

Time and the Text

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***“War is Over! If you want it”* Using Intertemporal Choice Theory to
Monitor Change in the Political Discourse of Northern Ireland**

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Abstract

In our lived experience as human beings, we are perpetually confronted with *intertemporal choices*: do we ‘sleep late or rise early, munch snacks or eat a healthy lunch, buy the snazzy sports car or the reliable sedan, get a job or go to college?’ (Loewenstein & Elster, 1992: ix) To help us make our decisions, we ‘make trade-offs between costs and benefits occurring at different points in time,’ (Loewenstein et al, 2003: 2) with one eye fixated in the present and the other looking to the future. Wedded to the theory of Intertemporal Choice is the concept of the multiple self, the notion that as individuals we are not only a product of our present selves, but are intimately tied to both our past and future selves throughout the tenure of our lifespan (see Frederick, 2003). Operating as a lucrative area of research in economics and psychology, the impact of the theory of Intertemporal Choice has yet to be felt in linguistics. However, the recent application of choice theories, particularly Game Theory, to the study of discourse (Benz et al, 2006; Pietarinen, 2007) has created a climate in which such new avenues may be explored. In this paper, Intertemporal Choice Theory is used to model how the linguistic form and function of the political manifesto has changed in Northern Ireland between 1973 and 2007. I focus on a range of manifestos from the province’s four main political parties: Sinn Féin (SF), the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) and the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP). The paper demonstrates how each political text is a product of the collective self (the political party), a self whose interests are engraved linguistically in the present, but subject to subtle modification by the preferences of both past and future collective selves.

Keywords: Political, discourse, manifesto, intertemporal, choice, self, preference, interest, past, present, future.

1. The Theory of Intertemporal Choice

In our lived experience as human beings, we are perpetually confronted with *intertemporal choices*: do we ‘sleep late or rise early, munch snacks or eat a healthy lunch, buy the snazzy sports car or the reliable sedan, get a job or go to college?’ (Loewenstein & Elster, 1992: ix) To help us make our decisions, we ‘make trade-offs between costs and benefits occurring at different points in time’ (Loewenstein et al, 2003: 2) with one eye fixated in the present and the other looking to the future. Wedded to the theory of intertemporal choice is the concept of the multiple self, the notion that as individuals we are not only a

product of our present selves, but are intimately tied to both our past and future selves throughout the tenure of our lifespan (Frederick, 2003). The origins of intertemporal choice theory are indebted to Scottish economist John Rae, whose 1834 publication *Sociological Theory of Capital* argues that the human:

determination to sacrifice a certain amount of present good, to obtain another greater amount of good, at some future period, may be termed the *effective desire of accumulation*.

Rae (1834: 53)

Rae suggested four reasons why people would prefer to save now and spend later; to make difficult decisions in the present in order to prosper in the future. These four determinants of time preference may be summarized as: ‘the brevity and uncertainty of human life’ (Loewenstein & Elster, 1992: 6); ‘the psychological discomfort of deferring gratification’ (also known as *abstinence*); the ‘bequest motive’ or idea that throughout society, people tend to demonstrate social and benevolent affections towards others; and finally, the socio-economic and cultural conditions in which people live. According to Rae, people make decisions in their everyday lives; about what they are going to buy, consume etc., on the basis of these four factors. As much as we are constantly making decisions about whether we should eat a cream bun now and pay for it later (by piling on the pounds); put the new shoes on the credit card and think about the bill when it lands on the doormat, through language, we are also constantly making decisions which are informed by what we think the repercussions of those choices are going to be in the future. In this paper, I argue that the theory of intertemporal choice (and Rae’s four determinants of time preference in particular) can help us account for subtle linguistic changes in the political discourse of Northern Ireland.

Let us begin by looking at the determinant *abstinence*, also known as ‘the psychological discomfort of deferring gratification.’ Rae explains this in a little more detail:

The prospects of future good, which future years may hold out to us, seem at such a moment dull and dubious, and are apt to be slighted, for objects on which the daylight is falling strongly, and showing us in all their freshness just within our grasp. There is no man perhaps, to whom a good to be enjoyed to day, would not seem of a very different importance, from one exactly similar to be enjoyed twelve years hence, even though the arrival of both were equally certain...Everywhere we see that to spend is easy, to spare, hard.

Rae (1834: 54)

In other words, people prefer to make decisions which will give them satisfaction in their present lives; this is more preferable than ‘thinking’ too much about the future - a reason, perhaps, why young people are reluctant to plan for their retirement. In terms of language, politicians in Northern Ireland have, in the past, reasoned along similar lines; if we examine the fossils of political discourse it is evident that they have spoken and scribed in the ‘heat’ of the political moment; thinking less about how the linguistic decisions they make at that particular point in time are invariably going to change in the future. Let us look an extract from the 1985 Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)¹ Local Government election manifesto:

Those whose policy is "politics by day, guns by night" **must** continue to be totally ostracised and isolated at every level. This remains **our consistent policy**. We will **never** fraternise with them before, during or after council meetings.

Democratic Unionist Party Local Government Election Manifesto
(1985)

If we fast forward two decades from 1985 to recent political developments in Northern Ireland, particularly the warmth and humour characterizing the relationship between former DUP leader Ian Paisley and Sinn Féin Deputy Leader Martin McGuinness (who were renamed “the chuckle brothers,” the above citation is hardly evidence of modality at work.

Let us move on to the second of Rae’s determinants: ‘the brevity and uncertainty of human life.’ Rae explains this in a little more detail:

We know not the period when death may come upon us, but we know that it may come in a few days, and must come in a few years. Why then be providing goods that cannot be enjoyed until times, which though not very remote, may never come to us, or until times still more remote, and which we are convinced we shall never see?...the

approaches of old age are at least certain, are dulling, day by day, the relish of every pleasure.

Rae (1834: 54)

Another of John Rae's determinants of time preference is known as the 'bequest motive', the idea that since humans share intimate personal relationships, we are conscious of how our decisions impact upon other people. The same rule applies to language - our linguistic decisions are informed by our estimation of how these choices will 'pan out' at some future time.

Though life may pass from him, he reckons not that his toils, his cares, his privations, will be lost, if they serve as the means of enjoyment to some whom he may leave behind... There seem to be, in modern times, and in particular communities, two circumstances, that may lead an individual, from a mere regard to his personal interest, to pursue the paths of sober industry and frugality, and, consequently, to make an extended provision for the wants of others. There seems to be the desire of personal, and family aggrandizement, and a wish, conjoined with the pursuit of both, to rank high in the estimation of the world.

Rae (1834: 56; 59)

How can this foreknowledge of our own human mortality, and how we will be remembered by the world and by those who we have been close to in our lives, inform how Northern Irish politicians elect various linguistic strategies? Have a look at this next quotation from former deputy leader of nationalist party Social Democratic & Labour Party (SDLP)², Seamus Mallon, on Ian Paisley, former leader of the Democratic Unionist Party:

(Niall Donnelly - Reporter) Seamus Mallon believes Paisley's political road to Damascus came about during a serious illness a few years ago. He recalls off-the-record chats with him at the time.

(Seamus Mallon) The whole thrust of his discussion was what he might do before he left this world. Now, I don't use the term atonement, but if I were to seek for a semi-religious word to describe it, it would be somewhere in that range. and I do accept, and I do believe that at that period of time, he decided that he had to leave something behind him, not just the ranting, the raving, the waving of gun licenses, the very sectarian and bigoted speeches that he used to make. I think something within him demanded that he leave the other side of Ian Paisley with us,

the good side, a man who ultimately did not cease to destroy those who opposed him, and began to work with those who he, on record, despised.

Seamus Mallon (former deputy SDLP leader) on Ian Paisley (former DUP leader) Ulster Television (UTV) Coverage 05/03/08³

I am really a second generation man now, and I think that other people especially our younger people have to now come in and do their bit in their day and generation.

