course, for proof reading my many drafts and for always being there for me. I cannot say enough about my tutor for the past two years, Patrick Kiernan. He has been there every step of the way encouraging me and helping me to produce work to a higher standard than I thought possible. I would like to give a special thanks to my dissertation tutor Dr. George Mann for all his kind help, patience and expert advice. I have to thank my family for their unending support especially my father, Christopher Healy who helped me through the hardest times. And lastly, very special thanks to my wife Ikuyo who has supported me through this journey, giving me the time to study and write my papers. You have put up with a lot over the past two and a half years and I am truly indebted to you.

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# CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

## 1.0 Background to the study

This dissertation will examine ten editorials written in four newspapers which are from two neighboring countries, Britain and Ireland. The institutional editorials, which are written by the editor, will be examined. The editorials are about the Irish Republican Army (IRA) ceasefire announced in July 2005. These editorials will show the ideological standpoint of the newspapers they were written in. This research will show different ideologies not only between the newspapers examined but also culturally.

Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) will be used to examine the ideologies presented. This research, due to word constraints, will be done within two of the three main categories or metafunctions, the experiential metafunction which is largely concerned with content or ideas will be left out of this research, except for where it relates to Theme. The interpersonal metafunction is very important in this research as it enables the researcher to investigate the roles taken by the editors and how they express their ideology. The textual metafunction will show how these editorials are organized.

## 1.1 Aims of the study

A lot of research has been done on hard-news articles but Le (2002) explains that the editorial has so far been largely ignored. The editorials chosen are from broadsheet newspapers. The ceasefire announcement took place on July 28, 2005 and can be seen in Appendix 1. The editorials used are from July 29 to August 4. The representation of the discourse properties used will be examined; looking at the linguistic choices, strategies and underlying ideologies in these newspaper editorials. The research aims to answer the following questions.

1. In the particular samples chosen, do the editorials of certain British and Irish newspapers reveal differing ideological perspectives in relation to the ending of the IRA conflict?

This research question entails identifying and comparing strategies used by the writer to show the reader their ideological standpoint. By deconstructing these editorials what is foregrounded and what is hidden will be shown.

2. How do editorials represent social groups (*us vs them*)?

In this question the social representations of *us* and *them* will be shown, these representations will show the writer's group affiliation and therefore their ideology.

How writers try to persuade their reader to adopt the same ideology as theirs will be examined. The tools used for revealing the features as mentioned earlier are two categories of SFG. This approach is concerned with how language choices enable one to convey meanings of different kinds (Bloor & Bloor 1995). It describes the relationships between grammatical structures and meaning. It focuses on language resources as a way of analyzing texts, analyzing interaction and analyzing the ways messages are constructed. More specifically it describes language structures as outcomes of choices made by language users. A detailed explanation of SFG will be given later.

## **1.2 Structure of dissertation**

The dissertation is structured into three main chapters; a brief description follows about each.

In chapter two the background and literature review is given. The main topics of interest are newspapers, editorials, ideologies and the discourse used to portray *us* and *them*. A brief history of the troubles and newspapers are given as background to the articles. A description of the editorial and its place in newspapers is explained. Research on ideologies is described in media discourse and the reasons behind showing *us* and *them* relations. All of this helps to introduce the topics used to answer the research questions.

In chapter three an account of the data collection procedure and the methodological tools used in this analysis is shown.

In chapter four analysis and comparison of the editorials examined is shown, this is the most important chapter. The editorials are examined separately and then comparisons are shown between the different editorials. The results found are examined in respect to the aims of the study stated above.

In chapter five a brief conclusion summarizing the main findings from this research is shown. The limitations of this study are explained and suggestions for further research are given.

## CHAPTER 2 BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.0 An overview of this chapter

Before examining these editorials, a background to the IRA and Sinn Fein is given. Next, an explanation of why newspapers were chosen is shown. The history of the newspaper, the newspaper today, and the similarities between British and Irish newspapers are all examined. The literature review will give an explanation about choosing editorials over hard news articles. The dissertation is based around ideologies and how these can differ and persuade readers to agree with the editors' point of view and therefore the meaning of ideology is explained. Finally, how *them* and *us* groups are portrayed and an explanation of these two opposing groups is shown.

## **2.1 History of the IRA and Sinn Fein**

There has been a long history of unrest between Ireland and Britain. The IRA was an Irish republican revolutionary military organization, descended from the Irish Volunteers, an organization established on November 25, 1913 that staged the Easter Rising in April 1916. The IRA has existed since then with the intention of overthrowing the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland and achieving the Irish Republic, which was proclaimed in 1916.

Sinn Fein was originally a political slogan used by the Irish nationalists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The Sinn Fein party, as we know it today, was formed between 1905 and 1907. Sinn Fein can be seen as the political wing of a terrorist organization, the IRA. Coogan states, by 1924, the IRA felt strong enough politically to express itself and decided to support Sinn Fein (2002: 44). They have supported each other ever since. A description of newspaper editorials will be given now.

## **2.2 Newspapers today**

Newspapers play a part in most peoples' lives in Britain and Ireland. Campbell (2006) suggests that newspapers are the principle public record for events which have happened throughout the twentieth century such as wars, crimes, sports and events. They are also the principle medium for opinion, speculation and debate. Newspapers in Britain and Ireland are first and foremost businesses. Sparks claims that they do not exist to report the news, they exist to make money, (1999: 45). Reah says that the owners of these newspapers have the power to influence the content of the paper, its political stance and its editorial perspective (2002: 8). A large number of newspaper owners will then represent a wide range of views in the press. However, Reah states that the number of owners in recent years has dropped dramatically, thus offering the reader a less varied view on the day's news. Newspaper owners have political and commercial interests and will not allow anything to be published in their paper that would be detrimental to their interests. Koss (1990) reminds us that although newspapers in Britain are obviously and stridently partisan, they are not party newspapers in the formal sense. However, the owner of a newspaper may support a political party to keep favours with it and protect their own political interests. Therefore, the editorial view will most likely agree with the political views of the party the newspaper owner supports, Biber (1988) points out that editorials offer the newspaper the opportunity to give its opinion to the world and to display its policies, political leaning, beliefs and so on. By examining the ideology presented in the editorial, the government's or oppositions' ideology can also be seen. The kinds of newspapers which are available in Britain and Ireland shall be shown next.

### **2.2.1 Newspapers in Britain and Ireland**

Newspapers in Britain and Ireland can be placed into two categories *broadsheets* and *tabloids*. The difference between them can be seen in the journalistic views portrayed in the articles. Broadsheets contain articles which are thought of as more seriously-minded. The UK has five national broadsheet newspapers, five tabloids and a wealth of parochial newspapers. The national broadsheet newspapers are *Daily Telegraph*, *The Times*, *The Financial Times*, *Guardian* and *Independent*. Within Ireland, there are only two national broadsheets, *The Irish Times* and *Irish Independent*. Like Britain there are a large number

of regional and local newspapers. Jucker (1992) reports that both types of newspapers target different readers. The broadsheets generally publish articles for white-collar workers and the tabloids for blue-collar or manual working class people. Tabloids are less reputable than broadsheets and that is why the broadsheets have been chosen in this research. A brief look at the editorial will be shown now.

### **2.2.2 The editorial**

Sinclair (2009) states that an editorial is “an article in a newspaper that gives the opinion of the editor or owner on a topic or item of news”. Personal editorials are usually by-lined with the writer’s name, while institutional editorials are not. The purpose of the editorial is primarily to “express and construct public opinions” (van Dijk, 1996). Reading editorials involves the formation of opinions about the text, the writer and the newspaper. The writers’ cultural influences or ideologies will be reflected in the editorial. According to Swales (1996) and van Dijk (1985, 1996), “the rhetorical patterns of one’s native culture-linguistic system are likely to be more pronounced in texts such as editorials” (cited in Ansary & Babaii, 2009: 213). Le suggests “The function of editorials is to present the newspaper’s position and to convince its readers” (2002: 387). This shows editorials have a significant persuasive ability. O’Keefe (2002) notes that editorials typically adopt an argumentative, evaluative or persuasive style of presentation. Biber supports Le and O’Keefe’s findings by suggesting “[editorials] are argumentative in that they consider several different possibilities but seek to convince the reader of the advisability or likelihood of one of them” (1988: 148). And Connor suggests that “Good editorials are considered some of the best examples of persuasive writing in all countries” (1996: 144). Therefore, people who read editorials will possibly be persuaded to agree with the ideology that is presented. Four newspapers, which have different political stances and are from two different countries, have been chosen for this dissertation which should give a broader picture of the positions readers are persuaded to agree with and help to answer the research questions. A brief description of ideology is next.

### 2.3 Ideology

Ideology can be seen as a set of beliefs held by a particular group that influences the way people behave. They are socially shared and used by groups. According to van Dijk, ideologies are evaluative: “they provide the basis for judgments about what is good or bad, right or wrong, and thus also provide basic guidelines for social perception and interaction” (1995: 248). Ideology can basically be seen as a person’s belief about an issue. Maurer Lane writes “we always belong to groups” (1999: 370), family, school, work, etc. All of these groups have their own valued beliefs and as a child people are influenced by these beliefs as they get older they accept some of them and reject others. A person’s beliefs are shaped by these and other groups and over time they can change their ideology about an issue. People are often members of many groups and thus can have many ideologies and values of which sometimes can be contradictory (Tetlock, 1993). People who read the same newspaper can be seen as a group with similar beliefs, the articles confirm the readers’ group identity by agreeing with their ideological stance. Van Dijk suggests “that the ideologies of journalists somehow influence their opinions, which in turn influence the discourse structures of the opinion articles” (1998: 21). He goes on to explain that the ideologies and opinions in newspapers are social, institutional or political (ibid). The editorial is a site of social interaction and ideological construction (Valenzuela & McCombs, 2009; Thompson, 1990, 1995; Van Dijk, 1993; Fairclough, 1995; Fowler, 1996). The editorial publicly shows the newspapers’ and, therefore, group’s ideology and can be seen as an invitation to members outside the group to change their values and become new members. The editorial also helps to strengthen the group’s ideology by overtly portraying their group ideology as correct and others as deviant. This point leads on to the next section, how editorials portray *us* and *them*, or people with the same ideology as the newspaper and people who have different values.



## 2.4 *Us and Them*

People are all members of a group and quite often belong to a number of groups at the same time. As a group member, people generally have a similar ideology. Sometimes, groups can have opposing ideologies and this is where discourse that portrays *us* and *them* can be seen. Van Dijk explains that “most ideologies are socio-cognitive representations of the basic evaluative and self-serving beliefs of group members about social struggle and group conflicts” (1998: 68). Crucial for this representation is how group members see themselves and others who are not part of the group. Simply put, group members usually see themselves as ideologically correct and others as incorrect. Thus, group members are represented positively and others are represented negatively (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The construction of ideology in editorial discourse can be seen as what Van Dijk calls an ‘ideological square’,

**Figure 1: Van Dijk’s ideological square**

1. Express / emphasize information that is ‘positive’ about *us*.
2. Express / emphasize information that is ‘negative’ about *them*.
3. Suppress / de-emphasize information that is ‘positive’ about *them*.
4. Suppress / de-emphasize information that is ‘negative’ about *us*.

These perform a specific role in the contextual strategy of *positive self-presentation* and its counterpart *negative other-presentation*. These self-presentations are a fundamental property of ideology; they are not focused on participants as individuals, but participants as social groups (1998: 267). This research shows how the editor uses discourse to portray *positive self-presentation* and persuade the reader to agree with it, thus joining the group, *us*. It also shows *negative other-presentation* by portraying the opposite group *them* as deviant.

## **2.5 Conclusion**

This chapter introduced the connection between the IRA and its political party Sinn Fein. A brief history of media was described, and in the section 2.2 it was shown that the news expresses the owners' opinions, sometimes political. Recently, due to the decrease in ownership of newspapers, fewer opinions are offered. Newspapers in Britain and Ireland are usually broadsheets or tabloids. Editorials can be described as the public face of the newspaper and are written to persuade the reader to agree with the newspaper's ideology. It was explained that ideologies are personal beliefs that can change over time. People with similar ideologies are classed as a group, this group is referred to as *us*, which is portrayed positively, while opposing groups, referred to as *them*, are portrayed negatively. In chapter three, the data collection procedure and SFG will be explained.

## **CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY**

### **3.0 Introduction**

In this chapter, data collection procedures are explained. After that, an introduction to SFG and an explanation of how it is used in this research paper is given. Both metafunctions are looked at separately, the interpersonal and textual. In both sections the different tools used for this research are explained.

### 3.1 Selection of data

The Irish newspapers were examined first. The two national broadsheets, *Irish Independent* and *Irish Times* were chosen. *Irish Independent* is a populist, libertarian newspaper. It supports *Fianna Fáil*, the party which was in power at the time of the ceasefire. The ideology in these editorials will probably be similar to the Irish government's ideology in 2005.

*Irish Times* can be seen today as politically liberal and progressive. *Geraldine Kennedy* is the editor. In 1987 she was elected to *Dáil Éireann* as a *TD* (member of the Irish parliament) for the Progressive Democrats. Her editorial ideologies are progressive.

Looking at the British newspapers, an examination of the *Audit Bureau of Circulations* for the same year as the selected editorials, the papers' circulation numbers can be seen. See Table 1 below.

**Table 1: Circulation figures of the UK national daily press in 2005**

<b>Newspaper Title</b>	<b>Circulation in 2005</b>	<b>Content</b>
The Times	686,327	Serious
The Daily Telegraph	920,745	Serious
The Independent	257,100	Serious
The Guardian	376,816	Serious
The Financial Times	422,519	Serious
Daily Mirror	1,748,327	Entertainment
Daily Star	861,825	Entertainment
Daily Mail	2,409,121	Entertainment
Daily Express	949,238	Entertainment
The Sun	3,382,509	Entertainment

**Figures from the Audit Bureau of Circulations, accessed November 12, 2010**

The five entertainment newspapers were excluded. The highest selling broadsheet *Daily Telegraph* was chosen. It was owned by the Barclay brothers at the time of these editorials. The editorial board endorsed the Conservatives in the 2005 general elections, showing that the newspaper had a Conservative Party ideology. Also looking at the Ipsos

MORI poll results Table 2, taken at the same time, for voting intentions of readers, it shows 64% of *Daily Telegraph* readers intended to vote Conservative in the 2005 elections (2005, web address searched November 2010).

**Table 2: IpsosMORI's certain to Vote Figures by Readership, 1st Quarter 2005**

Voting Intention	All	Daily Telegraph	Financial Times	The Guardian	The Independent	The Times
Unweighted total	5,257	422	53	307	135	310
Weighted total	4,991	399	54	301	136	305
Turnout	53%	73%	58%	66%	65%	68%
Conservative	1,678	253	19	22	15	135
	34%	<b>64%</b>	36%	7%	11%	44%
Labour	1,923	57	18	145	51	83
	39%	14%	34%	<b>48%</b>	38%	27%
Liberal Democrats	1,020	71	12	101	58	75
	20%	18%	23%	34%	43%	24%
Scottish / Welsh Nationalist	123	1	1	2	1	1
	2%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%
Green Party	100	4	0	20	6	7
	2%	1%	0%	7%	4%	2%
UK Independence Party	82	8	1	0	1	5
	2%	2%	1%	0%	1%	2%
Other	65	4	3	11	4	1
	1%	1%	5%	4%	3%	1%
Labour Lead	5%	-49%	-2%	41%	27%	-17%

*The Times* was selected next, but it supported the Conservative Party and would have the same editorial ideology as *Daily Telegraph*, so *The Financial Times* was researched. This paper, as the name suggests, is mainly about the economy and it contained one editorial relating to the ending of the IRA's armed campaign, therefore *Guardian* was chosen.

*Guardian* is a liberal left-wing newspaper and it supports the Labour Party. The Ipsos MORI report showed 48% of the readers intended to support the Labour Party in the 2005 elections (ibid). *Daily Telegraph* and *Guardian* are two newspapers which support different parties, suggesting that the editorial stance will possibly portray different ideologies.

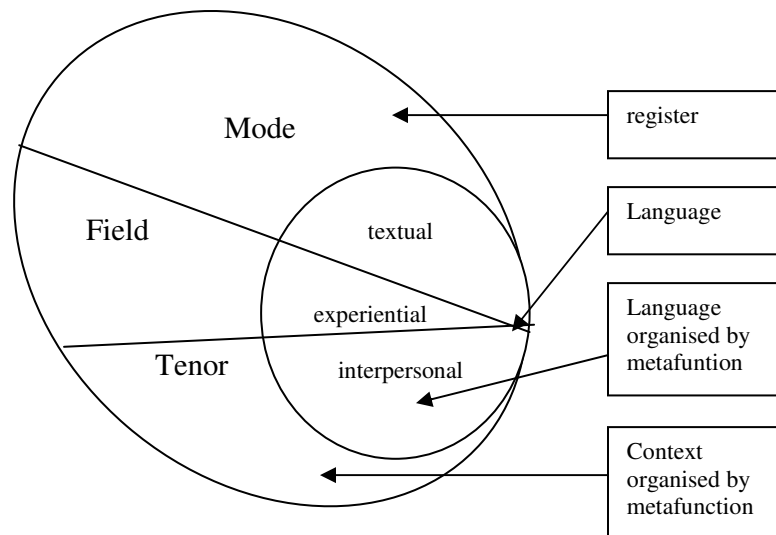
### **3.2 Selection of editorials**

The institutional editorials, which are from the editor of the newspaper, will be analyzed. These should portray the newspapers' ideological stance with regards to the events. All the editorials are in Appendix 2. The editorials have been lettered and the clause complex of each editorial has been numbered for ease of reference. A clause complex is a language structure that consists of one clause working by itself, or a group of clauses that work together through some kind of logical relationship. Hereafter, a clause complex will be referred to as a clause. There are 3 editorials from *Daily Telegraph*; 2 from *Guardian*; 3 from *Irish Independent* and 2 from *Irish Times*. When showing the analysis, the editorial letter and clause number will be stated.

### 3.3 An introduction to Systemic Functional Grammar

SFG is used primarily as an analytical tool to aid textual analysis. Thompson points out that language is a system of choices, each choice contributes to the meaning and by looking at the choices we can explore how the resources of the language have been used to construct meaning (2004: 35). In this research, the language used is seen in the editorials researched. These are classed as text. A text is a piece of language in use; Halliday and Hasan refer to it as “language that is functional” (1985). This means language that is doing some job in some context. In SFG some terms are spelled with an initial capital even though they are not at the beginning of a clause. The convention being used is to capitalize function labels. Butt et al. (2000) write that a text occurs in two contexts, context of culture, which varies depending on the culture of the participants. In these editorials there should not be a significant difference as both cultures are very similar. The second is the context of situation. This context is broken into three aspects. Field, what the text is about, this is connected with experiential meaning but will not be looked at in this dissertation; Tenor, the participants in the text and their relationship connected with interpersonal meaning; and Mode, the way the text is communicated and connected with textual meaning (Thompson 2004: 40). Hasan calls this the “context metafunction hook-up hypothesis” (1995: 222). Figure 2 gives a representation of this. A more detailed explanation of these terms will be given later in this chapter.

**Figure 2: Model of contextual variables and metafunctions. Martin, 1999: 37**





### 3.3.1 The interpersonal metafunction

How do authors use clauses to position both themselves and their readers? This interaction portrays attitudinal and evaluative positions, and forms relationships. This is known as the interpersonal meaning. In the interpersonal metafunction, we are concerned with the type of interaction taking place, and the kind of commodity being exchanged, also the way speakers take a position in their messages. The most fundamental purpose in any exchange is giving and taking or demanding and being given a commodity of some kind. The commodities are either information or goods-and-services. See Table 3 below.

**Table 3: Basic speech roles**

Commodity exchanged \ Role in exchange	Goods-and-services	Information
Giving	<b>offer</b> <i>I'll show you the way</i>	<b>statement</b> <i>We're nearly there</i>
Demanding	<b>command</b> <i>Give me your hand</i>	<b>question</b> <i>Is this the place?</i>

**Based on Thompson 2004: 47**

The usual labels for these functions are statement, expressed by declarative clauses: question by interrogative clauses and command by imperative clauses. These are the three basic interpersonal structures for any clause. These are also the three primary options in what is called the mood system of English. We can investigate these functions by focusing on a part of the clause known as the Mood.

#### 3.3.1.1 Mood

This element of the clause consists of the Subject and Finite. This is known as the Mood with a capital *M*, whereas mood with a lower case *m* refers to the choice of clause types interrogative, declarative or imperative. The Subject and Finite have a vital role in carrying out the interpersonal functions of the clause as exchange in English. The Subject is similar to that used in traditional grammar. However, it is being looked at here in functional terms. Thompson informs us that in traditional terms the Subject is the entity

of which something is predicated in the rest of the clause. Whereas, from the interpersonal perspective, the Subject is the entity on which the validity of the clause rests (2004: 53). The Finite is the first functional element of the verbal group. One of the main functions of the Finite is to mark tense and modality, so the basic function of the Finite can be seen “to orient the reader towards the kind of validity being claimed for the proposition, by relating it either to the here-and-now reality of the speech event or to the speaker’s attitude towards the proposition” (2004: 54). It is important to see how these editorial writers attempt to persuade readers to agree with their ideology through the validity being claimed in their propositions. Modality will be looked at next.

### **3.3.1.2 Modality**

Modality relates to how valid the information being exchanged is in terms of probability or usability. Halliday and Matthiessen state there are three basic values for modality high, median and low (2004: 148). With these a writer can signal their degree of certainty about the validity of a proposition. They will be used to investigate the writers’ commitment to the validity of what they are saying. Modality is a sign that the writer is presenting a personal view rather than an objective fact. As editorials, which are based on personal views, are being investigated, it is likely that modality will be very widespread in these texts. Appraisal will now be explained.

### **3.3.1.3 Appraisal**

Appraisal, also referred to as evaluation, looks at the way writers convey attitudinal meaning, such as certainty, emotional response, social evaluation and intensity. Appraisal is mainly realized lexically, although it can also be realized by whole clauses. Thompson states that “the choice of appraisal reflects and reinforces the ideological values of the culture” (2004: 76). Different choices of appraisal will be shown in the editorials due to the different cultures they have been written in. Martin (2000) informs us that appraisal can be categorized into three positions Affect, Judgement and Appreciation. Affect is the way in which we talk about how we feel things. We can also talk about our feelings towards things. Affect focuses on the feelings of the appraiser. Judgement and Appreciation focus on the qualities of the appraised. The distinction between these two is

whether we are appraising a person, Judgement, or a thing, Appreciation. In the editorials, appraisal like modality is related to the writers' attitude and this will clearly show the writers' ideology. Butt et al state the writer uses appraisal to align the readers with the editors' view so as to produce a sense of belonging and community (2000: 121). Using appraisal the different ideologies used can be conveyed and show how the writer produces a sense of belonging and community, the *us* and *them* group. The textual metafunction is described next.

