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*Evoking the Possibility of Presence:
Textual and Ideological Effects of Linguistic Negation
in Written Discourse*

Volume 1 of 2

Lisa Nahajec

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

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The University of Huddersfield

Abstract

This thesis explores the textual and ideological effects of linguistic negation in written texts. It argues that when language users process negation, understanding its use in context is as much about the possibility of presence as it is about the actuality of absence. This gives rise to a variety of effects in texts from contributing to the construction of fictional characters to potentially influencing readers'/hearers' view of the world they inhabit. This thesis brings together research on the theoretical aspects of how negation works to present a new approach to linguistic negation in written discourse. It also demonstrates how this approach can be applied in the analysis of the conceptual practice of negating. The approach presented is made up of three main elements; negation is presuppositional, is realised through a wide variety of linguistic forms beyond the morphosyntactic core forms (not, no, never, none, un-, in-, and so on) and includes semantic and pragmatically implied forms. These two elements combine to give rise to implied meaning in context. Having outlined this approach to negation, it is then applied in the analysis of literary and non-literary texts to explain the textual and ideological effects that arise from its use.

Acknowledgments

A comprehensive acknowledgement of all the help I have received in researching and writing this thesis would potentially be as long as the thesis itself. From numerous conversations with conference delegates to the unending patience of colleagues who have listened to the latest 'breakthrough', I have benefited from the help of those around me. I would particularly like to thank my fellow research student Beth, who has listened to my ramblings over far too many 'bad habits'. Also to Ulrike, Laura and Dawn. I have been supported and encouraged by their goodwill.

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The road this thesis has taken has been far from smooth. Nor has it been as short as I would have liked and hoped. I have taken as a guiding light in writing a piece of advice given to me by Prof. Lesley Jeffries; any explanation should not exceed in complexity the phenomenon it hopes to capture. This advice has seen me through many a rewrite of impenetrable sentences, paragraphs and passages. Any remaining convoluted constructions, inaccuracies or failures to produce sound explanations are there despite this sound advice, and are entirely my own.

*Evoking the Possibility of Presence:
Textual and Ideological Effects of Linguistic Negation in Written
Discourse*

Lisa Nahajec

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Symbols, Typological conventions and acronyms

X, Y	X and Y are used as substitutes for a construction in which X represents an entity for which the attribute, event, entity, Y, does not apply, e.g. black (X) is not white(Y).
*	indicates an ungrammatical construction
?	indicates a pragmatically questionable construction
<i>Bold italic</i>	indicates negators when they are mentioned as part of the discussion rather than used.
<u>Underline</u>	indicates the implicature that results from the application of Grice's (1975) Co-operative Principle to an utterance containing negation.
<u>Bold underline</u>	indicates parts of examples which are the focus of analysis.
'single quotes'	indicates quoted text or words/phrases/sentences that are being discussed.
<i>Italic</i>	indicates emphasis.
<i>LDN</i>	<i>Logical double negation</i>
<i>NPI</i>	<i>Negative polarity item</i>

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Chapter 1

Introduction

*“Negation realizes an irreconcilable antagonism.
It attempts total suppression, making the act of
suppression overt and unmistakable, even if it thereby
allows the suppressed a strange kind of continued,
if invalidated, existence”.*
Hodge and Kress 1979:147

1.1 Linguistic negation in discourse

This thesis began life as a deceptively simple and basic question; why is it that talking about what is not the case communicates something about what is? During a newspaper interview in 2008, London mayoral candidate, Ken Livingstone, made the comment

(1.1) This election is not a joke

Despite not telling the interviewer (and by extension, the reader) what the election is, but only noting an absence of a quality, the comment was still meaningful and relevant in the context of the interview. There was no prior assertion in the article of ‘this election is a joke’ and in denying that it is, Livingstone is evoking the possibility that some prior assertion has been made along these lines, or that someone *thinks* that it is a joke. Livingstone’s assertion then seems to be telling the reader something about how he believes others have characterised the election alongside denying that this is the case. Given the context in which the comment was made, that it was made during an election campaign, that the speaker was one of the candidates, and that his main opponent, Boris Johnson, had been characterised by the news media as something of a clown-like figure, a reader might well assume that Livingstone is implying that Johnson and perhaps even the reader themselves believe or expect the election to be ‘a joke’. Livingstone’s

use of negation to frame his comment about the election then seems to hold within it ideas about how others view the election as well as his rejection of this characterisation.

The basic propositional content of Livingstone's utterance could have been realised in different linguistic forms;

(1.2) (a) This election is far from a joke

(b) This election is no joke

(c) This election is almost a joke

In each of these, the basic premise is still present; the characteristic 'joke' does not apply to 'this election'. The linguistic differences between the forms of negators however, give rise to varying pragmatic effects. The use of a grammaticalised metaphor (Yamanashi 2000) to fulfil the negation function in (1.2) (a) produces an emphatic form of denial by indicating a metaphorical distance between 'this election' and the rejected characteristic 'joke'. In (1.2) (b), the quantitative negator *no*, implies that being 'a joke' is quantifiable and there is an absence of any quantity. In (1.2) (c), the form of negator is one that straddles the divide between affirmation and negation; *almost*, though propositionally indicating *not*, has the pragmatic force of a positive. Where (1.2) (a) indicated distance between 'election' and 'joke', (c) implies closeness. This would give rise to a very different utterance interpretation in context than Livingstone's actual utterance.

Further, the pragmatic content of this utterance could equally have been expressed in other, more direct ways, for example;

'you (the reader) and Boris Johnson think this election is a joke and you are wrong'.

If it is possible to express the same utterance meaning in a more direct way, it would suggest that something more is at stake in choosing a negative assertion over a positive one. As

Levinson (1983) notes;

Whenever I avoid some simple expression in favour of some more complex paraphrase, it may be assumed that I do not do so wantonly, but because the details are somehow relevant to the enterprise.

Levinson 1983:107

In effect, the question raised above is pragmatic in nature; what is it that negation *does* in communication and what effect does it have on readers/hearers? The answer is complex; it requires a consideration of the semantic components of the sentence, the pragmatic context of the utterance and the cognitive processes of conceptualising and recognising alternative conceptualisations. Above all, it needs to consider the function of language as primarily a means of communication between speakers and hearers, writers and readers. The aim of this thesis is to explain the mechanisms by which such utterances can be understood as meaningful in context. In order to do this, this thesis shifts the traditional focus of research into negation away from a consideration of its logical, grammatical and cross-linguistic dimensions and develops a new approach to the phenomenon of negation which negotiates the interface between semantics and pragmatics to provide a pragmatic account of negation in discourse. It draws on various approaches to language, including issues of semantic content, cognition and pragmatic models of utterance interpretation and presupposition. Key to understanding negation in discourse is the notion that understanding its use is a matter of determining the significance of the presences evoked through the linguistic realisation of an absence. In this thesis I argue that in effect, understanding negation is as much about evoked presence as it is about actual absence.

However, although the evocation of the negated positive is interpreted in context to produce an implied meaning, the possible presence that is evoked is not discarded in favour of this implied meaning. Rather, the possible presence is retained (Giora 2005) as part of the ongoing discourse. Take for example, Basil Fawlty's famous (or infamous) injunction to his staff in dealing with a German couple visiting the Fawlty Towers hotel in the BBC sitcom of the same name;

(1.3) Don't mention the war

Cleese and Booth 2001/1977: 153

This could be interpreted in context to mean that the staff should talk about anything but 'the war'; they should be tactful or careful to avoid offending the guests. Basil's failure to abide by his

own injunction as the action unfolds is only relevant and humorous against the background of having evoked the possibility of mentioning 'the war' in the first place. Further, the viewer's conceptualisation of Basil is likely to be shaped by what he thinks others might mention; the possibility that his staff might mention the war presumably arises out of his understanding that 'the war' is a viable or possible topic of conversation. The viewer may then understand Basil as having a particular stereotypical point of view of the Germans.

The use of negation then, allows language users to evoke, within their utterances, the very expectations they are defeating and attribute these expectations to participants in discourse. These basic properties of negation make it a useful linguistic strategy in evoking implied meaning. In turn, this makes it a fascinating area to research what implied meanings writers/speakers and reader/hearers bring to texts and what effects this has in the construction of written discourse.

The following sections outline the approach taken to negation in this thesis. The first step is to present a definition of negation; my comments so far have assumed that negation is a clearly demarcated linguistic phenomenon, but defining it is largely determined by the analyst's approach. In the next section I will provide a definition of negation as it is used in this thesis. As noted above, my aim is to explain how negation is meaningful in context and section 1.3 will outline why the study of negation in written discourse is relevant. In order to explain the range of effects that can be observed of negation in discourse, this thesis proposes an integrated approach to the analysis of negation based on its pragmatic properties and linguistic form. Section 1.4 outlines this approach. This approach provides the basis for analysing negation in discourse, and section 1.5 briefly considers the data used to illustrate how it can be applied. I conclude this chapter in 1.6 by providing an outline of the structure of the thesis.

1.2 Defining negation

Negation has been a recurring theme in scholarly research as attested to in Horn's (1989) seminal work in the field, *A Natural History of Negation*. One of the factors that drive the production line of studies is the way in which it is open to different definitions. In fact, much research has been concerned with determining just what negation is. Scholars have tended to attempt to define negation from distinct perspectives; within philosophy it has been defined as a mechanism for indicating otherness or distinction (Westbury 2003). In logic it is a logical operator akin to a minus sign in maths (Lyons 1977). For grammarians it is a closed set of lexical items which reverse the polarity of propositions. For scholars in pragmatics, it has been defined by its role in interaction between speaker/writer and reader/hearer as denial and prohibition (e.g. Horn (1985, 1999, Tottie 1991, Guerts 1998). Defining negation is also complicated by non-specialist definitions; it can refer to the sense in which something is negatively evaluated, for example;

(1.4) He has such a negative outlook on life.

It can refer to a process of removing the reason for some event, state or attribute, for example;

(1.5) The absence of children negated the need for teachers

In (1.4) 'negative' is used in an evaluative sense, whereas in (1.5) it refers to the action of undermining the need for the presence of teachers.

Defining negation largely depends on the perspective of the scholar engaged in its analysis; the definition adopted here is one that is more concerned with the semantic/propositional aspects of negation than its grammatical features, and in one sense builds upon, but also attempts to bring together these distinct areas of investigation. This thesis adopts Jeffries' characterisation of negation as a 'conceptual practice', the recognition and

linguistic expression of absence. On this view, this broad definition of negation is a precursor to the above approaches; it tackles the issue of what brings together syntax, logic and pragmatics, and that is that prior to reversing the polarity of a sentence or considering multiple mental representations, linguistic forms give expression to the underlying recognition of a salient absence. Absence, however, is contingent on the possibility of presence; there can only be an absence of something where there is the possibility of that something being there. The expression of an absence is not equivalent to not saying anything at all, but the process of drawing attention to possibilities.

1.3 Aims of thesis – analysing negation in written discourse

This thesis is a combination of theory and practice; the main aims are to develop an accessible pragmatic account of the phenomenon of linguistic negation, which in turn provides a distinct approach to its analysis in discourse. Whilst this approach is applicable to both face to face spoken interaction and written discourse, the focus in applying the approach developed here is on negation in written discourse. I would contend that pragmatically, negation works in the same way in written as spoken discourse. However, the relatively stable context afforded by written texts as compared to spoken interaction, due to the distance between text producer and text receiver, allows for a tight focus on the way in which negation works without the complexities of face to face interaction. Despite these complexities, constructed examples of spoken interaction are used to illustrate the interactive nature of negation. This focus on written texts is also motivated by the intention to develop a workable (and accessible) approach to the analysis of negation which can add to the current stock of tools which are used by researchers engaged in stylistic and critical stylistic analyses of texts. For this reason, the focus on written discourse is further divided into a consideration of literary and non-literary texts. This division

reflects an existing tendency for researchers to distinguish between one text type and another. However, this division is far from clear cut and determining what constitutes a literary or non-literary text is notoriously difficult (Jeffries 2001). The demarcation of literary and non-literary texts here does not reflect any intrinsic difference between the way in which negation (and language in general) works, nor its effects, in each text type, but rather, it reflects the focus of researchers. The distinction between the two text types then allows for an illustration of how the approach developed here can add to existing research foci.

There is a long history of research into the subject of negation going back two and a half millennia. Much of it impenetrable to the novice researcher in the field. I will not attempt to summarise this research here, nor would it be a fruitful enterprise as it has taken a long and winding path through a variety of philosophical, logical, psychological and linguistic turns, not all of which are equally relevant to the question of how it is used in discourse. I mention it here as a means of demonstrating that despite consistent and persistent attention, negation as a concept and a practice has eluded a full explanation by scholars. Swindler (1980) captures this notion in his consideration of how the absences created through negation have been approached and is worth quoting at length here;

In the beginning Parmenides sought to deny the void. But he found himself trapped by his language and his thought into admitting what he sought to deny. Wisely, he counselled others to avoid the whole region in which the problem arises, lest they too be unwarily ensnared. Plato, being less easily intimidated, and grasping for the first time the urgency of the paradox, unearthed each snare in turn until he felt he had found a safe path through the forbidden terrain in a new conception of being and the derivation of its linguistic consequences in the *Sophist*. Aristotle evidently took Parmenides advice; and save for a few groping scholastics, perhaps Leibniz, Brentano and Meinong, and Frege only in passing, no one else attempted the crossing before Russell made his spectacular dash through the posted ground from the completely different direction of linguistic reference. Again the problem lay dormant for half a century until Strawson constructed a low road through ordinary language and Quine improved on Russell's high algebraic pass. Refinements of these routes have been forthcoming, especially from Searle and Kripke, until today it might appear that there are two super highways through Parmenides' forbidden country of non-being.

Swindler goes on to reject a linguistic approach to resolving what he presents as the paradox of referring to what does not exist, favouring Plato's ontological approach. However, his short-cut through the history of research illustrates the persistence of interest in the phenomenon from different perspectives¹. Whilst philosophical, and logical approaches (e.g. Wood 1934, Swindler 1980, Saury 2009, Aristotle, Russell, Gabbay 1999) do, to some extent, form the foundation on which linguistic approaches have been built, this thesis focuses on the pragmatics of negation and is concerned with what it does in communication and its effects on readers/hearers. I will, therefore, consider only approaches from linguistics and specifically those directly relevant to this area in building up an account of negation which is accessible to novice and experienced researchers alike.

Research into linguistic negation has taken several routes, for example, cross-linguistic variation (e.g. Miestamo 2005, Schwenter 2006, Van Der Auwera 2008), its historical development (Mazzon 2008), and its grammatical properties (e.g. Jespersen 1917, Klima 1964, Huddleston and Pullum 2002). Researchers have taken experimental approaches to determining how language users process negation in texts (e.g. Giora (2007), Giora et al (2006), Kaup et al 2007, Hassan and Glucksberg 2005, Levine and Hagaman 2008) and there has been significant interest in the pragmatics of its use and discourse functions (e.g. Horn 1989, Guerts 1998, Carston 1998, Burton-Roberts 1989, Givon 2001, Tottie 1991).

These approaches have been largely decontextualized in nature, considering the workings of negation separate from its context of use in spoken or written interaction. Whilst the analysis of negation in spontaneous spoken interaction remains largely unexplored, there have been advances made into its contribution to the structuring of meaning in written texts (e.g. Hodge and Kress 1979, Werth 1995, Watson 1999, Hidalgo-Downing 2000, Sweetser 2006,

¹ Lawrence Horn (1989) explored this long history of research in his seminal work, *A Natural History of Negation*, charting the philosophical, logical, linguistic and pragmatic approaches that have characterised that research.

Nørgaard 2007, Riddle-Harding 2007, Nahajec 2009, Dancygier 2010, Jeffries 2010 a and b). This work aims to expand on these important advances into the role of negation in written² discourse. The following two sections discuss the relevance of negation to the analysis of literary and non-literary texts.

1.3.1 Negation in literary texts

Whilst research into negation has been extensive, research into its uses and effects in discourse has been scarce. As Hidalgo-Downing noted in 2000,

Most of the work on negation is still strongly influenced by traditional philosophical problems, such as the relation between negation and presupposition and the supposed ambiguity of negation, but little work has been carried out in the area of discourse. Approaches to negation within the function-cognitive tradition tend to focus on specific aspects of negation, for example, its functions as a speech act or its cognitive properties. Few attempts have been made to propose an integrated discourse model.

Hidalgo-Downing 2000: xix

Since the appearance of Hidalgo-Downing's (2000) monograph on the use and effect of negation in an extended text (Joseph Heller's *Catch-22*), the field of research into negation in discourse has remained stubbornly in the background. Further, In a review of Mazzon's (2004) *A History of Negation in English* (2004), Martinez (2004) points out that there are several areas of negation that, despite all the attention given, remain unresolved, for example. the pragmatics of negation in speech and writing, the use of idiomatic negation, the difference between **no** and **not** negation and the difference between the use of affixal and non-affixal negation. I would add

² The distinction between 'written' and 'spoken' is made on the basis that 'written' refers to texts which have been constructed in advance and can be spoken or written (e.g. performance of a play or play script). 'Spoken' refers here to spontaneous conversation.

to that the uses and effects of negation in discourse. There have been, however, some advances made. This section discusses those that are relevant to the development of this thesis.

Hidalgo-Downing's work on negation was built on the foundations laid by Werth (1995) in his development of text world theory. Here negation is a textual prompt for the creation of an alternative, unrealised sub-world to the matrix text world that constitutes the parameters of a story world. Hidalgo-Downing develops Werth's approach by drawing on schema theory to account for the expectations that are created when negation is used. She argues that these expectations can be accounted for in the background knowledge that readers bring to a text either as scripts and frames (dynamic packages of information built up through experience which include objects, people, roles, and events) or as higher level concepts concerning what motivates actions (e.g. survival, pleasure). By evoking schema theory, Hidalgo-Downing attempts to account for the expectations that are evoked but defeated in the context of the novel she analyses. She proposes an integrated model of negation taking into account its cognitive, linguistic and pragmatic properties and proposes that negation has two primary discourse functions – rechanneling information and blocking information.

There are however, limitations to Hidalgo-Downing's approach; she begins her monograph with the explanation that the novel she is focusing on has a particularly foregrounded use of negation which contributes to the construction of a particularly strange world view. Whilst her aim to explain the role of negation in the construction of this world view is viable, the extent to which her conclusions, based on the analysis of a single source, are generalizable is questionable. Further, in her attempt to account for this strange world view, she argues that the text evokes a series of expectations that are consistently defeated in the text world. This leads her to argue that negative accommodation (the simultaneous introduction and defeat of an expectation that is not part of the co-textual or contextual common ground knowledge between speaker and hearer – Werth 1999) is rare. The first problem with this is that it is not possible to know what information readers/hearers hold, it is only possible to

know what texts present as if it is given information. Relying on existing expectations to account for the effects of negation then is problematic. I address the issue of relying on actual readers'/hearers' expectations in Chapter 8. Secondly, although instances of negative accommodation in *Catch-22* may be rare, this cannot be said of all texts. Chapters 8 and 9 will demonstrate the effects of not only reflecting readers/hearers' expectations but also introducing new information via the expectations triggered by negation.

Where Werth and Hidalgo-Downing approach negation using text world theory as a framework, Sweetser (2006), Riddle-Harding (2007) and Dancygier (2010) address the role of negation in literary texts from the perspective of mental spaces theory. They put forward the notion that negation is one of a range of textual strategies for creating alternative scenarios. These textual strategies also include such constructions as conditional constructions (if x then y) and 'or' constructions. They focus on the potential of alternativity to create effects in literary texts. Sweetser (2006) notes that the evocation of alternate mental spaces makes negation particularly effective means of introducing implied information, whilst Dancygier links this to the particular requirements of poetry where there is a density of meaning in a relatively short text. Both Riddle-Harding and Dancygier focus on negation as a means of expressing evaluation or epistemic stance. Riddle-Harding suggests that the construction of alternative spaces provides a framework for expressing character or narrator evaluation of the actual situation or the counterfactual (negated) situation. Dancygier also considers evaluation, but also notes that negation, in prompting alternative conceptualisations can produce the effect of blending between the expected and actual situations where the understanding of what is the case is blended with a consideration of what might have been.

Sweetser (2006), similarly working with the notion that negation constructs alternative conceptualisations, focuses on the specific effects of negation that she observed in a range of texts. She identifies four significant effects, but notes that there are likely to be more, as yet unidentified. These include the possibility of partially negating a speech act (*praeteritio*) where

speakers are able to 'say' the very thing they claim they are not going to mention (2006: 316). She illustrates this with Mark Anthony's funeral speech from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, where his assertion that he 'comes to bury Caesar, not to praise him' allows for the possibility and mentioning of praising even though he is claiming not to be doing this. The second effect is that of the potential ambiguities that can be exploited by writers in texts through the construction of multiple mental spaces. Negation can construct the possibility of an event, entity or attribute where none currently exists and refer to that space as if it did (2006:321). The third effect is that of 'foreshadowing'; Sweetser suggests that raising the possibility of doing something in a negated construction can pre-empt its later occurrence in the same text. She uses examples from Jane Austen's novels to illustrate; for example, Sweetser (2006:322) suggests that the narrator's assertion that Marianne Dashwood's (*Sense and Sensibility*) resolves to never learn to 'govern her feelings' is completely reversed as the plot develops and Marianne learns 'the value of self-command'. Finally, Sweetser examines the potential effect of multiple negation in character construction focusing on Trollope's *The Warden* and its protagonist Mr Harding. She suggests that a pattern of multiple negators, e.g. 'not unsuccessful' 'not impossible' and 'neither a discontented nor an unhappy man', 'draws the reader through a bewildering array of mental spaces and can give a remarkable portrait of such "multi-space" psychological situations as uncertainty, vacillation, or repression' (2006:325).

Sweetser's suggestion that there are more effects to be identified from the use of negation suggests the need for further research in this area. Though mental spaces theory considers the cognitive processes involved in comprehending texts, it takes as a given the notion that negation prompts the production of multiple mental spaces. Further, whilst Riddle-Harding (2007) and Dancygier (2010) consider the construction of multiple points of view prompted by negation, they do not consider the role of negation in constructing an ideal reader that expects the positive that is being defeated.

Whilst a mental spaces approach provides insights into the use and effects of negation, the study that has perhaps been the most influential on the development of this thesis is Nørgaard's (2007) explicitly stylistic approach to negation in her polyphony based approach. Here Nørgaard addresses the issue of both multiple points of view and what a negated positive contributes to textual meaning and effect. She notes that the question of negation as a stylistic device is significantly under researched (2007:35) and aims to redress this balance by examining how it can be a 'linguistic marker of narrative perspective' (2007:36). She further notes that where negation has been analysed, scholars have tended to focus on the foregrounded uses of negation; she aims to look at less 'poetic' examples that she feels will 'respond fruitfully to a stylistic analysis' (2007:41).

Nørgaard examines negation through the lens of ScaPoLine, a modular approach to language that argues that negated utterances encode two points of view. Point of view 1 is the negated positive and point of view 2 is that point of view 1 is wrong. On this basis, she suggests that a negated utterance can be taken to mean something like "you say X, but I do not agree with you" or "I believe that you believe/expect/hope/etc. X, but I do not agree with you". Nørgaard's conceptualisation of negation then, is that negation presupposes an expectation of the positive which is attributable to some discourse participant, prototypically the addressee (2007:47). She applies this to the analysis of the stylistic effects of negation in James Joyce's *The Two Gallants* where she notes that negation can encode the narrator's, reader's or character's points of view.

Nørgaard points out that multiple voices in texts do not arise only from dialogue, monologue or the voice of the narrator, but they can also be 'realised linguistically at sentence level or even by a single word' (2007:39). Nørgaard's (2007) analysis illustrates the presentation of multiple viewpoints through the framework of linguistic polyphony. She adopts the theory of linguistic polyphony developed by Nolke (2006), and suggests that an application of the theory can contribute to an understanding of negation and point of view in texts. Where

this is located particularly is in its consideration of which participants in discourse, characters, writers/readers or wider discourse participants, hold the expectations on which negation depends. The linguistic analysis of polyphony, multiple voices, in a text, or ScaPoline (SCAdinave de la POlyphonie LInguistiquE –The Scandinavian Theory of Linguistic Polyphony) is aimed at identifying how multiple viewpoints can be realised in the way texts are constructed. The theory underpinning this approach is;

...concerned with the semantic-pragmatic interface, and is instructional in orientation, focusing on the ways in which linguistic items contain instructions as to how a given instruction is to be interpreted.

Nørgaard 2007: 38

The aim of a linguistic analysis of polyphony, however, is to do more than describe the viewpoints, but also attempts to attribute them to those ‘...sources...that can be held responsible for the viewpoints’ (Nørgaard 2007:39). The negative viewpoint is generally attributable to the speaker, but the positive one is more ambiguous, and can be attributed to the reader or participants in the wider context in which the utterance took place. These participants can be other interlocutors, earlier ‘versions’ of the speaker or public opinion (Nørgaard 2007: 47-8). Nørgaard asserts that negatives can encode attitudes and expectations and therefore the analysis of linguistic polyphony provides a tool for identifying points of view in a narrative (2007:46).

Nørgaard (2007) illustrates this through the example of the ex- American President, Richard Nixon, who declared,

(1.6) I am not a crook.

If negation is dependent upon some prior expectation, it carries within it the instruction; in this example, Nørgaard argues, there are two viewpoints, that Nixon is a crook and that he is not. Viewpoint 2, the negated viewpoint asserts that viewpoint 1 is not true and can be attributed to the speaker, Nixon. The viewpoint that he is denying, is less easily attributed, but some attempt

can be made from an analysis of the context. In this case, viewpoint 1 could be held by the American political establishment, people or press, or only those who impeached him over the Watergate incident. Nørgaard argues that this duality of viewpoints present in negation at sentence or even word level holds a 'trace of a larger communicative context of which the utterance is a part' (2007:39). Negation then reflects existing viewpoints or existing conceptualisation of entities, events or situations. However, Nørgaard notes that in the case of literature, readers may have no reason to expect the negated positive, and so it constructs a character's expectations rather than reflecting those of the hearer. Further to proposing linguistic polyphony as an important aspect of negation, she also illustrates how evoking an expectation through negation leads to wider interpretations, for example, 'uncovered' tables evoke the possibility and expectation of covered tables. This prompts a comparison of the particular situation in focus to be compared to an alternative possible realisation of that situation, prompting the reader to consider the significance of the table not being covered.

Negation then can form a part of the characterisation process in reflecting what individuals in a narrative expect. It can also highlight wider contextual expectations and thus reflect existing attitudes, expectations and points of view. This is a particular strength of linguistic polyphony with regard to negation and the position adopted in this thesis.