Ian Paisley (former DUP leader) BBC Interview 05/03/08

As evidenced by Seamus Mallon, the softening in Ian Paisley's language, away from ranting and raving about his political opponents Sinn Féin, towards a more co-operative relationship with them; signalled by warm nonverbal communication between Ian Paisley and Sinn Féin's⁴ deputy leader Martin McGuinness, are linguistic decisions informed by Rae's determinants of time preference: the brutishness of human life, and the bequest motive - the idea that we want to leave something positive in our wake.

The fourth determinant of time preference as sketched by Rae is 'the impact of socio-economic and cultural factors' (Loewenstein & Elster, 1992: 23). Our effective desire of accumulation will depend upon our international position; our role in the world and in the society in which we inhabit. Have a look at this quotation from Rae:

But of all the sources of internal prosperity, or means of repelling external aggressions, no one, in modern times, is of greater efficacy than wealth. We have, therefore, no reason to be surprised that statesmen should have endeavored to procure for their respective countries the greatest possible amount of it.

Rae (1834: xlv)

With the establishment of a devolved assembly in Northern Ireland, politicians have sought to 'generate and keep up a much stronger attention to the cares of futurity' (Rae, 1834: 62) notably by discussing issues affecting the economy. Have a look at this next quotation from deputy leader of Sinn Féin, Martin McGuinness:

tomorrow he (Ian Paisley) and I will be meeting with our committee, and tomorrow night we will be participating in the opening of the new Victoria Square Shopping Centre in the centre of Belfast- all very powerful and important developments as we move forward to ensure that our economy delivers for our people in terms of ending poverty and bringing about the sort of lifestyle I think all our people deserve.

Martin McGuinness; UTV Coverage 04/03/08

I argue then, that Rae's four determinants of time preference go some way in accounting for subtle modifications in Northern Irish political discourse.

2. Political Preferences: Past and Present

Eager to test out these ideas further, and to track how the linguistic preferences of Northern Irish politicians have changed over the past four decades; the period known as 'the troubles,' I compiled a mini-corpus of 80 political manifestoes spanning the period 1973-2007, from the four main political parties in NI: the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)⁵, Sinn Féin (SF) and the Social Democratic & Labour Party (SDLP). I sampled 20 Northern Irish Assembly election manifestoes, 24 Local Government election manifestoes, 20 Westminster General election manifestoes and 16 European election manifestoes, with a total frequency of just under half a million words. The manifestoes were gathered from a number of sources: party websites, the Northern Ireland Political Collection at Belfast Linen Hall Library, and also first hand from the SDLP constituency office. The manifestoes were cleaned of typing errors and converted to 80 plain text files to facilitate analysis with the corpus tool Wmatrix. Each text was also coded with the date, the party, and the manifesto type (NIA for Assembly manifesto; LGE for local government manifesto; WGE for Westminster manifesto; and EEU for the European election manifestoes). The table below contains a breakdown of the manifesto corpus, with the frequency of each text cited in parentheses.

NIA2007DUP (13082)	LGE2005DUP (9728)	LGE1985DUP (3424)	WGE1987DUP (868)
NIA2007UUP (7746)	LGE2005UUP (3830)	LGE1985UUP (1713)	WGE1987UUP (868)
NIA2007SDLP (20953)	LGE2005SDLP (15258)	LGE1985SDLP (4243)	WGE1987SDLP (6367)
NIA2007SF (16807)	LGE2005SF (9375)	LGE1985SF (5905)	WGE1987SF (14107)
NIA2003DUP (11409)	LGE2001DUP (5759)	WGE2005DUP (9728)	EEU2004DUP (7331)
NIA2003UUP (3714)	LGE2001UUP (3764)	WGE2005UUP (3830)	EEU2004UUP (2641)
NIA2003SDLP (16577)	LGE2001SDLP (7700)	WGE2005SDLP (15258)	EEU2004SDLP (8847)
NIA2003SF (23477)	LGE2001SF (7170)	WGE2005SF (9375)	EEU2004SF (19597)
NIA1998DUP (1243)	LGE1997DUP (1450)	WGE2001DUP (5759)	EEU1999DUP (810)
NIA1998UUP (4485)	LGE1997UUP (2085)	WGE2001UUP (3764)	EEU1999UUP (2155)
NIA1998SDLP (4606)	LGE1997SDLP (2568)	WGE2001SDLP (7700)	EEU1999SDLP (2739)
NIA1998SF (4275)	LGE1997SF (4469)	WGE2001SF (7170)	EEU1999SF (1989)
NIA1982DUP (2081)	LGE1993DUP (2891)	WGE1997DUP (2497)	EEU1994DUP (8435)
NIA1982UUP (4265)	LGE1993UUP (2181)	WGE1997UUP (9040)	EEU1994UUP (2377)
NIA1982SDLP (1598)	LGE1993SDLP (4368)	WGE1997SDLP (8907)	EEU1994SDLP (4271)
NIA1982SF (421)	LGE1993SF (3615)	WGE1997SF (5720)	EEU1994SF (7834)
NIA1973DUP (1293)	LGE1989DUP (3723)	WGE1992DUP (4506)	EEU1989DUP (1467)
NIA1973UUP (5088)	LGE1989UUP (1978)	WGE1992UUP (4050)	EEU1989UUP (2126)
NIA1973SDLP (5940)	LGE1989SDLP (3320)	WGE1992SDLP (9183)	EEU1989SDLP (4044)
NIA1973SF (895)	LGE1989SF (8769)	WGE1992SF (3241)	EEU1989SF (4257)

Table 1: Breakdown of the Northern Irish Political Manifestoes Corpus

2.1. Fluctuating Frequencies

A few features are worthy of note in terms of compositional fabric of the manifestoes. For the UUP, the frequency of Assembly and Local Government manifestoes between 1973 and 2005 were consistently below 5,000 words, rising to nearly 7,700 words in the 2007 Assembly manifesto. There is one exception to this - the 1997 Westminster manifesto - just over 9,000 words in 1997.

For the DUP, the word frequency of assembly manifestoes remained fairly constant between 1973 and 1998, but between 1998 and 2007 have continued to rise. Word frequency of Local Government manifestoes has decreased slowly between 1985 and 1997, but between 1997 and 2005 have risen, an almost identical picture to the SDLP. Sinn Féin mirror the fall-rise pattern in Local Government manifesto word count as the SDLP and DUP, although between 1985 and 1989 the word length of these manifestoes actually increased.

In addition, for the DUP word frequency of Westminster manifestoes rose between 1987 and 1992, fell between 1992 and 1997 and then rose again

between 1997 and 2005. This pattern is reflected in their European manifestoes, the frequencies of which rose in general between 1989 and 2004, but fell between 1994 and 1999 before rising again between 1999 and 2004. DUP manifestoes are capped at around 13,500 words, and the vast majority do not exceed 10,000 words.

For the SDLP, the word frequency of Assembly manifestoes has risen consistently between 1982 and 2007, declined only once between 1973 and 1982. The word count for Westminster manifestoes rose steadily between 1987 and 1992, declined steadily between 1992 and 2001, before rising again in 2005. Again, this is a similar trend to European manifestoes, which rose slightly between 1989-1994, fell between 1994 and 1999, and rose again between 1999 and 2004. SDLP manifestoes across all categories are generally less than 15,100 words, with two exceptions: the 2003 and 2007 Assembly manifestoes (16, 577 and 20,953 words respectively).

For Sinn Féin , the word frequency of Assembly manifestoes rose between 1982 and 2003 (with an especially sharp rise between 1998 and 2003) before declining in 2007. The length of Westminster manifestoes fell between 1987 and 1992, but have risen steadily between 1992 and 2005. European manifestoes rose between 1989 and 1994, fell between 1994-1999, and rose again between 1999 and 2004. Sinn Féin manifestoes across all category types generally do not exceed 20,000 words, with the majority less than 15,000 words. There is one exception to this: Sinn Féin hold the record for the longest manifesto in the corpus (the 2003 Assembly manifesto, at nearly 23,600 words). The SDLP produced two of the longest Assembly manifestoes in 1973 and 2003, and in 1982 the UUP manifesto demonstrated the highest word count. Of the Westminster manifestoes, the SDLP produced the longest in 1992, 2001 and 2005. Sinn Féin produced the longest Westminster manifesto in 1987 and the UUP in 1997.