### **3.3.2 The textual metafunction**

The interpersonal metafunction portrays different attitudinal and evaluative positions. I will show how these meanings enter into relationships with the situation in which the communication occurs. This is known as the textual metafunction. When we look at language from the textual metafunction, we look at how people use clauses to fit what they want to say, the meaning they want to convey and to signal how this clause connects with what has gone before. The textual metafunction is about making clauses fit smoothly into the text. Thompson states, “[there] are three main ways in which textual meanings are constructed in a text: [reiteration], conjunction and [theme]” (2004: 141). Reiteration and theme will be explained next.

#### **3.3.2.1 Reiteration**

Reiteration is a form of lexical cohesion, where authors can use different forms to signal how the present part of their message relates to other parts, which is how they make their text coherent. An editor chooses an idea which he wants to portray to the reader and convince the reader to agree with. A way of doing this is to reiterate the idea throughout the text. Reiteration can be seen through direct repetition, antonyms or synonyms. Another repeats an item in a modified form. Daneš, F. classes this as “relations of familiarity based on identity” (1987, cited in Tanskanen, Sanna-Kaisa, 2006: 37).

#### **3.3.2.2 Theme**

Halliday & Matthiessen suggest, “The Theme is the element which serves as the point of departure of the message; it is that which locates and orients the clause within its context” (2004: 64). A clause can have more than one Theme. All clauses must contain a topical Theme, but textual or interpersonal Themes may also be present. The topical Theme is derived from the experiential metafunction and the Theme is everything up to and including the first constituent of the clause, the Process, Participant or Circumstance. Everything after is the Rheme. Halliday’s clause in Table 4 will help to show the breakdown of Theme.

**Table 4: A thematic analysis of Halliday's clause**

well	but	then	Anne	surely	wouldn't
<b>Continuative Theme</b>	<b>Structural theme</b>	<b>Conjunctive Theme</b>	<b>Vocative Theme</b>	<b>Modal Adjunct Theme</b>	<b>Finite Theme</b>
<b>Textual Theme</b>			<b>Interpersonal Theme</b>		

the best idea	be to join the group
<b>Derived from the experiential metafunction. Topical Theme</b>	<b>Rheme</b>

(1985: 55, cited in Hasan, R. & Fries, P.H., 1995. p. xxx)

### **3.4 Conclusion**

A description of the choice of newspapers was given. SFG and the two metafunctions have been introduced. The interpersonal metafunction Mood, modality and appraisal were described, and the textual one, reiteration and Theme. Both metafunctions will help to answer the two research questions in section 1.2. In chapter four the editorials in Appendix 2 will be analyzed and compared.

## CHAPTER 4 ANALYSIS OF THE EDITORIALS

### 4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, SFG will be used to research the editorials. The analysis will be broken into two different levels. The interpersonal metafunction will be looked at first, showing Mood, modality and appraisal within the editorials and then the textual metafunction, showing reiteration and Theme. The editor's portrayal of *us* and *them* groups is also shown. When analyzing the editorials, the letter of the editorial and the number of the clause will be stated.

#### 4.1 The interpersonal metafunction: Mood

The most fundamental purpose in any exchange is giving and taking or demanding and being given a commodity of some kind. Halliday and Matthiessen write,

Languages do not develop special resources for offers and commands, because in these contexts language is functioning simply as a means towards achieving what are essentially non-linguistic ends. But they do develop grammatical resources for statements and questions, which not only constitute ends in themselves but also serve as a point of entry to a great variety of different rhetorical functions. So by interpreting the structure of statements and questions we can gain a general understanding of the clause in its exchange function (2004: 110).

This is what shall be examined in these editorials. The semantic function of a clause in the exchange of information is a proposition, because it becomes something that can be argued about – something that can be affirmed or denied.

Looking at editorial A, Table 5a the clauses are declarative Table 5b shows the only interrogative - the editor is mainly giving his opinion or stating facts. Nearly all the Finites are used to mark tense and the tense is predominantly the present tense and positive. This orients the reader towards the kind of validity being claimed for the proposition, by relating it to the here-and-now reality of the speech event. As Eggins surmises “the Finite ... anchor[s] the proposition, [it] ... bring[s] it down to earth so we can argue about it” (2004: 152). There are two cases of negativity: clause 8 and 12. When negativity is shown, the reader should take note because as Thompson stresses “we need a particular reason for talking about what is not rather than what is” (2004: 66). There are two Finites used in clause 5 which mark modality. This relates to the writer’s attitude towards the proposition which is positive.



**Table 5a: Declarative clauses in editorial A**

Clause	Mood	
	Subject	Finite
1	the provisional IRA	[ <i>past</i> ]
	it	had
2	It	has
	we	are
3	the statement	is
4	IRA "volunteers"	have
5	the IRA	has
	these	will
	this	can
6	We	[ <i>present</i> ]
7	the involvement	is
8	This	cannot
9	let us	[ <i>present</i> ]
10	ill-will	has
	Unionists	[ <i>present</i> ]
11	The release	is
	they	were
12	The people	are not
13	It	is
14	the IRA	[ <i>present</i> ]
16	it	[ <i>present</i> ]
17	Unionists	are

**Table 5b: An interrogative clause in editorial A**

Clause	Mood	
	Finite	Subject
15	does	a democratic political party

The Subjects are mainly ‘*IRA*’, ‘*we*’ and ‘*Unionists*’ and in the interpersonal perspective, the Subject is the entity on which the validity of the clause rests. Halliday and Matthiessen state “The Subject supplies the rest of what it takes to form a proposition: namely, something by reference to which the proposition can be affirmed or denied” (2004: 117). In clause 4, the Finite ‘*have*’ is a specific reference to positive polarity and present time, while the Subject ‘*IRA volunteers*’ specifies the entity in respect of which the assertion is claimed to have validity. It is *IRA volunteers* in whom is vested the success or failure of the proposition. They are the ones that are being held responsible for the functioning of the clause as an interactive event. The editor rests his case on ‘*IRA volunteers + have*’, and this is what the reader is called on to acknowledge (ibid). The editor is using this Mood to make a statement. Halliday and Matthiessen write the Mood is the nub of the argument (2004: 122), the editor has chosen *IRA*, *we* and *unionists*, as well as present tense, as the nub of this article.

Through the system of Mood, the clause is organized as an exchange or as an interactive event, which involves both the editor and the reader in a specific situation of communication. In these editorials, the editor has chosen a speech role of predominantly giving information and thus assigns to the reader a complimentary role, which he wishes him to adopt (Halliday 2004). When the editor uses declarative clauses, he is telling the reader his opinion about a situation, as an editorial is all about advocating a particular value-laden position, that of the editor (Sano, 2008: 116). All of the editorials examined consist of declarative and interrogative clauses. Table 6 shows a breakdown of the number in each editorial and the predominant Subjects. There are 295 declarative and 12 interrogative clauses. The editor is offering information rather than demanding it, therefore, the interaction between the editor and reader is one of non-negotiation of meanings. Where the editor uses interrogative clauses, interaction is encouraged. The editor is speaking directly with the reader in a sense, asking them for their opinion and often for an agreement with the ideology that has already been shown in the editorial. Most of the interrogatives are used after the editor’s ideology has been stated; in these cases, the editor is using the interrogative to ask, “Don’t you agree with what I have just shown you?” In the editorials, where the interrogatives are asked before the editor’s

ideology has been given, the editor is offering the reader a chance to give theirs. The editor then offers his ideology and where both the reader's and editor's are the same, the reader feels part of the same group in this situation, the reader is more likely to accept other issues brought up later in the text. A brief description of the editorials is given now in relation to Mood and Residue. The Tables can be found in Appendix 3.

#### **4.1.1 Mood analyzed in the editorials.**

Looking at the findings briefly, *Daily Telegraph* editorials selected *IRA*, *unionists*, *we* and *Peter Hain* as the Subjects and present tense as Finite. The overall ideology conveyed is one of wait and see what the IRA now does, as they have tricked us before. It also portrays Mr. Hain and the British government as incompetent and too willing to accept everything the IRA say. *Guardian* selected *IRA*, *unionists* and *Sinn Fein* as Subjects and present tense as Finite. The first and second editorials are very different. The first is positive about the future of Northern Ireland and the ideology it portrays is one of future hope; that all the parties involved will do their utmost for peace and success. The second editorial is about the future for politics in the British Isles. The outlook given is one of big change, where Sinn Fein might be able to form a united Ireland free of British rule.

*Irish Independent* editorials selected *IRA* and *the statement* as Subjects and present tense as Finite. The ideology given just after the announcement was very positive, showing the reader that peace will come to the British Isles. The next editorial showed some reservations and doubt about the happy prospects for the future and the final editorial told the reader to wait and see what the IRA actually does, as they cannot really be trusted. *Irish Times* editorials are similar to *Irish Independent*, as the first one showed the future to be bright with great possibilities for everyone on these islands. The second editorial was more negative, showing the IRA as a heartless bunch of murderers who have not changed their ideology, only their way of doing business. The ideology, although initially was very positive, leaves the reader with a let's wait and see attitude.

**Table 6: Subjects and mood in the editorials**

<b>Editorial</b>	<b>Declarative clauses</b>	<b>Interrogative clauses</b>	<b>Predominant Subjects</b>
<b>A</b>	22	1	The IRA
			Unionists
			We
<b>B</b>	18	1	Peter Hain
			The statement
<b>C</b>	19	0	Mr. Hain
			Mr. Blair
<b>D</b>	39	0	The IRA
			Unionists
<b>E</b>	21	0	Sinn Fein
<b>F</b>	37	1	The statement
			The IRA
<b>G</b>	23	2	The IRA
			Their new position
<b>H</b>	32	1	The statement
			The IRA
<b>I</b>	51	3	The IRA
			The statement
<b>J</b>	33	3	The decision

#### **4.1.2 Comparing Mood in the editorials**

As was earlier stated in section 3.3 Figure 2 and reiterated by Eggins, a direct link can be traced from the grammatical patterns of Mood in the clause, up to the semantics of interpersonal meanings, and out into context to the register variable of tenor (2004: 184). The Mood analysis showed one of the dimensions of tenor in all the editorials, that of who does the talking. An indication of power revealed in these editorials is that 295 of the clauses are declarative and only 12 interrogative. The editors are constantly giving their opinions and rarely asking for the readers. As a reader of editorials, this is the

transaction one expects and as such these editorials can be seen as a standard genre for editorials, where feedback between writer and reader is not possible. In British editorials, the writer's role can be seen as adviser which construes unequal power the tenor of these editorials has the potential to create boundaries rather than solidarity between the editor and reader. One way in which the formality of the adviser's role is minimized is the use of interrogatives, which Eggins suggests "has the effect of creating a 'rhetorical' interactive context" (2004: 333). This difference can be seen between British and Irish editorials, in that there are only 2 interrogative clauses in the British editorials as opposed to 10 in the Irish ones, suggesting there is a slightly higher amount of reciprocity in the latter, thus reducing the distance between editor and reader. The Mood, which is an interactive event between the editor and the reader, tends to be less interactive in the British editorials.

#### 4.2 The interpersonal metafunction: Modality

As was stated above, polarity plays an important role in the Mood. Clauses are usually positive or negative, however, Thompson states that “semantically there are also intermediate stages, points between ‘yes’ and ‘no’... which are expressed by modality” (2004: 66). In these editorials, the commodity being exchanged is information. The modality relates to how valid the information is being presented, as in terms of probability, or usuality. These can be expressed by a Finite modal operator, by a mood Adjunct of probability or usuality, or by both together. Table 7 shows Finite modal operators and Table 8 shows mood Adjuncts of modality.

**Table 7: Finite modal operators**

	Low	Median	High
Positive	can, may, could, might, (dare)	will, would, should, is / was to	must, ought to, need, has / had to
Negative	needn't, doesn't / didn't + need to, have to	won't, wouldn't, shouldn't, (isn't / wasn't to)	mustn't, oughtn't to, can't, couldn't, (mayn't, mightn't, hasn't / hadn't to)

**Based on Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 116)**

**Table 8: Mood Adjuncts of modality**

	Median	Outer: High	Outer: Low
Probability	probably surely	certainly, definitely; no way (no how)	possibly, perhaps, maybe; hardly
Usuality	usually	always; never	sometimes, occasionally; seldom, rarely

**Based on Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 128)**

Using modality, the question of the editor’s commitment can be investigated: the degree to which the speaker commits himself to the validity of what he is saying. As can be seen above, the tables are separated into low, median and high; however, this is an idealization, as the three labels represent areas on a scale rather than absolute categories. An editorial, which contains Finite modal operators and Adjuncts of modality from the low category,

is more open to argument, whereas one which contains expressions from the high category is more confidently presented and possibly more difficult to argue with. The use of modality shows that the editor is expressing a personal view, rather than an objective fact. In these editorials, it can be seen in Appendix 4 that there are 43 uses of Finite modal operators and Mood Adjuncts of modality in the British newspapers, compared to 93 in the Irish ones. I speculate a possible cultural explanation for this higher amount in the Irish newspapers is due to Ireland being ruled by Britain for hundreds of years and also their position next to a powerful neighbor have taught the Irish editors to be cautious about expressing their opinions. Similar results were found in relation to Finnish and Russian writers (Crismore, et al 1993: 65) Another reason could be as Holmes (1982) suggests, they are used as a device for politeness and consideration for others; in this case, as a way of giving readers a chance to disagree. This view would make the Irish editors more considerate and polite than the British editors, at least in the sense of avoiding any imposition on the reader.

#### **4.2.1 Modality analyzed in the editorials**

In editorial A, there is a mixture of Finite modal operators used from low to high. There is one use of the negative *cannot*, in clause 8, which is classed as high. Here the editor is showing that he is very confident in the validity of the information presented. He is saying that the decommissioning must start immediately. In editorial B, the modality presented is mainly from the low and median levels and there is one use of a modal Adjunct, *hardly* in clause 5. By using this word from the low level, the editor shows that he is making a guess. In editorial C, a mixture of low to high modality has been shown. There is one mood Adjunct of modality showing usuality in clause 7 *never*. This is classed as outer high; here it is used to show how frequently the IRA has kept its promises. *Daily Telegraph* editorials have used 10 high, 11 median and 4 low modality expressions.

Editorial D has a mixture of low to high modality, but it contains 4 negative Finite modal operators. They are median and high and the editor is stating that the IRA's statement is important in clause 2 and that the statement shows a strong commitment to using only

peaceful means in the future in clause 3. In clause 19 and 21, the editor is hedging that the future is going to be difficult; nobody knows the future, so it is impossible to give a definite forecast. In editorial E, 3 mood Adjuncts have been used, *maybe* in clause 4 and 18 and *perhaps* in clause 15. All of them are classed as outer low and show the low validity of his statement. He cannot be sure how long it will take the IRA to be seen as a peaceful organization or if the statement is a prelude to the IRA's revival of a united Ireland. In clause 15, he is predicting the future and therefore cannot be definite. He shows his lack of confidence in the IRA's ability to become a political party in both the North and Republic within the next ten years. *Guardian* editorials have 3 high, 13 median and 7 low modality expressions.

There is a high use of modality in editorial F, most of which is median. Negative Finite modal operators, from the median and high group, are used. In clause 11, she writes that if the statement was not easy to understand, then political changes *would not* take place. In clause 19, the editor is telling the reader that the IRA has *never* used the word criminality; I feel she is suggesting here that the IRA is criminal. Editorial G also uses a mixture of low to high modality. In clause 17, a median mood Adjunct is used to tell us that the editor cannot be sure of Sinn Fein members' real plans for making this statement, but she suspects that it was to gain political power North and South of the Irish border. Editorial H uses low to high modality. In clause 2, the editor is saying that the Prime Minister is easily pleased and in clause 18 the validity of the statement shows that the IRA did not partake in the Good Friday Agreement. *Irish Independent* editorials have 9 high, 28 median and 9 low modality expressions.

Editorial I, shows the highest use of modality; it is one of the longest editorials, but the use of modality is still very high. Once again a mixture of low to high modality is used again, but there is a greater use of modality from the high group than in the other editorials. There are 11 high, 26 median and 9 low modality expressions. The use of high modality expressions show the reader that the information offered is valid. The reader may feel that they are being preached to due to the high use of such modality. The last editorial J uses only high and median modality. This shows that the editor of *Irish Times*



is confident in the information he presents to the reader. This might persuade people that the editor's opinion is correct and thus readers might agree with his ideology more quickly.

#### **4.2.2 Comparing modality in the editorials**

The dominance of declaratives in all the texts indicates that the texts share a common focus on the giving of information. However, the patterns of modality in the texts suggest that there is a difference between the British and Irish editorials. In the Irish editorials, there is a much higher use of modality across all the categories, low to high, compared to the British ones. The higher use of modalization can be explained as part of the way the editor creates a less authoritative, more suggestive tenor. In the British editorials, modalization has been used 48 times compared to 92 times in the Irish texts, nearly twice as many. One point that needs to be made here is that the length of the texts are different, the British ones have 104 clauses and the Irish 166. Even with this difference, there is still about a third more use of modality in the Irish ones, suggesting that the British editorials are more authoritative than the Irish editorials. It can be seen that a lot of modalizations in these editorials do not express uncertainty, but instead deference to the superior status of the reader.

### 4.3 The interpersonal metafunction: Appraisal

Appraisal is concerned with the way people convey attitudinal meanings. Simply put, it indicates whether the writer thinks that something is good or bad. Thompson suggests that appraisal is expressed by lexical choices, as there are few grammatical structures with a primarily evaluative function (2004: 75). Martin (2000) suggests appraisal can be broken into three categories: Affect, Judgement and Appreciation. Affect covers the expression of our emotional responses; it focuses on the feelings of the appraiser. An example can be seen in Figure 3 from editorial A clause 2,

**Figure 3: A clause showing the use of Affect**

‘we are entitled to feel *a touch skeptical* about its intentions and the timing of the announcement.’

Judgement focuses on the qualities of the appraised; it is used to appraise people. An example can be seen in Figure 4 from editorial C clause 15,

**Figure 4: A clause showing the use of Judgement**

‘Mr. Paisley was *wise* yesterday, when he declared his refusal to share power with Sinn Fein until the IRA matched actions to its words.’

Appreciation also focuses on the qualities of the appraised, except it is used to appraise things, actions, events, etc. An example can be seen in Figure 5 from editorial A clause 3,

**Figure 5: A clause showing the use of Appreciation**

‘On the positive side, the statement is *far less equivocal* than previous utterances from the IRA, which have had a similar build-up only for the contents to disappoint.’

Thompson writes that each of the above categories have more delicate sub-categories; however, due to word and time constraints, only the above categories will be shown in Appendix 5. Appraisal relates to the writer’s attitude and ideology, so by examining appraisal, the differences in ideology can be seen between the editors in these articles.

### 4.3.1 Appraisal analyzed in the editorials

Looking briefly at the editorials, it can be seen that Affect is used the least. The editors do not want their feelings to be the focus of the editorial. Affect shows the editors own ideology rather than facts and readers are less likely to agree with feelings that exist in the writer's mind rather than in the real world. In many cases, where the editor has used Affect, he has selected the subject 'we' and therefore, the ideology presented looks like it is the readers' as well as the editor's. This can be seen in Editorial A clause 2; B clause 16; D clause 2 and H clause 7.

Judgement has been used in all the editorials. In *Daily Telegraph*, it has been used to appraise IRA, Sinn Fein, Ian Paisley, prime minister and Northern Ireland secretary, all of which have been appraised negatively. In *Guardian*, Sinn Fein and IRA have been appraised positively. In *Irish Independent* Sinn Fein, IRA and Mr. Blair are appraised negatively, while unionists are appraised positively. Lastly, in the *Irish Times*, IRA is only appraised negatively. Unionists and Mr. Blair are appraised positively.

Appreciation in *Daily Telegraph* shows the IRA statement appraised negatively to begin with, due to its lateness, and then positively, showing us that it is easy to understand and of great significance. Within *Guardian*, the event is appraised positively, as are the unionists' opinion. The IRA's culture throughout the Troubles is appraised negatively. In all three editorials of *Irish Independent*, the statement is appraised. In editorial F, it is appraised positively, G it has a neutral appraisal while H is appraised negatively, showing how the editor has changed her ideology over three days. *Irish Times* has a very positive appraisal of the statement and future actions of the IRA in editorial I; however, in J they are appraised very negatively. Again, this shows that the editor has changed his opinion between the editorials.

### 4.3.2 Comparing appraisal in the editorials

Appraisal has been used in all the editorials. Affect is used slightly more in the British editorials. Judgement is similar in the British and Irish editorials with slightly more positive Judgement in the Irish ones. However, there is a significant difference in

Appreciation; the Irish editorials contain twice as much as the British ones. As can be seen in the editorials, it is mainly the statement and actions of the IRA which is being appraised. In both British and Irish editorials they are appraised negatively and positively, although there does seem to be more positive appraisal in the Irish editorials, showing the reader of these editorials that the statement should be believed and that the future actions of the IRA will be peaceful.

#### 4.4 The textual metafunction: Reiteration

As stated earlier, reiteration will be broken down into 4 different styles: direct repetition, relations of familiarity based on identity, antonyms and synonyms. In Appendix 6, reiteration can be seen mainly through direct repetition. The repetition of a lexical item is cohesive in its own right; when a word can be associated with another word in the preceding text, it coheres with that word and so contributes to the texture. Cohesion expresses the continuity that exists between one part of a text and another. Halliday and Hasan report continuity that is provided by cohesion express points of contact with what has gone before; the significance of this is that some relevant feature or some thread of argument persists from one moment to another as the meanings unfold (1976: 299). This helps the editor to guide the reader along and instill in them the ideology that is to be imparted from their editorial. When looking at the reiteration tables, it can be seen how the argument precedes, what features the editor continuously offers and therefore are important from their ideological standpoint. However, reiteration of ideas not just lexical items more openly shows the editor's standpoint, as will be seen next.

##### 4.4.1 Reiteration of ideas analyzed in the editorials

Looking at *Daily Telegraph* editorials, the editor reiterates the length of time the process has taken. The editor shows the IRA as moving very slowly, while the British government implements policies at once. This portrays the IRA as dragging their feet and therefore, cannot be trusted to fulfill their statement. It also represents the British government as forthright. The table below shows clauses from the three editorials.

**Table 9: Reiteration of time expressions which portray Government as quick**

Editorial	Clause	Clause showing time expression
A	11	The release from prison this week ...
B	2	... had been released for a second time ...
B	6	On the very next day ...
B	7	Then yesterday ...
B	17	... Government immediately performs deeds ...
C	1	After less than three months ...
C	8	... to be rewarded immediately ...
C	11	Murderers were released early ...
C	13	No sooner had ...