Nørgaard not only considers the process of evoking alternative possibilities, but also discusses what the specific content of the negated proposition contributes to the text. She notes that in *The Two Gallants*, one character Corley, uses silence to 'manifest his power', and Joyce draws attention to this through pointing out where he does not speak. Nørgaard points out that experientially noting that Corley does not speak and not discussing it at all, would be the same, but in drawing attention to the possibility and absence of speaking, that possibility is highlighted:

...the powerful effect of the negative construction lies in the fact that the positive counterpart ('answering') is not just negated but is simultaneously evoked by the chosen wording so that – in contrast to the

two alternative constructions – the statement that Corley does not answer tends to heighten our awareness the he could have done so and to make us consider the significance of his not doing so.

Nørgaard 2007:44

However, Nørgaard does not explain what is entailed in considering the significance of Corley not answering. I will suggest in this thesis that in order to understand the significance of the evoked positive scenario, readers calculate what it would mean if the negated absence were present (i.e. what it would mean if Corley had answered) and then reverse this with reference to the form of the negator (see section 1.5).

Nørgaard's analysis demonstrates the powerful stylistic effects of negation in literary texts, however, her insights on negation as an indicator of point of view can be extended to the analysis of non-literary texts where the possibility of writers reflecting wider contextual expectations is particularly significant in a critical linguistic approach to discourse analysis.

This thesis take the insights offered by the above approaches and develops an approach to negation that takes into account its cognitive, pragmatic and linguistic properties to expand on the effects identified. I will further consider the role of background knowledge and challenge Hidalgo-Downing's use of schema theory and suggest that negative accommodation is not as rare as her study suggests. Utilising Pagano's (1994) notion that the expectations associated with negation construct an ideal reader for whom the expectations do apply, I will argue that negation in fact should be seen as projecting expectations which may or may not correlate with readers/hearers' existing knowledge. This can be exploited by writers, but writers can also make use of introducing new information in order to construct fictional worlds. I will also expand on the effects in discourse of which discourse participants are constructed as expecting the negated positive to be the case.

The focus here has been on how negation has been analysed in literary texts, and I have discussed studies which look at the effects of evoking both the pragmatically presupposed

positive and its actual absence. The next section is concerned with how this is relevant to the analysis of non-literary texts.

1.3.2 Negation in non-literary texts

This thesis maintains that whilst negation plays a significant role in the construction of literary texts, it is in the area of negation and non-literary texts that its full import can be seen. For example, if we consider the title of this section, 'negation in non-literary texts', the use of the morphological negator **non-** as a prefix to an adjectival stem indicates that the referent of the noun, 'texts', lacks the attribute of being 'literary'. However, in indicating an absence, I am pointing to the expectations of a presence and it is therefore reasonable to ask if 'literary' is the 'basic currency' of texts and if we assume texts in general to be literary and note anything that deviates from this general state to be a lack of literariness rather than a presence of something else. We can also say the same of 'non-fictional'. We could, of course, also use 'factual' and 'non-factual texts', where factuality is the baseline. The choice of either, however, demonstrates a particular point of view as to what is the focal feature of texts that is being used as the measure of one text type against another. The potential of negation to present a point of view in this way has ideological implications. Whilst this is a rather innocuous example, textual representations of societies, practices and people in these terms can establish or reinforce background norms against which a particular situation is found to deviate.

I noted above that research into the use and effects of negation in discourse makes up only a small proportion of the research into negation as a whole. This is even more so with negation in non-literary texts. This section will discuss the two studies that are relevant to this thesis, Hodge and Kress's (1979) consideration of negation in *Language as ideology* and Jeffries' (2010) discussion of negation as a one of a range of tools used to analyse discourse from a

critical linguistic perspective. Both consider the role of negation from the perspective of uncovering covert operations of power and representations of social norms. However, I will first briefly discuss the premise that underpins the significance of the relationship between the conceptual practice of negating and language in non-literary texts. This involves a consideration of the basic premises which underlie Critical Discourse Analysis.

The relationship between society, ideology and language is complex and forms the basis of critical linguistic approaches to discourse analysis. Van Leeuwen (1993) argues that 'critical discourse analysis is, or should be, concerned with...discourse as an instrument of power and control as well as with discourse as the instrument of the social construction of reality' (1993:). Critical linguistic approaches maintain that the relationship between language and the society that produces it is not simply a case of language neutrally reflecting back what societies are. Rather, language is the product of socially situated writers and readers who are products of a society that shapes them, and thus texts reflect the system of beliefs and common sense ideas of any particular society. However, as Belsey (2002) argues, 'common sense itself is ideologically and discursively constructed, rooted in a specific historical situation and operating in conjunction with a particular social formation' (2002:3).

Language then has a role in discursively constructing the 'common sense' notions of a society. People's interactions with texts have the potential to shape their understanding of the world around them. It is the aim of critical linguistic approaches to uncover the ways in which language discursively constructs the way its users think about their societies. The way in which negation implicitly evokes an expectation of the positive and treats information as though it is part of the shared background between discourse participants makes it a fruitful area for analysing how, and what type of cultural norms and ideologies are being produced and reproduced in discourse. Particularly relevant is Fairclough's (2001) view of the 'assumptions and expectations which control both the actions of a member of a society and their interpretations of the actions of others', he maintains that '[s]uch assumptions are implicit,

backgrounded, taken for granted, not things that people are consciously aware of, rarely explicitly formulated or examined or questioned' (2001: 64).

Hodge and Kress (1979) and Jeffries (2010a) approach negation from this critical linguistic perspective of language, society and ideology. Hodge and Kress' approach is built on insights from a transformational grammar view of language, but focuses on the potential for negation to evoke the negated positive. Their discussion is relevant in so far as it was an early foray into the ideological potential of negation. They suggest that it is a means of introducing expectations and beliefs into a discourse without the speaker having to take responsibility for them. Although they carry out an analysis of the role of negation in an advertisement, their discussion is more of a consciousness raising exercise for the ideological potential of negation and note that their discussion draws on largely non-linguistic insights into the phenomenon.

Negation and its ideological potential was largely ignored in the thirty years between Hodge and Kress' discussion and Jeffries (2010a) more systematic and firmly language based critical stylistic approach. Jeffries' view of negation has been crucial to the development of this thesis and is discussed at several points as my argument develops, and therefore, will only be briefly discussed here. Jeffries takes the view that negation is a 'conceptual practice' reflecting the cognitive processes involved in the recognition and expression of a salient absence in discourse (2010a:181). The definition of negation employed in this thesis then, is concerned with negation at the propositional level and its semantic content rather than a narrow understanding based on its grammatical qualities. Within this view, the linguistic forms (e.g. **not, never, none**) that express negation are the textual vehicles for that conceptual practice rather than negation itself. This linguistic realisation of a salient absence constitutes a particular strategy in representing the world and she approaches negation from an ideational (Halliday 1985) perspective. On this view, negation is a 'textual practice', and reflects a writer's choice about how to structure an image of reality. These elements, negation as a conceptual practice, realised through a variety of linguistic forms and constituting a textual strategy are laid out in

Jeffries' discussion. This forms the background to the notion that this textual practice can produce ideological effects in discourse.

It is surprising that so little research has been carried out into the role of negation and the reproduction of ideology; given that negation is presuppositional, it treats the negated positive as if it is expected to be the case by one or more discourse participants. What speakers/writers choose to negate can tell us something about the norms of the society in which that speaker/writer is situated. For example, during a senate committee hearing, US Secretary of State, Hilary Clinton asserted;

(1.7) The Taliban want to maintain an attitude that keeps women unfed, unhealthy and uneducated.

Her choice of what to negate here, 'fed', 'healthy' and 'educated' reflect the taken for granted assumptions of the society that she is a product of. So entrenched is the belief that women should be 'fed' 'healthy and 'educated' that most readers would be hard-pressed to see these as anything but completely natural (this example is discussed further in appendix 2 and Chapter 8). However, as Belsey (2002) suggests, '...the 'obvious' and the 'natural' are not *given* but *produced* in a specific society by the ways in which that society talks and thinks about itself and its experience' (2002:3). The presuppositional nature of negation then makes it a prime candidate for the reproduction of beliefs. I would suggest, like Jeffries (2010a), that the analysis of negation in non-literary texts would be a useful addition to the arsenal of techniques used to uncover the linguistic processes that facilitate the naturalization of a system of beliefs.

Further, negation not only has the potential to reinforce the background norms shared by speakers/writers and hearers/readers, but it can also construct the expectations that it treats as a background norm. Negation can project expectations that readers/hearers may have no knowledge of, and, unless the presupposed pragmatic positive clashes with readers' existing knowledge, there is a chance that the textually projected expectations can migrate from being just textually projected to being adopted by the hearer/reader. This is particularly significant in

advertising where advertisers can pragmatically presuppose the presence of some entity, or attribute that is presented as a problem for which they have the solution. Take for example John West's voice over on an advert for tuna that is packed without liquid;

(1.8) No-drain tuna. All the delicious flavour without the drama

The assertion that this is tuna 'without the drama' pragmatically presupposes that the hearer expects drama as part of normal experience of tuna. It is then able to provide a solution by way of a product that does not need draining (this example will be discussed further in Chapter 8).

Negation, therefore, it is likely to be a mechanism by which common sense beliefs are reproduced, adding to the process of naturalising those common sense beliefs. Further since it can also project expectations not held by actual readers, it can introduce new expectations as if they as if they are part of the background knowledge shared by writer/speaker and reader/hearer. Negation then adds to the process by which common sense, naturalized assumptions are reproduced which in turn shapes how readers view the world around them and their interactions with it. My aim in this thesis is to propose a pragmatic approach to negation which can provide a means of engaging with the textual and ideological effects of negation in discourse. The next section will outline the basis of this approach which I will go on to expand as the thesis develops.

1.4 An Integrated approach to negation in discourse

In order to engage with the textual and ideological effects of negation in discourse, it is necessary to understand how negation operates in texts, not only at the linguistic level, but at the cognitive and pragmatic levels. This thesis then puts forward an approach to negation in written discourse which will be outlined in brief here and expanded on in the following chapters, culminating in its application to the analysis of literary and non-literary texts in Chapters 8 and 9.

This approach draws together insights into the features of negation to present an image of negation in written discourse. It takes as its starting point the notion that negation is a conceptual practice, the recognition and expression of a salient absence. This absence is in turn dependent on the possibility of presence. When this conceptual practice is realised in language it functions as a pragmatic presupposition trigger. The expression of absences pragmatically presupposes an expectation on the part of one or more discourse participants. However, since negation is presuppositional, it projects the implied positive as if it is expected. Therefore, the text projects an ideal reader (Pagano 1994) for whom the expectations apply. Actual readers/hearers and wider discourse participants may or may not share the expectations that are projected, but, in order to understand the text, they temporarily adopt the presuppositions and points of view implicit within the text (Jeffries). This constitutes the first element of the approach.

The second element is that because negation is a conceptual practice, it can take a variety of linguistic forms as textual vehicles for that practice. Negation is not only realised in the narrow range of clearly identifiable negators (e.g. *not, no, never, none, nothing*), but is also realised at word level in morphological negation, at the semantic level where negation is inherent in the semantic content of words, and can be implied through a variety of pragmatic forms including past tense conditional constructions (Sweetser and Dancygier 2005) and grammaticalised metaphors (Yamanashi 2000). This wide variation in possible expressions is primarily motivated by the requirements of scope (which propositional or utterance content it has influence over), and the variation in pragmatic force that can be realised through a shift in focus between actual absence and possible presence.

These two features of negation, its presuppositional nature and its variable form, come together to produce an implied meaning in context. Readers/hearers calculate the significance of the pragmatically presupposed expected positive by considering what it would mean if it were present, before reversing that significance, relative to the form of a negator. The form of

the negator lends negative force to the interpretative process, and can be best exemplified by two negators which express opposite focus and force; **almost** expresses absence but with positive force. It focusses on the possibility of presence as it indicates that whilst X is not Y, X is only marginally distant (in metaphorical terms) from Y. **Far from**, however, maximises the metaphorical distance between X and Y producing an emphatic form of negation where absence is in focus. This process of evoking the possibility of presence via a negator with variable form gives rise to implied meaning in context – the reader/hearer must recover the intended meaning based on context and the form of the negator.

Understanding how negation functions in context is captured by these three elements – negation is presuppositional, takes variable form and produces implied meaning relative to what is presupposed and how the conceptual practice of negating is performed. The final element is what happens to the evoked positive. Understanding negation can be seen as a mechanical process whereby the component parts are fed into a machine in order to recover the intended implied meaning at the end. However, as noted by many scholars (e.g. Leech 1983:101) there needs to be some special reason for using a negative considering the additional processing required in order to reach the possible intended meaning. Rather than being fed into the machine and disappearing in favour of an implied meaning, the pragmatically presupposed positive is retained by readers/hearers (Giora 2007, 2009, Giora et al 2006, 2008) as part of the on-going discourse. Negation is not only about generating implied meaning but evoking a world of possibilities that may be used to reflect other discourse participants' expectations or introduce expectations into the discourse.

The following chapters expand on this summarised version of the approach proposed and tests it against examples of negation in discourse with the aim of explicating the textual and ideological effects of its use in written communication.

1.5 Data

The following discussions of the approach and its application draw extensively on examples of negation in use to illustrate its different facets and its effects in discourse. Chapters 8 and 9 apply the approach to explore the textual and ideological effects in literary and non-literary written texts. The extracts analysed have been drawn from a range of sources including novels, poetry, a film, newspapers, posters, advertisements and political speeches. The range of this data reflects the ubiquity of the phenomenon and individual extracts have been chosen to illustrate the various aspects of the theory and potentially open-ended range of effects. They have been selected on the basis of their suitability to illustrate these aspects rather than as representative of any particular genre or specific text. However, they are divided in Chapters 8 and 9 between literary and non-literary in order to focus on textual effects in the former and ideological effects in the latter.

This wide ranging selection is counter-balanced by a more focussed set of data in the form of a small corpus of newspaper articles published in the run-up to the London 2008 mayoral election (appendix 1). The corpus is made up of 60,000 words and 70 articles published in several national and one local newspaper. The data was collected using the Proquest search engine. It was manually analysed for examples of negation, some of which are analysed in the context of their ideological potential in Chapter 9, some are used to illustrate the variability in the form of negation (Chapter 5) and some are used to illustrate how negation generates implicatures. The motivation for this collection was the notion that an election campaign would be likely to see a comparison of the candidates and their policies and this may well involve drawing attention to absences in the candidates and/or their policies. Further, data from newspapers provides a means of analysing the taken for granted assumptions that can be evoked through the use of negation, and which reflect or project these background assumptions. As Fairclough (1995) notes;

...one striking feature of news discourse is the way in which it weaves together representations of the speech and writing of complex ranges of voices into a web which imposes order and interpretation on them.

Fairclough 1995:72

Although I have stressed that the aim of the thesis is to explain the role of negation in discourse, I have also made use of constructed examples where these allow me to control variables in order to illustrate a particular point. This use of constructed examples in the discussion of the theoretical aspects of negation is counter-balanced in the analyses carried out in Chapters 8 and 9.

1.6 Format of thesis

In this thesis I propose an integrated approach to negation which takes into account cognitive processes, linguistic form and pragmatic processing in understanding negation in discourse. The core aim is to demonstrate that such an approach provides a basis for analysing the effects of negation in discourse, however, it will first be necessary to provide further elaboration on the approach presented in section 1.4. Chapter 2 will consider the notion that negation prompts readers/hearers to take into account both the possibility of presence and actual absence. It brings together empirical evidence from experimental based approaches, research into syntax, discourse cohesion and discourse processing, to demonstrate that language users engage with both the possibility of presence and the actuality of absence in comprehending negation. Chapter 3 then considers how cognitive approaches to linguistics can account for the multiple conceptualisations associated with negation. It will show that, despite some reservations regarding cognitive linguistics as a sub-discipline, a consideration of Givón's discussion of stasis and change and Mental Spaces theory offer insights into the way in which negation is processed and functions in discourse. Multiple conceptualisations underpin the

notion that absence presupposes the expectation of presence. This is explored in Chapter 4. This chapter argues that negation as a conceptual practice (Jeffries 2010a) functions as a pragmatic presupposition trigger. In using negation, a speaker/writer treats the reader/hearer as if they expect or believe that what is indicated as absent should be present. What is pragmatically presupposed then is the expectation of presence. Further, this chapter argues that this pragmatic presupposition is triggered at the level of absence rather than by specific linguistic forms; that is, whilst linguistic realisations trigger pragmatic presuppositions, they do so on the basis of realising an absence.

As outlined in section 1.4, the presuppositional nature of negation is only one strand in understanding the pragmatics of its use in context. It is also necessary to take into account features of linguistic form which realise absence. Chapter 5 provides a typology of negation and argues that where negation is viewed as a conceptual practice rather than a limited category of related linguistic operators (e.g. *not, no, none, never, no-one*), a broader view of the types of linguistic forms that realise negation must be taken into consideration. This typology of negation is based on the notion that there are prototypical and peripheral members of a category that can perform the function of negation, but need not contain an explicit negator. This chapter builds on and expands the typology proposed by Huddleston and Pullum (2002) with insights from Givón (2001) and distinguishes between the core realisations of negation (e.g. *not, no*), morphological negation (e.g. *un- in- de- dis-*), semantic negation (e.g. *fail, forget, lack*) and implicit forms (e.g. past tense conditionals and expletive negators). Variability in the expression of negation is only part of the picture. Chapter 6 considers what motivates this variation. This chapter addresses issues around the propositional and utterance scope of negation and discourse constraints, and will suggest that one of the motivations for variation is the variable force expressed by different negators. I suggest that variation in form, in part,

reflects a variable focus on possible presence and actual absence. This in turn has consequences for how negation is interpreted and what textual effects are created.

The issues of interpreting and using negation are taken up in Chapter 7 where the insights from the presuppositional nature of negation and the variation in linguistic form are brought together to provide a picture of how negation is interpreted in context. This chapter takes as a premise the notion that the meanings related to negation should be considered on two levels, propositional meaning and contextual implied meaning. This chapter will argue that whilst decontextualized sentences containing negation can be interpreted, it is only when they are considered in the context of use that we can understand the meaning of an utterance containing negation. At the heart of the argument is the idea that the significance of negation does not lay in absence, but in the possibility of presence. This account of what negation implies is informed by Moeschler's (1992) relevance theoretic approach, but argues that Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle provides the basis for determining what is implied through negation. I argue that it is not the absence that is initially interpreted, but the possibility of presence. That is, negation appears to pick out things to be absent, but we can only recognise the significance of this absence if we understand what it would mean if it were present. The first stage then is to interpret the significance of presence. This is then modified by the particular form of negation to produce an implicature related to actual absence. This chapter provides the final component in the integrated approach to understanding the way in which negation is produced and understood. This provides a basis for how we understand negation, but it is also necessary to consider how it is used. Chapter 7 also briefly considers the functions that negation is put to in discourse. It takes as a starting point the notion that negation can carry out both interpersonal and ideational metafunctions in language (Halliday 1985). As utterances containing negation interact with others' conceptualisations of the world rather than the world itself, negation as a whole could be viewed as falling within the interpersonal metafunctions of language. However, this interaction with others' (actual or projected) conceptualisations is quite distinct from the interpersonal functions of denial, prohibition and refusal which aim to affect others; whilst

negation is certainly intersubjective (see section 3.5.1), constructing an image of others' conceptualisations is ideational. These constructions can be put to the use of denial, refusal and prohibition. References to the interpersonal functions of negation in this thesis, therefore, refer to the actions of denial, refusal, and prohibition which can also be classed as speech acts. That is not to say that these two metafunctions then are mutually exclusive; utterances can and do perform both. The functions that negation serves in context, however, require a more fine-grained approach. This chapter then adopts the notion proposed by Jeffries that negation represents a Local Textual Function; that is, it reflects a particular way of representing the world. Although it is difficult to imagine language without negation, it still constitutes an option for the way speakers/writers choose to represent their conceptualisations of the world. So, in using negation, speakers/hearers are choosing to evoke potential but unrealised states which implicitly create a contrast between what is presented as expected and what is actually realised.

The thesis culminates in a series of analyses of negation in use. The aim, as outlined in 1.1 is to provide an explanation of how realisations of absence are meaningful in context. Chapter 8 considers this in the context of literary texts, drawing on examples from novels, poetry and drama to illustrate the importance of evoking unrealised situations. It presents evidence that negation can contribute to the construction of characters, fictional worlds and narrative development. Chapter 9 shifts focus and considers the ideological potential of negation. Here, because they are inextricably linked to expectations of presence, the evocation of unrealised states have the potential to reinforce or even create ideological points of view. Where negation defeats the expectation of presence, that expectation of presence has to be initially drawn upon or created. Herein lays the ideological potential. This chapter follows the notion proposed by Jeffries that when reading, language users must, if only temporarily, adopt the point of view projected by a text. Therefore, where a text projects particular expectations, these expectations are (temporarily) adopted. They may then be subsequently abandoned, but in being evoked in the first place, they form a potential cog in the machine that develops a particular ideological view of the world. Chapter nine, then, draws examples from newspapers,

political speeches, public notices and advertisements to illustrate the power of negation to project world views.

Finally, in chapter 10, the hypothesis presented here will be drawn together in the conclusions. It will acknowledge the limitations of this research and also suggest areas where further research may be able to expand on or lend further support to the argument presented.

Experimental and discourse based approaches to processing actual absences and possible presences in linguistic negation

2.1 Introduction

The approach I argued for in Chapter 1 is built around three main assertions; first that negation is presuppositional, second, it takes variable form, and third that it gives rise to implied meaning. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 lay out the case for the presuppositional reading of negation. The foundation for this is that language users both process and hold onto negated information in the course of reading/hearing rather than discarding it. Chapter 3 considers how cognitive approaches have tackled this issue, but I begin in this chapter by considering evidence from empirical and discourse based studies that readers/hearers both conceptualise and retain negated information. This chapter collates the arguments put forward by studies in these areas in order to argue that this is the case. However, after two millennia of research in the field of negation, there is a substantial body of material on the subject, not all of which is equally relevant to this thesis. Therefore, the following discussions will focus only on the few studies and theorists that clearly address the question of how language users interact with negated concepts.

The starting point for how negation can be considered presuppositional is a consideration of the asymmetrical relationship of negation to affirmation. Section 2.2 considers psycholinguistic approaches to increased processing times in the reading and comprehension of utterances containing negation over those that do not and the potential retention of negated information. However, such empirical approaches employ experimental samples of language in

an artificial, engineered environment and are limited in what they can say about how readers/hearers process natural language. Section 2.3 then, considers how some linguistic structures show a reliance on the availability of both positive and negative concepts. Like experimental approaches, this type of analysis is limited in that it is only suggestive of the idea that language users engage with both the positive and negative. The last strand of evidence presented then, is drawn from discourse elements of texts; in section 2.4 I will consider evidence from the way in which negated concepts are managed across discourses. Whereas these strands do not provide conclusive evidence on their own, together they present a strong case that readers/hearers engage with both positive and negative scenarios when faced with negation.

2.2 Experimental evidence

There is a significant body of research using experimental methods that attest to the increased complexity of negation over affirmation, for example, Wason (1965), Clarke and Chase (1972), McDonald and Just (1989), Hasson and Glucksberg (2006), Levine and Hagaman (2008) Giora *et al* (2004, 2006, 2007, 2008) and Kaup *et al* (2007). Experimental methods allow researchers to isolate discrete features of language and examine how they are processed in a controlled environment. However, the types of methods adopted by experimental psycholinguistic approaches are limited in that they necessarily take language out of the context of use. Consequently, they can only provide clues as to what happens when negation is processed. Working within these limitations, however, such research does provide valuable insights into some of the complex processes involved in comprehending negation.

2.2.1 Processing times and plausible context

Wason (1965), Kaup et al (2007), Hasson and Glucksberg (2005) and Levine and Hagaman (2008) carried out a series of experiments in which participants were required to process both negative and positive constructions. Their results showed that the negative versions consistently took longer and were harder to process than their positive counterparts. They also found, however, that the extent to which a plausible context was provided for the negated versions influenced reading times. For example, Kaup et al (2007) found that negation may be 'pragmatically legitimized' with supporting context where the negated positive is explicit, (2.1) or can be plausibly inferred from background knowledge, (2.2), for example;

(2.1) Speaker A: I was told you went to Paris last year.

Speaker B: No, I did not (go to Paris last year). (Negated positive is part of explicit background knowledge)

(2.2) Speaker: *My train was not late this morning* (in the context where the train was normally late-negated positive can be plausibly inferred).

Wason (1965), Kaup et al (2007), Hasson and Glucksberg (2005) and Levine and Hagaman (2008) determined that two factors gave rise to these results;

- a. Participants produced two representations when faced with negation; one corresponding to the positive and one to the negative.
- b. The extent of background context provided in the experiments influenced the reading and comprehension times; where negation occurred in a context where the positive was made available or available as generic knowledge, reading times were reduced (see example 2.1 from Kaup et al 2007 for experimental materials with context).

The above results present a picture of negation as a marked form relative to affirmation, requiring additional cognitive and pragmatic work in the reading and comprehension processes. However, taking negation out of the context of use in communication, necessarily limits the conclusions that can be drawn. Further, markedness is a feature of language in use and is dependent on a much wider understanding of norms than the simple comparison of negation to affirmation.

Giora (2006) and Giora et al (2004, 2005, 2007) take issue with the notion that negation is always the marked form, arguing that, pragmatically at least, negation is no different to affirmation. In reviewing empirical data and discourse features for the symmetry of negation and affirmation, Giora (2006) contends that negation is in fact discourse sensitive. Where a negated construction is more frequent in discourse than its positive counterpart³, it constitutes the unmarked member of the pair, which would suggest that the marked positive would take longer to read and understand. Testing reader response times found that it took longer to read and comprehend 'I know my right from my left' than its negative, more frequent, counterpart 'I don't know my right from my left' (Giora 2006: 988).

Giora's (2005) contention that negation need not automatically produce increased reading times over affirmation creates some reservations as to whether negation carries with it an additional cognitive load. Her criticism highlights the limitations of experimentally testing reading times with constructed and decontextualized examples of language. Appropriate context is clearly an issue in how quickly readers understand sentences containing negation, and experimental data is currently inconclusive. Nevertheless, experimental approaches do have something to offer in understanding how language users process negation. The next

³ Giora (2006) cites Stephanowitsch and Gries' (2003) corpus analysis which revealed that 100% of the occurrences of 'worry' in the imperative form were negated, i.e. 'don't worry'. As further evidence that some negative forms are more frequent in discourse than their positive counterparts she notes that a Google search (19/10/2004) showed that 'I'm not worthy' (3750) was more frequent than 'I'm worthy' (2880), and 'couldn't help it' occurred 79,300 times compared to only 34,000 for 'could help it'.

section, then, considers researchers' findings on the retention or suppression of negated information.