Of the Local Government manifestoes, Sinn Féin produced the manifestoes with the highest frequency in 1985, 1989, 1993 and 1997. Meanwhile, the SDLP produced the longest of these in 2001 and 2005. European manifestoes show a similar trend: Sinn Féin produced the highest word count in 1989, 1994 and 2004, while the SDLP produced the highest count in 1999. The overall picture, then, is that the record for the longest manifestoes is shared between the nationalist parties: Sinn Féin and the SDLP. Is there a reason for this? Personal communication with SDLP policy manager Eilis Haughey revealed why this may be the case:

our manifesto tends to be one of the longest of the other parties in the North because we have always taken the view that it's the bread and butter stuff that is important...despite the difficulties in this society...

Figures 1-4 overleaf represent variations in word frequency in Northern Irish Assembly, Westminster General, Local Government and European Election

Manifestoes between 1973 and 2007. The dark blue line represents the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), the light blue line represents the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP), the red line represents the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) and the green line represents Sinn Féin (SF).

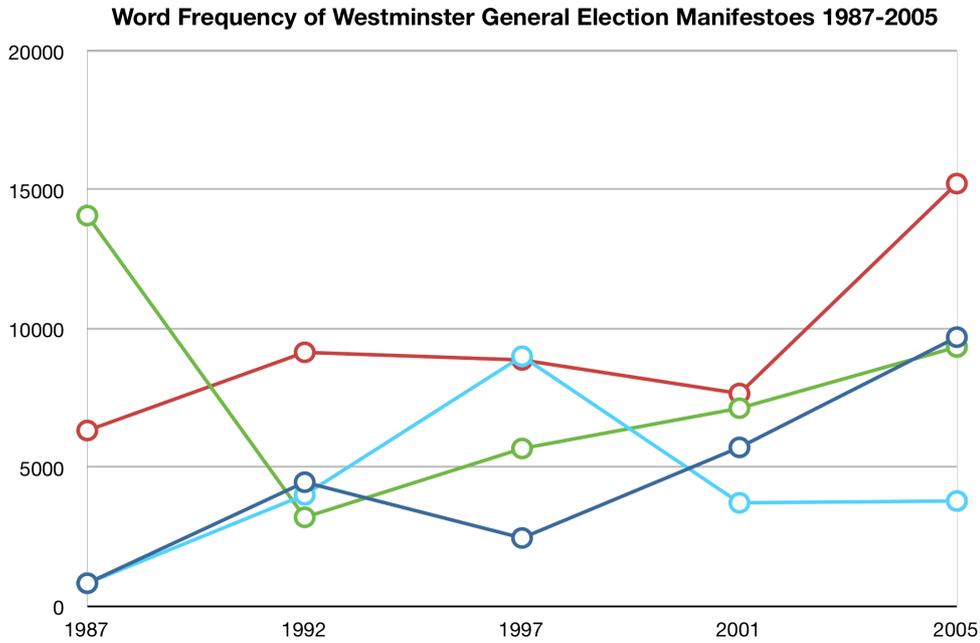


Figure 1

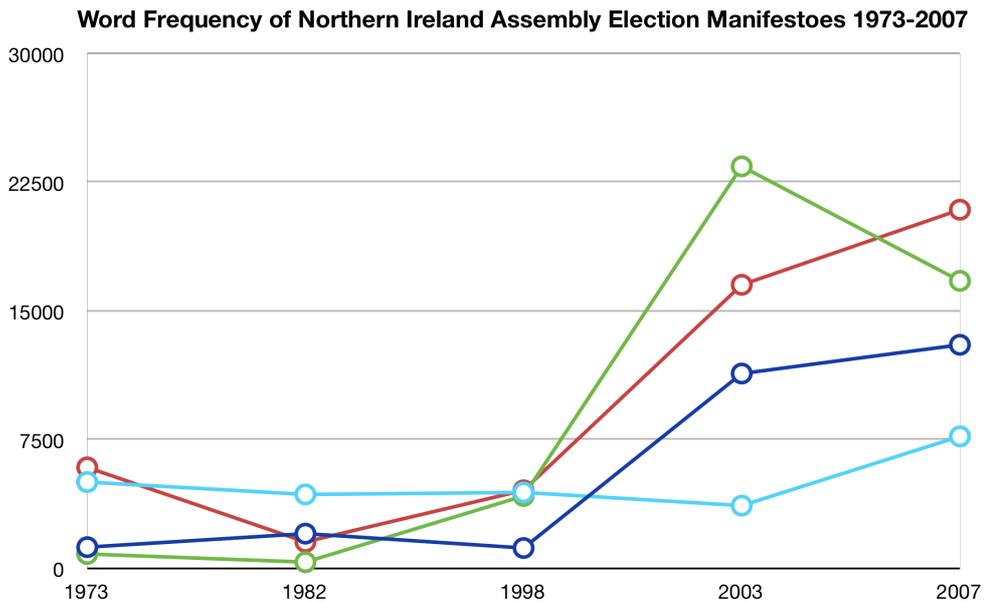


Figure 2

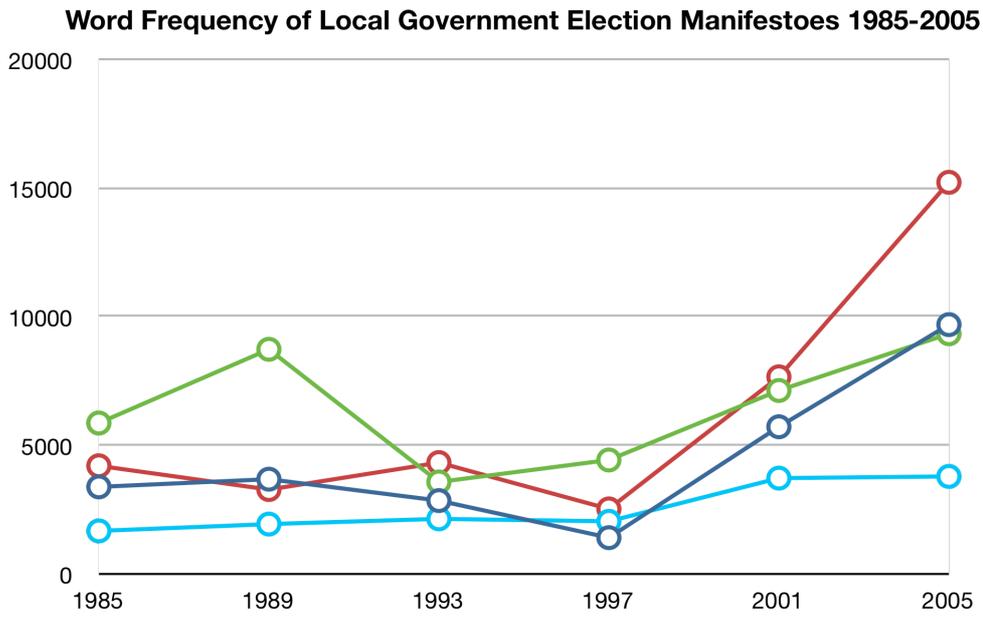


Figure 3

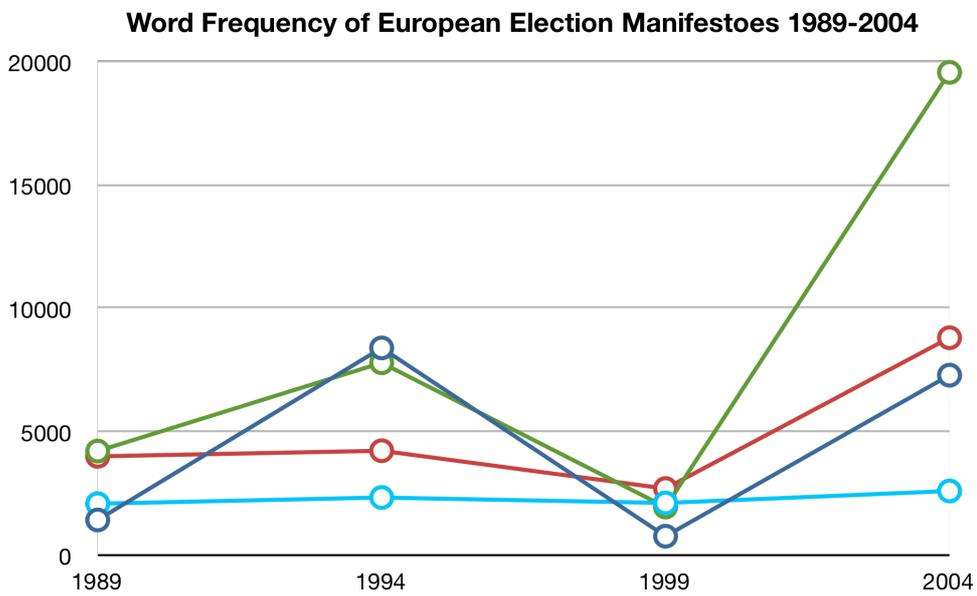


Figure 4

2.2. Campaign Slogans: Change over Time

As well as these demonstrable changes in word frequency, the campaign slogan of each party also changes from manifesto to manifesto. However, as we can see from the next slide, the collective ‘self’ of the party; the many groups and individuals who collaborate in the production of the manifesto are aware of the linguistic decisions that have been made in the past concerning the party campaign and theme for that particular election.

Take the DUP, for instance. There are five discernible patterns in their campaign slogans. The oldest linguistic strategy is alliteration, as in these examples:

(i) Alliteration

1997 (WGE)	<u>D</u> emocracy (not <u>D</u> ublin Rule)
1992 (WGE)	<u>T</u> ime to <u>T</u> ackle <u>T</u> errorism
1973 (NIA)	<u>S</u> ervice Ever - <u>S</u> urrender Never

persisting between 1973 and 1997. Rhyme, as in these examples:

(ii) Rhyme

1998 (NIA)	Vote <u>DUP</u> - Your Best <u>Guarantee</u>
1989 (LGE)	Make Your Vote Count...1, 2, <u>3</u> <u>DUP</u> .

was used in 1998 and 1989. The opposition between right and wrong, is a persistent form, used not only in 2007 but also in 1987:

(iii) Right and Wrong: putting things ‘right’

2007 (NIA)	Getting it <u>Right</u>
2001 (WGE)	Leadership to <u>Put</u> Things <u>Right</u>
1987 (WGE)	To <u>Put</u> <u>Right</u> a Great <u>Wrong</u>

Use of the word ‘time’ has persisted in manifestoes from 1992 and 2003:

(iv) Time

2003 (NIA)	It’s <u>Time</u> for a Fair Deal
1992 (WGE)	<u>Time</u> to Tackle Terrorism

while use of the word ‘leadership’ is much more recent post-2001:

(v) Leadership

2005 (WGE)	<u>Leadership</u> that’s Working
2004 (EEU)	<u>Leading</u> for Ulster
2001 (WGE)	<u>Leadership</u> to Put Things Right

Looking at the UUP campaign slogans, and the notions of futurity and britishness have persisted throughout the 1980s, 90s and naughties:

Futurity

2003 (NIA)	Simply British (<u>the Future</u> not the Past)
2001 (WGE)	The Ulster Unionist Party <u>Will Deliver</u>
1997 (WGE)	Secure the Union - Build your <u>Future</u>
1982 (NIA)	Into <u>the Future</u> - in True Tradition

Britishness

2005 (WGE)	Simply <u>British</u>
2004 (EEU)	Simply <u>British</u>
1998 (NIA)	Together Within <u>the Union</u>
1997 (WGE)	Secure <u>the Union</u> - Build your Future
1994 (EEU)	Making it Work for <u>Ulster</u>
1985 (LGE)	Keeping <u>Ulster British</u>

The grammatical structure of For + noun phrase has also persisted throughout the decades in campaign slogans:

For + Noun Phrase

2007 (NIA)	<u>For</u> All of Us
1999 (EEU)	<u>For</u> a Full-Time MEP
1997 (LGE)	A New Vision <u>for</u> Local Democracy
1994 (EEU)	Making it Work <u>for</u> Ulster
1989 (LGE)	<u>For</u> Responsive and Responsible Local Government

While a move towards more inclusive language has been felt since 1992:

Inclusive Language

2007 (NIA)	For <u>All</u> of <u>Us</u>
1998 (NIA)	<u>Together</u> Within the Union
1993 (LGE)	Accountable <u>Democracy</u>
1992 (WGE)	<u>The People</u> 's Choice

The SDLP, in contrast to the other parties, have recently demonstrated a preference for using comparatives and superlatives in their campaign slogans:

Comparatives and Superlatives

2005 (WGE)	A <u>Better</u> Way to a <u>Better</u> Ireland
2004 (EEU)	<u>Best</u> Record, <u>Best</u> Agenda

They often use the present continuous tense:

Present Continuous Tense

2003 (NIA)	<u>Reshaping</u> Government, <u>Rebuilding</u> Public Services
2001 (WGE)	It's <u>Working</u> - Let's Keep <u>Building</u>
1999 (EEU)	<u>Putting</u> people First
1987 (WGE)	Keep <u>Building</u>

with words such as 'real,' particularly after 1997:

'Real'

2007 (NIA)	Let's Deliver <u>Real</u> Progress
1997 (WGE)	<u>Real</u> Leadership, Real Peace
1997 (LGE)	<u>Real</u> Leadership, Real Partnership

while 'strength' is a more archaic word, used especially in 1985 and 1989:

Strength

1989 (EEU)	<u>Strength</u> in Europe
1985 (LGE)	Solidarity is <u>Strength</u>

Phrases such as 'a *New* Ireland,' 'a *New* North,' 'A *New* Century' and 'A *New* Europe' were used particularly during campaigns of the 1970s and 1990s:

A New...

1994 (EEU)	Towards <u>a New</u> Century
1992 (WGE)	<u>A New</u> North, <u>A New</u> Ireland, <u>A New</u> Europe
1973 (NIA)	<u>A New</u> North, <u>A New</u> Ireland

Now let's have a look at some of the linguistic features of the Sinn Féin campaign slogans. They exhibit a very similar pattern to the SDLP by using the present continuous tense, but have adopted this form much more recently, since 1997:

Present Continuous Tense:

2007 (NIA)	<u>Delivering</u> for Ireland's Future
2005 (WGE)	<u>Changing</u> the Face of Local Government
2001 (WGE)	<u>Building</u> an Ireland of Equals
1998 (NIA)	For Real Change - <u>Building</u> New Ireland
1997 (WGE)	<u>Building</u> a Dynamic for Change

Sinn Féin also mimic the SDLP by coining the phrase 'A *New* Ireland' in 1998:

1998 (NIA)	For Real Change - Building <u>a New</u> Ireland
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Whereas the SDLP describe *a better Ireland, a new Ireland*, Sinn Féin use the adjectives *free* and *democratic* to describe the 32 counties:

1994 (EEU)	<u>A Democratic Ireland</u> in a Democratic Europe
1992 (WGE)	Towards <u>a Democratic Ireland</u>
1989 (EEU)	For <u>a Free Ireland</u> in a Free Europe

Since 2001, they have switched to using prepositional phrases to describe Ireland: an Ireland *of equals*:

2004 (EEU)	An Ireland <u>of Equals</u> in a Europe <u>of Equals</u>
2001 (WGE)	Building an Ireland <u>of Equals</u>

Sinn Féin also use the word *change* quite frequently, particularly over the past ten years:

2005 (WGE)	<u>Changing</u> the Face of Local Government
1998 (NIA)	For Real <u>Change</u> - Building a New Ireland
1997 (WGE)	Building a Dynamic for <u>Change</u>
1997 (LGE)	Time for <u>Change</u>

While these lexical and grammatical patterns are unique to each party, some of these features are shared *between* parties, linguistic preferences which are a product of the period in which the text was written:

...in 1973

Repetition

SDLP	1973 (NIA)	<u>A New</u> North, <u>A New</u> Ireland
Sinn Féin	1973 (NIA)	<u>Spoil</u> Your Vote - <u>Spoil</u> it Early

...and in 1982

Lexical Crossovers

DUP	1982 (NIA)	You Know Where You <u>Stand</u> With the D.U.P.
SDLP	1982 (NIA)	<u>Stand</u> Firm

Sinn Féin and the UUP mimic each-others campaign slogans with the grammatical structure For + Noun Phrase, during the 1980s and 1990s, while the UUP have retained this form in the present decade.