**Table 10: Reiteration of time expressions which portray the IRA as slow moving**

Editorial	Clause	Clause showing time expression
A	1	Seven years after ...
A	2	It has been a long time coming ...
A	3	... less equivocal than previous utterances ...
A	5	If this is an overdue acknowledgement ...
A	10	Since 1998 ...
A	12	... who have hailed so many false dawns before.
B	1	... promising for the umpteenth time ...
B	17	... looks like just the latest step in a macabre dance...
C	3	... the minister who finally brought peace
C	7	... has made in the course of the process.
C	9	In 1994 ...
C	10	Four years later ...
C	12	... the IRA announced for the third time ...

In *Guardian* editorials, extreme adjectives are reiterated many times in editorial D, giving the view that the IRA statement and future for the British Isles is very positive.

**Table 11: Reiteration of extreme adjectives in editorial D**

Editorial	Clause	Clause showing extreme adjectives
D	1	... immense and resonant ...
D	3	... huge commitments.
D	4	... major concessions ...
D	4	... outrageous manner ...
D	5	... huge gains ...
D	6	Great things are now possible ...
D	7	... currently heaped on London.
D	32	... irresistible logic ...

Editorial E is concerned with the politics the IRA is involved in. The editor has reiterated the wish of Sinn Fein / IRA to gain political power in both parts of Ireland. He has used expressions to show the two countries and political parties as shown in Table 12.

**Table 12: Reiteration of two countries and political parties in editorial E**

<b>Editorial</b>	<b>Clause</b>	<b>Clause showing two countries and political parties</b>
E	1	... Northern Ireland.
E	2	... south of the border ...
E	2	... Irish Republic.
E	3	... political parties and institutions in the north ...
E	3	... different parties and institutions in the south ...
E	4	... Sinn Fein may be deemed to have acquired political clean - or cleaner - hands ...
E	5	... the parties in the north ...
E	5	... Sinn Fein is matched by the fact that those in the south ...
E	6	... Sinn Fein is the only important political party which contests all elections north and south of the border ...
E	8	... Sinn Fein's recent spectacular success in the north, where it took 24% of the vote in the British general election in the north ...
E	8	... has slowly helped to boost its showing in the south as well, where opinion polls now put the party on 11%.
E	9	North and south, Sinn Fein remains very much a minority party.
E	10	... under the different proportional representation arrangements that apply in both Northern Ireland and the republic ...
E	10	Sinn Fein has a realistic prospect of becoming a junior government partner in both jurisdictions.
E	13	... last week's historic move was not merely aimed at achieving a partnership with Ian Paisley at Stormont, but also at achieving a coalition with Bertie Ahern's Fianna Fáil in Dublin.
E	14	... this is Sinn Fein's aim ...
E	16	... Sinn Fein would have a stronger grip on Irish politics ...
E	16	... the party could be expected to drive much harder than many now realise to put Irish unification back at the heart of political debate, north and south.
E	18	... that is not Sinn Fein's view ...
E	18	... the determined revival of republicanism's oldest and most central demand.

*Irish Independent* editorial F shows a positive view towards the IRA by reiterating that the IRA and its activities have come to an end. All the negative points about the IRA are reiterated as ending, showing the reader that a brighter future is ahead. Some clauses are shown in Table 13.

**Table 13: Reiteration of the end of the IRA and its activities in editorial F**

Editorial	Clause	Clause showing the ending of negative activities
F	1	... at long, long last – the IRA is going away.
F	8	... the end of the IRA as an armed force.
F	15	... an end to the armed campaign ...
F	17	... get rid of whatever arms they hold ...
F	17	... through peaceful means only.
F	20	... not engage in any other activities whatsoever.
F	23	... the end of all paramilitary ...
F	24	... complete the process ...
F	24	... put its arms beyond use ...
F	24	... conclude this as quickly as possible.
F	29	The abandonment of all ...
F	32	... mark a new beginning ...

Editorial G, like *Daily Telegraph* editorials, reiterates time expressions. The editor shows the reader that the IRA was slow to implement this decision to end its campaign, however, what is needed now is haste on the part of the IRA. It suggests the future outcome depends entirely on the IRA and how fast it implements these new policies. It also portrays the British government as quick in implementing policies. Table 14 shows the ideological standpoint in editorial G.

**Table 14: Reiteration of time expressions showing British government as quick and the IRA as slow**

Editorial	Clause	Clause showing time expression
G	1	... lost no time yesterday ...
G	1	... immediate moves to ...
G	6	They have reaped an immediate dividend ...
G	7	Now they must ...
G	8	... they need to do this without any delay whatsoever.
G	11	... destroyed not over a month or two but within the next few days.
G	12	Taking this final step with urgency will ...
G	13	Prompt action is essential ...
G	13	... possible again before too long.
G	14	... North and South in the next few years.
G	23	... Sinn Fein moves quickly to ...



IRA's actions and promises are shown in a negative light in editorial H. This makes the reader feel the future has a negative outcome. The editor's ideology can be seen as not trusting the IRA and the reader is constantly reminded of this ideological standpoint from all the negative clauses given. See Table 15.

**Table 15: Negativity reiterated in editorial H**

<b>Editorial</b>	<b>Clause</b>	<b>Clause showing the IRA in a negative light</b>
H	1	... long overdue ...
H	1	... should be met with a healthy public skepticism ...
H	2	The IRA statement of intent was not ...
H	3	Not in 2005, however.
H	4	The IRA wouldn't say sooner ...
H	9	... not what the IRA has said ...
H	11	The public will wait to see evidence ...
H	12	... it may well wait some time.
H	14	The republican movement destroyed much of the goodwill ..
H	15	... its non-compliance ...
H	18	That never happened.
H	19	Sinn Fein / IRA's failure ...
H	24	Sinn Fein / IRA having overplayed its hand ...
H	24	... compounded its difficulties ...
H	26	... has been forced to abandon violence ...

In editorial I, there are three main ideas reiterated. The first contains sailing expressions, suggesting a journey is commencing. The journey the editor is referring to is one from a divided province and a war to a united state and peace. The editor has chosen an apt way to describe this, as journeys are often to places far apart. In Table 16, there are some clauses which use sailing expressions.

**Table 16: Reiteration of sailing expressions in editorial I**

<b>Editorial</b>	<b>Clause</b>	<b>Clause showing sailing expressions and words</b>
I	<b>Headline</b>	Wind of change ...
I	2	... put wind behind the sails ...
I	2	... becalmed political process.
I	48	... the political ship could be sailing again.

Another idea reiterated is that the IRA is not referred to as terrorists but an army. The editor has used military terms throughout the editorial. This ideological point implies that the IRA has a more legitimate cause for fighting. Terrorism is a negative ideology, whereas; soldiers can be portrayed as fighting for a just cause. The editor has helped to show the IRA as a group with a just cause. Table 17 shows some clauses using military vocabulary.

**Table 17: Reiteration of military vocabulary in editorial I**

Editorial	Clause	Clause showing military vocabulary
I	1	... Óglaigh na hÉireann ...
I	1	... commander-in-chief ...
I	1	... IRA army council.
I	4	... an active paramilitary force.
I	13	... ordered to dump arms.
I	16	... all Óglaigh are compelled to fully comply with these orders
I	22	The war is over.
I	30	... the IRA is now a superannuated force ...
I	35	... issues such as demilitarization ...
I	43	... the IRA hoisting the white flag?

The third idea reiterated is the illegal activities the IRA undertakes. The editor is pointing out to the reader that the IRA is involved in many crimes, not just the major ones you read about in the paper. It shows the IRA to be a mafia style organization. There are some clauses in Table 18.

**Table 18: Reiteration of IRA illegal activities in editorial I**

Editorial	Clause	Clause showing criminal activities of the IRA
I	18	... an end to punishment shootings and beatings ...
I	18	... the exiling of those the IRA deems undesirable ...
I	18	... the spying ...
I	18	... the targeting ...
I	18	... the surveillance ...
I	19	... a commitment to cease criminality ...
I	20	... an end to the robberies ...
I	20	... the smuggling ...
I	20	... the money laundering ...
I	23	... the murder of Robert McCartney ...
I	23	... the Northern Bank robbery ...
I	23	... multi-million pound international money laundering ...

Editorial J portrays the IRA as a selfish, unintelligent group of terrorists. This is a very negative view of them and their ideology. Reiterations of this ideological standpoint tell the reader that no respect should be afforded to the IRA, since they do not afford any respect to the victims or people of Britain and Ireland. Table 19 shows clauses with this ideology.

**Table 19: Reiteration of a negative portrayal of the IRA**

Editorial	Clause	Clause showing strong negativity towards the IRA
J	3	... terrorist organization ...
J	4	... a tightly-knit group of ideological zealots ...
J	4	... self-righteousness ...
J	4	... impervious to shame and reason ...
J	4	... required intelligence, courage and cunning ...
J	12	... a mixture of tedium ...
J	12	... the IRA announced a supposedly “complete” end ...
J	13	... expiring in an ecstasy of self-pity.
J	14	... a sense of unacknowledged futility.
J	15	... is accompanied by neither intellectual nor moral insight ...
J	16	... the IRA’s campaign was politically counter-productive ...
J	16	... a political settlement based on violent coercion was as unattainable as it would have been unsustainable.
J	17	There is no remorse, no pity, no shame.
J	18	The meanly laconic acknowledgement ...
J	19	... torturing and murdering civilians ...
J	19	... depriving their families of a decent burial ...
J	19	... incinerating the dog lovers...
J	19	... blowing to bits those honouring the dead ...
J	19	... the massacres at ...
J	19	... the murders of children such as ...
J	21	... this refusal to engage with the reality ...
J	21	... the egotism that attaches to a conspiratorial elite.
J	22	The demented self-importance of a gang ...
J	29	... a childish petulance ...
J	29	... a stubborn and solipsistic refusal to accommodate anyone else’s needs.
J	30	... not with a bang but with a self-regarding whim.
J	31	There is nothing eloquent, no sense of grandeur, no epic moment of historical, emotional or moral truth.
J	32	... a small and sordid rebuke to the vainglorious rhetoric that sustained it.

#### **4.4.2 Comparing reiteration in the editorials**

Reiteration is a way the editor can keep stating his opinion throughout the whole text. It helps the editor to gradually paint a picture of his ideological standpoint and encourage the reader to agree with and finally accept it. The editor explains causes and consequences and then elaborates on them, restating information in another way. This elaboration is a rhetorical device, used to encourage the reader to agree with the editorials' main idea. Reiteration, as explained above, can be seen in all the editorials. Although the editorials are reiterating slightly different points, an overall fundamental idea can be seen in each newspaper's stance. *Daily Telegraph* reiterates a negative view of the IRA and the British governments' handling of Northern Ireland issues. *Guardian* reiterates a positive view of the future for all involved with politics and the people of Ireland, both north and south. The two Irish newspapers reiterate similar ideas of let's not act too quickly and see what the IRA really does this time, however *Irish Times* reiterates a much more negative view of the IRA and shows its lack of trust for the IRA / Sinn Fein. These reiterations instill basic ideas, which the editor hopes the reader will pick up on and agree with.

#### 4.5 The textual metafunction: Theme

The thematic structure gives the clause its character as a message; it has some form of organization where it fits in with and contributes to the flow of discourse. One part of the clause is known as the Theme, which is the “point of departure of the message; it is that which locates and orients the clause within its context” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 64). The rest of the clause in which the Theme is developed is the Rheme. The Theme always starts from the beginning of the clause; it sets the scene for the clause itself and positions it in relation to the unfolding text. The Theme of a clause is the first group or phrase that has some function in the experiential structure of the clause (ibid), i.e. everything up to and including the first constituent of the clause, which is the Process, Participant or Circumstance. This group or phrase can also consist of two more Theme structures: the textual Theme, which consists of continuatives, paratactic or hypotactic conjunctions and conjunctive Adjuncts, and the interpersonal Theme, which consists of Vocative, Modal comment Adjuncts and Finite verbal operators. Textual Themes will be shown in bold, interpersonal in italics and topical in normal font. The variety of Themes in editorial A will be explained next.

Themes in declarative clauses are usually easy to identify, because the Theme and Subject are the same. Thompson writes, in this situation, they are said to be conflated (2004: 144). Clause 2 has the Theme ‘It’, which retrospectively refers to ‘The Belfast Agreement’ mentioned in clause 1. This is both the Subject and Theme of clause 2. This can also be seen in clause 6 and 12. Another kind of constituent, which is often chosen as Theme in declarative clauses, is an Adjunct. This can be seen in clause 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 14 and 16.

In interrogative clauses, the WH-word or group represents the missing information that the other person is being asked to provide; therefore, it almost always appears in Theme position, which can be seen in clause 15. Butt et al tell us that a WH-word fuses both interpersonal and experiential meanings (2000: 141).

**Table 20: Themes in editorial A**

Clause	Theme
1	<b>Seven years after</b> the Belfast Agreement (Conjunctive Adjunct) the Provisional IRA
2	It <b>and despite</b> the <i>wearisome</i> depiction (Paratactic conjunction) (Hypotactic conjunction) (Modal comment Adjunct) we
3	<b>On the positive side</b> , the statement (Conjunctive Adjunct)
4	In the <i>strangely archaic</i> vernacular (Modal comment Adjunct) IRA volunteers
5	<b>If this is an overdue acknowledgement that the IRA has been engaged in racketeering, criminal activity, tortures and "punishment beatings" and these will now cease</b> , this (Hypotactic conjunction)
6	We
7	<b>Secondly</b> , the involvement of a representative from the Protestant community in verifying the destruction of the IRA's armoury is (Conjunctive Adjunct)
8	There is
9	<b>Again</b> , let us (Conjunctive Adjunct)
10	<b>Since 1998</b> , much ill-will (Conjunctive Adjunct)
11	The release
12	The people
13	It is the unionist community of Northern Ireland
14	<b>To that end</b> , the IRA (Conjunctive Adjunct)
15	Why
16	<b>Furthermore</b> , it (Conjunctive Adjunct)
17	Unionists

A more complex situation in clause 13 is a feature Halliday and Matthiessen call predicated Theme. The writer has picked out a single element and has given it emphatic thematic status. Another structure in clause 8 is the use of existential 'there' where it is Subject and therefore ought to be Theme, except Halliday and Matthiessen warn that in experiential terms it has "no representational function" (2004: 257), and therefore cannot express experiential meaning. Thompson explains that "existential clauses typically take as their starting point the simple fact that some entity exists... The existence is signaled not just by 'there' but also by 'there' plus the existential process" (2004: 161). The existential process is usually the verb 'be'. Halliday and Matthiessen consider 'there' alone to be Theme, whereas I tend to agree with Thompson, and include the process in the Theme. That way the Theme includes experiential content.

In clause 5, a dependent clause in initial position is used. Thompson advises that we should take this as the point of departure for the whole clause complex. In this case, the clause is finite. However, he advises non-finite clauses should be analyzed similarly (2004: 155). Here it can be seen as a hypotactic conjunction; the editor has projected not the wording but the meaning of the original language event. Themes are broken into individual elements in Appendix 7, as in Table 20; however, a less detailed description of the Themes will be given for editorial B to J.

#### **4.5.1 Themes analyzed in the editorials**

Editorial B Themes deal predominantly with *IRA*, *Mr. Hain* and *the statement*. The *IRA* is represented as murderers and terrorists; these are the points of departure of the message. By looking at these, the reader can see that the *IRA* is represented negatively. *Mr. Hain* is used as Theme, setting the scene for the clause; however, without looking at the Rheme, we cannot tell how he is portrayed, except in clause 15, where the editor shows *Mr. Hain* as an ignorant outsider without ability. The editor also chooses *the statement* as Theme, showing the reader that this is central to the opinions given in this editorial. In editorial C, the editor has thematized *Mr. Hain* and the *IRA*. However, here *time expressions* are also used thematically. *Time expressions* show the reader that some things happen quickly, while others do not. *Mr. Hain* and *Mr. Blair* have been thematically placed with things that happen quickly because the editor wants to point out the lack of speed of the *IRA*. All editorials from *Daily Telegraph* show that the editor is showing the *IRA* in a negative light, as *terrorists* and slow to make decisions. The *government* and *Mr. Hain* are also shown to be negative, this time for their incompetence and their impromptu.

*Guardian* Themes in editorial D are *IRA*, *unionists* and *peace process*. The editor has thematized the positive possible future of the *IRA* and its members, but has also placed the negative side of them in the Theme to show the reader that the *IRA* has a chance to change its image, if members give the process a chance. *Unionists* are shown positively, telling the reader that they were willing to change, but after so many disappointments they have changed their view. The reader is being shown that *unionists* cannot be blamed

for their present views. The editor has shown the *IRA* and *unionists* in a positive light and then introduces the *peace process* in Theme. The editor thus shows the reader that success in the *peace process* is not only the responsibility of the *IRA* but also *unionists*. He thematizes possible difficulties in this process from both *unionists* and *republican rejectionists*. In editorial E the editor has *Sinn Fein / IRA* and *British Isles* as Theme. He places both *Sinn Fein* and *IRA* in the Theme position showing the reader that they are not separate identities. He is pointing out that due to the *IRA* cessation of arms their political wing *Sinn Fein* can now enter politics as a legitimate political party. *Northern Ireland* and *the Republic* are placed in Theme position telling the reader that *Sinn Fein* will be entering the political scene on both sides of the border. This I feel is a positive editorial as the editor has thematized *Sinn Fein / IRA* as a peaceful political party, thus telling the reader that the war is truly over. *Guardian* editor has used Themes to show the reader that the future is bright for people in the British Isles.

In editorial F *the statement* is the main Theme. The editor wants the reader to understand the importance of *the statement* showing what has happened in Northern Ireland over the last 35 years will now come to an end. The editor shows what the *statement* means to the *IRA* volunteers and its view on decommissioning. The Theme shows the reader that there is a positive outlook for people of Northern Ireland, if the *IRA* complies with *the statement*. Editorial G places *the statement*, *IRA* and *members of political parties* in Theme position. *The statement* is shown positively; however, this time the decisions of the *IRA* are more closely related to the success or failure of this *statement*. The editor has thematized conditional sentences in clause 3, 8 and 24, telling the reader that success or failure rests with the *IRA*. The Themes of clause 1, 2, 16, 17 and 24 are *political parties*, showing that success not only rests with the *IRA* but also with *unionists*, *British government*, *Sinn Fein* and *SDLP*. *Irish Independent* editorial H places *IRA / Sinn Fein* predominantly in Theme position. The editor is telling the reader that the war has continued due to the *IRA / Sinn Fein*; that the success for the future depends on the *IRA / Sinn Fein*; that the *IRA / Sinn Fein* has to take a number of steps before a lasting peace can start. Themes show that success is very likely in editorial F, that it is possible in G,



and that it all depends on the *IRA / Sinn Fein* in H. The Themes show that the editor is depicting the future as not as bright as originally thought.

Editorial I is from the *Irish Times* and the Themes are *political parties, IRA and the statement*. *The statement* is shown as a positive move, yet open to interpretation. The editor thematizes *the statement* to tell the reader that the future revolves around the interpretation and the implementation of it. The editor also thematizes the members involved in the peace process, *British government, Sinn Fein, DUP, SDLP, UUP, IMC, Ian Paisley and Irish government*, thus showing the reader that a lot of people are involved in the process, meaning that sometimes it can be difficult to get all the groups to agree and also showing that this task is not only on the shoulders of Gerry Adams, he has support from people around him. Also the *IRA* is in Theme position showing the reader that it is their decision to either make the process work or renege on their statement. In editorial J the Themes are *IRA, the decision to stop the war and atrocities*. The *IRA* are thematized as cruel heartless criminals who show no pity, and are only interested in furthering themselves through any possible means. This leads on to *the decision to stop the war* which the editor shows was not out of a change of ideology, but due to necessity. The editor also shows the reader *the IRA atrocities* committed over the years. All of these Themes tell the reader that the *IRA* can not be trusted, should not be congratulated, and must not be allowed to get away with so much. *Irish Times* Themes show that the *IRA* is still the same as it was 35 years ago.

#### **4.5.2 Comparing Themes in the editorials**

Themes in *Daily Telegraph* editorials are very similar over 3 editorials. The *IRA* is thematized in all 3 with *time expressions* in editorial A and C. *Mr. Hain and other politicians* are thematized in B and C and there is a very strong use of *us* group thematized in A. *Guardian* also thematizes the *IRA / Sinn Fein* in editorial D with *peace process* and again *our group* is in the Theme position. Editorial E is different from the other editorials in this corpus, it concentrates on the political future in the British isles and thematizes *the groups* involved. *Irish Independent* editorials have *statement* in Theme position in editorial F and G and *members of political parties* thematized in

editorial G. All three editorials have the *IRA / Sinn Fein* in Theme position, this being the main Theme in editorial H. *Irish Times* editorials thematize the *IRA* and *statement* in editorial I, whereas in editorial J the *IRA* and its *atrocities* are thematized. It can be seen that all newspapers use the *IRA* as Theme and most thematize *statement* and *political parties* involved. The one possible difference that can be seen here is in the use of Themes to show negativity, whereas the British editorials show negativity towards both the *IRA* and *British politicians*, Irish editorials display their negativity towards the *IRA* predominantly.

## 4.6 *Us and Them*

By producing a division between *us* and *them* an editor can assign negative values to *them* and positive values to *us*. Thus the reader might be persuaded to agree with the editor's positive ideological standpoint. When positive values are assigned to *us* it suggests to the reader that the opposite is assigned to *them* and vice versa; so, if the editor states that *we* are law-abiding, it suggests that *they* are not.

### 4.6.1 *Us and them analyzed in the editorials*

Looking at editorial A, Table 21a has clauses which show positive *us* and Table 21b show negative *them*. In Table 21a the editor has used *we* and *let us* to suggest that the reader is part of the editor's group. It shows the reader that the IRA can not be trusted, negatively portraying *them*, and it portrays *us* as having to wait and see if the IRA will do what it promises this time. I suggest the word *unionists* in clause 17 might make the reader feel part of *us*; as the religion in Britain is predominantly Christianity 71.82%, (National Statistics website accessed July 12, 2011) and of these a majority are Church of England, Scotland, Wales or Protestant. There is a high possibility that the reader of the editorial will be from one of these religions.

All of the negative *them* clauses refer to the IRA. They are portrayed as a group that cannot be trusted due to promises not kept. The editor lists criminal activities the IRA is involved in and also tells the reader about hundreds of convicted murderers who are walking the streets. The editor also shows the IRA as a criminal group, by suggesting that they do not give their full support to the police and criminal system.

**Table 21a: *Us and Them* in editorial A**

Clause	Positive depiction of <i>us</i>
2	... we are entitled to feel a bit sceptical about its intentions
6	We wait to see what actually happens.
9	Again, let us see deeds to match the words.
17	Unionists are right to reserve judgment ...