2.2.2 Retaining negated concepts

Experimental approaches considering the question of whether or not negated concepts are retained or replaced by an appropriate positive can provide insights into how language users manage those concepts. In their experiments Hasson and Glucksberg (2006) argue that negated concepts, though initially accessible, are suppressed over time, replaced by an opposite alternative. However, Levine and Hagaman (2008) argue that negated concepts are retained rather than suppressed, and remain accessible. Their experiments showed that in recall tests where participants were prompted to recall negated and non-negated items, there is '...clear evidence that negated concepts were considered as potential anaphoric referents, and no evidence that they were suppressed due to negation' (2008:492). Although some results of their results agree with those of Hasson and Glucksberg (2006) regarding reading times, Levine and Hagaman argue that their results show that the extent to which negated elements are suppressed is dependent on the extent of supportive context and the pragmatics of use rather than being automatically suppressed over time. The issue is one of whether language users simply replace a negated concept (2.3)(a) with a positive one ((2.3)(b), for example;

(2.3) (a) My cat is not male.

(b) My cat is female.

The additional cognitive load of processing (a) over (b) would seem to suggest that more is at stake than the *implied* positive (female); it is the availability of the *negated* positive (male) that would be pertinent in the wider context were this example to be used in actual communication. Negation makes available that concept which is marked as absent.

Like Kaup et al (2007), and Wason (1965) before, Levine and Hagaman's experiments illustrate that appropriate context is a highly significant factor in processing negated constructions; where the negated element is likely to be part of the background expectations, it is easier and faster to comprehend:

The removal of the difficulty associated with negation when it is used in appropriate context suggests that theories of negation processing that take as their starting point the finding that negations are necessarily more difficult than affirmatives have ignored the critical role of context.

Levine and Hagaman 2008:493

Levine and Hagaman's approach is moving towards an understanding of negation as presuppositional.

Levine and Hagaman's experiments add to the growing body of research on the significance of supportive context. However, it is their discussion of how readers/hearers retain unsupported negated concepts that is particularly significant in the context of this thesis. They suggest that where negation does not occur in supported context, negated concepts may be even more accessible as readers retain them in order to attempt to resolve their relevance. For example, (2.4) (a) would be easier to comprehend than (2.4) (b), because 'soup' and 'eat' provide relevant context for 'teeth'. These, however, do not provide context that supports the absence of a 'fireman's helmet' in (b), which would, therefore, be more prominent and thus more likely to be retained;

(2.4) (a) My granddad eats soup because he hasn't got any teeth.

(b) My granddad eats soup because he hasn't got a fireman's helmet.

So, whilst supportive context is significant to how negation is processed, its occurrence requires readers/hearers to consider how the possibility of the negated element's presence may be relevant in the context of use (this is discussed further in chapter 7 in the context of the pragmatic processing of negation).

Similarly, Giora (2005) and Giora *et al* (2004,2005, 2007) are concerned with the accessibility and retention of the concepts within the scope of negation. Their experiments produced results suggesting that concepts within the scope of negation are immediately available and continue to be available after a 500ms delay. Like Levine and Hagaman (2008), Giora *et al*'s (2004) results on longer term accessibility of negated concepts differ from those of Hasson and Glucksberg (2006). They found that the degree of accessibility of negated concepts is sensitive to context, and argue for the retention hypothesis, that negated information is retained and influences potential interpretations;

...we propose that information introduced via negation would be retained and tinge the interpretation of the negated item so that the outcome is a mitigated product involving both the negativity of the negation marker and also the expressed meaning of the negated item.

Giora *et al* 2005:239

Giora *et al* tested for the retention of negated elements in a series of experiments where participants were asked to rate the appropriateness of a construction. The premise was that if negated concepts are suppressed they should have no influence on following affirmative elements. The following are examples of the types of constructions used;

(a)What I bought yesterday was not a bottle but a jug.

(b)What I bought yesterday was not a bottle but a closet

(a)I don't want coffee; I want tea.

(b)I don't want coffee; I want shoes.

Ninety-six percent of participants showed a preference for the (a) constructions, where the elements following negation are classifiable as members of the same category. Clearly, the

negated elements are influencing choices as to what is an appropriate next item, supporting the notion that negation does not suppress the accessibility of negated concepts.

Whilst experimental approaches provide evidence that readers treat negated concepts in the same way as affirmation immediately after reading, the extent to which these concepts are retained or replaced by an opposite alternative continues to be a source of debate. This general consensus that readers do not dismiss negated concepts, but actively process them, supports the notion that in comprehending negation, reader/hearers engage with both possible presence and actual absence. However, one of the issues that arises with these experimental approaches is differing aims and methodologies employed by researchers; Levine and Hagaman (2008) explicitly note the difficulties of comparing findings across experimental approaches and suggest that pragmatic factors are likely to be more interesting, but are commonly overlooked (2008:495). Sources of data other than experimental sources, for example, discourse analysis, may present more convincing evidence in this area and will be discussed below.

2.3 Grammatical evidence

In the last section I looked at the way in which experimental approaches to how language users potentially process negation can provide some evidence that negation requires those language users to conceptualise both absence and presence. One of the significant limitations of experimental approaches is that they necessarily present participants with artificial situations and can therefore only present clues as to the actual processes involved in comprehending negation in natural language. Sections 2.3 and 2.4 will redress the balance and present evidence based on observations of actual negation in discourse. For the moment, however, this section will examine two aspects of the grammatical contexts in which negation occurs that, again, strongly suggests that negation involves processing both presence and absence. Those are anaphoric reference and ellipsis.

2.3.1 Anaphoric reference

Anaphoric reference is one of a collection of textual features relating to textual cohesion. Cohesion itself, first recognised in the work of Halliday and Hasan (1976) 'is the linking mechanism between sentences and serves to make sure that a text is not simply a random series of unconnected sentences, but has enough information for the reader/hearer to interpret the text as a whole' (Jeffries 2006:1183). Anaphor is the use of pronouns to refer back to elements introduced previously in a text;

(2.5) Jack sat his English literature exam. He passed it with flying colours.

In the above example, both 'Jack' and 'English literature exam' are introduced in the first sentence, but are referred to by means of the pronouns 'he' and 'it' in the second sentence. The concepts of 'Jack' and 'English literature exam' are sufficiently active in the reader's mind and textually close enough to the pronouns used in the second sentence for the reader to understand that 'he' and 'it' refer to their antecedents in the first sentence.

The significance of anaphoric reference to negation is outlined by Verhagen (2005). Working in a cognitive linguistic framework, Verhagen argues that anaphoric reference can be an indicator that readers entertain 'two distinct cognitive representations' in relation to negation (2005:29). He uses the following example to illustrate;

(2.6) This time, there was no such communication (about the plans). It's a pity because it could have resulted in greater participation by employers.

(Verhagen 2005:29)

Verhagen notes that in the second sentence, the two uses of the pronoun 'it' anaphorically refer back to the first sentence, but that they have contrary antecedents; 'It's a pity' refers to the absence of communication, whilst 'it could have resulted' refers to the presence of communication. 'Apparently, both the negative idea of lack of communication and its positive

counterpart are sufficiently activated in the context to make them accessible for reference by means of *it'* (2005:29). Here, the potential to be able to anaphorically refer to both the actual absence and possible presence of an entity provides another source of evidence that discourse participants entertain both the positive and negative situations represented by negation.

2.3.2 Ellipsis

Like anaphoric reference, ellipsis is an aspect of cohesion, but in this case sections of an utterance that are sufficiently obvious (retrievable) can be omitted within or across sentences. For example;

(2.7) Haworth is best in summer. Hawes in winter.

(Jeffries 2006:186)

(2.8) I wondered if Bill had lost his way, but he can't have, he's been here before.

In (2.7), the verb and complement *is best* is sufficiently activated in the first sentence that it can be omitted from the parallel grammatical structure in the second. Similarly, in (2.8) 'lost his way' is available in the first clause making it unnecessary to repeat it in the second. When considered in relation to negation, we can observe that ellipsis and negation can be a feature of denial in conversational situations. Tottie (1991) suggests that explicit denials, that is, the denial of a previous overt assertion of the positive, '...can be, and probably mostly are, conveyed by elliptic sentences...' (1991:23). She provides the following examples;

(2.9) (a) It is raining.

(b) It isn't raining.

(c) It isn't.

(2.10) (a) There is a dog in the garden.

(b) There isn't a/is no dog in the garden.

(c) There isn't.

Here, the occurrence of a negator and ellipsis in the same syntactic structure requires that what is ellipted has been previously asserted. Tottie (1991) notes that although a speaker may produce a perfectly grammatical sentence if they were to go to a window, and without any prompting say 'It isn't', it would be a 'completely inappropriate' sentence.

So, ellipsis occurs where the elliptical element is obvious and actively available in the prior co-text. If we then consider how ellipsis can follow from negated utterances, we can see that negated concepts are available in the same way as non-negated concepts. For example;

(2.11) John didn't buy a bike, but Beth did (buy a bike).

(2.12) John has no trouble with the work, but Beth has (trouble with the work)

In these examples, the negated positive, 'buy a bike' and 'trouble with the work', are sufficiently activated and available, despite relating to a non-event and non-existence, that they can be elided in the second clause. Again this suggests that both absence and presence are conceptualised when processing negation.

Giora (2006) notes the significance of this type of ellipsis in her discussion of the possibility of retaining negated concepts. She cites George W. Bush's notorious slip of the tongue:

(2.13) Our enemies are innovative and resourceful, and so are we. They never stop thinking about ways to harm our country and our people, and neither do we.

It is highly unlikely that Bush intended to communicate the idea that 'we' are 'thinking about ways to harm our country and our people', but the attempt to parallel the structure of the first sentence in the second produced unintended consequences. Here, the verb phrase deletion in

the second clause, second sentence, requires that ‘stop thinking about ways to harm our country and our people’ is activated and accessible, even though it falls within the scope of a negator.

A significant caveat for both of these areas of syntactic structure (anaphor and ellipsis) is the limited context in which they occur; Negation is a conceptual practice which can be expressed through a variety of textual forms (Jeffries 2010a) (see Chapter 5). However, not all of these forms exhibit the same syntactic potential as the above examples. For example;

(2.14) *they were uncommunicative (about the plans). It’s a pity because it
 could have resulted in greater participation by the employers.

Here, the negator is morphologically embedded in an adjective making the construction grammatically inappropriate as the second ‘it’ has no antecedent that is distinct from the antecedent for the first. In this construction it suggests that being ‘uncommunicative’ produces both what is (‘a pity’) and what could have been (‘greater participation’). Verhagen (2005) notes the same effect when ‘no such communication’ is replaced with ‘silent’;

(2.15) *This time, they remained silent (about the plans). It’s a pity because it
 could have resulted in greater participation by the employers.

Verhagen suggests that although ‘silence about the plans implies a lack of communication about them, the idea of communication is not sufficiently accessible to allow *it* to refer to it’ (2005:29).⁴

Similarly, in the case of elliptical clauses following negation, not all forms of negation will allow the same process of relying on the activated positive, this is particularly evident in morphological negation;

(2.16) (a) John was not able to buy a bike, but Beth was

⁴ Although these versions are grammatically suspect, it is still possible to pragmatically infer the same meaning as that conveyed by (4); the organisation of the argument as a whole as relating to what is and what could have been implies the availability of the concepts of communicative and uncommunicative/silent (Jeffries 2011, P.C.)

(b) *John was unable to buy a bike, but Beth was.

(2.17) (a) Jack didn't pass his English literature exam, but Danni did.

(b) *Jack failed his English literature exam, but Danni did.

Here, although 'not able' and 'unable' are propositionally equivalent, the possibility of 'able' is not sufficiently available to allow for its ellipsis in the following clause. Similarly, although 'not pass' and 'fail' are ostensibly the same, 'fail' does not make available the possibility of 'pass' in the same way as 'not pass' does⁵.

Like the evidence from experimental approaches, linguistic structures provide some evidence that language users engage with both the possible presence and actual absence realised through negation. As noted above, however, this evidence is not consistent across all forms of negation, and is therefore inconclusive on its own. The following section then provides a further source of evidence of by examining negation in the context of use.

2.4 Discourse evidence

Whilst there are limitations in providing evidence from empirical evidence and linguistic constructions, a further supporting strand can be provided with reference to discourse features. As noted above, Giora (2006) argues that when used in the context of communication, negated concepts are sensitive to context and their retention or suppression and replacement with an alternative opposite is determined by wider discursual features (2006: 991). An examination of the conditions which demonstrate the retention of negated concepts therefore can provide

⁵ Whilst some forms of negation can be seen to have reduced accessibility to the negated positive, in the case of ellipsis, the occurrence of these forms is constrained by the syntactic requirement of a dummy auxiliary and the elision of the verb.

further evidence that the negated positive remains conceptually available in processing utterances containing negation.

2.4.1 Giora's (2006) resonance, comparison and accessibility of negated concepts

Here, I will consider two areas of Giora and Giora *et al's* (2006) research that are particularly significant to this part of my argument; the resonance of negated information across discourse and negated comparisons. Both of which demonstrate the availability of not only the negated words but also their semantic content.

In arguing for the notion that the retention or suppression of negated information is sensitive to context, Giora (2006, 2007) argues that such information can remain accessible, and is often required. She provides a range of evidence in support of this view. Following the work of DuBois (1998,2001), Giora (2006, 2007) and Giora *et al* (2007, 2010) argue that the accessibility of negation is apparent in the way in which negated concepts 'resonate' across discourses; that is, material within the scope of negation is sufficiently accessible or even specifically chosen by the speaker to allow for the activation of semantically and grammatically related concepts. For example:

(2.18) It also reduced the exposure, and film stock **was not fast**. But Edison films were photographed much **faster** than the films of most other companies.

(2.19) I think DVD's days are numbered, perhaps **not soon but soon enough**.

Examples from Giora 2007:145(emphasis in original)

Giora notes that 'was not fast' (2.18) and 'not soon' (2.19) could have been replaced by 'slow' and 'late' (2007:145). However, she argues that the choice of the negated form, rather than its

opposite, 'primes' the context for what follows, 'faster' and 'soon enough'. Similarly, in the following example, Giora *et al* (2010) note that the cataphoric resonance of 'no monument' and 'no memorial' make accessible the related concept, 'grave'.

(2.20) Perhaps this important film (Killing Kastner by Gaylen Ross) will carry out the historical task, in a place where Kastner has no monument and no memorial, except for his grave.

Example from Giora *et al* 2010:232

Giora (2007) concludes that such 'discourse affinities' between negated concepts and related following concepts, is only allowed if discourse participants 'retain information within the scope of negation' (2007:148).

Alongside discourse resonance, Giora (2006, 2007) and Giora *et al* (2007, 2008) also consider negated comparisons as an indication that negated information remains accessible and is not discarded. In presenting their retention hypothesis, Giora and Giora *et al*, argue that processing negation is as sensitive to discourse considerations as affirmation and that there is little difference between the accessibility of negated positives and affirmed positives. With this in mind, they argue that negated comparisons display the same discourse sensitivity as non-negated comparisons (Giora *et al* 2008). They illustrate this with reference to a series of examples drawn from the media which make use of a comparison between Hitler and George W. Bush.

(2.21) I hate to make the Nazi comparison because it's so tired, and Bush isn't Hitler. But forcing people to wear yellow stars was shocking at first.

(2.22) President Bush isn't Hitler. The United States of America isn't Nazi Germany. The War Against the Terror Masters isn't the Holocaust. Guantanamo isn't Auschwitz.

Examples from Giora *et al* 2008:503

Giora et al (2008) note that even though assertions are made that 'Bush is not Hitler', a literally true statement that could invite the reader to see no affinities between the two, the evocation of 'Hitler' allows for the evocation of further related concepts ('yellow stars', 'Nazi Germany', 'Holocaust,' 'Auschwitz'). Here, despite the negation of Bush being like Hitler, the concept of 'Hitler' is not suppressed in favour of some other conceptualisation of Bush (e.g. Bush is good), illustrating the availability of the negated concept.

Both discourse resonance and negated comparisons then demonstrate that negated concepts are not only processed by language users, but are retained and influence surrounding co-text. The next section considers further discourse based evidence and examines how readers process negated metaphors and how this demonstrates the availability of both the positive and negative.

2.4.2. Processing negated metaphors

As noted in the previous section, some negated utterances require a non-literal interpretation; although 'Bush is not Hitler' is ostensibly true, it is uninformative. As Giora *et al* (2008) note, this kind of construction can be interpreted on the lines of 'Bush is not like Hitler', a negated comparison. These kinds of negated constructions, Giora *et al* (2010) argue, can be viewed as 'metaphor inducing'; that is, they call for a non-literal interpretation in order to be meaningful, as utterances such as, 'x is not y', whilst literally true, are uninformative.

I will return to Giora *et al*'s discussion of negated metaphors later in this section. I will first address how Bailin (1999) tackles this issue. Bailin approaches negated metaphors from the perspective of truth and falsity, suggesting that metaphors are conventionally viewed as requiring that a statement be literally false in order to be understood as a metaphor. To use Bailin's example (1999:66):

(24) Baby Jane is a pretty little rose.

Given a conventional context in which Baby Jane is a human baby, the statement is literally false and therefore flouts Grice's (1979) maxim of quality, generating an implicature. However, Bailin suggests that theories which require a statement to be literally false in order to be interpreted as metaphorical will fail when confronted with negated metaphors which involve literally true statements, for example, John Donne's famous

(25) No man is an island

Here, there is a 'self-evident' truth in that a man is flesh and blood, not a geographical entity, and 'the sentence would seem to express something more than the obvious truth it asserts' (1999:58). Bailin accounts for such metaphors with reference to the scope of negation. He extends the notion of the scope of negation beyond the narrow interpretation of the question of which syntactic elements the negator has influence over to encompass associated presupposed meanings. Bailin suggests that in an utterance such as:

(29) John is not a bachelor

the negation only takes scope over the salient, asserted aspects whilst leaving others untouched. So, the associated presuppositions that John is adult, human and male remain intact whilst only the salient assertion that he is a bachelor is negated. When applied to the negated metaphor then, 'no man is an island', only the salient information is negated, that of being an island, whilst the implied (and literally false) notion that 'a man is a geographic entity' remains outside of the scope of negation and intact.

Bailin argues that negated metaphors require the processing of the literally false negated positive; however, he does not explain the process by which this literal falsehood is added to the presuppositions related to an utterance. Nevertheless, his explanation of how negated metaphors are dependent on these presuppositions does, again provide evidence that discourse participants engage with the underlying positive to a negative utterance; the

expectation that a man is an island must be comprehended in order to view 'no man is an island' as a metaphor, rather than an uninformative literal truth.

Giora (2006) and Giora *et al's* (2010) approach differs significantly from Bailin's but reaches the same conclusions regarding the notion that negation *picks out* aspects of the positive to negate. Giora (2006) and Giora *et al* (2010) are concerned with instances in which the interpretation of a negated utterance can differ radically from its positive counterpart. Giora *et al* posit that utterances such as 'I am your maid' and 'this is food' usually give rise to non-metaphoric interpretations, whereas their negative counterparts ('I am not your maid' and 'This is not food') 'mostly induce metaphoric interpretations' (2010: 233). Similarly, if a teenager were to say to her sister 'You are not my mother', whilst being literally true, is uninformative unless interpreted in metaphorical terms (Giora 2006:1008). Giora (2006) suggests that one of the reasons negation may cause such statements to be interpreted figuratively is the notion that negation does not cause the information in its scope to be suppressed, but mitigated. For example, in comprehending a statement such as 'x is not pretty', 'pretty' is retained, but mitigated, resulting in a meaning of 'less than pretty' rather than 'ugly'. Similarly, 'x is not ugly' retains 'ugly' in a mitigated form as 'less than ugly', but not 'pretty' (Giora *et al* 2004). Giora (2006) expands on this by suggesting that in a statement such as 'this is not food', 'this' is still a member of a food category, but a marginal or non-prototypical member. So, whereas, 'food' indicates membership of a category, the negator 'determines the designated referent's non-prototypical membership in that category' (2006:1008).

Giora *et al* (2010) develop this notion and hypothesise that such metaphoric interpretations of negated utterances are produced on the basis that the negation interacts with metaphor-relevant 'salient' features associated with being a maid and food. The following example is considered:

(33) You tell me what to do all of the time, what to say, where to hide, and what to do.
I am not your wife, I am not your maid, I'm not someone that you can lay your demands (on) all of (the) time, I'm sick of this it's going to stop.

Giora *et al* 2010:

Giora *et al* (2010) suggest that the salient features of being a maid that are being negated are illustrated in the italicised sections; that is the salient part of what is being negated is not the notion of a woman being paid to do a job, but associated features such as being 'someone that you can lay your demands (on) all of (the) time'. According to Giora *et al* (2010) then, whereas 'I am your maid' generally gives rise to non-metaphoric interpretations⁶, 'I am not your maid' generally gives rise to metaphorical interpretations, but it is related to connotations associated with being a maid rather than the denotation of being a maid.

Despite their differing approaches, Ballin, Giora and Giora *et al* reach the same conclusions that interpreting negation in the context of use requires language users to engage with negated information in order to understand a negated metaphor as anything more than an uninformative literal assertion. Only then can they calculate the implicature generated by the flout that the negated positive would constitute. Here then, negation prompts an interpretative process, producing an inferred meaning which overlays the textual meaning. It is this view of negation that is crucial to the argument that is put forward in this thesis; language users comprehend the significance of possible presence in the process of interpreting the significance of its absence.

⁶ The assertion that utterances such as *I am your maid* and *this is food* are likely to be interpreted as non-metaphoric is problematic. In a situation in which a paid employee says 'I am your maid', we can reasonably assume that the hearer would be aware of this, and the utterance, although literally true, would, like its negative counterpart, be relatively uninformative and is likely to be processed non-literally for additional contextual meaning.

2.5 Conclusions

The task set for this chapter was to provide evidence that language users engage with both the positive and negative in the context of negation, which would support a view that negation is presuppositional in nature. Since definitive proof would require access to the minds of language users, such a task is currently beyond reach. However, each of the different types of evidence considered here constitute examples drawn from differing approaches with distinct foci, and whilst individually they do not provide solid proof that language users engage with both the positive and negative, together they provide support that this is the case.

In summary, the evidence supports the notion that language users engage with and take into account the concepts that fall within the scope of a negator. Although evidence from processing times in terms of responses to negated concepts is currently inconclusive, they appear to agree that respondents conceptualise the negated positive when comprehending negation. Similarly, evidence from empirical approaches to examining whether or not negated concepts are retained, evidence from textual cohesion features and discourse coherence suggest that far from being discarded, information within the scope of a negator has influence over proceeding discourse. Evidence from metaphor processing suggests that although negated information is retained in processing the negative, it does so on the basis of activating meanings associated with the negated information.

Having established that in practice language users engage with both possible presence and actual absence, in the next chapter I will look at cognitive linguistic approaches that consider the way in which the availability of the negated positive translates into expectations of that positive. This will lead to a consideration in Chapter 4 of the interaction between language users and the language itself and the potential of pragmatic approaches for describing the processes by which language prompts particular cognitive processes.

Negation and cognition

3.1 Introduction

In Chapter 2 I presented a range of evidence that supports the notion that negated positives are processed and conceptualised when comprehending utterances containing negation. This is the first step to an understanding of negation as a ‘conceptual practice’ (Jeffries 2010a) which is a presupposition trigger. However, as I outlined in the introductory chapter, negation presupposes an *expectation* of the negated positive. Whilst the evidence presented in Chapter 2 provides a strong argument that language users conceptualise and retain information within the scope of a negator, it does not explain how that information can be understood as expected by one or more discourse participants. In this chapter I argue that cognitive approaches to language analysis provide a means of engaging with why and how the negated positives constitute something that is expected. As negation is concerned with non-events or non-states, with situations in which there is no observable entity or event that corresponds to the language used to manipulate it, it lends itself to approaches which consider the mental activities involved in its comprehension.

In the last chapter I touched on the cognitive aspects of processing negation and the notion that negation prompts the production of multiple mental representations (Kaup et al 2007, Hasson and Glucksberg 2006, Levine and Hagaman 2008, Giora , e.g. 2006, 2007, and Giora *et al*, e.g. 2004, 2008, 2010). Here I extend that discussion to encompass wider cognitive theories that can explain how negation triggers expectations and will focus on its following cognitive properties:

1. Absence is perceptually prominent against a background of expected presence.

2. Negation prompts the construction of multiple mental spaces.

3. Negation is concerned with the relationship between discourse participants' conceptualisations of situations rather than with those situations themselves, making it intersubjective rather than subjective.

In section 3.3 I will demonstrate how the notions of stasis and change/figure and ground can explain the perceptual prominence of negation and begin to look at the notion of expectations. This is pursued in 3.4 in relation to mental spaces, and 3.5 in relation to the intersubjectivity of negation. I will begin, however, in section 3.2 by outlining some reservations with the use of a cognitive approach to language analysis. Cognitive approaches have a wide remit, and the following discussions will be limited to those areas and theorists directly concerned with negation and cognition.

3.2 A cautionary note on cognitive approaches to language analysis

Cognitive approaches can be viewed as problematic, and two main concerns are apparent in this area; firstly, the processes that are the focus of attention in cognitive models are not directly accessible (though work in the area of artificial intelligence and neuro-imaging may provide more objective evidence), and are therefore difficult to verify by empirical methods. The evidence for these underlying backstage processes can only be accessed through language in use, which leads to the second problem; some cognitive theories appear to be *reinventing the wheel* in that they present models of textual effects which duplicate the explanatory potential of earlier models with similar features. For example, foregrounding theory (e.g. Short 1996, Leech 2008) in stylistics overlaps with figure and ground theory.

Further, Verhagen (2005) (discussed below) notes that his presentation of intersubjectivity resembles Halliday's (1978) metafunctions of language whereby the ideational function maps onto the object of a conceptualisation, 'co-ordinating subjects of construal' onto the interpersonal function, and the organisation of discourse, for example, given and new information, maps onto the textual function (2005:7). Verhagen's reasoning for rejecting Halliday's model in favour of an explicitly cognitive approach is reserved for a footnote and other than challenging Halliday on appearing to restrict the interpersonal function to situations of 'concrete persons managing their actual social relationship', his reasoning is not explored in detail (2005 :6). Further, in his description of intersubjectivity, Verhagen asserts that;

[t]he point of a linguistic utterance, in broad terms, is that the first conceptualizer invites the second to jointly attend to an object of conceptualization in some specific way, and to update the common ground by doing so.