UUP	2007 (NIA)	<u>For</u> All of Us
	1999 (EEU)	<u>For</u> A Full-Time MEP
	1989 (LGE)	<u>For</u> Responsive and Responsible

Local Government

Sinn Féin Ireland	1998 (NIA)	<u>For</u> Real Change - Building a New
	1989 (EEU)	<u>For</u> a Free Ireland in a Free Europe
	1987 (WGE)	<u>For</u> Freedom, Justice, Peace
	1985 (LGE)	<u>For</u> Effective Local Leadership!

2.3. Lexical Change

There are interesting lexical and grammatical transitions at work in these political manifestoes, but corpus methods enable us to investigate broader diachronic lexical shifts, shifts I wanted to account for using the theory of intertemporal choice. But first let's look at some more data. Using WMatrix, I searched through the 500,000 word mini-corpus, searching for all forms of the headword *terror*; a project inspired by recent work by Martin Montgomery (2008) investigating the phrase *war on terror* after the events of 9/11 - The word *terrorism* appeared 103 times in the corpus, followed by *terrorists* (76 occurrences), *terrorist* (73 occurrences), *terror* (17 occurrences); *terrorise* (2 times) and *terrorising* (2 times) were the least frequent. These lexemes were accessed chiefly by the DUP and UUP: Sinn Féin and the SDLP only used these lexemes to discuss international terrorism and anti-social behaviour. Let's look at some of the categorizations I was able to make on the basis of the corpus data:

Dealing first with the word *terror*,- and Sinn Féin is terror personified! We also find instances of *terror* being used as an abstract noun, and in a metaphorical sense (a nail in the coffin of terrorism), and of terrorism being viewed as an evil scourge:

(i) *Terror Personified*

Terror as Sinn Féin :

There can be no compromise with **terror** (WGE2005DUP)

Sinn Féin must be proscribed and **all those who serve as a front for terror** branded with the stamp of illegality and unacceptability.
(LGE1985UUP)

Terrorism as a nuclear missile (and a dead body):

a launching pad for **terrorism** (LGE1993DUP)

a nail in the coffin of **terrorism** (LGE1989DUP)

Terror - an abstract noun:

re-arm and perpetrate **terror** (NIA2003DUP)

continuing to pursue the path of **terror** (NIA2003DUP)

a policy of **terror** and violence (LGE1997DUP)

the right to freedom of movement, **freedom from terror**, intimidation and domination (WGE1997SDLP)

The Evil Scourge of Terrorism:

elimination of the **scourge of terrorism** (LGE1985UUP)

the **scourge of terrorism** and gangsterism (EEU1994UUP)

the **evil of terrorism** is ended (NIA1998UUP)

We also find many references to *the terrorist* and *terrorists*, and ‘those involved with terrorism’ are described precisely in that manner, through a series of embedded clauses and prepositional phrases (the representatives of terrorism)

(ii) The Terrorist

The Terrorist:

a new strategy aimed at pursuing rather than reacting to **the terrorist** (LGE1993DUP)

a new strategy aimed at pursuing rather than reacting to **the terrorist** (LGE1989DUP)

the law-abiding community and **the terrorist**. (WGE1992UUP)

The Terrorists:

This irredentist claim remains an encouragement to **the terrorists** and a justification for their actions (WGE1992UUP)

Terrorists:

terrorists will be free **without serving a day** (NIA2003DUP)

Remember how we were told that **terrorists** would stay in **prison** unless violence was over for good? (WGE2001DUP)

They want to **let terrorists out of prison** (NIA1998DUP)

The mass release of **terrorists** (NIA1998DUP)

terrorists will be free **without serving a day** (NIA2003DUP)

A second requirement was that the **terrorists commit** themselves to exclusively peaceful methods (WGE1997DUP)

misguided schemes closer to home to promote the demands of **terrorists** over the real rights of society (WGE1997UUP)

the reinstatement of stations **damaged by terrorists** (NIA1982UUP)

call upon the Government to remove the fellow **travellers of terrorists** from Council Chambers (LGE1989UUP)

recent incidents, in which **terrorists** have been successfully intercepted (LGE1985UUP)

The release of **terrorists** from jail (WGE2001DUP)

Faulkner 's proud boast was that over **1,000 terrorists** were in custody in the concentration camps and prisons of Nagilligan , Long Kesh , HMS Maidstone and Crumlin Road (NIA1973SF)

Embedded Clauses:

Ulster Unionists support strong and decisive action against regimes which support terrorism (WGE2005UUP)

commitment to challenge...those who promote or endorse terrorism (WGE1997UUP)

held to ransom by those involved with terrorism (EEU2004DUP)

Prepositional Phrase plus terrorism:

representatives of armed **terrorism** (WGE2001DUP)

the representatives of **terrorism** (NIA2007DUP)

the representatives of **terrorism** (NIA2003DUP)

the introduction of effective measures to ban any other advocates of **terrorism** from the airwaves (WGE1997UUP)

Terrorists is a word frequently pre-modified by adjectives *unrepentant* and *unreconstructed*; *violent political terrorists*; *IRA and Republican* occur as common pre-modifiers to *terrorists* and *terrorism*. *Loyalist* pre-modifies *terrorists* only once in the corpus (in a 1997 UUP Westminster manifesto); while *British terrorism* is mentioned once in a 1987 Sinn Féin manifesto.

(iii) Classifying Pre-Modifier plus Terrorist

Violent Political Terrorists:

domination by **violent political terrorists** (NIA1998DUP)

Unrepentant and Unreconstructed:

Unrepentant and unreconstructed terrorists should not be in government (NIA1998DUP)

Unreconstructed terrorists in government (NIA1998DUP)

unrepentant terrorists on to our streets (WGE2001DUP)

'**unreconstructed terrorists**' (NIA1998UUP)

Republican Terrorists:

carefully planned murders of local members of the security forces by **Republican terrorists** in each frontier county (NIA1982UUP)

the 60 and 205 murders attributable to **Republican terrorists** in Counties Fermanagh and Armagh (NIA1982UUP)

IRA Terrorism:

the godfathers of **IRA terrorism** (LGE1997DUP)

The DUP believes **IRA terrorism** can and must be defeated (LGE1997DUP)

the **I.R.A . propaganda and terrorism** (NIA1982UUP)

the **IRA terrorist campaign** (WGE2005DUP)

the **IRA terrorist conspiracy** (LGE1993DUP)

eight **IRA terrorists** (WGE1997DUP)

harbours **I.R.A . terrorists** (NIA1982DUP)

Loyalist Terrorists:

to discourage retaliatory violence by **Loyalist terrorists** (WGE1997UUP)

British Terrorism:

The Six-County state...survives on a life support unit of **British terrorism** and a system of economic apartheid (WGE1987SF)

Unionism or Terrorism?

UNIONISM OR TERRORISM? (EEU2004DUP)

Trained Terrorists:

Training FARC terrorists in Colombia. (NIA2003DUP)

small number of **trained terrorists** (WGE1997DUP)

Terrorists are active participants in a number of active and passive constructions: they orchestrate clashes, walk out of jail and rejoice; as kith and kin are murdered by terrorists.