**Table 21b: *Us* and *Them* in editorial A**

Clause	Negative depiction of <i>them</i>
3	... previous utterances from the IRA, which have had a similar build-up only for the contents to disappoint.
5	... the IRA has been engaged in racketeering ...
10	... too many concessions have been given to republicans in exchange for very little.
11	The release from prison this week of Sean Kelly, the Shankill bomber, is a reminder that hundreds of convicted murderers walk the streets of the province ...
16	... it needs to give its full support to the police and the criminal justice system,
16	... the IRA offered to shoot the alleged culprit.

In editorial B the editor uses many clauses to depict the IRA as negative, showing the reader that they cannot be trusted and are a group of criminals. It also represents the Northern Ireland Secretary, Peter Hain negatively. He is associated with *them*. He is described as a person with little knowledge of the situation and who does not realize what they are doing, a kind of blundering *Keystone Cop*. The government is also associated with *them* by telling the reader that they act prematurely, showing the reader they are too naïve, and should wait and see what the IRA really does before changing things.

**Table 22a: *Us* and *Them* in editorial B**

Clause	Positive depiction of <i>us</i>
7	... that will leave the people and police of the province almost entirely unprotected ...
16	We hope passionately that a lasting peace will come to Northern Ireland.

**Table 22b: *Us* and *Them* in editorial B**

Clause	Negative depiction of <i>them</i>
1	... its latest ambiguously worded statement, promising for the umpteenth time ...
3	Kelly is the mass murderer who killed nine people in 1993 ...
4	... rounding up suspects wanted for the attempted bombings in London on July 21.
5	... the terrorists of the IRA ...
7	... should the terrorists decide to renew their "armed struggle".
8	... Peter Hain, plans to defortify police stations, and to send officers out on the beat alone.
9	He will cut the number of troops in Northern Ireland by more than half, and repeal counter-terrorist legislation.
10	... an IRA statement that promises to end the current campaign, but not the war.
11	...all IRA units have been ordered to "dump arms", without saying all their arms.
12	It gives no undertaking to co-operate with the forces of law and order,
12	... renewing the IRA's commitment to ending British rule ...
13	The statement praises "our patriot dead" and IRA men who have been sent to prison for murder.
14	... Mr Hain had nothing to say about the true "patriot dead" - the British soldiers and the policemen who have given their lives trying to uphold the rule of law.
15	... with the ineptness of an ignorant outsider ...
17	... the IRA offers only words ...
17	... the democratically elected Government immediately performs deeds in return.

Editorial C only represents *them*. Like editorial B the IRA is characterized as slow and untrustworthy. The government is too trusting and not genuinely interested in Northern Ireland. Blair is represented as a person who does not learn from mistakes. By stating that this is the third time the IRA has announced an end to the armed campaign, it shows the reader that the government can not be trusted to make correct decisions about their stance with the IRA.

**Table 23: *Us* and *Them* in editorial C**

Clause	Negative depiction of <i>them</i>
1	... Peter Hain has achieved the extraordinary feat of making Ian Paisley sound like the voice of sweet reason in the province.
2	Mr Hain is the latest in a long line of ambitious ministers inflicted upon Northern Ireland by a Prime Minister who seems to care little about Ulster's problems, and to understand less.
4	... he does not seem to have studied or learnt from the history of Ireland.
7	... Sinn Fein/IRA has failed to keep a single one of the promises ...
8	Every new piece of paper, every empty pledge from the terrorists, has been hailed by the Government as a stupendous breakthrough, to be rewarded immediately by lavish concessions.
9	In 1994, the IRA promised ... there will be a complete cessation of military operations.
9	... amid general jubilation at Westminster ...
10	... Tony Blair felt the "hand of history" on his shoulder ...
10	Four years later ... the terrorists said the same thing again.
11	Murderers were released early from prison ... terrorists were given lucrative government jobs.
12	Then, last Friday, Mr Blair hailed a step of "unparalleled magnitude" ...
13	No sooner had the words landed on Mr Hain's desk than he ordered the dismantling of Army watchtowers ...
14	... an organisation that earns its bread from bank robberies, drug dealing and racketeering.
15	... until the IRA matched actions to its words.
18	If only the same could be said of the Secretary of State.

Editorial D shows the IRA as slow and unreliable. It tells the reader the IRA is involved in criminal activities and is against the policing system. It compares the IRA to *al Qaeda* a terrorist organization. In positive expressions of *us* it shows law-abiding people, people who wish the peace process well and unionists who tried to give the process a chance. This emphasizes *them* as having the opposite traits. The editor has portrayed parties and people who are related to our group as martyrs, showing the reader that they are righteous and courageous.

**Table 24a: *Us* and *Them* in editorial D**

Clause	Positive depiction of <i>us</i>
2	... many law-abiding people, including many who wish the peace process well, will be deeply sceptical, some for good reason.
10	Eight years ago, a clear majority of unionist opinion was prepared to give the process a go.
13	Parties and politicians who put themselves on the line for the Belfast agreement ...
14	Their successors are not going to sacrifice themselves in a similar way, and no one should expect them to do so.

**Table 24b: *Us* and *Them* in editorial D**

Clause	Negative depiction of <i>them</i>
4	... Irish republicanism, a movement nurtured ... in a culture of shameful violence and false victimhood.
7	If reactionary Islamist terrorism helped push the IRA into the modern world, ...
8	Of course, if the IRA had felt able to say in 1998 what it has now said in 2005 ...
9	Eight years of prevarication ...
13	... the IRA's unwillingness to say until now what it found impossible to say in 1998.
16	... it is not just the IRA's words that matter but its actions too.
17	This time the arms really have to be destroyed - and be seen to be destroyed.
18	The thugs, vigilantes and enforcers have to end their activities - and be seen to do so.
20	The IRA is an established culture operating entirely outside the laws and mores of democratic life.
29	These republican rejectionists may commit violent crimes,

Editorial E is mainly about the political future of Sinn Fein / IRA. So there is very little division of *us* and *them*. The only possible portrayal of *us* is clause 17, where the editor writes there has been a decade of compromises in Northern Ireland. This implies that the British government and unionists have given up things so that both sides can agree; this also suggests that the IRA has probably done the same; showing *them* in a positive light. There is little use of negative *them*. An example is where the editor tells the reader Sinn Fein is doing something criminal by saying they have not got politically clean hands. I feel that clause 16 and 18 have a negative image of *them*, as the editor is suggesting that Sinn Fein wants a unified Ireland, this is against the wishes of many unionists, and I

suggest that some of the readers of the *Guardian* are probably of a similar religious and ideological standpoint.

**Table 25a: *Us* and *Them* in editorial E**

Clause	Positive depiction of <i>us</i> / <i>them</i>
17	A decade of compromises in Northern Ireland ...

**Table 25b: *Us* and *Them* in editorial E**

Clause	Negative depiction of <i>them</i>
4	How far and how quickly Sinn Féin may be deemed to have acquired political clean - or cleaner - hands is hard to say at this early stage.
16	... and the party could be expected to drive much harder than many now realise to put Irish unification back at the heart of political debate, north and south.
18	... the determined revival of republicanism's oldest and most central demand.

Editorial F has no portrayal of *us*. The editor shows the IRA in a negative light, explaining that they could have said more in their statement, that they should have shown more remorse for all the misery they inflicted on everyone, and about their future plans for decommissioning, and the acceptance of policing in the province. This is similar to the other editorials examined; however, here she also shows *them* with a positive value. She tells the reader that this statement is the end of the IRA as a terrorist organization. She explains that the statement was more direct than usual and therefore the IRA's future intentions are clear. She points out all the previous criminal activities the IRA was involved in, and then states that they have all finished now. Overall this editorial has a higher positive value about *them* than a negative one.



**Table 26a: *Us* and *Them* in editorial F**

Clause	Negative depiction of <i>them</i>
2	Only someone perversely determined to find difficulties could put any other interpretation on yesterday's statement from the Provos.
3	Of course it could have said a lot more.
4	The IRA could have shown some remorse for the years of suffering it has caused.
5	It could have been more specific about how and when its arsenal is to be destroyed, about its acceptance of policing in the North and much more besides.
9	It means a complete acceptance by republicans that in future their aims will be pursued "through exclusively peaceful means."
18	The word criminality is not used.
19	... the IRA has never accepted that anything it does is criminal.

**Table 26b: *Us* and *Them* in editorial F**

Clause	Positive depiction of <i>them</i>
8	... yesterday's statement signals the end of the IRA as an armed force.
10	The statement, in contrast to P O'Neill's usual pronouncements, was admirably direct.
13	It is clear, it is emphatic, it is definitive.
14	And it is part of a clear, emphatic and definitive strategy which Sinn Fein hopes will greatly advance its electoral prospects on both sides of the border.
16	It said that all IRA units have been ordered to dump arms and all volunteers have been instructed to behave in a purely political, democratic and peaceful manner.
20	"Volunteers must not engage in any other activities whatsoever."
22	It means the end of intimidation, punishment beatings, kneecappings, expulsions and all the other invasions of individual rights and safety.
23	On the broader level, it means the end of all paramilitary and criminal activities, the protection rackets, smuggling, robberies and all the other illegal methods republicans have used to raise funds for the movement
24	the IRA will "complete the process to verifiably put its arms beyond use" and will "conclude this as quickly as possible."
32	... yesterday's statement will mark a new beginning for us all.

In editorial G the editor does not show *them* in a positive light. She states that the decisions are all in the IRA's hands and this suggests to the reader that things could go wrong, as the IRA on many previous occasions have not kept their promise. She warns the readers that members of the IRA may not give up their easy life. She suggests the IRA top members did not stop the war for the sake of peace but out of selfish means. The

British government is shown positively by keeping their promises and acting quickly and decisively.

**Table 27a: *Us* and *Them* in editorial G**

Clause	Positive depiction of <i>us</i>
1	The British government lost no time yesterday responding to the IRA peace declaration with immediate moves to scale back its military presence on the Border.
5	Their statement has been given a generous welcome.
6	They have reaped an immediate dividend with the dismantling of watchtowers and other army installations underway.
22	The SDLP leader Mark Durkan said yesterday that the IRA must not be allowed to "privatise" their criminality and he is right.

**Table 27b: *Us* and *Them* in editorial G**

Clause	Negative depiction of <i>them</i>
8	If they want to prove that their new position marks a real change of heart rather than just a change of tactics they need to do this without any delay whatsoever.
12	Taking this final step with urgency will reassure unionists - and the rest of us - that republicans can really be trusted.
15	Self-interest rather than any realisation that the campaign of violence was wrong was their motivation.
17	Senior Sinn Fein figures probably see it as an unparalleled opportunity for them to get their feet under the Cabinet tables on both sides of the Border.
18	... the foot soldiers who have been doing nicely from their security services, smuggled cigarettes and DVDs, cash robberies and all the rest of it.
19	They are to lose not only their easy income, but their status.
20	Is it too much to hope that some of these hardmen, who have not had a job in years, will actually start earning a living?
21	That they will accept being ordinary members of their communities rather than a feared elite?
23	All of which makes it even more important that Sinn Fein moves quickly to be part of the policing arrangements in the North.

Editorial H is the most negative towards *them*. It shows the IRA cannot be trusted, it characterizes them as a group of criminals and it states that for things to change, it is all up to the IRA, everyone else involved in the process has done their job, now it is time to see the IRA do the same. The British Prime Minister is shown in a negative light as someone who is too naïve. The positive values show *us* as hoping for change, decisions are made democratically and members of our group sacrifice themselves for peace.

**Table 28a: *Us* and *Them* in editorial H**

Clause	Negative depiction of <i>them</i>
1	The IRA's decision to abandon its armed struggle is welcome, and long overdue, but it should be met with a healthy public scepticism until promises made are fully honoured, and are independently verified.
2	The IRA statement of intent was not ...a step of unparalleled magnitude.
2	... the British prime minister, who is sometimes swayed by the hand of history on his shoulder, unwisely claimed ...
3	... Mr Blair's hyperbole might have been appropriate then.
4	The IRA wouldn't say sooner, in 1994, what it has taken 11 years to say later: that its war is finally over.
6	Does this mean that all IRA units will dump all arms?
9	But what really matters is not what the IRA has said, but what the IRA now does to fulfil the great expectations that it has set: how it meets its obligations to disarm, to end its criminal activities, to stop its punishment beatings, and to allow those that it has exiled from Northern Ireland by intimidation, a right of return.
11	The public will wait to see evidence of the IRA's conversion from a past of terrorism and criminality to a future as upholders of democracy and as exemplars of civic virtue: a transformation from pariahs to pillars of society.
12	And it may well wait some time.
13	From the outset Sinn Fein/IRA has exploited the peace process for its own end.
14	The republican movement destroyed much of the goodwill which was created by the Good Friday Agreement in 1998,
15	And the IRA has done so by its non-compliance with some of the agreement's key terms: most notably arms decommissioning.
19	The measure of Sinn Fein/IRA's failure is reflected in the political casualties of the peace process.
23	The triumph of the political extremes reflects a society in Northern Ireland more sectarian, and more divided, than before.
24	Sinn Fein/IRA having overplayed its hand, later compounded its difficulties; first, with the IRA's robbery of the Northern Bank, then with the involvement of IRA members in the murder of Robert McCartney.
25	The criminal face of the republican movement became an impediment to Sinn Fein's political advance.
26	the IRA has been forced to abandon violence and to pursue the goal of Irish unity through exclusively peaceful means, while desisting "from any other activities whatsoever", such as criminal acts, recruitment and training.
27	Whether the IRA now complies with its new ethical code is a matter for the Independent Monitoring Commission (IMC) to decide, in reviewing the IRA's efforts.
28	The IMC will now be the ultimate arbiters of whether the IRA has made the necessary transition to democracy, and has removed the shadow of the gunman from Irish society.

**Table 28b: *Us* and *Them* in editorial H**

Clause	Positive depiction of <i>us</i>
7	One presumes, and certainly hopes, so.
14	... the Good Friday Agreement in 1998, and which was further bolstered by ratification in referendums in both parts of Ireland.
20	Those, like David Trimble, who made a bold act of faith in IRA intentions on disarmament paid a very heavy political price for their misplaced trust.

Editorial I is the longest in this corpus and is from the *Irish Times*. It shows the IRA has an initial positive than negative value. The editor explains they have a chance to do great things, if they keep their promise made in the statement. The statement shows that not only the IRA are responsible for the future, all parties involved in the process must agree to make this a success. The negative values given are that this statement may not be legitimate, that the statement was difficult to understand, that the statement did not say the IRA's criminal activities would stop, and that some members might continue the fight by leaving the IRA and joining more radical groups. The editorial also states some of the criminal activities that the IRA is involved in. The positive values attributed to *us* show that many groups are involved in the peace process, that the governments of both Ireland and Britain will try to help the IRA abide by their decision, and that the unionist party will agree to work with them if they keep their promise. This editorial has an initial positive outlook but then it becomes negative.

**Table 29a: *Us* and *Them* in editorial I**

Clause	Positive depiction of <i>us</i>
8	And DUP MP Jeffrey Donaldson says that unionists have too much “bitter experience” of the IRA to get overexcited.
11	Ian Paisley, in turn, complained that it lacked transparency.
21	Tony Blair was impressed with the statement: It marked a “step of unparalleled magnitude”, he said.
22	So was Bertie Ahern. “The war is over,” said the Taoiseach.
30	The two governments, the political parties, the security services on these islands, the decommissioning body, the Protestant and Catholic clerics who are to be witnesses to disarmament and the four members of the Independent Monitoring Commission (IMC) – the ultimate arbiters of whether the IRA is now a superannuated force – must be in a position to definitively say that the IRA is honouring its commitments.
31	These bodies and individuals could play a crucial role in convincing the main skeptics, the DUP and the Ulster Unionist Party, that the IRA is serious this time.
32	... unionists had been “burned so many times before” and would not be conned again.
35	To help manage the time between now and next spring and to keep republicans sweet the governments will over the coming months deliver on issues such as demilitarization, an effective amnesty for IRA fugitives on the run, the Irish language, human rights issues etc.
36	There is also likely to be British government movement, possibly legislative, on policing, which is not mentioned in the statement, to help republicans make the final leap to totally acquiescing to the dispensation of the Belfast Agreement.
42	but essentially his line was that if the IRA delivers the DUP will reciprocate.
47	... if Dr. Paisley can put political pragmatism above his fundamentalism, then sometime next year the political ship could be sailing again.

**Table 29b: *Us* and *Them* in editorial I**

Clause	Positive depiction of <i>them</i>
1	On the face of its statement, the IRA now accepts that there is only one active Óglaigh na hÉireann, and its commander-in-chief is President Mary McAleese rather than the head of the IRA army council.
2	It is a potentially major statement which in the months ahead could put wind behind the sales of the becalmed political process.
4	But, again trusting to the wording of this announcement, as of 4 pm yesterday the IRA is no longer an active paramilitary force.
5	If the apparent promise of this statement is matched by delivery, then there is a real chance of a power-sharing government returning to Northern Ireland by the spring or autumn of next year.
10	SDLP leader Mark Durkan said that the statement was “clear, clean and complete”.
13	“All IRA units have been ordered to dump arms.
14	All volunteers have been instructed to assist the development of purely political and democratic programs through exclusively peaceful means.
15	Volunteers must not engage in any other activities whatsoever.”
16	“Every volunteer is aware of the import of the decisions we have taken and all Óglaigh are compelled to fully comply with these orders.”
20	However, to any reasonable person, the statement must mean an end to the robberies, the smuggling, the money laundering – and an end to IRA Inc, so to speak.
25	Some IRA members may walk away from the organization into retirement:
27	Otherwise why would Adams and McGuinness – always extremely cautious in matters relating to potential splits – have engineered this ostensibly clear and unilateral statement?
47	But if the IRA delivers, as promised, ...

**Table 29c: *Us* and *Them* in editorial I**

Clause	Negative depiction of <i>them</i>
6	With the IRA, it is always well to get the caveats in early.
7	Some observers have queried the legitimacy of the statement, arguing that apparently it was not sanctioned by an IRA convention.
9	and whatever about the arcane nature of the IRA constitution,
18	If the statement does not mean an end to “punishment” shootings and beatings, the exiling of those the IRA deems undesirable, the spying, the targeting, the surveillance and so on, then the IRA and the dictionary it employs will lack all credibility.
19	The statement does not spell out a commitment to cease criminality, but that was never going to happen, because the word “criminality” is not in the IRA lexicon.
23	... the IRA statement should not be underestimated ... notwithstanding recent memories of the murder of Robert McCartney, the Northern Bank robbery and alleged multi-million-pound international money laundering.
25	... others of a more ideologically bent may continue the “struggle” elsewhere.

Editorial J has no positive value attributed to *us*. It attributes some positive value to Gerry Adams and the top members of the IRA for helping the IRA to make this statement. Mainly this editorial describes the IRA negatively. The editor tells us that the war has continued too long. He shows the IRA as a group who are too enthusiastic about a cause which is not just. He writes that Sinn Fein / IRA have been trying to get as much as they can before the IRA finishes. He itemizes some of the atrocities committed by the IRA and explains how the IRA has pardoned itself from these. He tells the reader that the IRA has no remorse and this is due to the fact that they think they are more important than everyone else. The editor finally finishes with the idea that the last 35 years were a waste of time, that there was no real accomplishment achieved, and that the IRA should not be remembered as gallant crusaders for freedom, but more like a depraved group of common criminals.

**Table 30a: *Us* and *Them* in editorial J**

Clause	Negative depiction of <i>them</i>
1	The most extraordinary thing about the IRA's statement last week is that it shows how much joy has been drained out of the peace process.
2	a conspiratorial movement that had lasted for almost 150 years since the foundation of the Irish Republican Brotherhood.
4	Getting a tightly-knit group of ideological zealots, whose self-righteousness has proved itself so impervious to shame and reason,...
10	People know news management when they see it, and the staging of this event has been painfully transparent.
11	... every last drop of juicy PR has been wrung from the charade of Gerry and Martin consulting with themselves about the decision.
12	This in turn was in keeping with the mixture of tedium and titillation that has marked the decade since the IRA announced a supposedly "complete" end to its armed campaign.
13	The IRA's death has been like that of an operatic heroine writhing around in increasingly self-indulgent contortions, staggering to her feet for yet another tragic aria before finally expiring in an ecstasy of self-pity.
15	The decision to wind itself up is accompanied by neither intellectual nor moral insight.
16	There is no recognition that, at the very least, the last 20 years of the IRA's campaign was politically counter-productive, no acceptance that a political settlement based on violent coercion was as unattainable as it would have been unsustainable.
17	There is no remorse, no pity, no shame.
18	The meanly laconic acknowledgment that "many people suffered in the conflict" is cancelled out by the insistence that "the armed struggle was entirely legitimate".
19	torturing and murdering civilians and depriving their families of a decent burial; incinerating the dog-lovers of the Irish Collie club at the La Mon hotel; blowing to bits those honouring the dead of two world wars at Enniskillen; the massacres at Kingsmills, Birmingham, Teebane Cross and the Shankill Road; the murders of children such as Paul Maxwell, Nicholas Knatchbull, Jonathon Ball and Tim Parry.
20	Even atrocities that the IRA itself admitted at the time were indefensible (in relation to La Mon), for example, the IRA accepted at the time that it was "rightly and sincerely criticized" are now included in the moral amnesty it has graciously granted to itself.
21	At the root of this refusal to engage with the reality of its own campaign is the egotism that attaches to a conspiratorial elite.
22	The demented self-importance of a gang that believed itself to be the government of Ireland has not gone away and is evident in last week's statement.
29	Because, presumably, of a childish petulance, a stubborn and solipsistic refusal to accommodate anyone else's needs.



30	And so, a long history of conspiratorial republicanism comes to an end, not with a bang but with a self-regarding whim.
31	There is nothing eloquent, no sense of grandeur, no epic moment of historical, emotional or moral truth.
32	And in that at least, the IRA's departure is in keeping with its presence over the last 35 years – a small and sordid rebuke to the vainglorious rhetoric that sustained it.

**Table 30b: *Us* and *Them* in editorial J**

Clause	Positive depiction of <i>them</i>
3	By any standards, the political achievement of Gerry Adams, Martin McGuinness and their allies in dismantling an undefeated terrorist organization from the inside is colossal.
4	... required intelligence, courage and cunning of a very high degree.
5	If Adams delivered on the promise of his public appeal to the IRA the previous month, he would "have demonstrated leadership of a high order".