Verhagen 2005: 7

Whilst he notes that this recognition of utterances as intentionally communicative also underlies Grice's Cooperative Principle (1957/1975) he again saves this for a footnote and does not explain what additional explanatory potential is offered by explicitly cognitive approaches. Instead, he refers the reader to work by Keller (1998) on the way in which linguistic communication can influence another person's cognition by signalling the intention to do so (Verhagen 2005:7).

This duplication of earlier linguistic models has the potential to be misleading; the introduction of new models with an explicitly cognitive bias implies that earlier models do not take into account the cognitive processing that underlies language use and comprehension. For example, foregrounding theory and Grice's Cooperative Principle, also mentioned above, go beyond the consideration of surface realisations and rely on a recognition that language users engage with wider co-textual and contextual factors.

Whilst such criticisms suggest the need for a cautious attitude towards cognitive approaches, cognitive linguistics does offer useful insights into how we might view negation working at the processing level. Cognitive approaches to comprehending language use cover a vast area of research including consideration of grammar and semantics (e.g. Langacker 1991, Fauconnier 1985), knowledge frames (e.g. Schank, Abelson 1977, Cook 1994) and discourse comprehension (e.g. Werth 1999, Emmott 1999). It is necessary first to distinguish between what is offered by cognitive linguistics and what is offered by models of discourse processing that are informed by insights from cognitive linguistics. Theories such as text world theory and contextual frames theory provide models of discourse analysis and are informed by insights from an understanding of the cognitive processes that underlie text comprehension. What is of concern in this chapter is how cognitive approaches to comprehending language in general can illuminate the processes involved in comprehending negation specifically. Cognitive approaches take as a starting point the notion that there is more to language and language use than meets the eye; Fauconnier (1997) notes that the words themselves are merely the tip of the iceberg and that the majority of the work of comprehension goes on in the cognitive 'backstage'. That is, in Fauconnier's terms, language prompts the construction of interconnected mental spaces and comprehension is a matter of mapping the complex connections between these mental spaces.

In the next section I will demonstrate how the notions of stasis and change/figure and ground can begin to explain the way in which negation relies on expectations of the negated positive and the way in which absence is perceptually prominent against a background norm where presence is usually prominent.

3.3 Stasis and change/ground and figure

Language users' experience of the world is one in which more things do not happen than do. When something happens, it is perceptually prominent against this background of things not happening. Negation, or the linguistic realisation of things not happening, is a reversal of this normal view of the world, where the absence is made prominent whilst presence is the background. Givón (2001) captures this idea in relation to the notions of 'change and stasis':

From a cognitive perspective, an event is a *change* in an otherwise inert universe. It is our informal experience of a law of physics - *inertia* - that motivates the assignment of positive (vs. negative) status to events (vs. non-events) in our construed experience.

Givón 2001:372

He notes that 'stasis', or non-events, is the more frequent norm than change, the event, and that 'an event is the cognitively salient *figure*. It stands out against the *ground* of stasis' (2001:372). Negation occurs where stasis and change are switched and the event becomes the ground against which the non-event becomes 'temporarily, locally-salient, more informative' (2001:372). Consider the following example:

(3.1) (a) a man came into my office yesterday and said...

(b) *a man didn't come into my office yesterday and said...

(c) ?Nobody came into my office yesterday and said

Example from Givón 2001:373

Within the norms of one's everyday experience, (a) is pragmatically acceptable in that it picks out the event, a man visiting, against a background norm that most people do not visit at all times. Against this same background, Givón notes that although (c) is possible, (b) appears pragmatically (and grammatically) odd. The reason for this is that in a situation where most people do not visit then to pick out one who does not visit is uninformative. However, if the background norm were one in which there is a constant flow of visitors, for example, a doctor's

surgery, the figure and ground would be switched, and a non-event, the absence of a visitor, would be the salient figure against a ground of constant visits.

Givón's use of 'figure' and 'ground' here could be viewed as limited in that figure and ground elements are conventionally viewed as occupying the same perceptual space. In their explanation of figure and ground with reference to image schemas, Ungerer and Schmid (1996:157-60) suggest that if we take a situation such as a book on a table, the book can be viewed as the figure against the ground of the table. This is reflected in the way we might describe the situation:

(3.2) There's a book on the table.

We are unlikely to present the same situation as:

(3.3) There's a table under the book

However, if we extend this example, it is possible to extend the figure and ground relationship beyond a single perceptual space. Imagine a situation in which there are several tables and one of the tables has a book on it, the book would remain the figure against the ground of the table. We might now consider the tables without books as a ground against the figure of one table with a book. However, if there were several books and tables, but one of the tables did not have a book, although the figure and ground relationship between the tables and books would remain the same, the relationship between the tables with a book would now be the ground for the one table without. The absence of a book would be perceptually prominent.

We can now introduce the notion of time; if we now take an alternate situation, that of meeting a friend who happens to be naked, we might comment:

(3.4) You have no clothes on!

The friend's nakedness is perceptually prominent against a generalised expectation (based on experience) that people wear clothes. The many points in time where clothes have been worn

can be equated to the books on the table. So, the ground is something usually happening (wearing clothes), the figure is the situation in which it does not happen, We can of course switch the figure and ground configuration; in a nudist camp where the previous points in time have included being naked, a comment such as (3.4) would be pragmatically dubious, and we would need to assume that the speaker expected the hearer to be clothed. Similarly, we would be unlikely to refer to a newborn baby as not wearing anything as there is no prior experience of babies being born fully clothed against which the assertion of nakedness would be salient.

Time, however, is already part of our understanding of figure and ground. Ungerer and Schmid (1996) note that time is a factor when there is a representation of movement in the relationship between the figure and ground (1996:159). So, a description such as,

(3.5) The balloon is flying over the house.

Ungerer and Schmid 1996:159

presents a relationship between the balloon and house that takes 'into account that the position of the balloon changes in time' (1996:159). Here there are several contiguous points in time where the 'trajector' (figure) takes a 'path' over the 'landmark' (ground) (Ungerer and Schmid 1996:160). However, the notion of time introduced in the example of the naked friend is one where the several points in time are not contiguous, but a series of assumed points in past history that build up experience and expectations.

If we go back to the example of the books and tables; imagine now that instead of several books and tables in the same room, you are in a corridor with several rooms, each containing a table and a book, but one room with only a table. You walk down the corridor and look into each room. From each encounter with a book and a table you gain experience and expectations regarding the next encounter. When you encounter a table and no book, it is against the background of this experience. With negation then, we can view the background experience of presence as the ground against the figure of absence, and as such, absence is perceptually prominent where presence is expected.

Negation in discourse is, of course, more complex than this rather simplistic illustration. The expectations underlying negation need not be generated through direct experience, but can be created by the very discourse in which negation occurs and through other related discourses. However, what is demonstrated here is that negation is perceptually prominent and linked to background expectations of the positive. The location of expectations will be discussed further in chapter 4.

3.4 Negation and mental spaces

Although Givón's (2001) notions of stasis and change, figure and ground, do not discuss cognition specifically in terms of discourse participants engaging with both absence and presence in relation to negation, we can start to see how negation may cause discourse participants to be aware of, and conceptualise a background norm of presence against which an absence becomes salient, or meaningful. In this section I will move away from this generalised experience of absence and presence to issues concerning how the occurrence of linguistic negation triggers particular cognitive processes, specifically, how negation relates to discourse participants' mental representations of negated situations.

In his development of a cognitive grammar, Langacker (1991) posits that negation is one of a range of linguistic phenomena that prompt readers to generate complex 'mental spaces', incorporating multiple conceptions. Mental spaces theory, developed by Fauconnier (1985), suggests that language is processed in terms of mental spaces which are cognitive constructions that correspond to the situation being presented but draw on existing knowledge to create a dynamic mental representation. Fauconnier defines a mental space as:

very partial assemblies constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action. They contain elements and are structured by frames and cognitive models. Mental spaces are connected to long-term schematic knowledge, such as the frame for walking along a path, and to long-term specific knowledge, such as a memory of the time you climbed Mount Rainier in 2001.

<http://terpconnect.umd.edu/~israel/Fauconnier-MentalSpaces.pdf>(accessed 2011)

Using this basic premise of a mental space, Langacker (1991) considers how absence is conceived of in these terms:

How do we conceive of something being absent from a mental space? Clearly, we do not just envisage the space without it - the conception of a space per se is not equivalent to that of something being missing from it. Indeed, since negation makes inherent reference to the situation being denied, our conception must include the absent entity in its expected position within the space. But is that not contradictory? How can a notion be consistent if it incorporates the conception of a mental space both containing and not containing the same entity? The problem is only apparent. Cognitive grammar does not assume that an expression's meaning necessarily reduces to a single consistent configuration. It claims that our ability to construe one conceived situation in relation to another, regardless of their degree of compatibility, is fundamental to linguistic semantics.

Langacker 1991:133

Langacker (1991) suggests that negation has the character of a 'complex scene, in which one conception is construed against the background of another from which it diverges in some respect' (1991:133). Negation, then, prompts the construction of a mental space in which an entity is absent and constitutes the 'active' structure which is foregrounded against the background mental space in which the absent entity is profiled as present, illustrated in figure 3.1. The linguistic representation of an absence then is cognitively dependent on conceptualising its presence. And, as we saw from the discussion of stasis and change, absence is generally recognised against a background of expected presence.

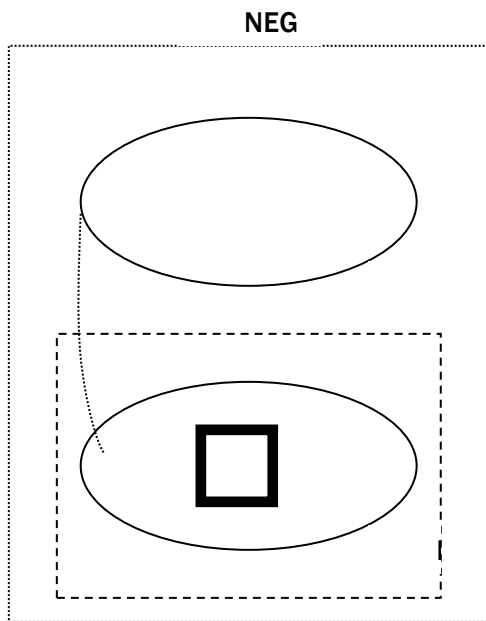


Figure 3.1 mental space diagram of the multiple mental spaces prompted by negation. Langacker 1991:

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3.5 Negation and intersubjectivity

Langacker's insights into the cognitive properties of negation are concerned with abstracted examples, used to illustrate the workings of a cognitive grammar. However, Verhagen (2005) and Sweetser (2006) extend this understanding of negation to consider its role in the context of discourse and communication. Verhagen (2005) argues that multiple mental representations reflect the way in which negation invokes other discourse participants' expectations about situations rather than making direct statements about those situations, and is therefore intersubjective. He claims, however, that only sentential negation (*not, no never* and so on) prompts multiple mental representations, and argues that morphological negation cannot be explained in the same way. Sweetser (2006), on the other hand, maintains that these multiple representations can be triggered at both sentential and word levels.

3.5.1 Verhagen's intersubjectivity

Underlying Verhagen's view of negation is his argument that language is essentially intersubjective; that is language is concerned with the cognitive co-ordination of distinct minds. He presents two basic premises for this assertion; firstly, following on from the work of Tomasello (1999) Verhagen suggests that language use should be understood in the context of the human ability to recognise others as like ourselves (2005:4). He suggests that part of what it is to be human is to learn from others and recognise that others are 'intentional and mental agents' (2005:3). Secondly, Verhagen rejects a truth conditional view of language wherein utterances contain observations about the (or a) world, in favour of a view that language is primarily concerned with instructing addressees to engage in particular 'reasoning processes and to draw certain conclusions' (2005:13). On this view, the textual realisation of an utterance is variable, whilst the intention to generate some effect, for example, manage the attitudes of others, is the stable component. Verhagen further argues that this aspect of communication, the intention to influence others, precedes the informational value of an utterance, so although an utterance may be informative regarding the object of the utterance, the primary motivation for the utterance is to affect an influence on the addressee. Verhagen presents the following diagram as an illustration of the intersubjective relations:

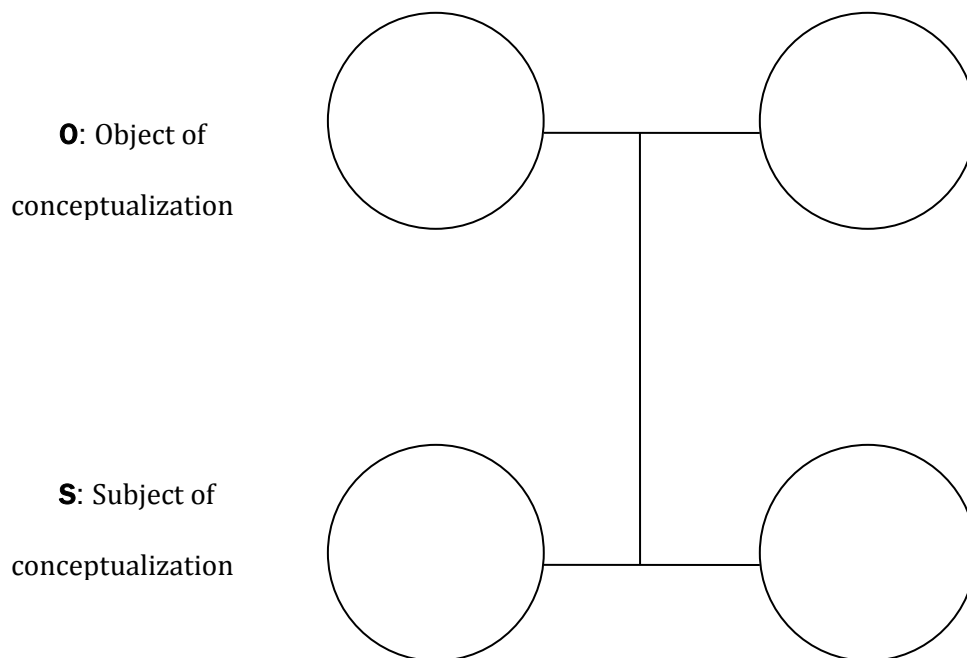


Figure 3.2 Diagram of intersubjectivity relations Verhagen 2005:41

Here, the vertical axis refers to the relationship between the subject and object of conceptualisation. The horizontal axis is concerned with intersubjectivity and relates to the relationship between speaker and hearer. It is in this relationship between speaker and hearer that negation functions (Verhagen 2005:41). Verhagen (2005) suggests that the intersubjectivity of language can be seen in the workings of negation and argues that:

The primary function of negation in natural language should be understood in terms of cognitive coordination, not in terms of the relation between language and the world, or the language user and the world. This is not to say that negation has no consequences for the relation between a language user and the world - it has. But in view of systematic aspects of its use, it belongs to a part of the linguistic system that can only be treated coherently in terms of its function in regulating relations between distinct 'mental spaces', rather than between language and the world.

Verhagen 2005:28

Verhagen focuses on sentential negation (*not, no, nobody, nothing* etc.) and argues that they can be understood as instructions from the speaker/writer to the addressee to 'entertain

two distinct cognitive representations, or two 'mental spaces in the sense of Fauconnier (1994), and to adopt one and abandon the other' (2005:29). Whilst providing an insight into how presence and absence can be viewed as distinct mental spaces, Verhagen's (2005) assertion that one of the mental spaces is abandoned is problematic; Giora 2006, 2007 and Giora *et al* 2004 provide significant evidence that both the presence and absence are entertained in comprehending negation (see chapter 2). In Verhagen's model then, the use of sentential negation prompts the construction of space₁ (see figure 3.3) representing absence, which builds a corresponding space₂ in which the 'thought' of presence is presented.

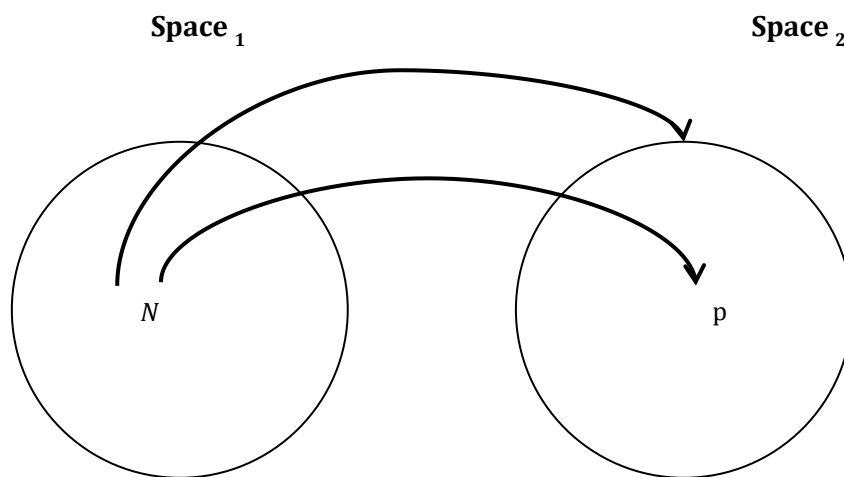


Figure 3.3 Multiple mental spaces triggered by negation. Verhagen 2005:32

Within the framework provided by the intersubjective view of language, the two mental spaces correspond to distinct conceptualizers; that is whilst the speaker/writer entertains mental space₁ (absence) the addressee entertains mental space₂ (the *thought* of presence) (2005:30). Verhagen's(2005) approach then, presents an image of negation (at least for sentential negation) that incorporates the conceptualizations of both addresser and addressee; that is, both the addresser's understanding that some state, entity or event is absent, and the addressee's expectation of presence.

3.5.2 Morphological negation and multiple mental representations

Verhagen's consideration here of multiple mental spaces relating to negation supports the premise of chapter 2 that negation prompts the consideration of both an actual absence and possible presence. However, he claims that these multiple mental spaces are only triggered by sentential negation (*not*, *never*). Verhagen (2005) explains at length that morphological negation (e.g. the *un-* prefix) does not prompt multiple mental spaces. He illustrates this point with the following example:

(3.7) (a) Mary is not happy. On the contrary, she is feeling really depressed.

(b)*Mary is unhappy. On the contrary she is feeling really depressed.

In (a), two mental spaces are apparent in that whilst the assertion (space ₁) is that 'Mary is not happy', the connective 'on the contrary' relates to 'Mary is happy' (space ₂) triggered through the use of negation. However, (b) is incoherent as it does not trigger a second mental space to which the connective can relate. Verhagen suggests that morphological negation 'is an instrument for reversing the scale associated with an adjective to which it is attached, and does not invite the addressee to consider-and-abandon the thought of applying that scale with its normal orientation' (2005:32).

Verhagen's view poses something of a problem in relation to the understanding of negation as a conceptual practice. As noted in chapter 1 and above, negation in this thesis is taken to be a conceptual practice where the recognition of a significant absence is realised in a variety of textual forms. However, whilst Verhagen's analysis of the 'on the contrary' connective is undoubtedly accurate, there are problems with his approach; reducing all morphological negation to the status of scalar adjectives is problematic in that it does not account for the range of morphological negators (e.g. *Un-*, *de-*, *dis-*, *non-*), nor that they can be used to express absence as well as scalar properties. Whereas *possible* and *impossible* can be seen to be at

opposing points on a gradable scale, 'finished' and 'unfinished' do not allow for a middle point on the scale. Also, Verhagen's analysis does not attend to the question of the possibility of 'happy' in 'unhappy'; that is, in describing *Mary* as 'unhappy', some point on a scale of less than happy, *Mary* is nonetheless attributed with the potential of being happy which is being defeated. *Mary* must be understood as having the potential to be happy whilst she is in fact less than happy (Morphological negation will be discussed further in chapter 5).

Sweetser (2006) on the other hand, also working within the framework of mental spaces theory, presents an alternative view of morphological negation and mental spaces. She approaches the issue of negation and multiple mental spaces specifically within the context of identifying its effects in literary texts. Sweetser's approach largely agrees with that of Verhagen (2005) in that negation prompts multiple representations:

The hypothesis of mental spaces theory, then, is that negatives evoke a more complex mental space structure than corresponding positive forms.

Sweetser 2006:315

However, where Sweetser differs is in the area of morphological negation. In this approach, multiple mental spaces can be prompted at word level as well as at sentence level. For example, in an utterance such as:

(3.8) He has not been unobservant of her feelings

the use of 'unobservant' evokes a negative space and a corresponding positive space, 'observant'. A third space is created through the use of *not*. Sweetser notes that such 'multi-space' configurations have the potential to draw 'the reader or hearer through a bewildering range of mental spaces', and having the potential to create such effects as uncertainty, vacillation or repression (2006:324-5).

Underlying Sweetser's approach is the notion that negation is one of a range of linguistic phenomena that produces alternativity; that is negation evokes alternate (counterfactual)

spaces to active negated spaces. Further, that the range of linguistic forms that can build alternate spaces is wider than overtly negative forms such as *not*, *no* and so on (2006:315). Sweetser's view that negation triggers alternativity then supports Jeffries' notion that negation is a conceptual practice (Jeffries 2010a:106) wherein an absence is realised through a range of linguistic forms. This range of linguistic forms, or, 'textual vehicles' for negation (Jeffries 2010a:110) will be discussed in chapter 5, alongside the significance of variability in the expression of this conceptual practice.

3.6 Conclusions

This chapter has argued that whilst a cautious approach is required when addressing cognition, since researchers have no direct access to cognitive processes, it has provided insights into what may be happening when language users make use of negation. Cognitive approaches provide an account of the perceptual prominence of negation with reference to background knowledge and experience. Givón (2001) argues that negation causes a switch in what constitutes the background norms against which the foreground is significant; non-events/states generally form the background, making events/states the significant foreground. In the case of negation, it is the states/events which form the background and non-events/states which are perceptually prominent and foregrounded against this switched background.

Langacker (1991) captures the relationship between the foregrounded absence and backgrounded presence in the notion that language users produce multiple representations. Verhagen (2005) takes this further and argues that multiple representations are indicative of the intersubjective dimension of negation. Negation, he argues, is concerned with the coordination of construals, that is, it is concerned with how others view a situation rather than with the situation itself. Where Verhagen (2005) limits multiple mental spaces to sentential

negators (*not, no, nothing, never* and so on), Sweetser (2006) argues that multiple mental spaces can be triggered by a wider range of linguistic realisations of negation than the core set of sentential negators.

These cognitive theories of negation together provide support for the notion that negation is a conceptual practice. The notion of stasis and change/figure and ground demonstrate that negation is not only perceptually prominent, but also how it can be based on prior existing expectations. Mental spaces theory demonstrates that understanding an absence is contingent on conceptualising its presence. And the intersubjectivity of negation explains how these expectations of the negated positive can be attributed to discourse participants. This chapter and the last then have laid the groundwork for an understanding of negation as a conceptual practice. The next chapter will consider how this conceptual practice triggers presuppositions in texts.

Negation and Presupposition

4.1 Introduction

Chapters 2 and 3 brought together research into what happens when language users encounter negation and set the foundation for understanding negation as a conceptual practice. Chapter 2 demonstrated that there is good evidence that readers/hearers engage with both possible presence and actual absence, and that the negated positive is retained as part of the on-going discourse. Chapter 3 then took a cognitive approach to explaining how those negated positives may constitute something that is expected. Together, these elements constitute the cognitive background to the processing of negation in texts. This chapter is concerned with how these processes are triggered by the language itself and the context in which negated utterances occur.

In this chapter, I maintain, as Givon (2001) has argued, that negation is presuppositional. In doing this, I demonstrate that other models of inferencing, conventional and conversational implicature, do not adequately account for the expectations associated with negation. Although negation⁷ has traditionally been viewed as a semantic presupposition trigger, I argue that negation should in fact be viewed as a pragmatic presupposition trigger (section 4.2). Further, I argue that this pragmatic presupposition is not triggered by specific lexical forms but by the conceptual practice of negating. I further suggest that it is not enough to simply assert that negation is presuppositional, but some account is necessary of what is

⁷ Also included are modals, past tense conditionals and counterfactuals – see Chapter 5 for a typology of negators.

presupposed and who does that presupposing. Section 4.3 then is concerned with outlining factors determining these issues.

4.2 Pragmatic accounts of the expectations associated with linguistic negation

The first part of this chapter is concerned with which pragmatic approaches are able to account for the expectations associated with negation. There are three main theories where aspects of those theories overlap and compete for the inferential ground; those are conventional implicature, conversational implicature and pragmatic presupposition. As noted in chapter 1, this thesis is grounded in the hypothesis that a view of negation as a pragmatic presupposition trigger provides the most viable explanation of the way in which linguistic negation gives rise to expectations. In the following sections I will present the case for a presuppositional account of the expectations associated with negation. However, it is necessary first to briefly consider why conventional implicature and conversational implicature do not account for such expectations.

4.2.1 Conversational implicature

Conversational implicature is prototypically concerned with what meaning is potentially generated by an utterance, where an utterance is the combination of the sentence used, the common ground of assumptions and beliefs shared by discourse participants and the context of use. For example:

(4.1) Speaker A: What time is it?

Speaker B: The news has just started.

In the above exchange, Speaker A can infer from Speaker B's response that the time is some point in the day that both recognise as being when the news starts. Grice (1975) captured this process of recovering implied meaning in his Co-operative Principle and its attendant maxims:

Make your contribution such as required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged.

Grice (1975:45)

The Maxims

Quantity Make your contribution as informative as is required.
Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

Quality Do not say what you believe to be false.
Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

Relation Be relevant.

Manner Avoid obscurity of expression.
Avoid ambiguity.
Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).
Be orderly.

Grice (1975:45-46)

In chapter 1, I argued that negation produces implied meaning beyond the surface realisation and takes into account both context and expectations. A Gricean approach can account for the meaning of a contextualised utterance containing negation as a whole. However, this chapter is concerned with whether or not it can also account for the expectations associated with the conceptual practice of negating.