(iv) Terrorism - Active and Passive Constructions

Active constructions:

the **terrorists** deliberately **orchestrate clashes** (WGE1992DUP)

TERRORISTS REJOICE AS VICTIMS ARE FORGOTTEN
(WGE2001DUP)

terrorists walk out of jail early (WGE2001DUP)

Terrorists **running the police** (NIA2003DUP)

large areas of our towns and cities **abandoned to the will of terrorists**
(NIA2003DUP)

Passive constructions:

More than 240 members of the UDR...have been **murdered by terrorists** (WGE1992DUP)

our kith and kin are **murdered by terrorists** who flourish under an inept security policy (NIA1982DUP)

The words *terror*, *terrorist* and *terrorists* also collocate frequently with *machine*, *weaponry*, *structures* and semantically-related words (*commodities*, *supplies*):

(v) The Terror Machine

The IRA Terror Machine:

the dismantling of **the IRA terror machine** (WGE2001DUP)

its **terror machine** has been dismantled (WGE1997DUP)

the dismantling of the **terror machines** (NIA1998DUP)

the IRA was constantly updating its **terror machine** (WGE1997DUP)

dismantle its **terrorist machine** (WGE1997DUP)

The **terrorists' killing machines** (WGE1997DUP)

The Terrorist Infrastructure

Terrorist structures and Weaponry:

Terrorist structures and weaponry must be removed (NIA2007DUP)

All paramilitary and criminal activity and **terrorist structures must be** abandoned (NIA2007DUP)

Terrorist structures and weaponry must be removed (NIA2003DUP)

Prepositional phrase plus the terrorist 'infrastructure':

an end to all forms of violence and **the progressive dismantling of the terrorist infrastructure** (EEU1999UUP)

restricting **the movement of terrorists and their weapons** (WGE1992DUP)

the safe cold storage of the terrorists' commodities (WGE1992DUP)

A border that is **a conduit for terrorist supplies** (WGE1992DUP)

the removal of terrorist structures (NIA2007DUP)

The retention of **illegal weapons by terrorists** (NIA1998DUP)

Illegal weapons retained by terrorists are a real threat to your security (NIA1998DUP)

Exchanging Strategies:

Updating its weapons and bomb techniques in columbia as well as exchanging **terrorist tips** with its colleagues in the FARC movement (NIA2003DUP)

After Montgomery (2009), *terror* lexemes also act as classifying pre-modifiers to a head in a noun phrase in a nominal group - *terrorist organisations, terrorist gangs, terrorist groups, terrorist parties, terrorist prisoners, terrorist suspects, terror campaign, terror base. Terrorist activity, terrorist attacks, terrorist atrocities, terrorist violence, terrorist murders and terrorist carnage* also appear (although the last two appear in 1989), *terrorist outrage, terrorist threat, (Set One terror - classifies entities as devoted to or pursuant of terror)*, after Montgomery (2009). There are also references to *the terrorist war, the*

terrorist fight, the counter terrorist strategy, terrorist containment, terrorist disarmament. (Set Two Terror: entities as preventing, or resistant to, terror – e.g. terror raid).

(vi) Classifying pre-modifier to a head in a noun phrase or nominal group; after Montgomery (2009)

Terror Organisation:

ruthless **terror organisation** (NIA2003DUP)

representatives of a fully armed **terrorist organisation**
(NIA2003DUP)

Before any **terrorist organisation** and/ or its political wing
(NIA1998UUP)

against **terrorist organisations** (WGE2005UUP)

is jeopardised by the failure of **terrorist organisations** to disarm
(WGE2001UUP)

the higher echelons within **terrorist organisations** (WGE1992UUP)

IRA and other **terrorist organisations** will continue to
(LGE1989UUP)

the spokesmen of **terrorist organisations** (NIA2003DUP)

Terrorist Parties:

terrorist related **parties** (NIA2003DUP)

Terrorist Gangs:

criminal and **terrorist gangs** (NIA2003DUP)

Terror Groups:

the greatest threat to human rights comes from paramilitaries
and **terror groups** (WGE2005UUP)

Terrorist Prisoners:

the release of **terrorist prisoners** (NIA1998UUP)

the release of **terrorist prisoners** (NIA2003DUP)

Released **terrorist prisoners** (NIA2003DUP)

Proposal to allow **terrorist prisoners** onto District Policing Partnerships (NIA2003DUP)

over 200 **terrorist prisoners** have been released (EEU1999DUP)

Terror Suspects:

try **terrorist suspects** (WGE2005UUP)

Terror Campaign:

the I.R.A. 's **terror campaign** (NIA1982DUP)

Terrorist Base:

IRA/ Sinn Féin will only use political talks to consolidate its **terrorist base** (WGE1997UUP), (LGE1997UUP)

Terrorist Activity:

criminal and **terrorist activities** (WGE2005DUP)

terrorist and criminal **activity** (WGE2005DUP)

uprising in **terrorist activity** (WGE1992DUP)

terrorist activity (WGE1992DUP)

Years of **terrorist activity** (WGE1992DUP)

The long and varied list of **terrorist activity** over the last five years (NIA2003DUP)

the IRA continues with its **terrorist activities** (NIA2003DUP)

Violence and **terrorist activity** (NIA2003DUP)

policies to relieve the pressures on the business community from **terrorist activity**. (WGE1992UUP)

their **terror** training **activity**. (NIA2003DUP)

dealing conclusively with decommissioning, **terrorist activity** and the effective winding up of paramilitary organisations (NIA2003UUP)

Terrorist Attacks:

pre-empt **terrorist attacks** (WGE1997DUP)

Terrorist Atrocities:

terrorist atrocities such as Kingsmill (NIA2003DUP)

Terrorist Violence:

determination of the Ulster people to establish structures which will not yield to **terrorist violence** (NIA1982UUP)

the prosperity of Ulster has been gravely impaired by **terrorist violence** (NIA1982UUP)

World recession and **terrorist violence** have severely damaged our industrial and commercial base (NIA1982UUP)

Terrorist Murders:

the rate of **terrorist murders** (LGE1989DUP)

Terrorist Carnage:

Anglo Irish Agreement was imposed **terrorist carnage** has steadily increased (LGE1989DUP)

Terrorist Outrage:

SECURITY For the past 20 years **terrorist outrage** after **terrorist outrage** (LGE1989UUP)

Pre-modifier to a Head-Noun with the Definite Article:

the terrorist threat is completely eradicated (WGE2005DUP)

will continue to work to secure tangible evidence that **the terrorist war** is over (NIA1998UUP)

the will to win **the terrorist fight** (WGE1992DUP)

the counter terrorist strategy (WGE1992DUP)

Terrorist Disarmament:

Terrorist disarmament (WGE1997UUP)

TERRORIST DISARMAMENT (NIA1998UUP)

Terrorist Containment:

The policy was one of **terrorist containment** (WGE1992UUP)

Terror lexemes also collocate with words such as *crime, criminal, criminals* and *criminality* and particular forms of crime - such as drug trafficking. The verbs *terrorise, terrorising* and the nominalization *the terrorising of..* are only used in the context of anti-social behaviour and not in terms of political violence. The UUP also describe *hard-core terrorism, anti-personnel, social and economic terrorism*.

(vii) Forms of Terrorism

Criminal Terrorism:

inextricably linked with **terrorism and criminality** (WGE2005DUP)

continued with their **terrorism and crime** (WGE2005DUP)

criminals, subversives and terrorists (EEU1994DUP)

some **criminals and terrorists** (EEU1994DUP)

exploited by **criminals and terrorists** (EEU1994DUP)

held captive by **terrorists and criminals** (WGE2005DUP)

responses to deal with **both terrorist and ordinary crime**
(LGE1993UUP)

co-operation when dealing with **terrorism, drug trafficking** and
immigration (WGE1992UUP)

respectability to acts of **criminal terrorism** (NIA1982UUP)

Hard-Core Terrorism:

lack of success against **hard core terrorism** (NIA1982UUP)

Social and Economic Terrorism?

IRA/Sinn Féin is inextricably wedded to **anti-personnel, social and economic terrorism** (WGE1997UUP)

Terrorism as a form of Anti-Social Behaviour:

total victory over **every form of terrorism**, intimidation, victimisation
(NIA1982UUP)

Gangs of youths, in some areas, **terrorise** decent residents
(WGE2001DUP)

Their involvement in drug-dealing is cutting young lives short and
terrorising older people (EEU2004SDLP)

Nominalization:

The phenomena of glue-sniffing and joy-riding and the increase
(largely by youths) in small robberies and burglaries and **the terrorising of** old people, depress and demoralise nationalists who
already suffer from state oppression and social and economic
deprivation. (WGE1987SF)

How does one *deal* with terrorism? From the corpus data, terrorism is shown
as something which must be *opposed, ended, defeated, rejected, tackled,*
battled, fought, beat, combatted, eradicated, eliminated; terrorists must be

pursued, demonstrated against, rooted out, brought to justice, not appeased, not given amnesty to and not accommodated.