Throughout the editorials quotation marks are used indicating these are not the editors' words and therefore not part of *us* group's ideology. (Oliveira & Pagano 2006: 641) They distance the editor from the comments and show them to be views held by the other group and are thus possibly suspect. Caldas-Coulthard reports "By transferring averral to other people, reporters detach themselves from the responsibility of what is being reported in order to distance themselves" (1994: 307). Most of the quotes are from the IRA and show that the editor is suspicious about the sincerity of these messages. *Daily Telegraph* and *Irish Times* have the highest number showing both newspapers negative image of *them*. *Irish Independent* has less and *Guardian* only one; showing that these editorials are less negative towards *them*. A list can be seen in Table 31 through 34.

#### **4.6.2 Comparing *us* and *them* in the editorials**

Overall the findings in Table 31 to 34 are similar to the findings in Table 21a to 30b. *Daily Telegraph* and *Irish Times* show the strongest portrayal of *them* as negative with *Irish Independent* in third place and *Guardian* showing the least. The highest use of positive *us* can be seen in the Irish newspapers, 50 to 70 % higher than in the British editorials, which are both similar. One feature which can be seen is the use of positive

*them* by the Irish newspapers. This is not a feature of the British editorials. A possible reason for this is to show the reader both sides of the story, helping them to feel the editorial is even-handed. The reader is then more conducive to accepting the editor's overall ideology, which is a negative view of *them*.

**Table 31: Quotation marks in the *Daily Telegraph***

<b>Editorial</b>	<b>Clause</b>	<b>Remarks and ideas which are not part of the editor's ideology</b>
<b>A</b>	<b>1</b>	"exclusively peaceful and democratic means"
	<b>2</b>	"historic"
	<b>4</b>	"volunteers"
	<b>4</b>	"instructed to assist the development of purely political and democratic programmes through exclusively peaceful means [and] must not engage in any other activities whatsoever"
	<b>5</b>	"punishment beatings"
<b>B</b>	<b>1</b>	"armed campaign"
	<b>7</b>	"armed struggle"
	<b>11</b>	"dump arms"
	<b>13</b>	"our patriot dead"
	<b>14</b>	"patriot dead"
	<b>15</b>	"We have got to get acceptance by the republican community that the old days of the police being the enemy are over."
<b>C</b>	<b>5</b>	"peace process"
	<b>9</b>	"as of midnight, 31 August, there will be a complete cessation of military operations".
	<b>10</b>	"hand of history"
	<b>12</b>	"unparalleled magnitude"
	<b>12</b>	"end to the armed campaign"
	<b>12</b>	"from 4pm this afternoon"

**Table 32: Quotation marks in the *Guardian***

<b>Editorial</b>	<b>Clause</b>	<b>Remarks and ideas which are not part of the editor's ideology</b>
<b>E</b>	<b>1</b>	"farewell to arms"

**Table 33: Quotation marks in the *Irish Independent***

<b>Editorial</b>	<b>Clause</b>	<b>Remarks and ideas which are not part of the editor's ideology</b>
<b>F</b>	<b>9</b>	"through exclusively peaceful means."
	<b>20</b>	"to assist the development of purely political and democratic programmes through exclusively peaceful means"
	<b>20</b>	"volunteers must not engage in any other activities whatsoever."
	<b>24</b>	"complete the process to verifiably put its arms beyond use"
	<b>24</b>	"conclude this as quickly as possible."
<b>G</b>	<b>16</b>	"step of unparalleled magnitude"
	<b>22</b>	"privatize"
<b>H</b>	<b>2</b>	"a step of unparalleled magnitude"
	<b>5</b>	"all IRA units have been ordered to dump arms."
	<b>26</b>	"from any other activities whatsoever"

**Table 34: Quotation marks in the *Irish Times***

<b>Editorial</b>	<b>Clause</b>	<b>Remarks and ideas which are not part of the editor's ideology</b>
<b>I</b>	<b>7</b>	"bitter experience"
	<b>10</b>	"clear, clean and complete"
	<b>13</b>	"All IRA units have been ordered to dump arms."
	<b>14</b>	"All volunteers have been instructed to assist the development of purely political and democratic programs through exclusively peaceful means."
	<b>15</b>	"Volunteers must not engage in any other activities whatsoever."
	<b>16</b>	"Every volunteer is aware of the import of the decisions we have taken and all Óglaigh are compelled to fully comply with these orders."
	<b>18</b>	"punishment"
	<b>19</b>	"criminality"
	<b>21</b>	"step of unparalleled magnitude"
	<b>22</b>	"The war is over,"
	<b>25</b>	"struggle"
	<b>32</b>	"burned so many times before"
	<b>44</b>	"sackcloth and ashes"
<b>J</b>	<b>5</b>	"have demonstrated leadership of a high order"
	<b>12</b>	"complete"
	<b>18</b>	"many people suffered in the conflict"
	<b>18</b>	"the armed struggle was entirely legitimate"
	<b>19</b>	"entirely"
	<b>20</b>	"rightly and sincerely criticized"
	<b>25</b>	"need not to endanger anyone's personal rights or safety"

#### **4.7 Conclusion**

In this chapter the editorials have been analyzed using two of the three metafunctions of systemic functional grammar; the interpersonal and textual. Within the interpersonal metafunction analysis has been done on the editorials through Mood, modality and appraisal. Within the textual metafunction the editorials have been analyzed through the use of reiteration and Theme. And finally the editorials have been examined for the presence of group affiliation markers which help the reader to be persuaded to join *us*. The findings have also been shown at the end of each section. The next chapter will give the conclusion.

## **CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION**

### **5.0 Introduction**

The following section presents a discussion of the results found in chapter four above. First the limitations of this study and suggestions for future research will be shown, and then a summary of the findings and a conclusion are given.

### **5.1 Limitations of this analysis**

This analysis has many limitations of which the main one is the size. Editorials were chosen from only two British and two Irish newspapers, it cannot be said that this small corpus is representative of the British or Irish newspapers' ideological stance to the IRA statement. In fact it only represents the stance of the four newspapers analyzed. Each newspaper reflects the demands and expectations of its readership, and each newspaper has its own style that reflects its ideological stance (Rowe: 1999) Care must be taken to view the findings in light of these issues. Within these newspapers only institutional editorials were chosen, none from the public or invited individuals. The period chosen was only between the first and seventh day after the statement by the IRA. This gave a total of ten editorials to analyze which is a very small corpus to extrapolate useful findings from. Another major limitation is with the analysis itself. Originally the researcher wanted to use all three metafunctions to analyze the editorials, unfortunately due to time and word restraints, only two of these could be utilized.

## **5.2 Suggestions for further research**

Future research should employ a larger selection of newspapers. There are five British broadsheets of which only two were looked at, and although there are only two Irish Broadsheets; which were used, Northern Ireland also has one, *The Belfast Telegraph* which could also be analyzed. As well as the institutional editorials, editorials from invited individuals and opinion articles from the public would give a fuller picture of the different newspapers' and countries' ideological standpoint. The period for research was very short, the first seven days after the statement, and therefore cannot show an accurate view of the issues. This terrorist war continued for nearly 100 years, so by analyzing the first seven days editorials only a 'shock reaction' view can be found. A better understanding could be achieved by looking at editorials written over a two or three year period. The initial joys and worries displayed in this corpus would most likely be overshadowed by a truer ideological view of all the parties and work involved.



### 5.3 Statement of findings and conclusion

My first research question was whether these editorials reveal different ideological perspectives, and I have discovered that they are not as different as I originally thought. Within Mood, *Daily Telegraph* showed their ideology as not trusting the IRA to keep its word and also not agreeing with the government's point of view and actions in Northern Ireland. The editor constantly warns the reader to wait and see what will happen. *Guardian* editorials took a positive ideological stance on this news and portrayed the future as brighter for all involved in Northern Ireland. The Mood portrayed in both British newspapers can be seen to be opposite. Similar to *Irish Independent*, *Irish Times* gives a positive outlook soon after the initial announcement but with time and thought; the euphoria of the statement starts to dim, and the realization of what can happen makes the editorials have a more negative view. Both Irish newspapers' view is similar and is also similar to *Daily Telegraph's*. Also due to the use of interrogatives, the Mood which is an interactive event between the editor and the reader tends to be less interactive in the British editorials.

Modality has been used twice as much in the Irish editorials compared to the British ones. The higher use of modalization can be explained as part of the way the editor creates a less authoritative; more suggestive tenor. From this finding the British editorials seem to be more authoritative than the Irish ones.

Affect and Judgement are similar in the British and Irish editorials; however, there is a significant difference in Appreciation, the Irish editorials contain twice as much as the British ones. In both the British and Irish editorials, the statement and IRA actions are appraised both negatively and positively, although there is more positive appraisal in the Irish editorials; showing the reader that the statement should be believed, and that the future actions of the IRA will be peaceful.

The Irish newspapers and *Daily Telegraph* have similarly reiterated a negative view of the IRA. *Daily Telegraph* also reiterates a negative view of the British government and other political parties involved. *Guardian* is an exception with an overall positive view

reiterated about the future and the IRA. This reiteration presses home the editor's ideology hopefully persuading the reader to agree with it.

It can be seen that all newspapers use the IRA as Theme, and most thematize the statement and the political parties involved. The one possible difference is in the use of Themes to show negativity; whereas, the British editorials show negativity towards both the IRA and British politicians, the Irish editorials display their negativity towards the IRA predominantly.

My second research question asked how social groups were represented. *Daily Telegraph* and *Irish Times* show the strongest portrayal of *them* as negative with *Irish Independent* in third place and *Guardian* showing the least use of negative *them*. The highest use of positive *us* can be seen in the Irish newspapers, 50 to 70 % higher than in the British editorials. Another exception is that the British editorials position the British government and politicians in the *them* group a lot more than the Irish editorials. Also the Irish newspapers show a higher use of positive *them* which is rarely seen in the British newspapers.

Before doing this research I thought that the British and Irish editorials would have different ideological standpoints; however, I have discovered that *Daily Telegraph* and the Irish newspapers are quite similar with a negative view of the IRA statement and the future of politics. The *Guardian* shows the most positive view towards the IRA, the statement and future for politics in the British Isles.

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## APPENDIX I

### Full text of the IRA statement issued on July 28, 2005

The leadership of Oglaiġ nah Eireann has formally ordered an end to the armed campaign. This will take effect from 4pm this afternoon.

All IRA units have been ordered to dump arms. All Volunteers have been instructed to assist the development of purely political and democratic programmes through exclusively peaceful means. Volunteers must not engage in any other activities whatsoever.

The IRA leadership has also authorised our representative to engage with the IICD (Independent International Commission on Decommissioning) to complete the process to verifiably put its arms beyond use in a way which will further enhance public confidence and to conclude this as quickly as possible. We have invited two independent witnesses, from the Protestant and Catholic churches, to testify to this.

The Army Council took these decisions following an unprecedented internal discussion and consultation process with IRA units and Volunteers.

We appreciate the honest and forthright way in which the consultation process was carried out and the depth and content of the submissions. We are proud of the comradely way in which this truly historic discussion was conducted.

The outcome of our consultations show very strong support among IRA Volunteers for the Sinn Fein peace strategy. There is also widespread concern about the failure of the two governments and the unionists to fully engage in the peace process. This has created real difficulties.

The overwhelming majority of people in Ireland fully support this process. They and friends of Irish unity throughout the world want to see the full implementation of the Good Friday Agreement.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, our decisions have been taken to advance our republican and democratic objectives, including our goal of a united Ireland. We believe there is now an alternative way to achieve this and to end British rule in our country.

It is the responsibility of all Volunteers to show leadership, determination and courage. We are very mindful of the sacrifices of our patriot dead, those who went to jail, Volunteers, their families and the wider republican base. We reiterate our view that the armed struggle was entirely legitimate.

We are conscious that many people suffered in the conflict. There is a compelling imperative on all sides to build a just and lasting peace.

The issue of the defence of nationalist and republican communities has been raised with us. There is a responsibility on society to ensure that there is no re-occurrence of the pogroms of 1969 and the early 1970s. There is also a universal responsibility to tackle sectarianism in all its forms.

The IRA is fully committed to the goals of Irish unity and independence and to building the Republic outlined in the 1916 Proclamation.

We call for maximum unity and effort by Irish republicans everywhere. We are confident that by working together Irish republicans can achieve our objectives. Every Volunteer is aware of the import of the decisions we have taken and all Oglaiigh are compelled to fully comply with these orders.

There is now an unprecedented opportunity to utilise the considerable energy and goodwill which there is for the peace process. This comprehensive series of unparalleled initiatives is our contribution to this and to the continued endeavours to bring about independence and unity for the people of Ireland.

## APPENDIX II

### *The Daily Telegraph Editorials*

## Editorial A

### **IRA deeds must now match its words**

**29 Jul 2005**

1) Seven years after the Belfast Agreement committed the republican movement in Northern Ireland to pursue political and constitutional change by "exclusively peaceful and democratic means", the Provisional IRA yesterday declared a formal end to its armed campaign and said it had ordered all its units to implement the deal that Sinn Fein entered into in 1998.

2) It has been a long time coming; and despite the wearisome depiction of the IRA statement as "historic" by British and Irish ministers, we are entitled to feel a touch sceptical about its intentions and the timing of the announcement.

3) On the positive side, the statement is far less equivocal than previous utterances from the IRA, which have had a similar build-up only for the contents to disappoint. 4) In the strangely archaic vernacular that the movement still finds difficult to disavow, IRA "volunteers" have been "instructed to assist the development of purely political and democratic programmes through exclusively peaceful means [and] must not engage in any other activities whatsoever".

5) If this is an overdue acknowledgement that the IRA has been engaged in racketeering, criminal activity, tortures and "punishment beatings" and these will now cease, this can only be welcomed. 6) We wait to see what actually happens.

7) Secondly, the involvement of a representative from the Protestant community in verifying the destruction of the IRA's armoury is also a significant development. 8) There is no reason why this cannot begin forthwith. 9) Again, let us see deeds to match the words.

10) Since 1998, much ill-will has developed because Unionists consider that too many concessions have been given to republicans in exchange for very little. 11) The release from prison this week of Sean Kelly, the Shankill bomber, is a reminder that hundreds of convicted murderers walk the streets of the province because they were freed in exchange for a cessation of violence - a cessation which, we now learn, only took effect from 4pm yesterday.

12) The people that Sinn Fein/IRA needs to convince about their intentions are not Tony Blair, Bertie Ahern, sympathetic American congressmen or the commentators who have hailed so many false dawns before. 13) It is the Unionist community of Northern Ireland that needs to be won over if the power-sharing executive is to be re-established with any realistic prospect of continued success.

14) To that end, the IRA needs to demonstrate that the process is irreversible by disbanding. 15) Why, after all, does a democratic political party need an army? 16) Furthermore, it needs to give its full support to the police - reformed at its behest, after all - and the criminal justice system, something that was woefully absent when Robert McCartney was brutally murdered earlier this year and the IRA offered to shoot the alleged culprit. 17) Unionists are right to reserve judgment on yesterday's events until the hype has been translated into action.

## Editorial B

### Macabre dance of terror in Northern Ireland

02 Aug 2005

1) The IRA will be very pleased indeed by the Government's reaction to its latest ambiguously worded statement, promising for the umpteenth time to end the "armed campaign". 2) Even before the statement was published, Sean Kelly had been released for a second time from prison, as part of a deal to butter up the terrorists. 3) Kelly is the mass murderer who killed nine people in 1993, when he blew up a shop on the Shankill Road in Belfast.

4) The irony will be lost on nobody that, at the very moment when the Government was releasing Kelly from prison, the police on the British mainland were rounding up suspects wanted for the attempted bombings in London on July 21. 5) But the terrorists of the IRA could hardly have dreamt of the extra treats in store for them, once they had issued their statement.

6) On the very next day, troops in Northern Ireland were ordered to start demolishing their watchtowers. 7) Then, yesterday, the Government gave a series of promises to the IRA that will leave the people and police of the province almost entirely unprotected, should the terrorists decide to renew their "armed struggle".

8) The new Northern Ireland Secretary, Peter Hain, plans to defortify police stations, and to send officers out on the beat alone. 9) He will cut the number of troops in Northern Ireland by more than half, and repeal counter-terrorist legislation. 10) All this, and much more, he has pledged to do in response to an IRA statement that promises to end the current campaign, but not the war.

11) The statement says that all IRA units have been ordered to "dump arms", without saying all their arms. 12) It gives no undertaking to co-operate with the forces of law and

order, while renewing the IRA's commitment to ending British rule - majority rule - in Northern Ireland. **13)** The statement praises "our patriot dead" and IRA men who have been sent to prison for murder.

**14)** In contrast, Mr Hain had nothing to say about the true "patriot dead" - the British soldiers and the policemen who have given their lives trying to uphold the rule of law. **15)** On the contrary, with the ineptness of an ignorant outsider, he dared to say: "We have got to get acceptance by the republican community that the old days of the police being the enemy are over."

**16)** We hope passionately that a lasting peace will come to Northern Ireland. **17)** But, so far, the latest initiative looks like just the latest step in a macabre dance, in which the IRA offers only words, while the democratically elected Government immediately performs deeds in return. **18)** What sort of message does that send to terrorists all over the world?

# Editorial C

## **Hain needs to learn some Irish history**

**04 Aug 2005**

1) After less than three months as Northern Ireland Secretary, Peter Hain has achieved the extraordinary feat of making Ian Paisley sound like the voice of sweet reason in the province. 2) Mr Hain is the latest in a long line of ambitious ministers inflicted upon Northern Ireland by a Prime Minister who seems to care little about Ulster's problems, and to understand less.

3) Mr Hain has seemingly come to the job determined to go down in history as the minister who finally brought peace to Northern Ireland. 4) But he does not seem to have studied or learnt from the history of Ireland.

5) For Mr Hain, as for so many of his predecessors (Tory as well as Labour), nothing seems to matter about Northern Ireland except that the "peace process" should be seen to be marching relentlessly forward. 6) For them, it is all about appearances. 7) Never mind that Sinn Fein/IRA has failed to keep a single one of the promises that it has made in the course of the process.

8) Every new piece of paper, every empty pledge from the terrorists, has been hailed by the Government as a stupendous breakthrough, to be rewarded immediately by lavish concessions. 9) In 1994, the IRA promised, amid general jubilation at Westminster, that "as of midnight, 31 August, there will be a complete cessation of military operations".

10) Four years later, Tony Blair felt the "hand of history" on his shoulder when the terrorists said the same thing again. 11) Murderers were released early from prison, the Royal Ulster Constabulary was renamed and emasculated and terrorists were given lucrative government jobs. 12) Then, last Friday, Mr Blair hailed a step of "unparalleled



magnitude" when the IRA announced for the third time an "end to the armed campaign", which was to take effect "from 4pm this afternoon".

**13)** No sooner had the words landed on Mr Hain's desk than he ordered the dismantling of Army watchtowers, the disbandment of the Royal Irish Regiment and the removal of Army protection from the police. **14)** How that must have delighted an organisation that earns its bread from bank robberies, drug dealing and racketeering.

**15)** Mr Paisley was wise yesterday, when he declared his refusal to share power with Sinn Fein until the IRA matched actions to its words. **16)** He knows how David Trimble's reputation suffered when he took the word of Sinn Fein/IRA. **17)** Mr Paisley, at least, has shown that he is determined not to be taken for a sucker. **18)** If only the same could be said of the Secretary of State.

**Editorial D**

**Possibilities of peace  
29 Jul 2005**

1) The IRA's abandonment of its armed campaign yesterday is an immense and resonant event. 2) It should not be underestimated, even though many law-abiding people, including many who wish the peace process well, will be deeply sceptical, some for good reason. 3) Nevertheless, for the IRA to say what it said yesterday - that the armed campaign is over, that the arms are to be dumped, that its members are to engage in exclusively peaceful activities, that they must not engage in any other activities whatsoever - are all huge commitments. 4) They are indisputably major concessions in terms of the history of Irish republicanism, a movement nurtured - though in an increasingly sterile and outrageous manner - in a culture of shameful violence and false victimhood. 5) And they are, potentially at least, huge gains in the more important context of the government and everyday life of the people of Northern Ireland. 6) Great things are now possible that were not possible before. 7) If reactionary Islamist terrorism helped push the IRA into the modern world, then perhaps some good has come from the horrors currently heaped on London.

8) Of course, if the IRA had felt able to say in 1998 what it has now said in 2005, the way towards inclusive politics in Northern Ireland would be very much clearer than it is. 9) Eight years of prevarication, however understandable at the time, have left a fault-line of mistrust across the whole process of compromise and power-sharing. 10) Eight years ago, a clear majority of unionist opinion was prepared to give the process a go. 11) Today - even after the IRA statement - that is simply no longer the case. 12) Rightly or wrongly, unionist opinion has turned sceptical again. 13) Parties and politicians who put themselves on the line for the Belfast agreement have been destroyed by the IRA's

unwillingness to say until now what it found impossible to say in 1998. **14)** Their successors are not going to sacrifice themselves in a similar way, and no one should expect them to do so.

**15)** It will therefore take time and effort for the good work of this week to undo the legacy of the last eight years. **16)** Even more than before, it is not just the IRA's words that matter but its actions too. **17)** This time the arms really have to be destroyed - and be seen to be destroyed. **18)** The thugs, vigilantes and enforcers have to end their activities - and be seen to do so. **19)** This will not be easy. **20)** The IRA is an established culture operating entirely outside the laws and mores of democratic life. **21)** It will not be undone in a day, or even a few months. **22)** If the peace process is to be worthy of the name, the IRA is going to have to carry through on the ground what it said in its statement **23)** That declaration was the beginning of that process, not the end.

**24)** Bitter experience has taught that the peace process is only as good as the commitment to it on both sides. **25)** There must be real proof of real disarmament and real operational changes in the two reports of the independent monitoring commission now set for October and, above all, January. **26)** If the process passes those tests, however, there must then be reciprocal moves from the unionists. **27)** Unionists are entitled to expect proof of good faith, but they are not entitled to dismiss that proof if it comes. **28)** As in the past, some republicans are likely to kick against what the IRA has said. **29)** These republican rejectionists may commit violent crimes, which unionist rejectionists will seize on to delay political progress. **30)** It is therefore essential and urgent to create political conditions that are resilient enough to absorb such threats. **31)** That is why, more than anything else, it is vital for Sinn Fein now to embrace the policing system of Northern Ireland. **32)** That is the irresistible logic of the IRA's statement yesterday. **33)** There is no move that would do more to show that this time the republican concessions are for real.

# Editorial E

## **Southern strategy**

**1 Aug 2005**

1) Quite properly, the bulk of analysis of last week's IRA "farewell to arms" statement has focused on its impact in Northern Ireland. 2) Far less attention has been given to the implications south of the border, in the Irish republic. 3) Yet, just as a verified cessation of the IRA armed campaign generates unavoidable consequences for all political parties and institutions in the north, so the same is true for the very different parties and institutions in the south. 4) How far and how quickly Sinn Fein may be deemed to have acquired political clean - or cleaner - hands is hard to say at this early stage. 5) Yet the fact that, if and when it does, the parties in the north would then have to craft a new relationship to Sinn Fein is matched by the fact that those in the south would also have to do the same.