Within the framework of the Co-operative Principle, the expectations associated with negation would be evoked with reference to the principles of quantity and relation; that is that a speaker only asserts that something is not the case when it is reasonable to assume that the hearer thinks that it is the case. Tottie (1991) takes such an approach. She begins with the notion, presented by Allwood, that speakers are rational agents, socialised into understanding

the meaning of the behaviour of others and assuming that others behave as they do. In this case, communication occurs between two rational agents with one or more common purposes (Allwood 1976:38 cited in Tottie 1991:27). Given this basic assumption about communication (corresponding with Grice's Co-operative Principle), rational agents will attempt to be meaningful in communication and Tottie suggests that a speaker, when using negation, takes into account the hearer (or imaginary receiver in written texts) when choosing to deny the applicability of some expectation. She argues that this works on the basis that if the sender (speaker) assumes something which they find to be unrealised, that is, an unfulfilled expectation, they still assume, given the context, that the receiver will also have the same assumption. In denying the applicability of this assumption, they are following Grice's first maxim of quantity; "Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the purposes of the exchange)" (1975:45).

Tottie uses the following example to illustrate:

(4.2) The Carbon 14 method is being used in several research centres, and many more results may be expected. *At the time of writing, the thermoluminescence technique for dating pottery has not yet been used in China.*

Tottie 1991:26. Emphasis in original

Tottie suggests that the use of negation here should be viewed as arising out of the speaker's unfulfilled expectation that where modern dating techniques are used, the 'thermoluminescence' technique may also be used. Further, when taking the (imaginary) receiver into account, the speaker believes he may be creating a similar expectation in the reader by mentioning the Carbon 14 technique, and wishing to be cooperative, denies that this is the case.

I take the problem of the occurrence of negative sentences into a communicative framework, where successful communication depends on co-operation between sender and receiver, and show that senders, basing their communication on what they know about themselves, use

negative sentences in contexts where receivers might have expected something different. Thus a sender, typically uses a negative sentence to take the receiver out of misapprehension which the sender either knows or has reason to believe to be harboured by the receiver in a particular context.

Tottie 1991:314

Here then, Tottie is arguing that the speaker is making assumptions about what the hearer expects based on their own expectations in that specific context. There is however, a problem with Tottie's explanation; she suggests that the speaker's initial unfulfilled expectation is a *presupposition* that thermoluminescence may be used, and that the mention of Carbon 14 may cause the receiver to reach the same presupposition. The problem with Tottie's account is that it seems to rely on presupposition to support an implicature-based account of how expectations are initially triggered. She has, in effect, inserted a stage prior to fulfilling the need to be sufficiently informative (maxim of quantity) that is, a presupposition of an expectation of the positive is required to justify denying the applicability of that expectation.

Leech (1983) also posits an implicature-based account of the expectations associated with negation. He suggests that, all things being equal, negatives are less informative than positives, and will only be used 'for a special purpose (1983:101), He invokes the maxims of quantity and manner, but also introduces the sub-maxim of negative uniformity to account for this and argues that:

In fact, the CP (Co-operative Principle) will predict that negative sentences tend to be used precisely in situations when they are not less informative for a given purpose than positive ones: and this will be when S (speaker) wants to deny some proposition which has been put forward or entertained by someone in the context (probably the addressee).

Leech 1983:101

Consider the following hypothetical scenario in which a car has crashed into a wall, the police in attendance ask "what happened?" The hearer may respond in either of the following two ways:

(4.3) (a) The car went into the wall (a fact self-evident through observation)

(b) The brakes didn't work

Drawing attention to a non-event, one out of a multitude of events that did not occur (b), when viewed as cooperatively communicative, is in fact more informative than a positive assertion (a). Leech's sub-maxim of negative unformativeness, he suggests, provides an explanation of how the negative is more informative than the positive in that they are "in pragmatic terms, denials of positive propositions which are in some sense 'present in the context'" (1983:101). However, in this example, it is unlikely that the positive proposition would have been uttered, only an underlying assumption that, given that cars have brakes, those brakes will be functioning.

Leech notes that the maxim of negative unformativeness, as a generalization, cannot be applied to all instances of negation, pointing out that some negatives are as informative as their positive counterparts:

(4.4) (a) Our cat is not male

(b) Our cat is female.

He suggests that negatives tend to be the marked version and, following the work of Clark and Clark (1977), they take longer and are harder to process than positives (see chapter 2). In which case, negatives are more 'oblique and obscure' than they need be and violate the maxim of manner. The reason, he suggests, is that the speaker is using the negative sentence to deny its positive counterpart (1983:101).

Leech's implicature account of negation as interacting with a supposed previous assertion appears initially plausible. However, this account is problematic in that it only focuses on the use of negated assertions involving *not*, and does not take into account the variation in expressing negation. Further, it does not take into account the way in which negation functions when it is not used as an assertion, such as in negative imperatives. And finally, as in Tottie's (1991) approach, Leech similarly relies on the existence of expectations prior to the need to be

sufficiently informative as per the maxim of uninformativeness. In arguing that utterances containing negation are informative when the speaker 'wants to deny some proposition which has been put forward or entertained by someone in the context' (1983: 101), Leech also requires a stage at which a presupposition of an expectation is present.

A major problem with both Tottie's (1991) and Leech's (1983) accounts is based on the underlying premise of implicature based accounts of utterance meaning; at the core of this approach is the principle that the meaning generated by words is highly context dependent (Levinson 1983:116-118). So, whilst 'the news is on can' produce a meaning relating to the time of day (see above), it could also be an instruction to be quiet or a refusal to do something else depending on the circumstances in which it is uttered. Within an implicature based account of the expectations associated with negation then, negators should produce variability relative to context, but in fact they have a consistent relationship with expectations or beliefs regarding the opposite positive. Whilst there are linguistic expressions of negation that are indirect and can be recovered as expressions of negation via a conversational implicature route (see chapter 5 for implicit negation), the expectations associated with them are not dependent on highly specific context; the use of the particular linguistic forms that express negation will do so independently of context.

An implicature-based approach, then, is more applicable to the results or products of using negation than to explaining the expectations associated with it. It is concerned with how readers/hearers derive meaning from the constituent parts of an utterance, rather than how aspects of non-controversial, non-asserted elements are accreted to the common ground between speaker and hearer.

4.2.2 Conventional implicature

If the expectations associated with negation cannot be viewed as conversational implicature, can they be viewed as conventional implicatures (Grice 1957)? Conventional implicatures, like conversational implicatures are non-truth-conditional in that they do not affect the truth-conditional entailments of a sentence:

(4.5) Even Jack passed his exam

truth-conditionally entails

-Jack passed his exam

Here, the use of 'even' adds additional information to the common ground assumptions shared by speaker and hearer:

-other people passed the exam

-of all the people likely to pass, Jack was the least likely

Unlike conversational implicature, the meaning of *even* is *conventionally* associated with this linguistic expression (Karttunen and Peters 1978:13). Levinson (1983) defines conventional implicature as:

Conventional implicatures are non-truth-conditional inferences that are not derived from superordinate pragmatic principle like the maxims, but are simply attached by convention to particular lexical items or expressions.

Levinson 1983:127

Horn (1985) also notes that conventional implicatures are an 'unpredictable, arbitrary part of meaning, [and] must be learned ad hoc' (1985:129). On this view, then, we might consider negation a conventional implicature in that, as noted above, particular linguistic expressions (e.g. *not*, *no*, *never*, morphological negatives), independently of highly specific contexts,

produce implicatures that whatever is negated is expected by one or more discourse participants. In addition, these implicatures of expectation are distinct from the truth-conditional content of a sentence, for example:

(4.6) Jack did not pass his exam

In this example, the entailment is that *Jack did not pass his exam*, but there is a conventionalised understanding that Jack was expected or believed to have passed his exam, and this is distinct, and not recoverable from the entailment.

Karttunen and Peters' (1978) paper on conventional implicature challenged what had been long standing accounts of presupposition. They argued for the need to divide up the phenomena that had been classed as presupposition and posit several categories, i.e. generalized and particularized conversational implicatures (Grice 1975), preparatory conditions for speech acts (Searle 1969) and conventional implicature. They adopt conventional implicature as an account of some of the phenomena previously subsumed under presupposition. Although they do not address negation specifically, they do suggest that items such as *failed* (categorised by Givón 2001 as inherent negation, see chapter 5) can be viewed as conventional implicatures (1978:26).

(4.7) (a) Mary failed to arrive

(b) Mary didn't arrive

In this example, they suggest that (a) and (b) are equivalent in that if (a) is true, then (b) is also true, but asserting (a) or (b) "commits the speaker to something like (c)

(c) Mary was expected to arrive."

Karttunen and Peters 1978:26

Karttunen and Peters argue that (c) is conventionally implicated in the same way that *even* implicates, though they do note, “At present we have no answer to questions like ‘why is it there are conventional implicatures?’ (1978:26).

However, conventional implicature, as a distinct category of inferences is far from universally accepted. For example, Bach (1999) goes to great lengths to argue that conventional implicature is a ‘myth’. The distinction between what is said and what is implied lies at the heart of pragmatic endeavours, but Bach suggests that in the case of conventional implicatures, it has been ‘intuition’ that some expressions imply more than they say, but are connected to particular linguistic expressions, that has driven research in this area. He dismisses such a rigid distinction between what is said and what is implied, suggesting that alleged conventional implicatures constitute part of what is said, but do so on the basis of degrees of prominence; that is, whereas, in the following example, what is said relates to Jack passing his exam, what is also said, but of a lower level of prominence, is that Jack tried to pass his exam.

(4.8) Jack managed to pass his exam

Despite his vociferous rejection of conventional implicatures, however, Bach’s analysis demonstrates that there is still a distinction between the different levels of meaning and that some aspects of meaning are not a part of the overt assertion of a sentence, but part of the background assumptions that make up the whole of an utterance.

I would venture a further criticism of conventional implicature; there are sufficient similarities between conventional implicature and the sub-category of logical presupposition to call the distinctiveness of the former into question. Both conventional implicature and logical presupposition attempt to account for the way in which a range of words function, independently of context, to trigger the understanding that elements of an utterance are assumed rather than asserted (e.g. factive verbs, change of state verbs Jeffries 2010a: 94-98). For example,

(4.9) (a) It stopped snowing in the evening (change of state verb).

(b) John regrets writing to Mary (factive verb).

In (4.9) a, the change of state verb *stopped* is the asserted element of the utterance while the notion that it was snowing before is assumed. Similarly, with the factive verb *regret*, the focus is on John's attitude towards writing the letter while the fact that he wrote it is assumed. Karttunen and Peters (1978) list these same phenomena in the category of conventional implicatures, explicitly rejecting them as presuppositions (1978:13). The notion that implied meanings are conventionally attached to words will be challenged later in this chapter. I suggest that rather than conventionalised meanings being attached to words, they are in fact attached to conceptual practices.

4.2.3 Pragmatic presupposition

As noted above, conventional implicature is closely related to presupposition; they are both related to the non-controversial, assumed information that is presented as part of the common ground between speaker and hearer. They are both non-truth conditional elements of an utterance. No doubt, debate will continue on the exact nature of presupposition and where it overlaps (or replaces) other pragmatic models. However, the approach adopted here follows that of Simpson (1993). Simpson suggests that meaning can be considered multilayered (1993:124) constituting entailments and existential, logical and pragmatic presuppositions. In fact, although Simpson does not address the question of negation (other than as a test for presupposition), it does bear some resemblance to his consideration of pragmatic presupposition. Simpson examines the following example:

(4.10) Well, darling...the dog has...erm...stopped sleeping in its kennel

In his examination of the levels of meaning in this utterance, Simpson notes that the use of an endearment marker *darling*, “conventionally indicate[s] that some relationship of intimacy obtains between the speaker and hearer” (1993:127). This part of the meaning of the utterance is not part of its truth-conditions, but is still a part of the ‘general message’ that constitutes the communication event (1993:127). Simpson notes that this type of meaning is presupposed, but distinguishes it from logical and existential presuppositions as pragmatic presupposition:

These are the meanings that attach conventionally to particular items or constructions which derive from their normal contexts of use. Crucial to this definition is the fact that pragmatic presuppositions are mediated in utterances through the contexts of speech and writing; they are not derivable from the context-free semantic base of a sentence. Thus, pragmatic presuppositions reside in the shared conventions of language use, rather than in the more formal patterns of its logical structure.

Simpson 1993:127-8

On this view then, negation, like the use of an endearment, encodes pragmatic presuppositions regarding the relationship between the speaker and hearer; that is, the content of an utterance can encode more than information regarding the situation in focus, but also information regarding the participants in the communicative event. This is in line with Verhagen’s (2005) suggestion that negation is primarily concerned with the relationship between speaker and hearer (Chapter 3). Furthermore, Simpson’s characterisation of pragmatic presupposition as being dependent on ‘shared conventions of language use’ allows for a consideration of negation as part of language users’ shared understanding that a part of comprehending what is meant when negation is used is that, whatever is negated is expected.

Givón (2001) posits such a discursal pragmatic presuppositional account of negation, suggesting that it triggers presuppositions regarding the expectations of discourse participants based on contextual, co-textual and generic knowledge (see 4.5 for further discussion). He argues that:

a negative assertion is made on the tacit assumption that the hearer has either heard about, believes in, is likely to take for granted, or is at least familiar with the corresponding affirmative proposition.

Givón 2001:336

He notes that discursal pragmatic presupposition must be distinguished from other types of presupposition regarding the situation in focus:

It is clear that the notion of presupposition relevant to the discussion here is pragmatic rather than logical. Otherwise, one would be claiming that NEG-assertions assert the falsity of one proposition (NEG-P) while presupposing the truth of its logical opposite (P), a rank logical contradiction.

Givón 2001:371

For example, it is not possible to both assert that X is not Y and presuppose that X is Y. Rather, what is presupposed is that X was in some sense expected to be Y.

Presupposition here, then, is concerned not with the situation in focus, but with discourse participants' expectations about that situation. Although Givón hints at the speaker's/writer's role in the pragmatic presuppositions encoded by negation through the mention of 'tacit assumption', I would suggest that it is not enough to assert that negation functions as a presupposition trigger that whatever is negated is somehow expected. Further elaboration is needed. After all, the notion of expectation requires that someone does the expecting. The next section will discuss this in further detail, but here I will elaborate on what is presupposed when negation is used. Taking the utterance itself as the 'instructions' as to what is presupposed, or part of the taken for granted non-controversial common ground to an utterance, we can view negation as triggering two interrelated presuppositions:

(a)The hearer/reader expects whatever is negated to be the case.

(b)The speaker/writer believes that the hearer expects whatever is negated to be the case.

So, when a speaker produces a negated utterance, they do so on the basis that they believe or assume that the hearer expects whatever is negated to be the case. Bearing this in mind, and following Simpson's model of communication, we can suggest the following analysis of an utterance containing negation:

(4.11) Jack didn't pass his English language exam.

Entails -

Jack did not pass his English language exam.

Existentially presupposes-

Jack exists

Jack had an English language exam

Pragmatically presupposes-

The hearer expects that Jack passed his English language exam.

The speaker assumes that the hearer expects that Jack passed his English language exam.

4.2.4 Conceptual practice as a presupposition trigger

What has been taken for granted so far here is that presuppositions are conventionally triggered by particular linguistic expressions. That is, in the case of negation, the occurrence of a negator triggers a presuppositional effect. Levinson and Annamalai (1979) question this assumption. They note that the distinct theories put forward by Karttunen and Peters (1978)

on conventional implicatures and Gazdar (1979) on pragmatic presuppositions both rely on an underlying assumption that particular linguistic expressions produce presuppositions

in the same arbitrary way that lexical items are assigned core semantic interpretations. There is thus no deeper kind of explanation of why the verb **regret** presupposes the truth of its complement than the kind we would resort to if asked why **dog** refers to a certain kind of animal.

Levinson and Annamalai 1979:228

Levinson and Annamalai (1979) present two main arguments that presuppositions are not in fact conventional. Firstly, from observations of English presupposition triggers and their translations into Tamil, where the same presuppositions are triggered in the translation, they suggest that the presupposition cannot be linked to the particular linguistic form. Secondly, they argue that if presuppositions are linked to particular linguistic expressions, they should be detachable from an utterance. Therefore, for example, choosing an alternate to *regret* should produce an utterance without the presupposition. However, they found that such an exercise produces similar presuppositional effects:

(4.12) (a) John regrets hitting Mary >> John hit Mary

(b) John is sad that he hit Mary

(c) John repents his hitting Mary

(d) John is sorry that he hit Mary

(e) John feels remorse about his hitting Mary

Levinson and Annamalai (1979:229)

In the above, examples (b) to (e) all exhibit the same presuppositional effect as (a), suggesting that presuppositions are, in fact, non-detachable from an utterance. This non-detachable quality of presuppositions, Levinson (1983:223) suggests, results in a significant similarity between presupposition and implicature. However, what it also suggests is that, as Levinson and Annamalai (1979) also note, presuppositions are linked to the concepts in an utterance. On

this view, if we accept that negation is a conceptual practice, the linguistic realisation of an absence, as noted previously, then we can view the presuppositions associated with it as linked to the concept, but realised by a variety of surface forms.

4.2.5 Negation, presupposition and ambiguity

Significant attention has been paid in linguistics to the relationship between negation and presupposition, but largely in the area of negation as a test for whether presuppositions are preserved or cancelled under negation. This section briefly addresses how this debate fits into the understanding of negation and presupposition as used in this thesis. Much attention has been paid to the potential ambiguity of negation with regard to presuppositions within its scope; that is negation can operate internally or externally on an utterance, either preserving or cancelling the associated presuppositions. To take again Russell's famous (or infamous) example;

(4.13) The king of France is not bald

Significant debate has arisen over the potential ambiguity of the negation used here (e.g. Semantic ambiguity – Burton-Roberts 1989, pragmatic ambiguity - Horn 1985, 1989). The ambiguity resides in whether or not the existential presupposition regarding the existence of the king of France is preserved or cancelled and can be seen in the difference between;

(4.14) (a)External - The king of France is not bald. - There is no such entity as the king of France for whom the assertion of baldness can be made.

(b)Internal - The king of France is not bald. - There is an entity who is the king of France and he has hair.

Either reading is possible, giving rise to the potential ambiguity of negation. However, as Simpson (1993) notes, significant, but unnecessary, effort has been expended on such invented examples:

The inordinate amount of attention which has been devoted to problematic sentences like (The present king of France is bald) has, in my opinion, been more of a hindrance than a help in the development of a comprehensive theory of meaning. For one thing, it shows how many linguists and philosophers can become enmeshed in debates over highly contrived sentences which are unlikely ever to be uttered in any actual context of use. Not only does this have little to say about real speakers involved in real-time interactions, but it takes no account of the many other ways by which meaning may be communicated. Moreover, there is no recognition of the role of the reader/listener in the communicative process and of the complex inferencing work they often undertake in the development of meaning.

Simpson 1993:124

Although Simpson's criticisms are well founded, Horn (1985) expands the question of the kind of ambiguity noted above to instances of real communication, for example:

(4.15) Around here, we don't LIKE coffee, we LOVE it.

Horn 1985: 239 (emphasis in original)

Here, the negation operation is external and defeats a scalar implicature triggered by *LIKE*; that is the upper boundedness of the scalar implicature (Horn 1985, Israel 1998) is denied in favour of a point higher on the scale (rather than lower on the scale) of *love* and *hate*.

Horn (1985, 1989) suggests that such uses of negation should be viewed as metalinguistic negation and allow for the denial of an utterance on any grounds, for example, lexical choice, pronunciation, and implicature. However, two issues regarding this type of ambiguity are relevant in the context of this thesis. Firstly, typically, such ambiguities only become apparent where there is a correcting clause that causes a reinterpretation of the initial negation (Horn 1989, Carston 1998); that is, the external negation reading of (4.16) is only evident with a following correcting clause 'there is no king of France'. Consider the following:

(4.16) Speaker A: The king of France is not bald.

*Speaker B: Oh, I thought there was one.

Without the correcting clause, speaker B's response is difficult to comprehend. As Gazdar (cited in Levinson 1983) notes, by default, presuppositions will be preserved unless they are blocked by further contextual or co-textual features. Secondly, and more significant to the discussion of pragmatic presupposition presented here with regard to negation, even where there is a potential for ambiguity, the negating of a proposition, whether that be on the basis of lexical choice, pronunciation or implicature, still presupposes that the proposition was entertained by one or more discourse participants. So, in the case of 'we don't like coffee, we love it' there is an underlying pragmatic presupposition that the hearer expects that the speaker only *likes* coffee rather than having any other feeling toward it. This expectation is defeated through the negation, but whereas conventional interpretations of scalar implicatures would indicate a reading of less than *like*, here, with the addition of a correcting clause, the writer specifies another point on the scale higher than *like*, that is *love*. Effectively, the correcting clause blocks the reader's conventional interpretation of negation as indicating a reading of *less than*. We can, then, consider the potential ambiguity of internal and external negation as a matter of the interpretation of an utterance, rather than the pragmatic presuppositions regarding the expectations of speakers and hearers in relation to negation.

To summarise, then, negation can be viewed as a discursal pragmatic presupposition trigger regarding the speaker/writer's and hearer/reader's expectations about a situation in focus rather than about the situation itself. The presuppositions triggered are that the hearer is treated as though they expect whatever is negated to be the case, and the speaker constructs an utterance on that basis. There is, however, a sense in which the researchers discussed above treat the expectations associated with negation as a conventionalised relationship. However, I would contend that the basis for this conventionality is based in the cognitive processes that constitute the conceptual practice, as discussed in Chapter 3.

As noted above, where there is an expectation, there must be someone to do the expecting and something that is expected. The next section will explore this in more detail.

4.3 What is presupposed and by whom?

If we accept, as argued for above, that negation is presuppositional, then we must next consider the nature of that presupposition; what is it that is being presupposed? This section explores the distinction between expectation and possibility and also puts forward the argument presented by Pagano (1994) that negation depends on an 'ideal' reader, distinct from the actual reader, who holds the expectations, points of view and so on, projected by a text. However, it will also expand on the possibilities of who is doing the expecting to include the speaker/writer. It will also explore the range of expectations that are presupposed, from those explicit in the text to those that are projected by the negation itself.

4.3.1 Who expects

In the general picture of negation presented so far, the possibility of presence is simply associated with the textual occurrence of negation and is amorphous and not clearly defined. This section of the chapter will put forward the notion that this possibility of presence can be refined into a set of variable expectations based on the roles of discourse participants and the existing or shared knowledge in the common ground between them. However, before we can consider these variables, it is necessary to first consider the angle of view of the analyst in this approach, whether it is with the speaker or the hearer. Viewed from the perspective of the

speaker, we can discuss utterances as something that arise as a result of the speaker's frame of mind prior to the utterance taking place. However, from the hearer's perspective, any inferences regarding the speaker's state of mind or the context of the utterance only arise as a result of the utterance itself. As this thesis is primarily concerned with what meanings arise as a result of using negation, it takes the latter approach, unless specifically noted otherwise.

As discussed, expectation is a generally accepted feature of negation; that is, where negation occurs, it is prototypically in the context of an expectation that what is negated is somehow expected. Little attention has been focussed on which discourse participants specifically hold the expectations which the speaker treats as part of the common ground between speaker and hearer.

4.3.1.1 Readers/hearers, ideal readers/hearers and expectations

One of the initial problems that occur in determining who holds the expectations associated with negation is the pre-existing idea that readers/hearers are the ones who expect. Givón (2001), as noted, argues that negation occurs in the context of the hearer's belief in or expectation of the negated positive. Indeed, he suggests that the background assumptions to a negated utterance involve the notions that 'the hearer knows wrong. The speaker knows better' (2001: 372). However, as with all theories concerned with the pragmatics of language comprehension, we can't *know* what hearers believe or expect, we can only draw plausible conclusions based on context and co-text. For example:

(4.17) Speaker A: John married Veronica

Speaker B: John didn't marry Veronica.

Here, speaker B's use of negation is in the context of speaker A's explicit expectation concerning the information within the scope of the negator. I will return to the notion of explicit and implicit in relation to negation later in this section. However, where negation does not occur in this explicit context of expectation, we cannot be sure what the hearer actually expects. We can, however, plausibly infer what an 'ideal' reader expects given the presupposition triggers contained in a negated utterance. For example, to return to the Ken Livingstone example posed in chapter 1,

(4.18) This election is not a joke.

There are a series of presuppositions triggered regarding the existence of an election and that it has been characterised as a 'joke' that form part of the non-controversial elements of the utterance. Although we do not know what actual hearers/reader know or believe, we do know that the speaker treats this information as if it is known (as per Lewis' Rule of Accommodation 1979:340 cited in Horn 1997:7 see 2.5.2.3 below). We can suggest then, that an utterance projects an 'ideal' reader/hearer that may, or may not, correlate with the actual flesh and blood reader/hearer. Pagano (1994) proposes this as a solution to the problem of accounting for the difference between what an utterance appears to present as presupposed and what actual readers share. In relation to written texts, she suggests:

The writer creates a picture of the reader, who thus becomes an "ideal reader", and attributes to this reader certain experience, knowledge, opinions and beliefs on the basis of which a writer builds his/her message... As the writer somehow assumes what the reader's questions and expectations are, s/he tries to provide information about these.

Pagano 1994:253

Similarly, Simpson (1983) suggests, in relation to consumers of media texts that 'messages are projected by producers toward some invisible, ideal consumer who represents the many real consumers who process the text' (1983:120). An ideal reader, then, is one that the text projects as expecting that which is being negated and stands proxy for the actual reader, and as

Fairclough notes, 'actual viewers or listeners or readers have to negotiate a relationship with the ideal subject'(1989:49).

4.3.1.2 Speakers/writers and expectations

However, the relationship of negation to expectation is not as simple as arguing that negation triggers the presupposition that the speaker assumes the hearer to expect something. This would result in the notion that only the hearer does the expecting, but it is not difficult to imagine a situation in which the speaker also expects. Imagine a scenario in which a diner in a restaurant calls the waiter over and says,

(4.19) There's no salt in my soup.

It is likely in such a context that the speaker is intending to complain about the lack of salt in her soup. If we take a limited scope to who expects, then we would have to say that in this situation the speaker is drawing on generic knowledge that soup has salt, or projecting it as an expectation of salt in soup on the part of the hearer. But surely, in this situation, it is not only the ideal hearer who expects salt, but also the speaker, why else would they draw attention to something in this context? The speech act of complaining then, provides a clear example a situation where it is the speaker who expects. If we take the same kind of context, only this time the waiter approaches the diner and says;

(4.20) There's no soup on the menu.

Here, we might argue, the waiter would be responding to some existing expectation held by the diner that menus (at least in this restaurant) usually offer soup.

We can see this same effect in an extract from Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird*.