(viii) Dealing with Terrorism

Ending:

an **end** to all other **terrorism** as well (LGE1993DUP)

U.K. Governments to put an **end** to **terrorism** (NIA1982UUP)

Defeating (the 'defeat' of terrorism):

the **defeat** of **terrorism** (WGE1992DUP)

DUP 's strategy for the **defeat** of **terrorism** (WGE1992DUP)

a prerequisite to the **defeat** of **terrorism** (WGE1992DUP)

the **defeat** of **terrorism** (LGE1993DUP)

Ulster is the **defeat** of **terrorism** (LGE1989DUP)

A comprehensive strategy aimed at **defeating**, not containing, any renewed full-scale **resumption** of **terrorism** needs to be in place (LGE1997DUP); (WGE1997DUP)

the **defeat** of **armed terrorists** (WGE1997DUP)

the key to the **defeat** of **terrorism** (LGE1985UUP)

the resources necessary to **defeat terrorism** (LGE1985UUP)

Rejecting:

one voice in **rejecting terrorism** (WGE2005DUP)

Tackling:

TIME TO TACKLE TERRORISM (WGE1997DUP);
(WGE1992DUP)

TACKLE THE TERRORISTS (LGE1993DUP)

the measures necessary to **tackle terrorism** in a realistic way
(NIA1973UUP)

Battling:

the **battle** against **terrorism** (LGE1993DUP); (LGE1989DUP)

Fighting:

the **fight** against crime and **terrorism** (EEU1994DUP)

the **fight** against **terrorism** (WGE2005UUP)

laws to **fight terrorism** (WGE2005UUP)

Pursuing:

a policy which is proactive in **pursuit of terrorists** (WGE1997DUP)

Demonstrating:

An emphatic robust and effective strategy must be mounted to
demonstrate to all **terrorists** that DEMOCRACY MUST DEFEAT
TYRANNY (WGE1997DUP)

Rooting Out:

operations to **root out all terrorists** from their safe havens
(NIA1982DUP)

Bringing to Justice:

operations to **root out all terrorists** from their safe havens
(NIA1982DUP)

Opposing:

Opposing terrorists and their organisations (NIA2003DUP)

oppose any attempt to accommodate **terrorism** within the field of law
and order (WGE2001UUP)

the campaign **against terrorism** (WGE1997UUP)

cohesive and adequate **counter terrorist** policies and activities
(LGE1997UUP)

Depriving:

depriving the terrorists of foreign sympathy (WGE1992DUP)

Beating:

asks face this province - **beating terrorism** and beating unemployment
(NIA1982UUP)

Combating:

security forces to **combat terrorism** (WGE2005UUP)

Eradicating:

continued support for their [the security forces] efforts to **eradicate terrorism** (WGE1992UUP); (LGE1993UUP)

Eliminating:

elimination of the scourge of **terrorism** (LGE1985UUP)

Not appeasing:

The DUP will step up its " Hands off the UDR " campaign and will continue to press upon the government the folly of the merger policy which is an **appeasement** of **terrorism** (WGE1992DUP)

Not giving amnesty to:

AN **AMNESTY FOR ON-THE-RUN TERRORISTS** (NIA2003DUP)
Amnesty for terrorists (NIA2003DUP)

Not accommodating:

Government must **eschew any temptation to accommodate terrorism** within the field of law and order (NIA1998UUP)

for the Government clearly **eschew any temptation to accommodate terrorism** within the political process (WGE1997UUP)

The manifestoes also discuss *victims of terrorism*, which is a more common in the contemporary texts than the expression *deaths as a result of terrorism* which is found in the 1987 joint manifesto published by the DUP and the UUP; embedded clauses are also used to describe *those injured through terrorism*; and then we also have creative uses of the active and passive used to describe the impact of terrorism (*centres hit by terrorism*; *terrorist-hit firms*)

(ix) Victims of Terrorism

'Victims of Terrorism' - (*prepositional phrase plus terrorism/ terrorist*)

Victims of terrorism endure a life sentence of grief (WGE2001DUP)

genuine **victims of terrorism** (NIA2003DUP)

enable **victims of terrorism** to secure meaningful benefit (EEU2004DUP)

Officers who were injured **through terrorism** (NIA2003DUP)

communities devastated **by terrorism** (EEU2004DUP)

DEATHS AS A RESULT OF TERRORISM (WGE1987DUP); (WGE1987UUP)

The major economic impact **of terrorism** (NIA1982UUP)

extended to other centres hit **by terrorism** (NIA1973UUP)

We must never forget the real **victims of terrorist violence** (EEU1999UUP)

HELP TO TERRORIST - HIT FIRMS (NIA1973UUP)

Terrorism is also something which is quantified and measured (*decades of terrorism*; *years of terrorism*; terrorism has increased; the UUP also talk about *residual terrorism*, the remnants of terrorism).

(x) Measuring Terrorism -

to move beyond **decades of terrorism** and violence (NIA2007DUP)

opportunities wrecked by **years of terrorism** (NIA1998DUP)

Terrorism has increased (LGE1993DUP)

Terrorism has **warped** and **deflected** (NIA1982UUP)

As **terrorism recedes** (NIA2003UUP)

Government must remain vigilant and ready to deal with all **residual terrorism** (WGE2001UUP)

to ensure that Government remains vigilant and ready to deal with all **residual terrorism** (NIA1998UUP)

The phrase *terrorists in government* also appears frequently in the corpus, typically with negative words such as *no*, *never* or *opposed*:

(xi) Terrorists in Government?

Opposition to 'terrorists' in government

No **terrorists in Government** (WGE2005DUP)

No **terrorists in government** (WGE2005DUP)

Terrorists in government (WGE2001DUP)

Terrorists in Government (NIA2007DUP)

Terrorists in Government (NIA2007DUP)

The DUP is opposed to **terrorists in government** (NIA2003DUP)

Terrorists in Government (NIA2003DUP)

No **terrorists in government** (NIA1998DUP)

Talking to terrorists and *terrorists in negotiations* also appears:

Talking and Negotiating with 'terrorists'

Government policy of **talking to terrorists** (WGE1997DUP)

the participation of **terrorists in negotiations** (WGE1997DUP)

Sinn Féin are opposed to the Prevention of Terrorism Act, but only mention in their manifestoes from 1989 and 1993, not thereafter:

We call for the repeal of...**the Prevention of Terrorism Act**
(WGE1987SF)

the repeal of the Emergency provisions Act and the now permanent
Prevention of Terrorism Act; (LGE1989SF)

Continue to oppose all repressive legislation such as the Emergency
Provisions Act and the **Prevention of Terrorism Act;** (LGE1993SF)

The Declaration reads: "I declare that, if elected, I will not by word or
deed express support for or approval of:...(b) **Acts of terrorism** (that
is to say , violence for political ends) connected with the affairs of
Northern Ireland (LGE1989SSF)

Where is terrorism? As we might expect, there are references to *terrorism in
Ulster*, but as the corpus evolves, we find more references to *international
terrorism*, terrorist laws and in their 2004 European manifesto, the UUP create
a distinction between *international terrorism* and *homegrown terrorism*.