6) In Britain, it is all too easy to forget that Sinn Fein is the only important political party which contests all elections north and south of the border alike. 7) That it does so - and that the other parties do not - is the result of history and partition. 8) But Sinn Fein's recent spectacular success in the north, where it took 24% of the vote in the British general election in May, has slowly helped to boost its showing in the south as well, where opinion polls now put the party on 11%. 9) North and south, Sinn Fein remains very much a minority party. 10) But, under the different proportional representation arrangements that apply in both Northern Ireland and the republic, Sinn Fein has a realistic prospect of becoming a junior government partner in both jurisdictions. 11) Increasingly, that is indeed its goal. 12) For that reason the IRA statement last week has to be seen as an attempt to clear the way for it to become a reality. 13) In that sense, last week's historic move was not merely aimed at achieving a partnership with Ian Paisley at Stormont, but also at achieving a coalition with Bertie Ahern's Fianna Fáil in Dublin.

**14)** Just because this is Sinn Fein's aim it does not follow that it will happen. **15)** But the possibility exists, perhaps even in this decade. **16)** If it does take place, Sinn Fein would have a stronger grip on Irish politics than it has had since 1921, and the party could be expected to drive much harder than many now realise to put Irish unification back at the heart of political debate, north and south. **17)** A decade of compromises in Northern Ireland may have created an impression that the demand for a 32-county Irish state has been quietly allowed to die. **18)** But that is not Sinn Fein's view, and last week's IRA announcement may be the prelude to the determined revival of republicanism's oldest and most central demand.

## **Editorial F**

### **The IRA goes away** **July 29 2005**

1) So at last - at long, long last - the IRA is going away. 2) Only someone perversely determined to find difficulties could put any other interpretation on yesterday's statement from the Provos.

3) Of course it could have said a lot more. 4) The IRA could have shown some remorse for the years of suffering it has caused. 5) It could have been more specific about how and when its arsenal is to be destroyed, about its acceptance of policing in the North and much more besides.

6) But all of that is for another day. 7) The important thing this morning is to recognize the significance of what has happened.

8) If words mean anything, yesterday's statement signals the end of the IRA as an armed force. 9) It means a complete acceptance by republicans that in future their aims will be pursued "through exclusively peaceful means."

10) The statement, in contrast to P O'Neill's usual pronouncements, was admirably direct.

11) It had been said over recent days that if anyone needed a dictionary to understand the promised statement, it would not work. 12) Well, no one will need a dictionary to understand this.

**13)** It is clear, it is emphatic, it is definitive. **14)** And it is part of a clear, emphatic and definitive strategy which Sinn Fein hopes will greatly advance its electoral prospects on both sides of the border.

**15)** The statement ordered an end to the armed campaign from 4pm yesterday afternoon.

**16)** It said that all IRA units have been ordered to dump arms and all volunteers have been instructed to behave in a purely political, democratic and peaceful manner.

**17)** That amounts to a direct order to the rank and file to get rid of whatever arms they hold individually and in future to pursue republican aims through peaceful means only.

**18)** The word criminality is not used. **19)** That should not be a surprise to anyone, since the IRA has never accepted that anything it does is criminal.

**20)** But immediately after saying that all volunteers have been instructed "to assist the development of purely political and democratic programmes through exclusively peaceful means" the statement continues: "Volunteers must not engage in any other activities whatsoever."

**21)** The importance of this is absolutely clear. **22)** It means the end of intimidation, punishment beatings, kneecappings, expulsions and all the other invasions of individual rights and safety.

**23)** On the broader level, it means the end of all paramilitary and criminal activities, the protection rackets, smuggling, robberies and all the other illegal methods republicans have used to raise funds for the movement and, in some cases, to line their own pockets.

**24)** On decommissioning, the statement says the IRA will "complete the process to verifiably put its arms beyond use" and will "conclude this as quickly as possible." **25)** It sticks to the IRA position that two independent clerical witnesses, rather than photographs, will testify to this.

**26)** Will this be enough for unionists? **27)** If they have any sense they will, like the rest of us, adopt a wait and see attitude.

**28)** Within a few months it will be clear whether the IRA is living up to the statement. **29)** The abandonment of all kinds of violence and criminality, the acceptance of normal politics, support for policing - all these will be far more important than whether we have pictures of arms dumps being decommissioned.

**30)** Overall there was a somewhat muted response to the statement yesterday. **31)** It is not just the unionists who are being cautious. **32)** But if the IRA lives up to what it has said, yesterday's statement will mark a new beginning for us all.



# Editorial G

## Next step for republicans

July 30 2005

1) THE British government lost no time yesterday responding to the IRA peace declaration with immediate moves to scale back its military presence on the Border. 2) In spite of Unionist unease, that was the right decision. 3) If this is to work there has to be a new level of trust and reciprocation on all sides. 4) And it puts the ball back firmly in the republican camp. 5) Their statement has been given a generous welcome. 6) They have reaped an immediate dividend with the dismantling of watchtowers and other army installations underway.

7) Now they must respond with decommissioning. 8) If they want to prove that their new position marks a real change of heart rather than just a change of tactics they need to do this without any delay whatsoever.

9) We are told that the IRA arsenal was amalgamated into two or three superdumps over the past year in preparation for decommissioning. 10) That will make completing the job easier. 11) These superdumps should be destroyed not over a month or two but within the next few days.

12) Taking this final step with urgency will reassure unionists - and the rest of us – that republicans can really be trusted. 13) Prompt action is essential to prove good faith and to make power-sharing possible again before too long.

14) One can easily see what is in all of this for the senior echelons of Sinn Fein, who expect to be rewarded with major political gains North and South in the next few years.

15) Self-interest rather than any realisation that the campaign of violence was wrong was their motivation.

**16)** Tony Blair described the IRA statement as a "step of unparalleled magnitude". **17)** Senior Sinn Fein figures probably see it as an unparalleled opportunity for them to get their feet under the Cabinet tables on both sides of the Border.

**18)** Less clear is what is in this for the IRA rank and file, the foot soldiers who have been doing nicely from their security services, smuggled cigarettes and DVDs, cash robberies and all the rest of it. **19)** They are to lose not only their easy income, but their status.

**20)** Is it too much to hope that some of these hardmen, who have not had a job in years, will actually start earning a living? **21)** That they will accept being ordinary members of their communities rather than a feared elite? **22)** The SDLP leader Mark Durkan said yesterday that the IRA must not be allowed to "privatise" their criminality and he is right.

**23)** All of which makes it even more important that Sinn Fein moves quickly to be part of the policing arrangements in the North. **24)** If republicans are confining themselves to purely peaceful, political and democratic actions in the future, to use their own words, it is an essential step. **25)** Along with the delivery of total decommissioning, this will be the real test of how serious they are.

# Editorial H

## Wait sceptically for IRA honour

July 31 2005

1) The IRA's decision to abandon its armed struggle is welcome, and long overdue, but it should be met with a healthy public scepticism until promises made are fully honoured, and are independently verified. 2) The IRA statement of intent was not, as the British prime minister, who is sometimes swayed by the hand of history on his shoulder, unwisely claimed "a step of unparalleled magnitude". 3) Had the IRA dumped arms in 1994, when announcing its first ceasefire, Mr Blair's hyperbole might have been appropriate then not in 2005, however.

4) The IRA wouldn't say sooner, in 1994, what it has taken 11 years to say later: that its war is finally over. 5) In the words of P O'Neill last Thursday: "All IRA units have been ordered to dump arms." 6) Does this mean that all IRA units will dump all arms? 7) One presumes, and certainly hopes, so. 8) And General John De Chastelain, no doubt, will address that question when he supervises the decommissioning of IRA weaponry in the coming weeks.

9) But what really matters is not what the IRA has said, but what the IRA now does to fulfil the great expectations that it has set: how it meets its obligations to disarm, to end its criminal activities, to stop its punishment beatings, and to allow those that it has exiled from Northern Ireland by intimidation, a right of return. 10) On this the IRA will now be judged. 11) The public will wait to see evidence of the IRA's conversion from a past of terrorism and criminality to a future as upholders of democracy and as exemplars of civic virtue: a transformation from pariahs to pillars of society. 12) And it may well wait some time.

13) From the outset Sinn Fein/IRA has exploited the peace process for its own end. 14) The republican movement destroyed much of the goodwill which was created by the

Good Friday Agreement in 1998, and which was further bolstered by ratification in referendums in both parts of Ireland. **15)** And the IRA has done so by its non-compliance with some of the agreement's key terms: most notably arms decommissioning.

**16)** For the Good Friday Agreement to succeed, all parties had to fully honour its terms. **17)** This was necessary both to establish mutual trust between all parties to the accord, and to maintain public confidence in its operation. **18)** That never happened. **19)** The measure of Sinn Fein/IRA's failure is reflected in the political casualties of the peace process.

**20)** Those, like David Trimble, who made a bold act of faith in IRA intentions on disarmament paid a very heavy political price for their misplaced trust. **21)** The DUP replaced the UUP as the main party of unionism and Mr Trimble was toppled as party leader. **22)** Sinn Fein replaced the SDLP as the main nationalist party. **23)** The triumph of the political extremes reflects a society in Northern Ireland more sectarian, and more divided, than before.

**24)** Sinn Fein/IRA having overplayed its hand, later compounded its difficulties; first, with the IRA's robbery of the Northern Bank, then with the involvement of IRA members in the murder of Robert McCartney. **25)** The criminal face of the republican movement became an impediment to Sinn Fein's political advance. **26)** Belatedly, and against that murky background, the IRA has been forced to abandon violence and to pursue the goal of Irish unity through exclusively peaceful means, while desisting "from any other activities whatsoever", such as criminal acts, recruitment and training.

**27)** Whether the IRA now complies with its new ethical code is a matter for the Independent Monitoring Commission (IMC) to decide, in reviewing the IRA's efforts. **28)** The IMC will now be the ultimate arbiters of whether the IRA has made the necessary transition to democracy, and has removed the shadow of the gunman from Irish society. **29)** But for that to happen requires the IRA's performance to match its promise last Thursday.

## **Editorial I**

### **Wind of change can advance the political process**

**July 29 2005**

1) On the face of its statement, the IRA now accepts that there is only one active Óglaigh na hÉireann, and its commander-in-chief is President Mary McAleese rather than the head of the IRA army council.

2) It is a potentially major statement which in the months ahead could put wind behind the sails of the becalmed political process.

3) The IRA brand name will continue to exist, of course, and those of its members who wish to remain involved must be given work to do – whether political, commemorative or genuine community activity. 4) But, again trusting to the wording of this announcement, as of 4 pm yesterday the IRA is no longer an active paramilitary force.

5) If the apparent promise of this statement is matched by delivery, then there is a real chance of a power-sharing government returning to Northern Ireland by the spring or autumn of next year.

6) With the IRA, it is always well to get the caveats in early.

7) Some observers have queried the legitimacy of the statement, arguing that apparently it was not sanctioned by an IRA convention. 8) And DUP MP Jeffrey Donaldson says that unionists have too much “bitter experience” of the IRA to get overexcited. 9) Nonetheless, this is an IRA statement with the P O’Neill imprimatur, and whatever about the arcane

nature of the IRA constitution, it would be an act of monumental bad faith and betrayal were it to be reneged upon.

**10)** SDLP leader Mark Durkan said that the statement was “clear, clean and complete”.

**11)** Ian Paisley, in turn, complained that it lacked transparency. **12)** So which is it? **13)**

The statement says from the outset: “All IRA units have been ordered to dump arms. **14)**

All volunteers have been instructed to assist the development of purely political and democratic programs through exclusively peaceful means. **15)** Volunteers must not

engage in any other activities whatsoever.” **16)** And, further down, it adds sternly: “Every

volunteer is aware of the import of the decisions we have taken and all Óglaigh are compelled to fully comply with these orders.” **17)** That seems clear.

**18)** If the statement does not mean an end to “punishment” shootings and beatings, the exiling of those the IRA deems undesirable, the spying, the targeting, the surveillance and so on, then the IRA and the dictionary it employs will lack all credibility.

**19)** The statement does not spell out a commitment to cease criminality, but that was never going to happen, because the word “criminality” is not in the IRA lexicon. **20)**

However, to any reasonable person, the statement must mean an end to the robberies, the smuggling, the money laundering – and an end to IRA Inc, so to speak.

**21)** Tony Blair was impressed with the statement: It marked a “step of unparalleled magnitude”, he said. **22)** So was Bertie Ahern. “The war is over,” said the Taoiseach.

**23)** Maybe this time the IRA statement should not be underestimated by way of understandable criticism, not withstanding recent memories of the murder of Robert McCartney, the Northern Bank robbery and alleged multi-million-pound international money laundering.

**24)** We are told that this was not an easy project for Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness to conclude. **25)** Some IRA members may walk away from the organization

into retirement: others of a more ideologically bent may continue the “struggle” elsewhere. **26)** The numbers who plan to shift allegiance must be manageable, however. **27)** Otherwise why would Adams and McGuinness – always extremely cautious in matters relating to potential splits – have engineered this ostensibly clear and unilateral statement? **28)** The pledges in the statement must be tested over time, of course. **29)** For devolution to return to Northern Ireland, the IRA must live up to its word.

**30)** The two governments, the political parties, the security services on these islands, the decommissioning body, the Protestant and Catholic clerics who are to be witnesses to disarmament and the four members of the Independent Monitoring Commission (IMC) – the ultimate arbiters of whether the IRA is now a superannuated force – must be in a position to definitively say that the IRA is honouring its commitments.

**31)** These bodies and individuals could play a crucial role in convincing the main skeptics, the DUP and the Ulster Unionist Party, that the IRA is serious this time. **32)** Understandably mindful of what the IRA and the peace process did to his predecessor, David Trimble, the UUP leader, Sir Reg Empey, reflected initial unionist feelings when he said unionists had been “burned so many times before” and would not be conned again.

**33)** The IMC is to report on IRA activity in October and January. **34)** If both reports show that the IRA is off the scene, then it will be back to political horse-trading.

**35)** To help manage the time between now and next spring and to keep republicans sweet the governments will over the coming months deliver on issues such as demilitarization, an effective amnesty for IRA fugitives on the run, the Irish language, human rights issues etc. **36)** There is also likely to be British government movement, possibly legislative, on policing, which is not mentioned in the statement, to help republicans make the final leap to totally acquiescing to the dispensation of the Belfast Agreement.

**37)** That could bring us up to Christmas or January, although it will take longer to fully resolve policing. **38)** After that, the serious political haggling should begin. **39)** And

remember, most of this work is done. **40)** Any new deal essentially will be along the lines of the collapsed December one, when Ian Paisley, given certain conditions, was prepared to be the DUP's First Minister alongside Sinn Fein's Deputy First Minister, Martin McGuinness.

**41)** The Possibility of agreement would then chiefly hinge on the Doc. **42)** We got a little of the Paisley bombast yesterday, but essentially his line was that if the IRA delivers the DUP will reciprocate. **43)** But when is the key, and will it involve additional conditions which, in republican eyes, would be tantamount to the IRA hoisting the white flag? **44)** That is what Dr. Paisley was talking about last December when he demanded a ritual "sackcloth and ashes" humiliation of the IRA. **45)** That simply won't happen. **46)** And neither will he get photographs of decommissioning.

**47)** There will be lots of bumps along the way between now and next spring. **48)** But if the IRA delivers, as promised, and if Dr. Paisley can put political pragmatism above his fundamentalism, then sometime next year the political ship could be sailing again.



# Editorial J

## Even the IRA ending was selfish

August 2 2005

1) The most extraordinary thing about the IRA's statement last week is that it shows how much joy has been drained out of the peace process. 2) Here was a moment of immense historical resonance, the end of a conspiratorial movement that had lasted for almost 150 years since the foundation of the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

3) By any standards, the political achievement of Gerry Adams, Martin McGuinness and their allies in dismantling an undefeated terrorist organization from the inside is colossal.

4) Getting a tightly-knit group of ideological zealots, whose self-righteousness has proved itself so impervious to shame and reason, to face the logic of its own extinction required intelligence, courage and cunning of a very high degree.

5) Last May, the International Monitoring Commission on terrorism in Northern Ireland remarked in its report that, if Adams delivered on the promise of his public appeal to the IRA the previous month; he would "have demonstrated leadership of a high order". 6) It would be churlish to withhold such recognition now.

7) So why was the moment, when it came, so anti-climatic? 8) Why, beyond the realms of a media world delighted to have a story to fill space in the silly season, was the general feeling such a sour compound of boredom, skepticism and apathy? 9) Some of the reasons are obvious enough. 10) People know news management when they see it, and the staging of this event has been painfully transparent.

11) Since last April, when Adams made his speech in the course of an election campaign and at the height of public anger over the Northern Bank robbery and the murder of Robert McCartney, every last drop of juicy PR has been wrung from the charade of Gerry and Martin consulting with themselves about the decision.

**12)** This in turn was in keeping with the mixture of tedium and titillation that has marked the decade since the IRA announced a supposedly “complete” end to its armed campaign.

**13)** The IRA’s death has been like that of an operatic heroine writhing around in increasingly self-indulgent contortions, staggering to her feet for yet another tragic aria before finally expiring in an ecstasy of self-pity.

**14)** More profoundly, however, there is a sense of unacknowledged futility. **15)** The decision to wind itself up is accompanied by neither intellectual nor moral insight. **16)** There is no recognition that, at the very least, the last 20 years of the IRA’s campaign was politically counter-productive, no acceptance that a political settlement based on violent coercion was as unattainable as it would have been unsustainable. **17)** There is no remorse, no pity, no shame.

**18)** The meanly laconic acknowledgment that “many people suffered in the conflict” is cancelled out by the insistence that “the armed struggle was entirely legitimate”. **19)** Note the “entirely” and what it includes – torturing and murdering civilians and depriving their families of a decent burial; incinerating the dog-lovers of the Irish Collie club at the La Mon hotel; blowing to bits those honouring the dead of two world wars at Enniskillen; the massacres at Kingsmills, Birmingham, Teebane Cross and the Shankill Road; the murders of children such as Paul Maxwell, Nicholas Knatchbull, Jonathon Ball and Tim Parry.

**20)** Even atrocities that the IRA itself admitted at the time were indefensible (in relation to La Mon), for example, the IRA accepted at the time that it was “rightly and sincerely criticized” are now included in the moral amnesty it has graciously granted to itself.

**21)** At the root of this refusal to engage with the reality of its own campaign is the egotism that attaches to a conspiratorial elite. **22)** The demented self-importance of a gang that believed itself to be the government of Ireland has not gone away and is evident in last week’s statement.

**23)** Nearly all the commentary on the statement neglected to mention that a draft of what it should say had been put forward by the Irish and British governments as part of the abortive talks last December.

**24)** That draft included a very carefully calibrated formulation that had obviously been tested and found to be acceptable to both governments and to the other parties in Northern Ireland. **25)** It stated that the IRA would accept the “need not to endanger anyone’s personal rights or safety”.

**26)** It was a simple, comprehensive and straightforward phrase and one that must surely be acceptable to any organization committed to furthering a political goal exclusively through peaceful and democratic means.

**27)** It would have cost the IRA absolutely nothing to have used this formula of words, and doing so would have provided important reassurance to everyone else.

**28)** Why was it not used? **29)** Because, presumably, of a childish petulance, a stubborn and solipsistic refusal to accommodate anyone else’s needs.

**30)** And so, a long history of conspiratorial republicanism comes to an end, not with a bang but with a self-regarding whim. **31)** There is nothing eloquent, no sense of grandeur, no epic moment of historical, emotional or moral truth.

**32)** And in that at least, the IRA’s departure is in keeping with its presence over the last 35 years – a small and sordid rebuke to the vainglorious rhetoric that sustained it.