(4.21) He was much older than the parents of our school companions, and there was nothing Jem or I could say about him when our classmates said ‘My father –’...*Our father didn’t do anything. He worked in an office, not in a drugstore. Atticus did not drive a dump-truck for the county, he was not the sheriff, he did not farm, work in a garage, or do anything that could possibly arouse the admiration of anyone.*

Lee 2006/1962:99

This will be analysed in the context of its stylistic effect in Chapter 8, but for the moment I want to consider how it is that this extract seems to reflect Scout’s expectations of, if not her father Atticus, then fathers in general. Here, the first person narrator, Scout is comparing Atticus, to the fathers of her school companions. The elements in focus (italicised) are an elaboration of the initial negated construct ‘there was nothing Jem or I could say about him’, and is in comparison to the implied elliptical material following ‘My father –’. So, Scout’s specification of what her father does not do is in comparison to what her classmates’ fathers do, and constitutes Scout’s experience and consequently, expectations of what fathers do. We can see then that the text projects the understanding that the ideal reader expects fathers to drive dump-trucks, work in a drugstore and so on, but also, Scout, based on her experience, expects these same things, from which her father deviates.

In the literature, the expectations associated with negation are largely viewed as either concerning the hearer (Givón 2001) or are apparent in the context (e.g. Horn 1989, Werth 1999, and Sweetser 2006). Leech (1981) however, though it is not explicitly a part of his discussion, includes the notion that it may be the speaker or the hearer that ‘has the disposition to believe’ the negated positive to be the case (1981:165). Tottie (1991), at least in the case of ‘implicit denials’ (expectations drawn from context rather than co-text), suggests that it is the speaker who initially expects. Tottie (1991) cites research by Osgood (1971) in which an experimental approach was taken to exploring what kind of physical situations prompted speakers to

produce particular sentences. A range of objects were placed on a table in front of participants and they were asked to provide a description. When all objects were removed from the table, the participants were observed to produce sentences of the kind 'There is nothing on the table'. Osgood concluded that negation occurs in the context of unfulfilled expectations: 'The general condition for use of some form of Neg in describing things appears to be...[a] contrast between what was expected or predicted by the speaker and what he actually observed' (Osgood 1971:514 cited in Tottie 1991:25). This kind of approach of course, has limitations, as Tottie points out (see also chapter 2); the experimental context means that the sentences were produced in isolation and not as a part of communication, and that sentences were only produced in relation to physical events. It is difficult to extrapolate these findings to instances of language in use. However, it does suggest that, cognitively, negation occurs in the context of expectation and that speakers as well as (ideal) hearers hold expectations.

The difficulty in attaching the presupposition to the speaker/writer arises as a result of the apparent contradiction between evidently knowing that something is not the case (as attested to by the proposition itself) whilst simultaneously expecting the opposite. Work by Nolke (2006) may provide some insights into how this can occur. As noted above, there is a distinction between the actual reader/hearer, the person who picks up a text or hears the words, and an ideal reader projected by the text. Nolke (2006), in his discussion of the dialogic nature of language, posits that there is equally a distinction between the speaker/writer who produces the words, and the speaker/writer projected by the text (2006). Nolke argues for a polyphonic reading of utterances, that is, that several voices or viewpoints are encoded, not only in parole, but also in langue. The language system, he argues contains instructions that utterances should be understood as containing multiple viewpoints, and this is particularly evident in negation. In this model, Nolke (2006) distinguishes between the speaker and the 'locutor', where the locutor is a product, on the one hand, of the sentence and on the other, the utterance. So, the occurrence of a negator (Nolke focuses on verb phrase negation) encodes two viewpoints (P.O.V.). Nolke uses the following example to illustrate:

(4.22) This wall is not white.

Such an utterance encodes two viewpoints:

- P.O.V. 1 - This wall is white

- P.O.V. 2 - P.O.V.1 is wrong

It is the locutor who holds P.O.V. 2, whilst, Nolke argues, the reader will attempt to work out who holds P.O.V. 1. Although Nolke specifically discusses the expectation of the positive in terms of the hearer's attempts to assign those expectations to a significant discourse participant, the distinction for a separation between the locutor and the speaker allows for the possibility that whereas the locutor is presenting one position, the actual speaker, may have expectations regarding another. For example, we can provide an imaginary context to Nolke's imaginary utterance, where the speaker addresses the painter of the wall who has been asked to paint it white but has, in fact, painted it pale green. Here, it is consistent with the context that whilst the speaker expects what is encoded in point of view 1, the knowledge that this is not the case is consistent with point of view 2 (the locutor's point of view).

There are however, problems with this approach; firstly, Nolke's model is only explored in terms of verb phrase negation in declaratives and does not consider the variety of forms that equally express negation (see chapter 5 for a typology of negation). Similarly, he does not consider how this would be applied in the case of imperatives or interrogatives. Finally, the model that Nolke presents, which includes several levels of viewpoints beyond P.O.V.1 and P.O.V.2 and several levels of locutors, appears to exceed in complexity the phenomenon it hopes to capture.

4.3.1.3 Expectations or possibilities?

In calculating the nature of the presupposed expectation, then, we must take into account the flexibility of negation; whereas a text projects the position that the ideal reader expects what is negated, it need not always be the case that it is only the ideal reader that expects, but also the actual reader/hearer, or speaker/writer, or all three. This raises the issue, then, that perhaps it is more useful to view what is presupposed as a possibility rather than an expectation. That is, when something is negated, it is entertained as possible by speaker and hearer rather than expected by speaker or hearer or both. However, this seems inadequate to deal with those situations where it is clear that either reader or writer appear to expect. The difficulty remains of how we might account for situations in which negation is used in the context of expectation rather than simply of possibility.

At this point we can consider the role of negation in the interpersonal function of language. That is, we can consider how an utterance containing negation is functioning in the context of communication, be that to complain (as above), to deny, to prohibit and so on. Who it is that expects in context, is, at least partially, determined by the function of the utterance in communication. Horn (1989), whilst recognising that not all negation is a speaker's denial, suggests that 'the prototypic use of negation is indeed as denial of a proposition previously asserted, or subscribed to or held plausible by, or at least mentioned by, someone relevant in the discourse context' (1989:203). So, in the case of denial, assigning the role of who expects is relatively simple, and corresponds to Givón's (2001) notion that in negation the hearer knows wrong, the speaker knows better. Or at least the ideal reader who stands proxy for the relevant 'someone'. However, as not all negation functions as denial, it is not always straightforwardly only the ideal reader who expects. For example, in making a complaint, a speaker may be noting the absence of some expected element, therefore, the expectation is more clearly with them rather than the hearer. In the case of prohibitions, warnings and advice, for example:

(4.23) Do not exceed the stated dose (on a packet of paracetamol).

the situation becomes more complex still; here it appears that the writer assumes that the reader expects that exceeding the dose is a viable course of action whilst they do not. But this is a future contingency, the aim being to prevent a future possibility coming to fruition .

However, although such an approach to interpersonal and discourse functions may lead to some future insights into the flexibility of who expects the negated positive, for the moment it has a significant flaw in that it can be viewed as a circular argument; to suggest that a hearer understands that it is the speaker who expects when the interpersonal function is to make a complaint is problematic in that, in order to understand the speaker's utterance as a complaint, the hearer must first assume that the speaker expects the thing they are complaining is not present. However, we can say that it is the context of communication, rather than the form the negation takes, that allows discourse participants to understand who it is that expects.

I would suggest then that although negation as a presupposition trigger, combined with the notion of an ideal reader/hearer, puts that ideal reader/hearer in the role of the discourse participant who expects what is negated to be the case, it is not always the case that they are the only one who expects. This section, in discussing who holds expectations, has considered largely decontextualized examples. However, this nuanced approach is significant to the analysis of negation in discourse; as noted by Pagano (1994) (quoted above), writers (and speakers for that matter) construct an image of the reader, as one who conforms to the expectations projected by the text, and since, as Jeffries argues, actual readers adopt the role of ideal reader, at least for the duration of reading, negation has the potential to influence actual readers. The significance of this to the analysis of how ideologies are recreated and created in texts will be discussed in Chapter 9, and its contribution to the construction of fictional worlds will be discussed in Chapter 8.

4.3.2 What is expected?

As can be seen from the discussion above, there is significant complexity in the notion that expectation is a part of understanding the significance of negation. Similarly, there is complexity around just what it is that is expected. This will be addressed in relation to which elements of an utterance fall within the scope of a negator in Chapter 6. Here I briefly consider how discourse function influences types of expectation. In a straightforward case of denial (23), it seems clear that what falls within the scope of the negator was expected to be the case by the ideal hearer, take, for example the following hypothetical conversation:

(4.24) Speaker A: John ate all the buns.

Speaker B: John didn't eat all the buns.

However, negation frequently does not conflate with denial (though many scholars frequently use 'negation' and 'denial' interchangeably, e.g. Tottie 1991 and Guerts 199), and negation is not so clear cut. For example, the following is an extract from an e-mail to a student:

(4.25) You will be able to collect any work you haven't picked up yet on results day.

Here negation is embedded in a post-modifying relative clause to a noun, 'work' and appears to have a descriptive function, to distinguish one kind of work, 'not yet picked up', from another kind of work, 'picked up'. We can argue that the negation functions as a pragmatic presupposition trigger in a descriptive capacity that work exists in one form or another rather than functioning as denial.

Similar complexity can be observed in the case of negative imperatives, as noted above. Where a negative imperative is used, such as 'do not do X', it is not simply that 'X' was, is or will be expected to be the case, but that the 'ideal' hearer expects 'X' to be a viable or appropriate

course of action. Thus, there are distinct types of expectations associated with denial, description and prohibition.

4.3.3 Sources of expectation

In the previous sections I discussed the question of what is expected and who expects and noted the relationship between this and the variety of functions that negation serves in discourse. Similarly, the types of expectations triggered by presupposition in texts are related to the discourse functions of negation. If, as argued, negation triggers presuppositions regarding what the speakers and hearers expect, then it is important to understand what part of the background shared knowledge is being evoked by the speaker/writer in triggering expectations; that is, is it a pre-existing expectation evident in the co-text, shared cultural or specific context or projected by the negation itself (negative accommodation, Werth 1999)? The following sections outline the type of expectations that negation pragmatically presupposes.

4.3.3.1 Explicit expectations

Negation can be used in the context of an explicit expectation, that is, one that is apparent in the co-text, either by another speaker (4.26)(b) or a prior assertion by the same speaker (4.26)(a). Givón (2001) notes that 'the corresponding affirmative that is pragmatically presupposed in the use of Neg-assertions may be established in the preceding discourse' (2001:371). For example:

(4.26) (a) It (a prejudice) is that he (Boris Johnson) is a buffoon (background). He
isn't (Neg-assertion).

(b) Speaker A: I understand you're leaving tomorrow (background).

Speaker B: No, I'm not. Who told you that? (Neg-assertion)

This kind of pragmatic presupposition drawn on co-text corresponds to Tottie's notion of 'Explicit denial' (1991). Tottie's terminology has, however, been criticised (e.g. Jordan 1998 and Pagano 1994); the term 'Explicit' in Tottie's approach, refers to the appearance of the expectation being drawn upon, that is, it is explicit in the co-text. Jordan (1998) and Pagano (1994) note that this term can be confusing as its use, with the term 'denial' is suggestive of an explicit form of denial, rather than access to explicit information in the co-text. This is equally the case with Tottie's use of 'Implicit denial'. I would further suggest that the use of 'denial' itself is problematic; Tottie, amongst others, including Pagano (1994) and Jordan (1998) use *denial* as an overarching term to describe the action of negation. In this approach, denial occurs both in the context of a denial of a prior utterance, but also where negation occurs in the context of description. In the context of the understanding that negation relies on an expectation of the opposite, it is possible to understand why 'denial' might be used like this. However, since it refers to a specific action in speech, it would be useful to keep separate the function which negation can serve, and that function itself. Further, although negation can be used to carry out the function of denying, it is by no means the only way denial is realised. Given appropriate context, affirmation can equally perform the function of denial;

(4.27) Speaker A: John Married Veronica.

Speaker B: I think you'll find that Mark married Veronica.

In (4.27), Speaker B's positive utterance functions to deny Speaker A's assertion by putting forward an alternative scenario.

Whilst negation is prototypically used to carry out the denial function, it is more useful to view negation at its basic level as the ‘defeat’ of the presupposed expectation rather than as the performance of the speech act of ‘denial.

4.3.3.2 Implicit expectations

Implicit expectations are more complex than their explicit counterparts. They can be derived from what Givón (2001) refers to as ‘generic shared information’ and ‘specific knowledge about the hearer’s state of mind’ (2001:371). Generic shared information would be concerned with shared knowledge regarding our understanding about how the world works. For example:

(4.28) There was once a man who didn’t have a head.

Example from Givón 2001:371

Here, the background expectation is based on the notion that it is the norm for men to have heads.

(4.29) There was once a man who didn’t look like a frog.

Givón argues that (4.28) is pragmatically felicitous as it indicates a break from the norm, while (4.29) is pragmatically infelicitous because the assertion simply reiterates the norm rather than showing a deviation from it (2001:371).

Expectations based on knowledge about the hearer’s state of mind are concerned with information that is potentially shared by specific discourse participants. For example, in a household where bread is routinely kept in the freezer, an utterance such as:

(4.30) There’s no bread in the freezer.

would rely on a shared background understanding that bread is normally kept in the freezer.

Background expectations may also be based on culturally specific shared knowledge; Jordan (1998), in arguing that a pragmatic understanding of negation must not rely on the notion that expectations are only generated by co-text, suggests that cultural knowledge informs the background to a presupposition. He discusses the following example:

(4.31) For the past two years, Wilfred (Wilf) Peltier, an Odawa Indian, has been a 'resident elder' at Ottawa's Carleton University, providing spiritual guidance to hundreds of students. *No* appointment is necessary to see Peltier...

Jordan 1998:711 (emphasis in original)

The negation here, Jordan suggests, is used because there is a cultural expectation that giving advice to hundreds of students would require an appointment system. Pagano (1994) makes the same point when she notes that an utterance such as 'The bride didn't turn over all the cash gifts to her parents' may well sound strange in Europe, but not so strange in Korea where there is a cultural expectation that the bride should hand over the cash gifts to her parents. These culturally specific background expectations can be particularly significant in discourse as markers that establish the cultural background projected by a text, for example;

(4.32) First Purchase was unceiled and unpainted within.

In this example from *To Kill a Mockingbird* (Lee 2006/1960:132), the narrator, Scout, is describing First Purchase, the church that serves the black community in Maycomb. Here, noting the lack of paint and ceiling creates the expectation of a particular type of church, one that may be at odds with British readers but perhaps not with American ones. As British churches frequently do not have ceilings and are not painted, presupposing the expectation of their presence reflects the writer's cultural background as well as projecting the expectation.

In her assessment of the motivations for the use of negation, Pagano (1994) also includes the notion that negation occurs in the context of a speaker's assumption that a reader

may have or be about to recover an incorrect inference from the text. The following example is taken from the film *Die Hard* (Dir. McTiernan: 1998): The scene in question sees two FBI agents (one black and one white) arrive at the scene of a hostage event and introduce themselves to the local police officers in charge of the investigation.

(4.33) FBI Agent Johnson: I'm Agent Johnson, this is Special Agent Johnson.

Dwayne T. Robinson: Oh, how you doin'?

FBI Agent Johnson: No relation

We can extrapolate 'no relation' as implying that there is no familial relationship between Agent Johnson and Special Agent Johnson. But the question is why does Agent Johnson point out that no familial relationship exists? In order for this to be meaningful, we have to assume that Agent Johnson believes Robinson has concluded, based on the same surname, that the two men are related. However, given that one Johnson is black and the other white, the chance of Robinson having reached this incorrect assumption, based on their names, is unlikely; whilst such a relationship is no doubt plausible (e.g. step brothers), it is not typical. This can be summarised as:

(a) Johnson believes Robinson has recovered an incorrect implicature.

(b) Robinson is unlikely to have recovered this implicature as it is blocked by contextual information (different ethnic origins of the two Johnsons).

(c) Johnson's assertion that no familial relation exists, proceeds on the basis of Robinson's supposed inference.

What we can see from this example is that speakers, when producing utterances containing negation proceed on the assumption that the hearer has accepted the possibility of some piece of information about a particular situation, be that asserted or implied. In this example, we can argue that humour is, in part, potentially brought about through the inappropriate use of negation where no presupposition is likely to exist; in using negation, the presupposition of a

relationship is brought into being (see below for further discussion) presenting the ideal hearer as believing a relationship is possible, even though the actual hearer is unlikely to believe this.

Pagano (1994) goes on to consider the contexts that 'licence' negation and the consequent expectations, suggesting that where something is denied of a situation, the positive counterpart should at least be plausible:

Thus, the set of propositions that could be denied in a given context is limited by the propositions which are experientially possible in that context...We could then define *existential paradigm* as a set of assumptions which are experientially linked in a certain context.

Pagano 1994:255

Although Pagano refers to the possible propositions which can be denied, it is not difficult to extend this notion to constructions other than straightforward denials. Indeed Aristotle pointed out that we do not refer to something that does not normally have teeth as *toothless* (Horn 1989). Such a notion that what is appropriate to be negated is constrained by the set of experientially linked assumptions is, however, problematic; although this is likely to be the case for a great many uses of negation, negation also occurs outside the range of normally associated possibilities, as Pagano (1994) herself concedes. She hints at the possibility of speakers using negation when they want to not only defeat expectations, but also introduce them.

4.3.3.3 Projected expectations

Projected expectations, or the introduction of an expectation as it is being defeated, is potentially the most interesting category of background expectations. It has been a long standing issue in research on presupposition in general that there is often a gap between what is actually a part of the common ground between speaker and hearer and what is treated as though it is part of the common ground. What is assumed to occur is that hearers/readers adjust their understanding of the common ground to accommodate the speaker's/writer's

treatment of information as if it were already understood. This was captured by Lewis (1979) in his 'Rule of Accommodation'

If at time t something is said that requires presupposition P to be acceptable and if P is not presupposed just before t , then – *ceteris paribus* and within certain limits – presupposition P comes into existence at t .

Lewis 1979:340 cited in Horn 1997 :7

When this occurs with negation, Werth (1999) refers to it as 'negative accommodation'. In negative accommodation, there need be no explicit mention of the positive, nor need the positive be contextually available from specific, generic or cultural knowledge, but be created in the act of negating. For example, if we take the example noted above;

(4.34) There's no bread in the freezer.

Even where there is no specific knowledge shared by the speaker and hearer regarding where bread is kept, the utterance would still trigger the presupposition that the background expectation is that the (ideal) hearer understands that bread is kept in the freezer. Werth (1995/2008) illustrates this point with the following example from E.M Forster's *A Passage to India*:

(4.35) There are no bathing steps on the river front, as the Ganges happens not to be holy there; indeed, there is no river front, and bazaars shut out the wide and shifting panorama of the stream.

Forster 1924/1984:1-3 cited in Werth 1995/2008:156

Although this extract triggers cultural knowledge about India and the Ganges, Werth argues that it is not necessary for the reader to have any expectations or knowledge about the presence of bathing steps or the Ganges being a holy river. He suggests that these expectations of the background norm for the Ganges as holy, which this part of the river departs from, is realised by the negation of it.

Similarly, returning again to the example posed in the introductory chapter and above,

(4.18) This election is not a joke.

There does not need to be a prior expectation based on context or co-text in order for the presupposition to be triggered by the use of negation. Livingstone, in denying that the election is a joke in fact introduces the presupposition that the ideal hearer and other discourse participants, namely his primary opponent in the election, do think that it is a joke. Pagano (1994) posits that such uses of negation are used when a 'writer wants to express an unfulfilled expectation of which s/he makes the reader a co-participant' (1994:258), and further, she suggests:

This has significant implications which are generally exploited in certain mass media. For example, if a bottle of juice is advertised as having *no sugar*, it is because producers assume people believe juices typically contain added sugar. If the label on the bottle reads *no fish-bone*, people's first reaction would be one of surprise, because in our society nobody expects a juice to contain fish-bone. But then the very denial would project a world in which at least some other juices contain fish-bone. This can actually create an expectation in the consumer's mind.

Pagano 1994:256

I do not believe such uses and effects of negation are reserved for the mass media and advertising, but occur across communication situations. It is in this aspect of negation, and its potential to instantiate the very expectations it defeats that it is potentially, in discourse analysis terms, highly significant.

The types of background knowledge evoked or projected by negation can be summarised as follows:

- i. Explicit expectations: expectations that are explicit in the co-text
- ii. Implicit expectations:
 - a. based on knowledge about how the world works

- b. based on specific knowledge shared by discourse participants
 - c. based on incorrect inferences from the text
 - d. based on cultural shared knowledge
- iii. Projected Expectation: expectations simultaneously instantiated and defeated through the use of negation.

The reliance of negation on existing or projected expectations lends itself to a schema theoretic approach. Pagano's (1994) notion of an existential paradigm suggests that a framework of knowledge, existing prior to reading, or created through reading, determines or constrains what is appropriate to negate. Hidalgo-Downing (2000) extends this notion and suggests that 'schema theoretic models can contribute greatly to the understanding of negation in discourse' and further that 'if negation is understood as the defeat of an expectation, we can understand the relation between a negative and a positive term in terms of the relation between the schemata or frames evoked by each term' (2000:116). Negation then, can be understood as more than the relationship of a positive to a negative, but within the wider context of evoked schemata that provide a contextual framework for the absence of some expected positive. Whilst this type of approach is particularly applicable in the analysis of discourse and will be considered further in chapter 8, there are problems with schema theory that will also be addressed.

4.4 Conclusions

In conclusion, negation can be viewed as a trigger for pragmatic presupposition. However, unlike existential and logical presuppositions, it relates, not to the background relating to the situation being evoked in an utterance, but to an implied hearer's expectations

about that situation. Further, the presuppositional effect is not attached to specific linguistic forms but to the conceptual practice of negating.

As noted, Karttunen and Peters (1979) argue that presuppositions are propositions required for communication to go smoothly. We can see negation then as a trigger for a presupposition regarding the frame of mind of an implied reader (and other discourse participants). That is, in order for an actual reader to engage with the meaning of an utterance, they temporarily adopt the notion, as part of the background assumptions about the context of the utterance, that the positive situation constitutes what they expected. Further, the presupposed expectations can relate to information that is explicit in the co-text, implied by the context or generic background knowledge, or projected by the negation itself through the process of negative accommodation. Of course, the choice of whether to permanently or temporarily adopt the presupposed expectation is dependent on other contextual factors regarding whether the positive situation is already part of the cultural or specific knowledge base, whether it is part of fiction or supposed fact, or whether there is existing knowledge that overrides it (Short 1996).

Variability in the linguistic form of textual vehicles of negation

5.1 Introduction

In chapter 4 I argued that negation as a presupposition trigger is not connected to specific lexical items, but to the conceptual practice of negating. Negating, therefore, can be viewed as a conceptual practice realised through variable linguistic expression. The aim of this chapter is to present a typology of the range of expressions that can function as negators or ‘textual vehicles’ for negation (Jeffries 2010a: 108). For example;

- (5.1)
- (a) Mary was **not** happy
 - (b) Mary was **never** happy
 - (c) Mary was **un**happy
 - (d) Mary **lacked** happiness
 - (e) Mary **failed** to be happy
 - (f) Happiness was **absent** from Mary’s life
 - (g) There was **no** happiness in Mary’s life
 - (h) The **un**happy woman was Mary.
 - (i) Mary **could have been** happy.
 - (j) Mary **should have been** happy.
 - (k) Mary **ought to have been** happy
 - (l) I **wish** Mary had been happy.
 - (m) **If** Mary **had** been happy, **then** she would have **had** friends.
 - (n) Happiness was **beyond** Mary’s capability
 - (o) Mary was **out of** happiness.

Each of the above expresses the same basic propositional content regarding the fact that 'Mary is not happy'. Some may be viewed as more regular or common constructions than others, but nonetheless, they all realize the same absence. In outlining the most common or explicit forms of negation, Jeffries (2010a) argues that negation has a core syntactic realization, but can be expressed in a range of ways:

Thus, we are left with the meaning of this textual function as the more stable aspect of the form-function dyad, with the potential linguistic or paralinguistic realization of the core meaning occurring in a range from the most typical to the more peripheral.

Jeffries 2010a:108

The question of what motivates such a variation in the ability to express absence is considered in the next chapter. The following sections lay out a definition of negation as it is used in this thesis and a typology of the linguistic forms that can be considered textual vehicles for the conceptual practice of negating.

5. 2 Issues around constructing a typology -describing and defining negation

The nature of a typology is dependent on the perspective of the analyst and the definition of the phenomenon being classified. The following sections (5.2) will briefly consider how negation has been described in the existing literature before considering how the definition of negation adopted here is relevant, with the aim of providing a viable framework. The following consideration of this literature focuses only on those studies that are directly relevant to providing a framework for the typology that follows.

5.2.1 Approaches to describing negation

Research in the area of negation has variously focused on the logical (e.g. Aristotle, Wansing 1999, Sylvan 1999), language philosophy (e.g. Saury 2009, Russell, Strawson), cross-linguistic (e.g. Miestamo 2005, Dahl 1970, De Swart 2010, , Schwenter 2006), diachronic (e.g. Mazzon 2004), grammatical (e.g. Lyons 1977, Givón 2001, Huddleston and Pullum 2002, Quirk et al) and pragmatic (Givón 2001, Tottie 1991, Hidalgo Downing 2000, Giora 2006, Kaup et al 2007, Horn 1989) aspects of the phenomenon. Comparing across these studies is complicated by the variety in approaches and the variation in terminology used to describe negation. The following review, therefore, will briefly outline only the major areas pertinent to this study, and focus on the work of Givón (2001) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002) in particular, whose approaches provide the foundation for the framework that is adopted in the typology that follows.

Whilst approaches to negation display a range of foci, many typologies tend to explore variations across languages rather than variations in a single language (e.g. Miestamo, Dahl, Payne, De Swart 2010). However, this thesis is concerned with variation in English and what this variation contributes to meaning. That is not to say that variation within alternate languages is not significant, indeed, similar meaningful variations in expression are likely to occur in all languages. This however, is the work of another research project. The focus here is the grammars and typologies of negation in English.

Where negation in English is the focus, there are still problems with existing studies. Typologies tend to focus on explicit forms of negation derived from the members of the grammatical category of negators, **not** and **no**. Where morphological negation is included, the discussion tends to be basic and not explore the range of affixes and the range of semantic contribution made by the variation in affixes. Where morphological negation is considered in depth, it tends to be treated in isolation from other negators (e.g. Hammawand 2009, Zimmer

1964 and Kjellmer 2005). Similarly, inherently negative lexical items, such as *fail, lack, avoid*, and so on, are often left out of typologies due to their lack of a neat fit with explicit negators, or where they are treated, it is often without any great depth or consideration of their relationship to the category as a whole (e.g. Huddleston and Pullum 2002). Further, some implied forms of negation do not make it into the typologies or grammars and are studied in isolation or as part of a larger phenomenon. For example, Dancygier and Sweetser's (2005) extensive research into conditional constructions includes the notion that past tense counterfactuals imply absence, but this is in the context of wider research into conditional constructions from a Mental Spaces theory perspective.