(xii) Terrorism - where?/ The War on Terrorism

Terrorism in Ulster (NIA1982UUP)

terrorism is now a European wide threat (EEU2004DUP)

the IRA and **international terrorism** (EEU1989DUP)

International terrorism threatens British freedoms and our democratic
way of life (WGE2005UUP)

dealing with **international terrorism** or our own **homegrown
terrorism** (EEU2004UUP)

support for the creation of a Palestinian state, while firmly opposing **terrorism in the Middle East and elsewhere** (WGE2005SDLP)

We deplore the US administration's continuing intervention in the affairs of the peoples of Central America, not least their sponsorship of **a terrorist organisation** in Nicaragua whose political wing have only a minority of popular support in their opposition to the fairly elected socialist government (WGE1987SDLP)

The SDLP supports the creation of a Palestinian state and **opposes all terrorism**. (NIA2003SDLP)

'Movement' of terrorists is also mentioned in a world-wide sense by the UUP:

Legal Acts, Policies and Practices -

there must be controls on the **movement of terrorists** and animal diseases (EEU1989UUP)

the Party remains totally opposed to "**free movement**" of terrorists across Europe (EEU1989UUP)

The phrase *the war on terrorism*, as expected, occurs twice in the 2005 DUP Westminster manifesto, both collocating with the verb support:

support for **the war on terrorism** (WGE2005DUP)

supporting **the war on terrorism** (WGE2005DUP)

Sinn Féin also use this phrase, but refer to it as the *so-called war on terrorism*. They also refer to the *so-called anti-terrorism roadmap*.

This fixation is embodied by the set of draconian measures that make up the **so-called EU Anti-Terrorism Roadmap** (including the common definition of **terrorist** offences , the EU Arrest Warrant, and the establishment of Joint Investigation Teams) . Sinn Féin opposes present attempts to create an EU security and surveillance state in the name of **the so-called War on Terrorism** because we do not believe that this approach which involves draconian measures will make people or communities in Ireland or the EU any safer (EEU2004SF)

What can this corpus data reveal? In the next figure, one may observe a decline in the relative frequency of all *terror* word forms in DUP manifestoes between 1973 and 2007:

Relative Frequency of 'Terror' Word Forms in Democratic Unionist Party Election Manifestoes 1973-2007

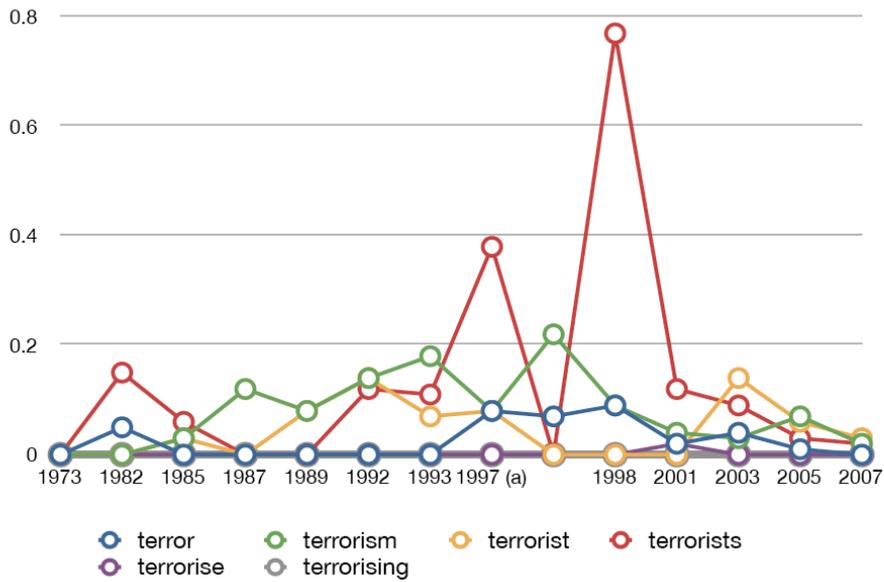


Figure 5: Overall Decline in the Relative Frequency of 'Terror' word forms in DUP Manifestoes between 1973 and 2007

By 2007, the Ulster Unionist Party had *also* dramatically reduced the number of times they use *terror* word forms:

Relative Frequency of 'Terror' Word Forms in Ulster Unionist Party Manifestoes 1973-2007

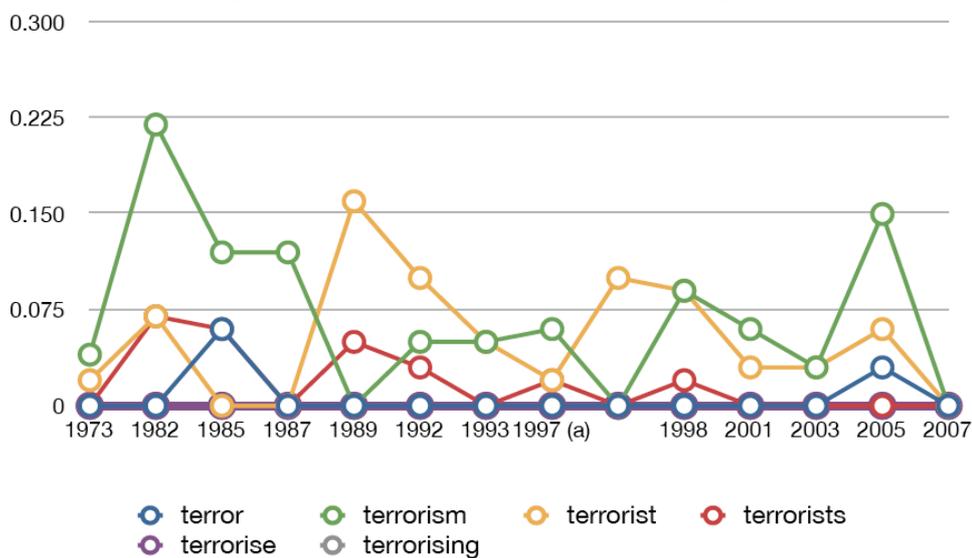


Figure 6: Overall Decline in the Relative Frequency of 'Terror' word forms in UUP Manifestoes between 1973 and 2007

3. Conclusion:

From the relatively small corpus of political manifestoes investigated in this paper, it has become clear that over time, the authors of these political texts have altered their linguistic preferences. The length of the manifestoes is never stagnant, nor are the lexical items and grammatical patterns reproduced in the written texts. A general decline in the use of the word *terror* is just one example of this diachronic trend. Investigation of a much broader corpus of spoken and written texts from the past four decades is of course necessary in order to consolidate these findings. How can these fluctuating linguistic preferences be accounted for? John Rae's theory of intertemporal choice grants access into some of the economic and psychological decisions which may influence the linguistic decisions of politicians. Just as time passes, so politicians age. They may constitute one and the same person in the eyes of the voting public, but they are not immune from splitting into a multiplicity of selves over the course of time. Why should they not, like the majority of rational human individuals, think to save a little now in order to spare a little bit more in the future? Why should they not reason with a firm foot in the present but with an eye to tomorrow? It seems that politicians in Northern Ireland are beginning to think a little bit more about the future.

Notes

¹ According to Gillespie (2008: 75-79) the DUP were founded in October 1971 by Ian Paisley and former UUP member Desmond Boal. The formal name of the party is the Ulster Democratic Unionist Party. As a party, the DUP is constitutionally on the right and socially on the left of the political spectrum.

² According to Gillespie (2008: 232-234) the SDLP was formed in August 1970; a coalition of 7 Stormont MPs from the Nationalist Party, Republican Labour, NI Labour Party and independent Civil Rights Activists. The first leader of the party was Gerry Fitt. The policies of the party are Centre-Left on the political spectrum.

³ Niall Donnelly (reporter): For thirty years and more former deputy SDLP leader Seamus Mallon sparred across the political divide with Ian Paisley. He describes him as a walking paradox, one minute full of immense charm and entertaining, and five minutes later the rabble-rousing Paisley full of threat and wrath.

⁴ According to Gillespie (2008: 229-232) Sinn Féin is Irish for ‘we ourselves’ or ‘ourselves alone.’ The party was founded in 1905, but the party split into a number of factions throughout the twentieth century. The Sinn Féin under consideration in this paper is Provisional Sinn Féin (as opposed to official Sinn Féin) who began to seriously contest elections after 1981. Martin McGuinness was nominated Deputy First Minister of the Northern Ireland Assembly on 24th November 2005.

⁵ According to Gillespie (2008: 259-262) the Ulster Unionist Party were established in 1905. The Ulster Unionist Council (UUC) is the party's ruling body.

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