**APPENDIX III**

**Declarative clauses in editorial A**

Clause	Mood	
	Subject	Finite
1	the provisional IRA	[ <i>past</i> ]
	it	had
2	It	has
	we	are
3	the statement	is
4	IRA "volunteers"	have
5	the IRA	has
	these	will
	this	can
6	We	[ <i>present</i> ]
7	the involvement	is
8	There	is
9	let us	[ <i>present</i> ]
10	ill-will	has
	Unionists	[ <i>present</i> ]
11	The release	is
	they	were
12	The people	are not
13	It	is
14	the IRA	[ <i>present</i> ]
16	it	[ <i>present</i> ]
17	Unionists	are

**An interrogative clause in editorial A**

Clause	Mood	
	Finite	Subject
15	does	a democratic political party

### Declarative clauses in editorial B

Clause	Mood	
	Subject	Finite
1	The IRA	will
2	the statement	was
3	Kelly	is
4	The irony	will
	the police	were
5	the terrorists	could
6	troops	were
7	the Government	[ <i>Past</i> ]
8	Peter Hain	[ <i>present</i> ]
9	He	will
10	he	has
11	The statement	[ <i>present</i> ]
12	It	[ <i>present</i> ]
13	The statement	[ <i>present</i> ]
14	Mr. Hain	had
15	We	have
16	We	[ <i>present</i> ]
17	the latest initiative	[ <i>present</i> ]

### An interrogative clause in editorial B

Clause	Mood	
	Finite	Subject
18	does	that

### Declarative clauses in editorial C

Clause	Mood	
	Subject	Finite
1	Peter Hain	has
2	Mr. Hain	is
3	Mr. Hain	has
4	he	does not
5	Mr. Hain	[ <i>present</i> ]
6	it	is
7	Sinn Fein/IRA	has
8	Every new piece of paper, every empty pledge from the terrorists	has
9	the IRA	[ <i>past</i> ]
10	Tony Blair	[ <i>past</i> ]
11	Murderers	were
	the Royal Ulster Constabulary	was
12	Mr. Blair	[ <i>past</i> ]
13	he	[ <i>past</i> ]
14	that	must
15	Mr. Paisley	was
16	He	[ <i>present</i> ]
17	Mr. Paisley	has
18	the same	could

## Declarative clauses in editorial D

Clause	Mood	
	Subject	Finite
1	The IRA's abandonment	is
2	It	should not
	many law-abiding people	will
3	the armed campaign	is
	the arms	are
	its members	are
	they	must not
4	They	are
5	they	are
6	Great things	are
7	some good	has
8	the way	would
9	Eight years of prevarication	have
10	unionist opinion	was
11	that	is
12	unionist opinion	has
13	Parties and politicians	have
14	Their successors	are not
	no one	should
15	It	will
16	it	is not
17	the arms	have
18	The thugs, vigilantes and enforcers	have
19	This	will not
20	The IRA	is
21	It	will not
22	The IRA	is
23	That declaration	was
24	Bitter experience	has
25	There	must
26	there	must
27	Unionists	are
	they	are not
28	some republicans	are
29	These republican rejectionists	may
30	It	is
31	it	is
32	That	is
33	There	is

## Declarative clauses in editorial E

Clause	Mood	
	Subject	Finite
1	the bulk of analysis	has
2	Far less attention	has
3	a verified cessation of the IRA armed campaign	[ <i>present</i> ]
	the same	is
4	Sinn Fein	may
5	the parties in the north	would
6	it	is
7	it	is
8	Sinn Fein's success	has
9	Sinn Fein	[ <i>present</i> ]
10	Sinn Fein	has
11	that	is
12	the IRA statement	has
13	last week's historic move	was
14	it	does not
15	the possibility	[ <i>present</i> ]
16	Sinn Fein	would
	the party	could
17	A decade of compromises	may
18	that	is not
	last week's IRA announcement	may



## Declarative clauses in editorial F

Clause	Mood	
	Subject	Finite
1	the IRA	is
2	someone perversely determined to find difficulties	could
3	it	could
4	The IRA	could
5	It	could
6	that	is
7	The important thing	is
8	yesterday's statement	[ <i>present</i> ]
9	It	[ <i>present</i> ]
10	The statement	was
11	It	had
	it	would not
12	no one	will
13	It	is
	it	is
	it	is
14	it	is
15	The statement	[ <i>past</i> ]
16	It	[ <i>past</i> ]
	all volunteers	have
17	That	[ <i>present</i> ]
18	The word	is not
19	That	should not
	the IRA	has never
20	the statement	[ <i>present</i> ]
	volunteers	must not
21	The importance of this	is
22	It	[ <i>present</i> ]
23	it	[ <i>present</i> ]
24	the statement	[ <i>present</i> ]
25	It	[ <i>present</i> ]
27	they	will
28	it	will
29	these	will
30	there	was
31	It	is not
32	yesterday's statement	will

### An interrogative clause in editorial F

Clause	Mood	
	Finite	Subject
26	Will	this

### Declarative clauses in editorial G

Clause	Mood	
	Subject	Finite
1	The British government	[ <i>past</i> ]
2	that	was
3	there	has
4	it	[ <i>present</i> ]
5	Their statement	has
6	They	have
7	they	must
8	their new position	[ <i>present</i> ]
9	We	are
10	That	will
11	These	should
12	Taking this final step	will
13	Prompt action	is
14	One	can
15	Self-interest	was
16	Tony Blair	[ <i>past</i> ]
17	Senior Sinn Fein figures	[ <i>present</i> ]
18	the foot soldiers	have
19	They	are
22	Mark Durkan	[ <i>past</i> ]
23	Sinn Fein	[ <i>present</i> ]
24	it	is
25	this	will

### Interrogative clauses in editorial G

Clause	Mood	
	Finite	Subject
20	Is	it
21	Is	it

## Declarative clauses in editorial H

Clause	Mood	
	Subject	Finite
1	The IRA's decision to end its armed struggle	is
	it	should
2	The IRA statement of intent	was not
3	Mr. Blair's hyperbole	might
4	The IRA	wouldn't
	its war	is
5	All IRA units	have
7	One	[ <i>present</i> ]
8	General John De Chastelain	will
9	what really matters	is not
	the IRA	does
	it	[ <i>present</i> ]
10	the IRA	will
11	The public	will
12	it	may
13	Sinn Fein/IRA	has
14	The republican movement	[ <i>past</i> ]
15	the IRA	has
16	all parties	had
17	This	was
18	That	[ <i>past</i> ] [ <i>negative</i> ]
19	The measure of Sinn Fein/IRA's failure	is
20	David Trimble	[ <i>past</i> ]
21	The DUP	[ <i>past</i> ]
22	Sinn Fein	[ <i>past</i> ]
23	The triumph	[ <i>present</i> ]
24	Sinn Fein	[ <i>past</i> ]
25	The criminal face	[ <i>past</i> ]
26	the IRA	has
27	the IRA	[ <i>present</i> ]
28	The IMC	will
29	that	[ <i>present</i> ]

## An interrogative clause in editorial H

Clause	Mood	
	Finite	Subject
6	Does	this

## Declarative clauses in editorial I

Clause	Mood	
	Subject	Finite
1	the IRA	[ <i>present</i> ]
	its commander-in-chief	is
2	It	is
3	The IRA brand name	will
	its members	must
4	the IRA	is
5	there	is
6	it	is
7	observers	have
8	Jeffrey Donaldson	[ <i>present</i> ]
9	this	is
	it	would
10	Mark Durkan	[ <i>past</i> ]
11	Ian Paisley	[ <i>past</i> ]
13	The statement	[ <i>present</i> ]
	All IRA units	have
14	All volunteers	have
15	Volunteers	must not
16	Every volunteer	is
17	That	[ <i>present</i> ]
18	the IRA and the dictionary it employs	will
19	The statement	does not
20	the statement	must
21	Tony Blair	was
	It	[ <i>past</i> ]
22	Bertie Ahern	was
23	the IRA statement	should not
24	We	are
25	IRA members	may
26	The numbers	must
28	The pledges	must
29	the IRA	must
30	The two governments, the political parties, the security services, the decommissioning body, the Protestant and Catholic clerics and the four members of the Independent Monitoring Commission	must
31	These bodies	could
32	Sir Reg Empey	[ <i>past</i> ]
33	The IMC	is
34	it	will

35	the governments	will
36	There	is
37	That	could
	it	will
38	the serious political haggling	should
39	this work	is
40	Any new deal	will
41	The possibility of agreement	would
42	We	[ <i>past</i> ]
44	he	[ <i>past</i> ]
45	That	won't
46	he	will [ <i>negative</i> ]
47	There	will
48	the political ship	could

### Interrogative clauses in editorial I

Clause	Mood	
	Finite	Subject
12	is	it
27	why would	Adams and McGuinness
43	is	the key

### Declarative clauses in editorial J

Clause	Mood	
	Subject	Finite
1	The most extraordinary thing	is
2	Here	was
3	the political achievement	is
4	the logic	[ <i>past</i> ]
5	the International Monitoring Commission on terrorism	[ <i>past</i> ]
6	It	would
9	the reasons	are
10	People	[ <i>present</i> ]
	the staging of this event	has
11	every last drop of juicy PR	has
12	This	was
13	The IRA's death	has
14	there	is
15	The decision	is
16	There	is
17	There	is
18	The meanly laconic acknowledgment	is
19	it	[ <i>present</i> ]
20	atrocities that the IRA itself admitted at the time were indefensible	are
21	this refusal	is
22	The demented self-importance	has
23	all the commentary	[ <i>past</i> ]
24	That draft	[ <i>past</i> ]
25	It	[ <i>past</i> ]
26	It	was
27	It	would
30	a long history	[ <i>present</i> ]
31	There	is
32	the IRA's departure	is

### Interrogative clauses in editorial J

Clause	Mood	
	Finite	Subject
7	was	the moment
8	was	the general feeling
28	was	it not

**APPENDIX IV**

**Modality in the *Daily Telegraph* editorials**

Editorial	Clause number	Probability		Usuality
		Positive	Negative	
A	<i>Headline</i>	must		
	4	must		
	5	can		
	5	will		
	8		cannot	
	12 / 13 / 14 / 16	needs to		
	13	is to		
B	1 / 4 / 7 / 9 / 16	will		
	5	could		
	5	hardly		
	7	should		
C	<i>Headline</i>	needs to		
	5	should		
	7			never
	9	will		
	12	was to		
	14	must		
	18	could		



## Modality in the *Guardian* editorials

Editorial	Clause number	Probability		Usuality
		Positive	Negative	
<b>D</b>	2 / 15 / 29	will		
	2		should not	
	3		must not	
	7	perhaps		
	8 / 33	would		
	14	should		
	19 / 21		will not	
	22	is to		
	25 / 26	must		
	29	may		
<b>E</b>	4	may be		
	5 / 16	would		
	12	has to		
	14	will		
	15	perhaps		
	16	could		
	17	may		
	18	may be		

### Modality in the *Irish Independent* editorials

Editorial	Clause number	Probability		Usuality
		Positive	Negative	
<b>F</b>	2	could		
	3	could		
	4	could		
	5	could		
	5 / 7	is to		
	9 / 12 / 14 / 24 / 25 / 26 / 27 / 28 / 29 / 32	will		
	11		would not	
	19			never
	19		should not	
	20		must not	
<b>G</b>	3	is to		
	3	has to		
	7	must		
	8	need to		
	10 / 12 / 20 / 25	will		
	11	should		
	12	can		
	14	can		
	17	probably		
	22		must not	
<b>H</b>	1	should		
	2			sometimes
	3	might		
	4		wouldn't	
	6 / 8 / 10 / 11 / 28	will		
	7	certainly		
	12	may		
	16	had to		
	18			never

### Modality in the *Irish Times* editorials

Editorial	Clause number	Probability		Usuality
		Positive	Negative	
I	<i>Headline</i>	can		
	2	could		
	3 / 20 / 26 / 28 / 29 / 30	must		
	3 / 18 / 34 / 35 / 37 / 40 / 42 / 43 / 47	will		
	6			always
	9 / 27 / 41 / 43	would		
	15		must not	
	19			never
	23	maybe		
	23		should not	
	25			always
	27			
	31	could		
	32		would not	
	33	is to		
	36	possibly		
	37	could		
	38	should		
	45		won't	
	46	will		
	48	can		
	48	could		
	J	5 / 6 / 16 / 25 / 27	would	
23		should		
25			need not to	
26		must		
26		surely		

APPENDIX V

Appraisal in editorial A

Appraisal category	Clause	Clause
Affect	2	we are entitled to feel <i>a touch skeptical</i> about its ...
Judgement	16	Robert McCartney was <i>brutally murdered</i>
Appreciation	2	It has been <i>a long time coming</i> ;
	2	<i>the wearisome depiction</i> of the IRA statement
	3	... statement is <i>far less equivocal</i> than previous utterances
	4	In the <i>strangely archaic vernacular</i> ...
	5	this can only be <i>welcomed</i> .
	7	... the IRA's armoury is also <i>a significant development</i> .
	10	... much <i>ill-will</i> has developed because Unionists ...

Appraisal in editorial B

Appraisal category	Clause	Clause
Affect	16	We hope <i>passionately</i> that a lasting ...
Judgement	1	The IRA will be <i>very pleased</i> indeed by the ...
	3	Kelly is the <i>mass murderer</i>
Appreciation	1	its latest <i>ambiguously worded</i> statement
	15	with the <i>ineptness of an ignorant outsider</i>

Appraisal in editorial C

Appraisal category	Clause	Clause
Affect		
Judgement	1	making Ian Paisley sound like <i>the voice of sweet reason</i> ...
	2	ambitious ministers <i>inflicted upon</i> Northern Ireland...
	2	Prime Minister who seems to <i>care little about</i> ...
	11	<i>Murderers</i> were released early from prison,
	14	an organisation that earns its bread from <i>bank robberies, drug dealing</i> and <i>racketeering</i> .
	15	Mr Paisley was <i>wise</i> yesterday
	17	...determined not to be <i>taken for a sucker</i> .
Appreciation		

### Appraisal in editorial D

Appraisal category	Clause	Clause
Affect	2	many law-abiding people ... will be <i>deeply skeptical</i> , ...
Judgement	3	... are all <i>huge commitments</i> .
	9	Eight years of <i>prevarication</i> ...
	13	... the IRA's <i>unwillingness</i> to say until now...
	28	some republicans are likely to <i>kick against</i> what the IRA
Appreciation	1	... is an <i>immense and resonant</i> event
	4	though in an increasingly <i>sterile and outrageous</i> manner
	4	in a culture of <i>shameful violence and false victimhood</i> .
	10	... unionist opinion was prepared to <i>give the process a go</i> .
	12	unionist opinion has turned <i>skeptical</i> again.
	32	That is the <i>irresistible</i> logic of the IRA's statement...

### Appraisal in editorial E

Appraisal category	Clause	Clause
Affect		
Judgement	4	Sinn Fein may be deemed to have acquired <i>political clean - or cleaner - hands</i> ...
	8	Sinn Fein's recent <i>spectacular success</i> ...
	9	Sinn Fein remains very much a <i>minority party</i>
Appreciation	3	armed campaign generates <i>unavoidable consequences</i> ...

### Appraisal in editorial F

Appraisal category	Clause	Clause
Affect	1	So <i>at last - at long, long last</i> - the IRA is going away
Judgement	2	...someone <i>perversely determined</i> to find difficulties...
	4	The IRA <i>could have shown some remorse</i>
	27	If they have any <i>sense</i> they will
	31	It is not just the unionists who are <i>being cautious</i> .
Appreciation	3	<i>it could have said a lot more.</i>
	5	<i>It could have been more specific...</i>
	10	The statement,... was <i>admirably direct</i>
	13	<i>It is clear, it is emphatic, it is definitive</i>
	30	...there was a somewhat <i>muted response</i> ...
	32	yesterday's statement will mark a <i>new beginning</i> ...

### Appraisal in editorial G

Appraisal category	Clause	Clause
Affect	20	Is it <i>too much to hope</i> ...
Judgement	12	...that republicans can really be <i>trusted</i>
	15	<i>Self-interest</i> rather than... violence was <i>wrong</i> was their...
	21	...being <i>ordinary members</i> ... rather than a <i>feared elite</i> ...
	22	he is <i>right</i> .
Appreciation	24	<i>it is an essential step</i>

### Appraisal in editorial H

Appraisal category	Clause	Clause
Affect	7	One presumes, and <i>certainly hopes</i> , so.
Judgement	2	...sometimes <i>swayed by the hand of history</i> on his...
	3	Mr Blair's hyperbole might have been <i>appropriate</i>
	14	destroyed much of the <i>goodwill</i> which was created
	26	the IRA has been <i>forced</i> to abandon...
Appreciation	1	struggle is <i>welcome, and long overdue</i>
	1	it should be met with a <i>healthy public scepticism</i>
	10	the IRA will now be <i>judged</i> .
	11	a transformation from <i>pariahs to pillars of society</i> .
	23	Northern Ireland <i>more sectarian, and more divided</i> ,

### Appraisal in editorial I

Appraisal category	Clause	Clause
Affect		
Judgement	21	Tony Blair was <i>impressed</i> with the statement
	31	...that the IRA is <i>serious</i> this time.
	32	...unionists had been “ <i>burned so many times before</i> ” and would not be <i>conned</i> again.
Appreciation	2	It is a potentially <i>major</i> statement...
	5	there is a <i>real chance</i> of a power-sharing
	9	it would be an act of <i>monumental bad faith and betrayal</i>
	10	the statement was “ <i>clear, clean and complete</i>
	23	the IRA statement should not be <i>underestimated</i> ...
	26	The numbers ... must be <i>manageable</i> ...
	34	then it will be back to <i>political horse-trading</i>
48	the political ship <i>could be sailing again</i>	

### Appraisal in editorial J

Appraisal category	Clause	Clause
Affect		
Judgement	4	a <i>tightly-knit</i> group of <i>ideological zealots</i> ...
	29	Because, presumably, of a <i>childish petulance</i> , a <i>stubborn and solipsistic refusal</i> to accommodate anyone else’s...
Appreciation	1	The <i>most extraordinary</i> thing about...
	2	...a moment of <i>immense historical resonance</i>
	6	It would be <i>churlish</i> to withhold...
	7	so <i>anti-climatic</i> ...
	13	... <i>self-indulgent</i> contortions... another <i>tragic</i> aria
	15	neither <i>intellectual nor moral</i> insight
	16	campaign was <i>politically counter-productive</i>
	16	...was as <i>unattainable</i> as it would have been <i>unsustainable</i>
	18	The <i>meanly laconic</i> acknowledgment...
	18	the armed struggle was <i>entirely legitimate</i>
	21	the egotism that attaches to a <i>conspiratorial</i> elite
	22	The <i>demented</i> self-importance of a gang...
	26	It was a <i>simple, comprehensive and straightforward</i> phrase...
31	nothing <i>eloquent</i> ... no epic moment of <i>historical, emotional or moral truth</i>	
32	a <i>small and sordid rebuke</i> to the <i>vainglorious rhetoric</i> that sustained it.	

**APPENDIX VI**

**Reiteration in editorial A**

<b>Type of Repetition</b>	<b>Words involved</b>		<b>Clause number</b>
<b>Direct repetition</b>	<i>IRA</i>		1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5 / 7 12 / 14 / 16
	<i>Political</i>		1 / 4 / 15
	<i>Peaceful</i>		1 / 4
	<i>Sinn Fein</i>		1 / 12
	<i>Unionists</i>		10 / 13 / 17
	<i>Republican(s)</i>		1 / 10
	<i>Democratic</i>		1 / 4 / 15
	<i>Development</i>		4 / 7
	<i>Exchange</i>		10 / 11
	<i>Cessation</i>		11
	<i>Northern Ireland</i>		1 / 13
	<i>Movement</i>		1 / 4
	<i>Exclusively</i>		1 / 4
<b>Relations of familiarity based of identity</b>	<i>Cease</i>	<i>Cessation</i>	5 / 11
	<i>Province</i>	<i>Northern Ireland</i>	1 / 11 / 13
	<i>Murderers</i>	<i>Murdered</i>	11 / 16
<b>Antonyms</b>	<i>Sinn Fein / IRA</i>	<i>Unionists</i>	1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5 / 7 12 / 13 / 14 / 16 17
	<i>Feel a touch skeptical</i>	<i>On the positive side</i>	2 / 3
<b>Synonyms</b>	<i>Release from prison</i>	<i>Freed</i>	11
	<i>Protestant community</i>	<i>Unionists</i>	7 / 10 / 13 / 17
	<i>Formal end</i>	<i>Cease</i>	1 / 5



## Reiteration in editorial B

Type of Repetition	Words involved		Clause number
<b>Direct repetition</b>	<i>IRA</i>		1 / 5 / 7 / 10 / 11 / 12 / 13 / 17
	<i>Northern Ireland</i>		6 / 8 / 9 / 12 / 16
	<i>Patriot dead</i>		13 / 14
	<i>British</i>		4 / 12 / 14
	<i>Campaign</i>		1 / 10
	<i>Terrorist(s)</i>		2 / 5 / 7 / 9 / 18
	<i>Troops</i>		6 / 9
	<i>Government('s)</i>		1 / 4 / 7 / 17
	<i>Police(men)</i>		4 / 7 / 8 / 14 / 15
	<i>Prison</i>		2 / 4 / 13
	<i>Released / Releasing</i>		2 / 4
	<i>Statement</i>		1 / 2 / 5 / 10 / 11 / 13
<b>Relations of familiarity based of identity</b>	<i>Promising</i>	<i>Promises</i>	1 / 7 / 10
	<i>Armed</i>	<i>Arms</i>	1 / 7 / 11
	<i>Murderer</i>	<i>Murder</i>	3 / 13
<b>Antonyms</b>	<i>Releasing</i>	<i>Rounding up</i>	4
	<i>Our patriot dead</i>	<i>True patriot dead</i>	13 / 14
	<i>IRA men</i>	<i>British soldiers and the policemen</i>	13 / 14
	<i>Offers only words</i>	<i>Performs deeds</i>	17
<b>Synonyms</b>	<i>Pledged</i>	<i>Promises</i>	10
	<i>British rule</i>	<i>Majority rule</i>	12

## Reiteration in editorial C

Type of Repetition	Words involved		Clause number
<b>Direct repetition</b>	<i>IRA</i>		6 / 8 / 11 / 14 / 15
	<i>Sinn Fein</i>		6 / 14 / 15
	<i>Northern Ireland</i>		1 / 2 / 3 / 4
	<i>Paisley</i>		1 / 14 / 16
	<i>Terrorists</i>		7 / 9 / 10
	<i>History</i>		3 / 9
	<i>Hain</i>		1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 12
	<i>Hailed</i>		7 / 11
	<i>Determined</i>		3 / 16
	<i>Words</i>		12 / 14
	<b>Relations of familiarity based of identity</b>	<i>Promises</i>	<i>Promised</i>
<b>Antonyms</b>	<i>Immediately</i>	<i>Four years later</i>	7 / 9
<b>Synonyms</b>	<i>A stupendous breakthrough</i>	<i>A step of unparalleled magnitude</i>	7 / 11
	<i>Jubilation</i>	<i>Delighted</i>	8 / 13
	<i>Seems to care little about</i>	<i>Nothing seems to matter about</i>	2 / 4
	<i>Province</i>	<i>Northern Ireland</i>	1 / 2 / 3 / 4

## Reiteration in editorial D

Type of Repetition	Words involved		Clause number
<b>Direct repetition</b>	<i>IRA</i>		1 / 3 / 7 / 8 / 11 / 12 / 15 / 19 / 21 / 27 / 31
	<i>Process</i>		2 / 9 / 10 / 21 / 22 / 23 / 25
	<i>Culture</i>		4 / 19
	<i>Proof</i>		24 / 26
	<i>Northern Ireland</i>		5 / 8 / 30
	<i>Unionist(s)</i>		10 / 11 / 25 / 26 / 28
	<i>Sceptical</i>		2 / 11
	<i>Activities</i>		3 / 17
	<i>Concessions</i>		4 / 32
<b>Relations of familiarity based of identity</b>	<i>Commitment(s)</i>	<i>Commit</i>	3 / 23 / 28
	<i>Armed</i>	<i>Arms</i>	1 / 3 / 16
	<i>Republicanism</i>	<i>Republican(s)</i>	4 / 27 / 28 / 32
	<i>Peace</i>	<i>Peaceful</i>	2 / 3 / 21 / 23
	<i>Political</i>	<i>Politicians</i>	12 / 28 / 29
<b>Antonyms</b>	<i>Possible</i>	<i>Impossible</i>	6 / 12
	<i>Republican rejectionists</i>	<i>Unionist rejectionists</i>	28
	<i>Law-abiding people</i>	<i>Vigilantes</i>	2 / 17
<b>Synonyms</b>	<i>Everyday life</i>	<i>Democratic life</i>	5 / 19
	<i>Members</i>	<i>Thugs</i>	3 / 17
	<i>Immense</i>	<i>Huge</i>	1 / 3

## Reiteration in editorial E

Type of Repetition	Words involved		Clause number
<b>Direct repetition</b>	<i>IRA</i>		1 / 3 / 11 / 17
	<i>Irish</i>		2 / 15 / 16
	<i>Sinn Fein</i>		4 / 5 / 6 / 8 / 9 / 10 / 13 / 15 17
	<i>Border</i>		2 / 6
	<i>South</i>		2 / 3 / 5 / 6 / 8 / 9 / 15
	<i>North</i>		3 / 5 / 6 / 8 / 9 / 15
	<i>Election(s)</i>		6 / 8
	<i>Party / Parties</i>		3 / 5 / 6 / 7 / 8 / 9 / 15
	<i>Political</i>		3 / 4 / 6 / 15
	<i>Demand</i>		16 / 17
	<b>Relations of familiarity based of identity</b>	<i>Partner</i>	<i>Partnership</i>
<i>History</i>		<i>Historic</i>	7 / 12
<i>Aimed</i>		<i>Aim</i>	12 / 13
<i>Partner</i>		<i>Partnership</i>	10 / 12
<b>Antonyms</b>	<i>Northern Ireland</i>	<i>The Irish Republic</i>	1 / 2
	<i>At Stormont</i>	<i>In Dublin</i>	13 / 13
	<i>Partition</i>	<i>Unification</i>	7 / 16
<b>Synonyms</b>	<i>Unification</i>	<i>A 32-county Irish state</i>	16 / 17
	<i>Partnership</i>	<i>Coalition</i>	13 / 13