As noted, one of the difficulties in discussing the description of negation revolves around the variation in terminology adopted by scholars in the field. The most prominent variations have arisen out of the focus of the research undertaken. For example, Givón (2001), coming from a pragmatic perspective, focuses on the particular forms of negation and uses the terms, syntactic, morphological and inherent negators. Tottie (1991) similarly approaches negators in relation to form, distinguishing between *not* and *no* negation and affixal and non-affixal negation. *Not* and *no* negation can be equated to the difference between negation that occurs at the propositional level and that which occurs at the level of constituent parts of propositions. Alternatively, for example, Jespersen (1917), Klima (1964) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002) focus on the grammar of negation and refer to 'nexal' and 'constituent negation' (Jespersen 1917), 'sentential' and 'constituent' negation (Kliima 1964), 'clausal' and 'subclausal', 'analytic' and 'synthetic', 'verbal' and 'non-verbal', 'ordinary' and 'metalinguistic' (Huddleston and Pullum 2002).

A second difficulty arises in the mismatch between form and grammatical and discourse functions; whilst *not* prototypically occurs in verb phrases and takes scope over propositions, it can also occur in noun phrases and premodify quantifiers, for example;

(5.2) *Not all* of the children ate jelly.

Similarly, Hidalgo-Downing observes that negation can function in context in the role of affirmation;

(5.3) Speaker A: ...and I didn't like his attitude at all.

Speaker B: **No**

Here, speaker B's use of **no** pragmatically functions as a token of agreement. Klima (1964) attempted to resolve these issues by approaching negation, not as a category of items, but as a set of items that syntactically behave in similar ways. His study explicitly asserts that it does not intend to provide a list of linguistic items that are (intuitively) negators, but to examine those items which share syntactic properties. Whilst Klima's study remains influential, particularly in relation to the tests for negation that he devised, there is a significant mismatch between his intentions and those in this chapter. Whilst his aim was to determine syntactic properties, the intention here, is to provide an outline of the range of forms that instantiate an absence in a situation that is the subject of discourse. Further, Klima's tests result in the inclusion of lexical items which share the same syntactic properties as **not**, but do not instantiate an absence in the same way. For example;

(5.4) (a) Writers will {**not/never/seldom/rarely**} accept suggestions, not even reasonable ones.

(b) Writers will {**not/never/seldom**} accept suggestions, and neither will publishers.

In (5.4) (a) the 'not even' tag is equally grammatical when used with the adverbs 'seldom' and 'rarely' as with the negators **not** and **never**. The same applies in (5.4) (b), where the **neither** conjunction can occur with a negator or adverbial. However, despite the syntactic similarity, 'seldom' and 'rarely' do not indicate an absence, but a minimal presence; 'writers seldom/rarely accept suggestions' indicates that they do, but infrequently (see 5.3.4.2 For a discussion of quasi positives and quasi negatives).

Klima's range of tests also result in the omission of items that do express absence but do not share the same syntactic properties as *not*;

(5.5) (a) John was happy, *wasn't* he?

(b) John was *not* happy, was he?

Klima used positive and negative tag questions as a test for negation on the basis that negative tag question follow assertions and positive ones follow negations. On this test, morphological negation behaves in the same way as affirmation;

(5.6) John was *unhappy*, wasn't he?

However, morphological negation contains an explicit marker for the negation function, and whilst it can produce complementary or gradable readings, it still indicates that the end point on a scale or one side of a binary opposition is absent.

Like Klima, Huddleston and Pullum (2002) devised a series of tests for membership of the grammatical category of negation. Their combination of tests also gives rise to the inclusion of lexical items which do not express absence. For example, they discuss 'covertly negative lexical items' in relation to whether they can co-occur with Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) in the same way as syntactic negators (2002:835).

(5.7) (a) We did *not* have any further delays

(b) We managed to *avoid* any further delays

(c) It *astounds* me that they took any notice of him.

The NPI 'any' prototypically occurs in the context of an explicit negator, which is evident in (5.7) (a). However, *avoid* in (5.7) (b), is semantically negative, producing a sentence which is propositionally equivalent to (a) and also occurs with the NPI "any. Even though (5.7) (c) equally can co-occur with 'any', it does not represent an absence and Huddleston and Pullum list

it as an ‘expression of counter-expectation’ (2002:836). However, their tests do provide a basis for recognising particular expressions as implicit forms of negation, for example,

(5.8) By that time I was just *too tired to* budge.

Here the adverb of degree, *too*, with the sense of ‘excessively’, licences its co-occurrence with the NPI *anyone* and can be paraphrased as ‘I was so tired that I couldn’t budge’ (2002: 839). Explicitly testing for syntactic properties, then, can both provide the basis for the inclusion of particular items but can also give rise to items that do not realise absence. Tests, therefore, can be problematic in constructing a typology of textual vehicles for negation where the negation function expresses absence.

Huddleston and Pullum’s (2002) approach, however, does present the basis of a viable framework. They distinguish between negation that operates at propositional level and negation that operates at constituent level. They propose a clausal and sub-clausal distinction that is concerned with the syntactic position of a negator and which sentence element falls within its scope. However, they also incorporate other features of negators in their discussion; verbal and non-verbal negation, analytic and synthetic negation and ordinary and metalinguistic negation. The reasoning behind Huddleston and Pullum’s classification is to distinguish between aspects of how negation is expressed and the question of its scope. In this regard then, synthetic and analytic negation and verbal and non-verbal are questions of expression and clausal and sub-clausal is a question of scope. They also distinguish between ordinary and metalinguistic negation. This aspect of negation will only be briefly touched on in this chapter for the following reasons;

- I. Despite its persistence in the literature and debate on negation, this category of special negation can be subsumed under questions of scope and this will be discussed in Chapter 6.

- II. The distinction between metalinguistic and ordinary negation is a question of pragmatics rather than linguistic realisation; it is co-text rather than form that determines the status of an utterance as metalinguistic or not, for example;

(5.9) (a) **John doesn't love Mary**, he adores her. (metalinguistic)

(b) **John doesn't love Mary**, he hates her. (ordinary)

Both the metalinguistic and ordinary functions of negation are realised by the same grammatical construction, whilst their differences in meaning are determined by the following clauses, 'he adores her' and 'he hates her'.

Huddleston and Pullum's (2002) description is firmly grounded in the analysis of the grammar of negation and focuses on the syntactic structure in which it can and cannot occur (e.g. comparative and superlative constructions) and interaction with other sentence elements (e.g. modals). For this reason, it is the basic distinction between the aspects of negation concerned with the material that falls within the scope of the negator, and the aspects concerned with meaning that are adopted here. Their description provides a means of distinguishing how negators determine what the pragmatically presupposed positive is and how the significance of this positive is modified by the particular form of negator.

Researchers have frequently expanded upon the core realisations of negation; Tottie (1991), in her large scale corpus based study focuses on easily identifiable forms of negation which respond to an automated search, **no**, **not** (and so on), and negative affixes, but she concedes that negation can be expressed in a wide range of forms other than these core forms. Givón's (2001) influential pragmatic approach to negation suggests a four-part distinction in negation types, verb phrase negation, noun phrase negation, morphological negation and inherent negation. These distinctions are also adopted by Tottie (1991), Hidalgo-Downing (2000) and Nørgaard (2007). In this approach Givón draws together two aspects of negation, the linguistic form (**not**, **no**, and so on) and the sentence function, that is whether it negates verb phrases, noun phrases or single words (morphological negation). In this approach, he also

considers the scope of negators over subjects, objects, predicators. While Givón's integrated approach and distinction between various types of negation provides a basic picture of negation, for the purposes of this thesis, a less integrated approach is required in order to consider the dual role of the form of negation in determining the scope of the negator, and as a result, what constitutes the absence and the extent of the presupposed expected presence, but also how the particular form of negation contributes to the interpretation of absence. For this reason, the framework adopted here is largely based on Givón's basic categorisations but supplemented where necessary with the insights provided by Huddleston and Pullum (2002). Although their approach is specifically aimed at providing a grammar of negation (the framework is explained in an encyclopaedic exploration of the grammar of the English language), it does allow us to distinguish between how particular linguistic forms negate, and what their scope is in an utterance.

A significant contributory factor in extending a classification is provided by Jeffries (2010a) notion that negation can be viewed as a category of prototypical and peripheral members of that category. That is, whereas, the canonical or standard negators can be viewed as the prototypical members, there is a significant variety of expressions which range from the more prototypical (*not, no, never, none, un, i(N)* and so on) to the more peripheral (*out of, apart from, lack, fail, almost*). The following descriptions of negation, then, will be based, and where necessary, expand on the description of negation proposed by Givón (2001). Section 5.3 will present a typology of negation based on Givón's distinction between syntactic, morphological and inherent forms but informed by Huddleston and Pullum's (2002) distinction between analytic and synthetic negation. For the purposes of this thesis, the primary distinction between these two types of negation is the status of those negators which convey only the conceptual practice of negation and those that fulfil this function but also convey other grammatical, syntactic, semantic or pragmatic features. The basic division is between *not* and all other types of negators.

This section has provided only a brief overview of the types of approaches to describing negation and has chiefly focused on those that consider the category as a whole. There is, however, significant research on different parts of the category (e.g. morphological negation) and this will be considered in the relevant sections below.

5.2.2 Defining negation

This issue was raised in Chapter 1 in respect of considering how negation can be defined. It is raised here again as a means of providing a rationale for the typology that follows. The difficulties in defining negation can be reduced down to the question of whether to define it by its logical function or its discourse function. Both of these appear to be problematic. As noted above, if we define it simply by logical function in reversing the polarity of a positive proposition, we are left with the notion that negation is realised in a closed set of negative forms derived from ***not*** and ***no***. If it is defined by its discourse function, e.g. denial, then we are left with an open ended category which can be performed by either negation or affirmation. As Givón (2001) notes, not all negation is speaker denial, nor is all speaker denial, negation. Indeed, affirmation can function as denial

(5.10) Speaker A: You're going to school today!

 Speaker B: I'm staying in bed.

This functional approach also runs into problems when what is accepted as a negator can function as a token of agreement.

The Oxford English Dictionary offers the following definition of negation:

1. the contradiction or denial of something: *there should be confirmation — or negation — of the findings*

Grammar- denial of the truth of a clause or sentence, typically involving the use of a negative word (e.g. *not, no, never*) or a word or affix with negative force (e.g. *nothing, non-*).

[*count noun*] *Logica* - proposition whose assertion specifically denies the truth of another proposition: *the negation of A is, briefly, 'not A'*

Mathematics: inversion.

2. the absence or opposite of something actual or positive: *evil is not merely the negation of goodness*

The focus of the definition of negation used here is one that aims to find a workable middle-way between the limitations of a logical definition and the complexities of a discourse one. This is captured in point 2 of the Oxford definition, that is, negation as an absence. The argument presented here is that underlying the definitions of negation, be it in logic or discourse function, is the linguistic realisation of an absence; that is that some state, event or object is absent from some situation (in which it was expected). So, the linguistic realisation of an absence can be considered the basic function of negation, which in turn, can be put to higher level functions of reversing the polarity of propositions or denying the truth of a prior implicit or explicit assertion. This basic premise is captured by Jeffries' (2010a) suggestion that particular linguistic forms are 'textual vehicles' for underlying conceptual practices. This typology then is concerned with the various linguistic forms that can function as the textual vehicle for the conceptual practice of realising an absence.

5.3 Textual Vehicles for negation

In this section I will provide a basic outline of the variability in the expression of negation. As noted above, this typology follows the distinction between analytic and synthetic, verbal and non-verbal proposed by Huddleston and Pullum (2002) and the tripartite distinction between syntactic, morphological and inherent negators proposed by Givón (2001). However, as noted above in defining negation, an understanding of it as a conceptual practice allows for a much wider range of negators than these core realisations and I will add to this category with pragmatic forms. Questions of syntactic position and scope will be considered in Chapter 6. Negation can be realised in a variety of ways ranging from the prototypical to the peripheral. Table 5.1 provides a list of the main categories of negating. Whilst the range of explicit negators can be viewed as a closed category, the range of implicit textual vehicles is open ended and only a sample of the types of negators that fall into this category are listed. In the discussion of form, however, it is virtually impossible to completely avoid issues of scope, semantic content and pragmatic force and the following discussions, then, will involve a certain amount of overlap and repetition.

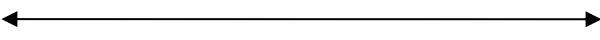
Analytic		Synthetic			
Explicit		implicit			
Syntactic	Syntactic	Morphological	Semantic (inherently negative)	pragmatic	
Not No (refusal)	No (quantifier) None Nothing No-one Nobody Nowhere Never Neither...nor	Un- In- (il-, im-, ig-, ir) Non- Dis- De- A- (an-) Ex- -less -free peripheral morphological forms anti- contra- counter- quasi- semi- pseudo	Absent Lack Avoid Omit Fail Forget Refuse Almost Nearly Peripheral semantic forms Barely Hardly Scarcely Few little	Conditional constructions If you had x, then y Modals You should have I wish you had Grammaticalised metaphors Out of Ruled out Left out Beyond me Short of Apart from Expletive forms Fuck all Diddly squat Bugger all Jack shit Structural forms Too x to y	
Prototypical					Peripheral

Table 5.1- Outline of the range of textual vehicles for negation.

5.3.1 *The analytic versus synthetic distinction*

Huddleston and Pullum draw a distinction between analytic and synthetic negation. This distinction is based on the single or multiple functions of the negator. They note that **not** and **no** (in its form as distinct from yes – a refusal) are the only analytic negators; they have a single syntactic function. They further distinguish between synthetic verbal and synthetic non-verbal.

(5.10) Synthetic verbal

- (a) John **didn't** finish his lunch
- (b) Amy **won't** be able to make it.
- (c) Fred **hasn't** got any common sense

(5.11) Synthetic non-verbal

- (a) He had **no** money
- (b) **None** of his friends were available
- (c) John's case was **hopeless**
- (d) Amy was **unconscious**.
- (e) Amy was *barely* conscious

In (5.10) (a) - (c), the negation marker **not** is combined with the auxiliaries 'did', 'will' and 'has' giving the lexical unit a dual syntactic function⁸. In (5.11) (a) and (b) the negation marker is combined with a quantifying determiner, and in (c) and (d), the negators **-less** and **un-** are combined with base words indicating what is being negated. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 788) refer to these synthetic forms as 'absolute' and 'affixal' negators respectively. Example (e) reflects Huddleston and Pullum's inclusion of 'approximate' negators; ('barely', 'hardly',

⁸ Huddleston and Pullum (2002) take the view that the contraction of **not** to **n't** and its attachment to the auxiliary is a matter of inflectional morphology rather than cliticisation and thus view this form as synthetic. There has been some debate on the status of n't relative to its syntactic properties, however, since its status as enclitic or inflectional morpheme does not infringe on its expression of absence, this debate is not relevant to this thesis and will not be pursued further. However, the contextual choice between **not** and **n't** can vary pragmatic force and will be discussed briefly in this chapter.

'scarcely', 'seldom', 'rarely', 'few' and 'little') which can be seen to occur in the same syntactic contexts as negators. However, they do not express absence, only near absence. These will be discussed further in the context of semantic negation and variable force, but are included here as a means of demonstrating the extent of what is included in Huddleston and Pullum's category of synthetic negators.

Whilst Huddleston and Pullum's distinction between analytic and synthetic is based on syntactic functions, their inclusion of morphological (affixal) and approximate negator indicates that they are taking semantic and implied meaning into consideration as part of the basis for synthetic properties. Expanding on this notion, I want to argue here that the wide variety of forms of negation used, beyond *not* and *no*, (including *none*, *no-one*, *never*, *nothing* and so on) display similarly synthetic properties, but rather than a synthesis of syntactic functions, a synthesis of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic functions. This is reflected in the broad outline of the ways in which negation is expressed in table 5.1.

5.3.2 Syntactic forms

As noted above, Givón (2001) makes the distinction between syntactic, morphological and inherent forms. This section provides a basic outline of the forms of syntactic negation, but divides them with reference to their analytic and synthetic properties and their syntactic functions.

5.3.2.1 Analytic Syntactic

The most basic form of negation is the analytic form represented by *not* and *no* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002:788). Within the framework of this thesis, *not* constitutes an

analytic negator in that it has a single syntactic function and it conveys only a single concept, that of absence. **Not** primarily functions in sentences to reverse the polarity of a clause;

(5.12) (a) John is healthy.

(b) John is **not** healthy

The use of not as a main clause negator requires *do* auxiliary support where no other auxiliary is available;

(5.13) (a) John did not go to the cinema

(b) Amy does not have tickets to the theatre.

(c) John and Amy do not intend to go out this evening.

This form of negation can also occur as **n't**. Whereas Huddleston and Pullum (2002) class this form as a synthetic negator, I would suggest that it is not a complete lexical unit as the contracted auxiliary and negator are clearly distinct separable lexical items;

(5.14) (a) He didn't give up a seat on the bus.

(b) Jack won't clean his room

(c) I can't imagine how he's going to finish on time.

The above examples illustrate the use of **not** as a verb phrase negator in a main verb, but it is by no means restricted to this syntactic role. Huddleston and Pullum refer to this type of negation 'primary verbal negation' and they note that verbal negation also occurs as a premodifier in the case of 'secondary verbal negation' (2002: 799-804). Here **not** negates secondary rather than main verbs in a sentence, for example;

(5.15) (a) It is vital [that he **not** be told].

(b) It looks bad [for them **not** to smile].

(c) She agreed [**not** to make a complaint].

(d) You can [**not** answer the letters], (you're not legally required to)⁹.

Examples from Huddleston and Pullum 2002:

In (5.15) (a) and (b), **not** occurs in a relative clause rather than main clause and negates 'be told' and 'to smile'. In (c), **not** follows the lexical verb and negates 'make', and in (d) it follows a primary (modal) auxiliary, 'can', negating 'make' rather than the auxiliary. **Not** can also be used as a non-verbal negator, and Huddleston and Pullum list several contexts in which **not** negates sentence elements other than a verb. This is summarised in table 5.2 with examples from natural language texts.

Non-verbal element		Examples
quantifier	All	Not <u>all</u> money purchase schemes are affected. http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2086600/Treasury-pockets-850m-forgotten-higher-rate-taxpayer-work-pension-refunds.html
	Often	Not <u>often</u> do we see her loose her cool like that ¹⁰ .
	Much	Not <u>much</u> should be read into the decision by the Bank of England to do nothing at today's meeting. http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/economics-blog/2012/jan/12/double-dip-recession-services-construction-industry

⁹ The possibility of negating both the main clause and the secondary clause demonstrates that **not** is operating in distinct clauses:

- a) It is not vital that he not be told.
- b) It doesn't look bad for them not to smile.
- c) She didn't agree not to make a complaint.
- d) You can't not answer the letters.

¹⁰ *Not often* rarely occurs in a clause initial position as illustrated in this example. This example, then, is drawn from Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 807)

	<p>Many</p> <p>Every</p>	<p>Not <u>many</u> soldiers who fought throughout World War II are still alive.</p> <p>http://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/books/article-2085849/CONJUROR-ON-THE-RIVER-KWAI-How-Britains-oldest-magician-performed-greatest-trick--surviving-Japanese-PoW-CAPTIVITY-SLAVERY-AND-SURVIVAL-AS-A-FAR-EAST-POW-BY-PETER-FYANS-Pen--Sword-19-99.html#ixzz1jRPM3hZM</p> <p>Not <u>every</u> 24-year-old single guy wants to hook up with a divorced mother-of-four but Madonna is working hard to keep Zaibat interested.</p> <p>http://www.express.co.uk/features/view/295518</p>
Determinatives	<p>A little</p> <p>A few</p>	<p>ICS is designed for mobile phones and tablets so we're keen -- if not a little nervous -- to see what sort of experience it offers on a 55-inch screen.</p> <p>http://crave.cnet.co.uk/televisions/best-tvs-of-ces-50006665/</p> <p>Stopping LCD Soundsystem altogether, and shortly after their third album This Is Happening happened, caused many a sad face and not a few tears.</p> <p>http://blog.musicomh.com/musicomh/2012/01/lcd-soundsystem-shut-up-and-play-the-hits.html</p>
Focusing adverbs	<p>Even</p> <p>Only</p>	<p>They can't say they weren't warned. Not <u>even</u> Nicolas Sarkozy, who will be turning the air bleu at being in charge when France lost its cherished AAA rating - and in an election year too.</p> <p>http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/financialcrisis/9014493/SandPs-French-rating-bombshell-could-have-been-more-severe.html</p> <p>Lord Marlesford expresses astonishment not only at the high number of convictions but also at the gravity of the misdeeds.</p> <p>http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-2086365/Why-civil-service.html#ixzz1jRVPVb1b</p>

<p>Morphologically negated gradable adjectives</p>	<p>e.g. Inconsiderable Unattractive</p>	<p>They fork out a <i>not inconsiderable</i> amount for a ticket, and the second the curtain goes up they launch into a banal commentary about last night's Emmerdale or how well their putting is improving. http://www.thisistamworth.co.uk/Herald-history-Bad-behaviour-town-hall/story-14388151-detail/story.html</p> <p>Prout, a balding, rugged, <i>not unattractive</i> man, was initially arrested on suspicion of murder but released without charge within the month. http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-2083600/I-asked-fiance-lie-detector-test-didnt-murder-wife--proved-killer.html#ixzz1jRWpmYrs</p>
<p>Morphologically negated gradable adverbs</p>	<p>e.g. Unexpectedly Unreasonably</p>	<p><i>Not unexpectedly</i> book borrowing was the most frequently used service and the one which was regarded as the most important. http://www.nottinghamcity.gov.uk/index.aspx?articleid=17100</p> <p>It was double that when the new tax was announced, and Mr. Osborne <i>not unreasonably</i> (for once) felt the taxpayer ought to share in some of the rewards. http://www.independent.co.uk/news/business/comment/james-moore-osbornes-got-it-right-over-north-sea-oil-tax-6287816.html</p>
<p>Negative polarity items</p>	<p>e.g. at any stage</p>	<p>"Obviously, the result didn't go my way, but <i>not at any stage</i> of that match did I feel under pressure or nervous – and, believe me, with what's been going through my head the last few times".</p>

	for the first time	<p>http://www.thisisbristol.co.uk/Mark-Dudbridge-looking-forward-better-2012-round/story-14180305-detail/story.html</p> <p><i>Not for the first time</i>, a PSI deal in Greece is imminent.</p> <p>http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/c47a8570-3c74-11e1-9bcc-00144feabdc0.html#axzz1jQMMophW</p>
Expressions of degree	Very Wholly quite	<p>At the same time, we have a Treasury initiative on simple products and a <i>not very</i> widely publicised paper by the FSA on short-term income protection.</p> <p>http://www.ftadviser.com/2012/01/12/insurance/health-and-protection/ideas-for-good-marketing-4cqv7luy9ldqoEd6D4afBJ/article.html</p> <p>Swann, make no mistake, will be under pressure to perform on pitches that, while <i>not wholly</i> sub-continental in nature, will grant him some favours.</p> <p>http://www.independent.co.uk/sport/cricket/pakistan-playing-it-straight-6287739.html</p> <p><i>Not quite</i> an epic then, but an enjoyable romp all the same.</p> <p>http://tvpixie.com/tv-news/2012/01/13/lost-girl-not-quite-epic</p>

Table 5.2. Non-verbal uses of ***not***

Based on Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 807-11

5.3.2.2 Synthetic Syntactic

Both Huddleston and Pullum and Givon distinguish between syntactic negation realised through ***not*** and that realised through forms derived from ***not*** and ***no***: ***none***, ***nothing***, ***no-one***, ***nowhere***, ***nobody***, ***neither***, ***nor***, ***never***. Givon (2001) takes a functional approach, considering

how negators can operate on verb phrases or noun phrases, but also on subject, object, indirect object and predicate (2001:392). He also refers to this type of negator as ‘emphatic negators’ which combine the negation marker with an emphatic force and additional semantic content providing the grounds on which a denial is being made. This, however, is not the remit of this part of the chapter, and will be returned to in Chapter 6. Given that the focus of this part of the chapter is variation in form, where Givón’s approach presents further problems is in the fact that he does not discuss the differences between the different forms, though he does consider the interaction between these negators and verbal and non-verbal sentence elements in relation to which phrases they occur in.

For Huddleston and Pullum, these forms constitute ‘absolute negators’, one of three forms of synthetic negation which also includes ‘approximate negators’ (‘hardly’, ‘barely’, ‘scarcely’, ‘seldom’, ‘rarely’, ‘few’ and ‘little’) and affixal negators (e.g. *un-* /*n/-*, *non-*, *-less*). These forms are classified as synthetic, non-verbal as they combine the negation function with additional functions and negate non-verbal sentence elements (2002:788). The main focus of Huddleston and Pullum’s discussion of ‘absolute negators’ is their syntactic position in either clausal or subclausal structures, which is primarily concerned with the scope of the negator, and thus, this will be discussed in relation to scope issues in Chapter 6.

Here I will focus on the synthetic quality of these negators; that is, what additional function is served by them that give rise to variations in form. The differences in form, their additional function in relation to what is designated as absent, and examples of them in use are summarised in table 5.3 below.