## Reiteration in editorial F

Type of Repetition	Words involved		Clause number
<b>Direct repetition</b>	<i>IRA</i>		1 / 4 / 8 / 16 / 19 / 24 / 25 / 28 / 32
	<i>Statement</i>		2 / 8 / 10 / 11 / 15 / 20 / 24 / 28 / 30 / 32
	<i>Arms</i>		16 / 17 / 24 / 29
	<i>Peaceful</i>		9 / 16 / 17 / 20
	<i>Republican(s)</i>		9 / 17 / 23
	<i>Volunteers</i>		16 / 20
	<i>Criminality</i>		18 / 29
	<i>Democratic</i>		16 / 20
	<i>Unionists</i>		26 / 31
	<i>Instructed</i>		16 / 20
<b>Relations of familiarity based of identity</b>	<i>Acceptance</i>	<i>Accepted</i>	5 / 9 / 19 / 29
	<i>Individual</i>	<i>Individually</i>	17 / 22
<b>Antonyms</b>	<i>Peaceful manner</i>	<i>Intimidation</i>	16 / 22
<b>Synonyms</b>	<i>IRA</i>	<i>Provos</i>	1 / 2 / 8 / 16 / 19 / 24 / 25 / 28 / 32
	<i>Arsenal</i>	<i>Arms</i>	5 / 16
	<i>Criminal activities</i>	<i>Protection rackets</i>	23 / 23

## Reiteration in editorial G

Type of Repetition	Words involved		Clause number
<b>Direct repetition</b>	<i>IRA</i>		1 / 9 / 16 / 18 / 22
	<i>Sinn Fein</i>		14 / 17 / 23
	<i>Republicans</i>		12 / 24
	<i>Political</i>		14 / 24
	<i>Decommissioning</i>		7 / 9 / 25
	<i>Superdumps</i>		9 / 11
	<i>Unparalleled</i>		16 / 17
	<i>Senior</i>		14 / 17
	<i>Prove</i>		8 / 13
	<i>Step</i>		12 / 16 / 24
	<b>Relations of familiarity based of identity</b>	<i>Peace</i>	<i>Peaceful</i>
<i>Trust</i>		<i>Trusted</i>	3 / 12
<b>Antonyms</b>	<i>Senior echelons</i>	<i>Foot soldiers</i>	14 / 18
<b>Synonyms</b>	<i>IRA rank and file</i>	<i>Hardmen</i>	18 / 20
	<i>Political gains</i>	<i>Get their feet under the cabinet table</i>	14 / 17

## Reiteration in editorial H

Type of Repetition	Words involved		Clause number
<b>Direct repetition</b>	<i>IRA</i>		1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / 5 / 6 / 8 / 9 / 10 / 11 / 13 / 15 / 19 / 20 / 24 / 26 / 27 / 28 / 29 /
	<i>Sinn Fein</i>		13 / 19 / 22 / 24 / 25
	<i>Agreement</i>		14 / 15 / 16
	<i>Party / Parties</i>		16 / 17 / 21 / 22
	<i>Political</i>		19 / 20 / 23 / 25
	<i>Society</i>		11 / 23 / 28
	<i>Public</i>		1 / 11 / 17
	<i>Democracy</i>		11 / 28
	<i>Decommissioning</i>		8 / 15
<b>Relations of familiarity based of identity</b>	<i>Disarm</i>	<i>Disarmament</i>	9 / 20
	<i>Decide</i>	<i>Decision</i>	27 / 1
	<i>Peace</i>	<i>Peaceful</i>	13 / 19 / 26
	<i>Criminal</i>	<i>Criminality</i>	9 / 11 / 25 / 26
<b>Antonyms</b>	<i>Terrorism and criminality</i>	<i>Upholders of democracy</i>	11 / 11
	<i>Pariahs</i>	<i>Pillars of society</i>	11 / 11
<b>Synonyms</b>	<i>Abandoned its armed struggle</i>	<i>Dumped arms</i>	1 / 3
	<i>British Prime Minister</i>	<i>Mr. Blair</i>	2 / 3
	<i>Arms</i>	<i>Weaponry</i>	3 / 8

## Reiteration in editorial I

Type of Repetition	Words involved		Clause number
<b>Direct repetition</b>	<i>IRA</i>		1 / 3 / 4 / 6 / 7 / 8 / 9 / 12 / 17 / 18 / 19 / 22 / 24 / 28 / 29 / 30 / 31 / 32 / 33 / 34 / 41 / 42 / 43 / 47
	<i>Volunteers</i>		13 / 14 / 15
	<i>Political</i>		2 / 3 / 13 / 29 / 33 / 37 / 47
	<i>Paisley</i>		10 / 39 / 41 / 43 / 47
	<i>Unionist(s)</i>		8 / 30 / 31
	<i>DUP</i>		8 / 30 / 39 / 41
	<i>Government(s)</i>		5 / 29 / 34 / 35
<b>Relations of familiarity based of identity</b>	<i>Deliver(s)</i>	<i>Delivery</i>	5 / 34 / 41 / 47
	<i>Republican</i>	<i>Republicans</i>	34 / 35 / 42
	<i>Peace</i>	<i>Peaceful</i>	13 / 31
<b>Antonyms</b>	<i>DUP MP</i> <i>Jeffrey Donaldson</i>	<i>SDLP</i> <i>Leader Mark Durkan</i>	8 / 10
	<i>Clear</i>	<i>Lacked transparency</i>	10 / 10
<b>Synonyms</b>	<i>Commander-in-chief</i>	<i>Head</i>	1 / 1
	<i>Ordered</i>	<i>Instructed</i>	12 / 13



## Reiteration in editorial J

Type of Repetition	Words involved		Clause number
<b>Direct repetition</b>	<i>IRA('s)</i>		1 / 5 / 11 / 12 / 15 / 19 / 24 / 26 / 31
	<i>Moral</i>		14 / 19 / 30
	<i>Conspiratorial</i>		2 / 20 / 29
	<i>Refusal</i>		20 / 28
	<i>self -</i>		4 / 12 / 21 / 29
	<i>Shame</i>		4 / 16
	<i>Adams</i>		3 / 5 / 10
	<i>Irish</i>		2 / 18 / 22
<b>Relations of familiarity based of identity</b>	<i>Murder(s)</i>	<i>Murdering</i>	10 / 18
	<i>Political</i>	<i>Politically</i>	3 / 15 / 25
	<i>Acceptance</i>	<i>Acceptable</i>	15 / 23 / 25
<b>Antonyms</b>	<i>End</i>	<i>Foundation</i>	2
<b>Synonyms</b>	<i>Armed campaign</i>	<i>Armed struggle</i>	11 / 17
	<i>Boredom</i>	<i>Tedium</i>	8 / 12

## APPENDIX VII

### Themes in editorial B

Clause	Theme
1	The IRA
2	<b>Even before</b> the statement (Hypotactic conjunction) Sean Kelly
3	Kelly
4	The irony the police
5	<b>But</b> the terrorists of the IRA (Conjunctive Adjunct)
6	<b>On the very next day</b> , troops (Conjunctive Adjunct)
7	<b>Then, yesterday</b> , the Government (Conjunctive Adjunct)
8	The new Northern Ireland Secretary, Peter Hain, <b>and</b> to send (Paratactic conjunction)
9	He <b>and</b> repeal (Paratactic conjunction)
10	<b>All this, and much more</b> , he (Conjunctive Adjunct)
11	The statement
12	It <b>while</b> renewing (Hypotactic conjunction)
13	The statement
14	<b>In contrast</b> , Mr Hain (Conjunctive Adjunct)
15	<b>On the contrary</b> , <i>with the ineptness of an ignorant outsider</i> , he (Conjunctive Adjunct) (Modal comment Adjunct)
16	We
17	<b>But, so far</b> , the latest initiative (Conjunctive Adjunct)
18	What

## Themes in editorial C

Clause	Theme
1	<b>After less than three months as Northern Ireland Secretary, Peter Hain</b> (Conjunctive Adjunct)
2	Mr. Hain
3	Mr. Hain
4	<b>But</b> he (Paratactic conjunction)
5	<b>For</b> Mr. Hain (Conjunctive Adjunct)
6	<b>For</b> them (Hypotactic conjunction)
7	<b>Never mind that</b> Sinn Fein / IRA (Conjunctive Adjunct)
8	<i>Every new piece of paper, every empty pledge from the terrorists,</i> has (Modal comment Adjunct)
9	<b>In 1994,</b> the IRA (Conjunctive Adjunct) there <i>will</i> be (Finite verbal operator)
10	<b>Four years later,</b> Tony Blair (Conjunctive Adjunct)
11	Murderers the Royal Ulster Constabulary <b>and</b> terrorists (Paratactic conjunction)
12	<b>Then, last Friday,</b> Mr. Blair (Conjunctive Adjunct)
13	<b>No sooner</b> had (Conjunctive Adjunct) the disbandment the removal
14	<i>How that must have delighted</i> an organization (Modal comment Adjunct)
15	Mr. Paisley
16	He
17	Mr. Paisley
18	<i>If only the same could be said of</i> the Secretary of State (Modal comment Adjunct)

## Themes in editorial D

Clause	Theme
1	The IRA's abandonment
2	It
3	<b>Nevertheless</b> , for the IRA (Conjunctive Adjunct)
4	They
5	<b>And</b> they (Hypotactic conjunction)
6	Great things
7	<b>If reactionary Islamist terrorism helped push the IRA into the modern world, then</b> <i>perhaps some good</i> has (Hypotactic conjunction) (Modal comment Adjunct)
8	<i>Of course</i> , if the IRA (Modal comment Adjunct)
9	<b>Eight years of prevarication</b> , <i>however understandable at the time</i> , have (Conjunctive Adjunct) (Modal comment Adjunct)
10	<b>Eight years ago</b> , a clear majority (Conjunctive Adjunct)
11	<b>Today – even after</b> the IRA statement (Conjunctive Adjunct)
12	<i>Rightly or wrongly</i> , unionist opinion (Modal comment Adjunct)
13	Parties and politicians
14	Their successors
15	It
16	<i>Even more than before</i> , it (Modal comment Adjunct)
17	This time
18	The thugs, vigilantes and enforcers
19	This
20	The IRA
21	It
22	<b>If the peace process is to be worthy of the name</b> , the IRA (Hypotactic conjunction)
23	That declaration
24	<i>Bitter experience</i> has (Modal comment Adjunct)
25	There <i>must</i> be (Finite verbal operator)
26	<b>If the process passes those tests, however</b> , there <i>must</i> then be (Hypotactic conjunction) (Finite verbal operator)
27	Unionists <b>but</b> they (Hypotactic conjunction)
28	<b>As in the past</b> , some republicans (Conjunctive Adjunct)
29	These republican rejectionists
30	It
31	<b>That is why, more than anything else</b> , it (The situation) (Conjunctive Adjunct)
32	That
33	There is

## Themes in editorial E

Clause	Theme
1	<i>Quite properly</i> , the bulk of analysis (Modal comment Adjunct)
2	<b>Far less</b> attention (Conjunctive Adjunct)
3	<b>Yet, just as a verified cessation of the IRA armed campaign</b> generates (Conjunctive Adjunct)
	<b>so the same</b> is (Hypotactic conjunction)
4	<i>How far and how quickly</i> Sinn Fein (Modal comment Adjunct)
5	<b>Yet the fact that, if and when it does</b> , the parties (Conjunctive Adjunct)
6	<i>In Britain</i> , it (Modal comment Adjunct)
7	<b>That it does so – and the other parties do not – is</b> (Conjunctive Adjunct)
8	<b>But</b> Sinn Fein's recent spectacular success (Conjunctive Adjunct)
9	North and South,
10	<b>But</b> , under the different proportional representation arrangements (Conjunctive Adjunct)
	Sinn Fein
11	<i>Increasingly</i> , that (Modal comment Adjunct)
12	<b>For that reason</b> the IRA statement (Conjunctive Adjunct)
13	<i>In that sense</i> <b>last week's</b> historic move (Modal comment Adjunct) (Conjunctive Adjunct)
14	<i>Just because</i> this is Sinn Fein's aim (Modal comment Adjunct)
15	<b>But</b> the possibility (Hypotactic conjunction)
16	<b>If it does take place</b> , Sinn Fein (Hypotactic conjunction)
	<b>and</b> the party (Hypotactic conjunction)
17	<b>A decade of compromises in Northern Ireland</b> <i>may</i> have (Conjunctive Adjunct) (Finite verbal operator)
18	<b>But</b> that (Conjunctive Adjunct)
	<b>and last week's</b> IRA announcement (Hypotactic conjunction)

## Themes in editorial F

Clause	Theme
1	<b>So at last – at long, long last</b> – the IRA (Conjunctive Adjunct)
2	<i>Only someone perversely determined</i> to find (Modal comment Adjunct)
3	<i>Of course</i> it (Modal comment Adjunct)
4	The IRA
5	It
6	<b>But all of that</b> is (Conjunctive Adjunct)
7	The important thing
8	<b>If words mean anything</b> , yesterday's statement (Conjunctive Adjunct)
9	It
10	The statement
11	It <i>it would not</i> work (Negative Finite verbal operator)
12	<b>Well</b> , no one (Continuative)
13	It it it
14	<b>And</b> it (Conjunctive Adjunct) <b>which</b> Sinn Fein (Hypotactic conjunction)
15	The statement
16	It
17	<i>That amounts to a direct order</i> to the rank and file (Modal comment Adjunct)
18	The word criminality
19	That <b>since</b> the IRA (Paratactic conjunction)
20	<b>But immediately after saying that</b> all volunteers (Conjunctive Adjunct) the statement Volunteers
21	The importance
22	It
23	<i>On the broader level</i> it (Modal comment Adjunct)
24	On decommissioning,
25	It
26	<i>Will</i> this be (Finite verbal operator)
27	<b>If they have any sense they will</b> , like the rest of us, adopt (Hypotactic conjunction)
28	<b>Within a few months</b> it (Conjunctive Adjunct)
29	The abandonment the acceptance support all these
30	<b>Overall</b> there was (Conjunctive Adjunct)

31	It
32	<b>But if the IRA lives up to what it has said</b> , yesterday's statement (Conjunctive Adjunct and Hypotactic conjunction)

## Themes in editorial G

Clause	Theme
1	The British government
2	<b>In spite of</b> Unionists unease (Hypotactic Conjunction) that
3	<b>If this is to work</b> there has to be (Hypotactic conjunction)
4	<b>And</b> it (Conjunctive Adjunct)
5	Their statement
6	They
7	<b>Now</b> they (Continuative)
8	<b>If they want to prove</b> that their new position (Hypotactic conjunction)
9	We
10	That <i>will</i> make (Finite verbal operator)
11	These superdumps
12	<i>Taking this final step with urgency will</i> reassure (Modal comment Adjunct) (Finite verbal operator)
13	Prompt action
14	<i>One can easily see</i> <b>what</b> is (Modal comment Adjunct) (Paratactic conjunction)
15	Self-interest
16	Tony Blair
17	Senior Sinn Fein figures
18	<i>Less clear</i> is (Modal comment Adjunct) the foot soldiers
19	They
20	<i>Is it too much to hope</i> that some of these (Modal comment Adjunct)
21	That they
22	The SDLP leader Mark Durkan
23	<b>All of which</b> makes (Conjunctive Adjunct)
24	<b>If republicans are confining themselves to purely peaceful, political and democratic</b> actions (Hypotactic conjunction) it
25	<b>Along with</b> the delivery (Conjunctive Adjunct) this



## Themes in editorial H

Clause	Theme
1	The IRA's decision
	<b>and long</b> overdue (Conjunctive Adjunct)
	<b>but</b> it (Paratactic conjunction)
2	The IRA statement
3	Mr. Blair's hyperbole
4	The IRA
	that its war
5	In the words of P O'Neill
	all IRA units
6	Does this mean
7	One presumes
	<b>and</b> <i>certainly</i> hopes (Paratactic conjunction) (Modal comment Adjunct)
8	<b>And</b> General John De Chastelain (Conjunctive Adjunct)
9	<i>But what really matters</i> is (Modal comment Adjunct)
	<b>but</b> what the IRA (Conjunctive Adjunct)
	how it
	to end
	to stop
	<b>and</b> to allow (Paratactic conjunction)
10	On this
11	The public
	a transformation
12	<b>And</b> it (Conjunctive Adjunct)
13	<i>From the outset</i> Sinn Fein (Modal comment Adjunct)
14	The republican movement
	<b>and</b> which was (Hypotactic conjunction)
15	<b>And</b> the IRA (Conjunctive Adjunct)
16	For the Good Friday Agreement
	all parties
17	This
	<b>and</b> to maintain (Paratactic conjunction)
18	That
19	<i>The measure of Sinn Fein/IRA's failure</i> is (Modal comment Adjunct)
20	Those, like David Trimble
21	The DUP
	Mr. Trimble
22	Sinn Fein
23	The triumph
24	Sinn Fein/IRA
	<i>first</i> (Modal comment Adjunct)
	<b>then</b> (Conjunctive Adjunct)

25	The criminal face
26	<i>Belatedly, and against that murky background,</i> the IRA (Modal comment Adjunct)
	The IRA
27	<b>Whether</b> the IRA (Conjunctive Adjunct)
28	The IMC
	<b>and</b> has removed (Hypotactic Adjunct)
29	<i>But for that to happen</i> requires (Modal comment Adjunct)

## Themes in editorial I

Clause	Theme
1	<i>On the face of its statement</i> , the IRA (Modal comment Adjunct) <b>and</b> its commander-in-chief (Hypotactic Conjunction)
2	It
3	The IRA brand name <b>and</b> those of its members (Paratactic Conjunction)
4	<b>But, again</b> trusting to the wording (Conjunctive Adjunct)
5	<b>If the apparent promise of this statement is matched by delivery, then</b> there is (Hypotactic conjunction)
6	With the IRA
7	Some observers
8	<b>And</b> DUP MP Jeffrey Donaldson (Conjunctive Adjunct)
9	<b>Nonetheless</b> , this (Conjunctive Adjunct) <b>and</b> <i>whatever about</i> the arcane nature (Conjunctive Adjunct) (Modal comment Adjunct) it
10	SDLP leader Mark Durkan
11	Ian Paisley
12	<b>So</b> which is (Conjunctive Adjunct)
13	The statement
14	All volunteers
15	Volunteers
16	<b>And</b> further down (Conjunctive Adjunct) Every volunteer
17	That
18	<b>If the statement does not mean an end to “punishment” shootings and beatings, the exiling of those the IRA deems undesirable, the spying, the targeting, the surveillance and so on, then</b> the IRA (Hypotactic conjunction)
19	The statement
20	<b>However, to any reasonable person</b> , the statement (Conjunctive Adjunct) (Modal comment Adjunct) <b>and</b> an end (Conjunctive Adjunct)
21	Tony Blair
22	<b>So</b> was Bertie Ahern (Conjunctive Adjunct)
23	<i>Maybe</i> this time (Modal comment Adjunct)
24	We
25	Some IRA members others
26	The numbers
27	<b>Otherwise</b> why <i>would</i> Adams and McGuinness (Conjunctive Adjunct) (Finite verbal operator)
28	The pledges
29	For devolution

30	The two governments <b>and</b> the four members (Paratactic conjunction)
31	These bodies and individuals
32	<i>Understandably mindful of what the IRA and peace process did to his predecessor, David Trimble, the UUP leader, Sir Reg Empey</i> (Modal comment Adjunct)
33	The IMC
34	<b>If both reports show that the IRA is off the scene, then</b> it <i>will</i> be (Hypotactic conjunction) (Finite verbal operator)
35	To help manage
36	There is to help republicans
37	That
38	<b>After</b> that (Conjunctive Adjunct)
39	<b>And</b> remember (Conjunctive Adjunct)
40	Any new deal
41	The possibility of agreement
42	We <b>but</b> essentially his line (Hypotactic conjunction)
43	<b>But</b> when is (Conjunctive Adjunct)
44	That
45	That
46	<b>And neither</b> <i>will</i> he (Conjunctive Adjunct) (Finite verbal operator)
47	There <i>will</i> be (Finite verbal operator)
48	<b>But if the IRA delivers, as promised, and if Dr. Paisley can put political pragmatism above his fundamentalism, then</b> sometime (Conjunctive Adjunct and Hypotactic conjunction )

## Themes in editorial J

Clause	Theme
1	The <i>most extraordinary</i> thing (Modal comment Adjunct)
2	Here was the end
3	<i>By any standards</i> , the political achievement (Modal comment Adjunct)
4	Getting a tightly-knit group to face
5	Last May <b>if Adams delivered on the promise of his public appeal to the IRA the previous month</b> , he(Hypotactic conjunction)
6	It
7	<b>So</b> why was (Conjunctive Adjunct)
8	Why
9	Some of the reasons
10	People <b>and</b> the staging (Paratactic conjunction)
11	<b>Since last April</b> , when Adams (Conjunctive Adjunct) every last drop
12	This
13	The IRA's death staggering to her feet
14	<i>More profoundly</i> , <b>however</b> , there is a sense (Modal comment Adjunct) (Conjunctive Adjunct)
15	The decision
16	There is no acceptance
17	There is
18	The <i>meanly laconic</i> acknowledgement (Modal comment Adjunct)
19	Note torturing and murdering incinerating blowing to bits the massacres the murders
20	<b>Even</b> atrocities (Conjunctive Adjunct)
21	<i>At the root of this refusal</i> to engage (Modal comment Adjunct)
22	The <i>demented</i> self-importance (Modal comment Adjunct)
23	<i>Nearly all</i> the commentary (Modal comment Adjunct)
24	That draft
25	It
26	It
27	It <b>and doing so would have provided</b> important reassurance (Hypotactic)

	conjunction) (Modal comment Adjunct)
28	Why
29	<b>Because</b> , <i>presumably</i> , of a childish petulance (Conjunctive Adjunct) (Modal comment Adjunct)
30	<b>And so</b> , a long history (Conjunctive Adjunct)
31	There is
32	<b>And in that at least</b> , the IRA's (Conjunctive Adjunct) (Modal comment Adjunct)
	a small and sordid rebuke