Synthetic absolute/noun phrase negators		
meaning	form	example
Neg +	No	An NHS expert advisory group has concluded there is no causal link between breast cancer and PIP implants. <div style="text-align: right;">(Nursing in Practice (online) 13/1/2012)</div>

<p>quantity</p>	<p>None</p>	<p>http://www.nursinginpractice.com/article/27868/Lansley%3A_No_cancer_link_found_in_PI_P_implants)</p> <p>"None of the former prisoners (of Guantanamo), none of the NGO's and none of the lawyers are taking part in it after it was told to us by the Gibson inquiry that we would not get to see, or speak (to) or put questions to these individuals who we know and believe were involved in our torture," said Mr Begg.</p> <p>(The Telegraph online 13/1/2012 http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/9010376/Moazzam-Begg-Torture-crimes-must-be-investigated.html)</p>
<p>Neg + Quantity + entity</p>	<p>Nobody</p> <p>No-one</p> <p>Nothing</p>	<p>Nobody was more surprised, or delighted, than the film's 38-year-old writer-director JC Chandor.</p> <p>http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/film/filmmakersonfilm/8995018/Margin-Call-is-a-WallStreet-for-our-times.html 12/1/12</p> <p>And Ricky Gervais has pledged that no-one in Hollywood will be safe from his vicious tongue at the awards ceremony on Sunday.</p> <p>http://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-2086413/Golden-Globes-host-Ricky-Gervais-admits-intention-biting-tongue.html#ixzz1jQRAd78W 12/1/12</p> <p>And there's nothing sexier than seeing a man throw off his tie to get ruddy-cheeked wrestling with an imaginary crocodile.</p> <p>http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/opinion/columnists/jane-graham/its-elementary-theres-nothing-quite-so-scary-as-real-family-man-16103010.html#ixzz1jQQbtlgX</p>
<p>Neg + Quantity + location</p>	<p>nowhere</p>	<p>The smoking ban hit the tradition of the after-dinner cigar because there was nowhere warm and comfortable where guests could legally smoke.</p> <p>http://www.thisislondon.co.uk/standard/article-24027572-hotel-smoking-areas-cater-for-women-who-love-a-havana.do 13/01/12</p>

Neg (not) +time	Never (not ever)	Michael Roberts, 45, got four life sentences for raping three elderly women and beating a fourth, disabled woman 20 years ago in Bermondsey in south London. He was told he would never get out. http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/top-stories/2012/01/12/praying-rapist-michael-roberts-told-he-will-never-be-released-from-jail-115875-23696858/#ixzz1jR3RGU5b 13/01/12
Neg (not) + Conjunction	Neither... nor (not either... not or)	<i>Neither</i> Newt Gingrich, who has called the frontrunner a looter, nor Rick Perry, whose preferred term is vulture, were previously noted for their concern for the unemployed. Neither candidate has a thoughtful plan to bring down joblessness. Financial Times online http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/b28a5854-3d1e-11e1-8129-00144feabdc0.html#ixzz1jQMZqagA Nor is it certain that changing a leader would be the answer to Labour's problems. The Independent online 10/1/12 http://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/diary/diary-chin-up-ed-nobody-likes-you-but-your-job-looks-safe-6287451.html

Table 5.3 Synthetic absolute negators and additional functions

The negators in table 5.3, then, can be seen to vary according to whether they combine with a quantifying function (**no, none, nothing, no-one, nowhere, nobody**), a time adverb (**never**) or conjunction function (**neither, nor**). They further vary according to what kind of quantifiable absence is created; absent person (**no-one, nobody**), place (**nowhere**) and entity (**no, none, nothing**), though this final type can, depending on context, also refer to absent people.

5.3.3 Morphological forms

Morphological negation can either be viewed as a simple type of negation whereby a negative affix is attached to a base word to indicate that the attribute designated in the base word does not apply in the situation that is the focus of discourse, or it is one of the most complex of the ways in which language users chose to negate. What makes morphological

negation potentially so complex are the range of issues that can be, and frequently are, considered in discussing this language phenomenon;

- (i) Is 'morphological negation' negation at all?
- (ii) Which affixes can be considered negators?
- (iii) How does meaning vary between prefixes?
- (iv) Are prefixes polysemous (Hamawand)?
- (v) Which word class can negative affixes attach to?
- (vi) Gradability and complementarity
- (vii) Classification and characterisation (Kjellmer 2002)
- (viii) Productivity.
- (ix) Lexicalisation

The issues raised above in (i) to (viii) are the main ones that are of varying concern in this thesis. Whilst they have varying degrees of relevance to the argument put forward here, they are not all relevant to a discussion of the variability in form. The issue in (i) primarily revolves around the distinction between abstracted and context based considerations of language. Morphological negators do not behave logically and syntactically in the same way as the core prototypical negators discussed above. In fact, in relation to tests for negative polarity (e.g. NPI tests), morphological negation bears more similarity to affirmation than negation. In pragmatic and semantic terms, however, it would be highly dubious to claim that (5.16) (a) is not, on a propositional level, very close to (5.16) (b):

- (5.16) (a) John and Amy were **unable** to decide what to do next.
 (b) John and Amy were **not able** to decide what to do next.

In both (5.16) (a) and (b) the linguistic form gives rise to an absence of the ability to decide. At this most basic level, then, morphological negation can be seen to produce absences just as the core negators do.

There are, however, several affixes which produce variability in the meaning generated by the negation of a base word. Points (ii), (iii) and (v) are concerned with how, and in what contexts, morphological negation is realised, and are within the remit of this part of the chapter. Point (vi) is closely related to (v) in that the gradability or complementarity of morphologically negated lexical items is, in part, dependent on the base words that are negated. However, the variation between affixes can produce variations in scope which can result in ostensibly non-gradable base words producing gradable meanings. As this is a matter of scope, it will be considered in 5.4.1, as will point (vii). Point (iv) is related to the possible variation in meaning within individual prefixes proposed by Hamawand (2009). This will also be considered in this part of the chapter but within the context of countering Hamawand's argument. Points (viii) and (ix) are two side of the same topic; productivity is concerned with whether or not an affix continues to play a part in the production of new words. Lexicalisation, on the other hand, is concerned with the notion that ostensibly negatively marked lexical items cease to have a transparent negative meaning and cannot be broken down into their constituent parts. For example, whilst *innocent* is the morphological negation of *nocent* (an archaic form of guilty), it is now more likely to be understood as the complementary opposite of guilty¹¹. In relation to this thesis, these two areas, productivity and lexicalisation, are concerned with varying degrees of the analysability of morphological negation and the extent to which the negation function of the negator is available. This impacts on negative force and will be discussed in 5.4.4. The variations between affixes are, to a large extent, concerned with the variation in meaning produced by them, and points raised here will inevitably overlap with the points raised in the discussion of motivation in Chapter 6.

¹¹ That is not to say that *innocent* cannot still be understood as a negation in that *innocent* is equivalent to not guilty, but it is as a negation of its complementary opposite rather than its base word. This is discussed in semantic forms of negation.

5.3.3.1 Morphological negation in relation to prototypical negation

The aim of this part of the chapter is to present the variations in textual vehicles for negation. Morphological negation varies from the forms already discussed in three main ways, the syntactic position of the negation marker, the semantic difference between syntactic and morphological negation and the range of meanings of the various affixes.

The most obvious feature of morphological negation is that the negation marker is incorporated into a lexical item, restricting its scope to the base word. The overarching meaning of the affixes is absence, be that an absence of the concept referred to in the base (e.g. unfinished) or an absence brought about through a reversal or removal of the action referred to in the base (e.g. 'unbutton'). However, the distinctive feature of morphological negation is the potential for gradable or complementary readings of the words produced by the morphological process; unlike syntactic negation, morphological negation can produce a meaning of less than x or not x. Both of these indicate that one point on a gradable scale or one half of a binary opposition is absent, but gradable morphological negation allows for some point on the scale other than the polar opposite. For example, 'unhappy', whilst not admitting of 'happy', is not equivalent to 'sad', and allows for a gradable interpretation (Tottie 1991, Horn 1989, Zimmer 1964). Jeffries, however, notes that even where morphologically negated adjectives would allow for a gradable reading, they tend to give rise to complementary ones (Jeffries 2009) *Unfinished*, on the other hand, allows only for a complementary reading, as *finished* and *unfinished* exhaust all possibilities between them (Horn 1989, Zimmer 1964). The variation in semantic content of the range of affixes will be discussed below.

5.3.3.2 Variability between affixes

The core set of negative affixes is made up of **a-**, **de-**, **dis-**, **ex-**, **-free**, **i/n/-**¹², **-less**, **non-**, and **un-**. The meaning variations in these can be divided into four main areas; absence, reversal¹³, removal and former. Affixes which can be peripherally included in the category include **anti-**, **contra** and **counter-**. Although these share some similarities with the core realisations, they do not express absence, but the sense of being against, in opposition to, the concept realised in the base word. Hamawand (2009), also on the basis of similarity to the core realisations includes *semi-* (half) *quasi* (similar but not the same), *pseudo* (pretend or sham), *mis* (done badly) and *mal* (treated badly). Whilst it is possible to see the similarity of *semi-*, *quasi* and *pseudo* in that they all entail that the concept in the base word is not completely present, they do not create a complete absence. These forms could be seen to bear some similarity to **almost**, **nearly** and **just short of** discussed below. However, ‘mal-’ and ‘mis-’ are not concerned with absence but with the quality of treatment or action and will not be considered further here.

The core affixes can attach variously to adjectives, adverbs, verbs and nouns, though adjectival affixal negation is the most frequent type (Zimmer 1964, Horn 1989,2002, Tottie 1980, Kjellmer 2005 Bauer and Huddleston 2002). They can produce gradable or complementary meanings and realise absence, removal, reversal or former meanings. A brief description of each of the core prefixes is presented below, and is based on Bauer and

¹² The i/n/ prefix is phonologically conditioned producing spelling variations - **inedible** **impossible**, **illogical**, **irregular** **ignoble**. The same process has not occurred with the **un-** prefix, but Quirk et al (1985: 1541) note that whilst the variation is not represented graphically, it is apparent in speech; *unpleasant* in speech is realised as /ʌmplɛzənt/.

¹³ The inclusion of reversal under the category of negation has been subject to debate; Zimmer(1964) argues for two distinct meanings, whilst Marchand (1960) suggests there are sufficient overlaps to see the two functions as closely related. Horn (1989) recognises both sides of the debate but does not clearly choose one side or the other. The removal/reversal meaning is included here on the grounds that the reversal or removal of some state brings about an absence of that state, so, although unbuttoned does not realise a clear absence, it brings about the absence of being buttoned. Further, whilst unbuttoned can be the past tense verb form, it is subject to derivational processes that mean it is also functions as a negated adjective (he was wearing an unbuttoned shirt).

Huddleston's (2002) classification and the online Oxford English Dictionary (OED) definitions and origins of affixes.

- (i) **A-** from the Greek. Occurs with adjectival and nominal bases and indicates an absence of the quality referred to in the base, e.g. *amoral, asymmetrical, atypical, atheist, anarchist*.
- (ii) **De-** from Latin. Attaches to verbs and nouns to produce verbs, and indicates a reversal or removal, but also attaches to adjectives and nouns derived from additional morphological processes, e.g. *decode, decipher, deconstruct, deface, destabilise, deregulate, defrost, decompression, deconstructed, decontaminated, deforest, defrock, dethrone*.
- (iii) **Dis** – from Latin. Attaches to adjectives, nouns and verbs and indicates an absence of the quality referred to in the base, a reversal or removal, e.g. *disloyal, dissimilar, dishonest, disbelief, discourtesy, discomfort, dislike, distrust, disown, disarm, dismay, disrobe*.
- (iv) **Ex-** from Latin. Attaches to nouns to produce nouns and produces the meaning of former, but no longer, e.g. *ex-wife, ex-member, ex-president*.
- (v) **-free** – this is not listed in Bauer and Huddleston or the OED as a prefix. The OED lists it as a free morpheme, but it frequently occurs in compound constructions with nouns to produce an adjective with the meaning that the concept referred to in the base is absent, e.g. *sugar-free, tax-free, trouble-free*.
- (vi) **I/n/-** from Latin. Attaches to adjectival and nominal bases to produce adjectives and nouns, and indicates an absence of the quality referred to in the base e.g. *inaccurate, indiscreet, inanimate, incomprehensible, insanity, incompetence, inability*.
- (vii) **-less** from Old English (OED). Attaches to nouns, adjectives and, rarely, to verbs to indicate unable to (OED). It produces adjectives and indicates an absence, e.g. *useless, endless, homeless, helpless, hopeless, friendless, countless, numberless*.

(viii) **Non-** from Anglo-Norman OED). Attaches to nouns, verbs and adjectives to form adjectives, e.g. *non-standard, non-involvement, non-stop, non-skid, non-gradable, non-cooperation, non-existent*.

(ix) **Un-** from Old English (OED¹⁴). It is the most productive of negative affixes and attaches to adjectives, adverbs, verbs and nouns. It is particularly fruitful in combination with suffixes including *-able* and *-like* (*unprofitable, unbudgeable, unbuildable, unprophetlike, unneighbourlike* – OED). It produces the meaning of absence, removal and reversal, e.g. *unhappy, unfair, unfairly, unfairness, unfelt, unfinished, uncouple, unfasten, unbuckle, uncurl, unhorse, unman*.

5.3.3.3 Hamawand's polysemy of prefixes

I refer to the work of Hamawand (2009) here as it is one of the most recent book length treatments of morphological negation and proposes a description of the phenomenon based on the communicative intentions of language users. Hamawand (2009) argues that 'the use of a prefix is a response to the needs of communication' (2009:99). Further, Hamawand's model is informed by a cognitive approach to language and the way in which language reflects a speaker's conceptualisation of a situation (2009:96).

Hamawand posits that negative prefixes have an overarching meaning; the prefix indicates the opposite of the base word. However, this overarching meaning can be further subdivided into domains which include *inadequacy, degradation, distinction, opposition, privation, removal, reversal* and *treatment*. He argues that '[a]lthough these domains are subsumed under negation, each has its own conceptual representation. Each domain has

¹⁴ The Oxford English Dictionary lists two versions of the un- prefix, the first relating to absence/negation and the second to removal and reversal.

various facets, which reflect physical or social experience' (2009: 99). Hamawand suggests that speakers understand prefixes in relation to this range of domains.

There are strengths in Hamawand's detailed description; however, there are also significant problems with his model. Firstly, He limits the scope of his model to include only prefixes and only those morphologically negated words which have an extant non-negated form; words such as 'unkempt' and 'ungainly', despite having a negative meaning, are excluded. Secondly, the division of prefixes into domains assigns variation in meaning to the prefix rather than to the base word to which it is attached. Whilst there are variations between different forms of prefix, Hamawand suggests that each prefix itself varies in function according to the base word to which it attaches. This seems counter-intuitive where variation in meaning is what distinguishes base words from one another. This would suggest that the differences in domain reside in the base words rather than the prefix as Hamawand suggests. He does note, however, that the meaning produced is a combination of base word and prefix (2009:99).

Finally, and perhaps most problematic, is what appears to be Hamawand's overarching principle, that of prefixes reflecting communicative intent. This would suggest that speakers have a choice between prefixes in order to express their conceptualisation of a situation. Whilst there are some base words which can take different prefixes, for example, 'dissatisfied' and 'unsatisfied', this runs up against several problems; Bauer and Huddleston (2002) suggest that there are restrictions on affixation based on the productivity of individual affixes and the nature of base words. They argue that *i/n/-* is no longer productive, *a-* and *dis-* are rarely productive, and whilst *non-* is frequently used in the formation of new words, *un-* is by far the most productive. This variability in the potential for prefixes to occur in new word formations suggests that the choice of affix is not as free as Hamawand's model would imply. Bauer and Huddleston (2002) also note that types of prefix can be conditioned by the base word, for example, adjectives with '-ful' suffix tend to take a *-less* suffix rather than *un-* (etc.) prefix (useful – useless, *unuseful) though they also note that there are counter examples, e.g. 'unfaithful' and 'unhelpful'. Further there are instances where more than one prefix can be used

with a base word with no discernible difference in meaning, e.g. *in*advisable/*un*advisable, *in*consolable/*un*consolable, *at*ypical/*un*typical, *non*-eligible/*in*eligible. Further, the historical origin of the prefix can influence the types of base words to which it attaches, for example, *in-* is Latinate in origin and has tended to be attached to Latinate bases, and the Greek *a-* is largely associated with classical bases and scientific terms (e.g. amorphous, anomalous anaesthesia). Bauer and Huddleston conclude that to a large extent, the distribution of negative affixes displays a great deal of untidiness and is a consequence of lexicalisation, and are largely unpredictable (2002: 1688). They do note, however, that the distinctions between *un-* and *non-* are semantically predictable (2002:1688).

The potential for meaningful choices between affixes is also brought into question by further restrictions on their use in relation to the acquisition of morphologically negated words as complete units rather than constructed from their component parts for the purpose of communication. For example, whilst 'belief' can be realised in the form of '*dis*belief' (noun) and '*un*believable' (adjective), we are unlikely to find '*dis*believable' (adjective) being used¹⁵. So, as noted above, whilst there are some variations in the types of absence realised by affixes (e.g. the variation between '*un*christian' and '*non*-Christian'), these are limited and do not apply to all morphological negators, suggesting flaws in Hamawand's model.

5.3.4 Semantic forms

The realisations of negation examined so far constitute the prototypical and possibly the most frequent forms of negation. They have been extensively researched in the context of logic and grammar and their features are well attested to in that research. Negation becomes more complex where it occurs in implicit form, that is, linguistic expressions which function as textual vehicles for negation, but do not conform to the basic grammatical category.

¹⁵ Whilst *disbelievable* is not in the Oxford English Dictionary up to this point, it does occur in an online 'Urban Dictionary' - <http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=disbelievable>

Examples of semantic negators;

(5.17) John **failed** to manage his finances effectively.

(John did not manage his finances effectively)

(5.18) Amy **forgot** to lock the front door.

(Amy did not lock the front door)

(5.19) Rich people frequently **avoid** paying taxes.

(Rich people frequently do not pay taxes)

(5.20) John's **lack** of common sense resulted in bankruptcy.

(John did not have any common sense which resulted in bankruptcy)

(5.21) Amy's **absence** from the party was noticed.

(Amy was not at the party and this was noticed)

(5.22) Everybody was comfortable **except** John

(John was not comfortable, everybody else was.)

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, the inclusion in this typology of negators outside the confines of the morphosyntactic grammatical category of negators is based on the notion that negation is in essence the expression of an absence. This expression of absence is not confined to those lexical items which also function as a grammatical operator. This is a relatively under-researched area in the analysis of negation which has focused primarily on standard forms. As Tottie (1991:7) notes in her quantitative survey of negation in natural language, negation is undoubtedly realised through inherent or semantic forms, but these are difficult to identify, and within the constraints of her study, difficult to count (see also Watson 1999). Further, criticisms have been levelled at the notion of semantic negation (e.g. Jespersen 1917) in that that whilst fail is propositionally equivalent to not succeed, succeed is propositionally equivalent to not fail. Hidalgo-Downing picks up this criticism and notes 'although we think of a word like fail as meaning not succeed, we may just as well think of succeed as meaning not fail' (2000:43). Although she notes this difficulty in the identification of semantic negatives, she does not provide a solution. Cruse (1986) considers this issue of which

of a pair of binary opposites can be considered the negation of the other. He suggests that the negative form in a binary pair can be seen to reverse clause polarity in the same way as not, and can be illustrated by using the negative form to negate itself (1986: 252);

- (5.23) (a) John is dead
(b) John is not dead = John is alive -reversed polarity
(c) It is not true that John is not dead = John is dead – reversed polarity

In (5.23) (c) the use of two negators logically cancel one another out, reversing the polarity of the clause John is not dead. The same effect can frequently be seen, Cruse (1986) suggests, in pairs of opposites;

- (5.24) (a) He succeeded in succeeding = he succeeded
(b) He failed to fail = He succeeded – reversed polarity

- (5.25) (a) He remembered to remember = He remembered
(b) He forgot to forget = He remembered – reversed polarity

Cruse (1986) suggests that this test can illustrate which member of a pair is logically negative (1986: 252). However, it also produces examples of what he refers to as logically negative terms, but do not in fact instantiate absences;

- (5.26) (a) He's a good example of a good person.
(b) He's a bad example of a bad person - reversal

- (5.27) (a) It's long on length
(b) It's short on shortness –reversal

Examples from Cruse 1986:253

So, whilst (5.26) (b) and (5.27) (b) reverse the polarity of the term, neither bad nor short realise an absence in the situation in focus. However, Cruse's test does allow for a determination of which member of a pair is marked and has the potential to realise an absence.

Jeffries (2010a) notes that ‘negation can also be built into the semantics of the words we use’, but this notion is one that is difficult to ‘pin down’ (2010a:108). However, the basis on which lexical items can be considered inherently negative, she suggests, is in the way in which they are equivalent to the prototypical negators not and no, and ‘which appear to encode either some kind of absence or a lack of action’ (2010a:108-9). Determining what constitutes a semantic negator, then, is problematic. Further, there is the issue of why there is such a number and range of lexical items that can function as textual vehicles for negation. Givón (2001) suggests that inherently negative lexical items are bleached of their semantic content and are grammaticalized as negation markers. This can be demonstrated through their co-occurrence with Negative Polarity Items (NPIs)¹⁶;

(5.28) John *failed* to manage any of his finances effectively.

(John did *not* manage any of his finances effectively)

(5.29) Amy *forgot* to lock any doors.

(Amy did *not* lock any doors.)

(5.30) Rich people frequently *avoid* paying any taxes.

(Rich people frequently do *not* pay any taxes)

(5.31) John’s *lack* of any common sense resulted in bankruptcy.

(John did *not* have any common sense which resulted in bankruptcy)

(5.32) The *absence* of any food was a disappointment.

(There wasn’t any food which was a disappointment)

Whilst it is clear that many inherently negative words do function in the same way as the core forms (*not* and *no*), Givón’s assertion that they are ‘bleached’ of semantic content appears unsustainable where so many can function as textual vehicles for negation in this way.

¹⁶ Negative polarity items are polarity sensitive lexical items which occur in a limited number of contexts, but not in affirmatives, e.g. NPIs are licenced by negation, complements of adversative predicates like be surprised, be, the focus of a yes-no question, rhetorical information questions, comparative and evaluative constructions (Israel 1999: 710). The possibility of the co-occurrence of NPIs has long been one of the tests for negative polarity, e.g. Klima 1964 and Huddleston and Pullum 2002)

Moreover, an examination of just a small selection of inherently negative lexical items seems highly suggestive that additional semantic content is also present. For example;

- (5.33) (a) John *forgot* to have any of his lunch.
 (b) John *failed* to have any of his lunch
 (c) John is *yet to* have any of his lunch.

Each of the examples in (5.33) entails that John did not have his lunch, but there is further semantic content conveyed by the particular form of negator; for (a) we can understand that John intended to have lunch; for (b), John tried to have lunch, and in (c), although he has not had lunch so far, it remains a future possibility. I would suggest, then, that rather than simply being grammaticalised lexical items as Givón suggests, there is a synthesis of grammatical function and semantic content.

The issues of concern, then, are how semantic forms of negation can be identified and what types of additional semantic content is brought to bear by these forms. The former will be addressed next. The latter, however, is primarily concerned with the notion that negation occurs in either analytic or synthetic form, and the types of semantic negator is part of the question of what motivates variation in the typology and will be addressed in the context of synthesis in Chapter 6.

5.3.4.1 Identifying semantic negation

As Jeffries (2010a) notes, inherently or semantic negators form an open ended category and attempting to list all the words that could potentially be a member would present a daunting, if not impossible enterprise. Nor would such an exercise be particularly fruitful. This section, then, will only provide a brief outline of semantic negation and focus on the means of identifying which lexical items could be considered textual vehicles for negation.

Semantic negators occur in verb, noun, adverbial and adjectival forms. The following examples list the negator followed by a paraphrase using a prototypical form:

Verbs

- (5.34) (a) John **lacked** compassion = John did **not** have compassion/John had **no** compassion.
- (b) Erica **failed** to win friends and influence people = Erica did **not** win friends and influence people.
- (c) John **omitted** relevant details on his application form = John did **not** put relevant details on his application form
- (d) Erica **forgot** to mention her appointment = Erica did **not** mention her appointment.
- (e) The weather **kept** Jack **from** causing mischief = Because of the weather, Jack did **not** cause mischief.
- (f) The escaped prisoner **evaded/avoided** capture = The prisoner was **not** captured.

Nouns

- (5.35) (a) There was an **absence** of fruit at breakfast = there was **no** fruit
- (b) Erica suffered from a **lack** of tact = Erica had **no** tact
- (c) There was a **dearth/scarcity** of buns on offer = there were **no** buns on offer.

Adjectives

- (5.36) (a) John's details were **absent** = John's details were **not** present
- (b) The library was found **wanting** when it came to books on negation = there were **no** books on negation in the library.
- (c) The **missing** speaker caused problems for the organisers = a (one of the) speaker(s) was **not** present, which caused problems for the organisers.

Adverbs

(5.37) (a) John went to the cinema **rather than** finishing his essay = John went to the cinema and did not finish his essay.

(b) **Instead** of calling her mother, Amy went to the cinema with John = Amy did **not** ring her mother and went to the cinema with John.

(c) John went to the cinema **without** checking with Amy first = John did **not** check with Amy before he went to the cinema.

A significant difficulty that arises in constructing a category of semantic negators is that it can be viewed as being driven by an impressionistic analysis of semantic content. A resolution to this problem can, in part at least, be provided by tests that determine the extent to which inherent negators grammatically function in the same way as prototypical negators (NPI test) and how far they would overlap with the propositional content of constructions using a prototypical negator (paraphrase test as used above) that is, do lexical items produce a negative entailment or implicature¹⁷? (Huddleston and Pullum 2002:836).

Huddleston and Pullum (2002) consider what they refer to as 'covertly negative lexical items' (2002:835) within the context of their co-occurrence with NPIs, but they do so on the basis of examining which contexts sanction their use rather than as a test for whether a lexical item can be considered as inherently negative. However, they also consider whether or not lexical items produce negative entailments or implicatures by means of paraphrasing. They provide a range of examples to illustrate e.g.;

(5.38) (a) The authorities **failed** to do a thing to ensure the child's safety.

(b) Lee **forgot** to take a blind bit of notice when they were giving directions.

(c) We **kept** him from telephoning anyone before the police arrived.

¹⁷ These tests are also applicable to other implied forms of negation with the same caveats on reliability.

Here then, *failed*, *forgot* and 'kept' co-occur with NPIs, 'a thing', 'a blind bit of' and 'anyone', and produce negative entailments;

- (5.39) (a) The authorities did not do a thing to ensure the child's safety.
(b) Lee did not take a blind bit of notice when they were giving directions.
(c) He didn't telephone anyone before the police arrived.

However, Huddleston and Pullum include in their class of covertly negative lexical items words that, whilst behaving like prototypical negators in that they take NPIs, cannot be paraphrased with prototypical negators and do not express an absence. Their categories of covertly negative lexical items include expressions of doubt, counter expectation and unfavourable evaluation and they demonstrate that such expression licence NPIs, for example;

- (5.40) (a) I doubt that Lee has been to the theatre in ages. (Expression of doubt)
(b) It astounds me that they took any notice of him. (Expression of counter- expectations)
(c) It would be foolish to take any unnecessary risks.

Huddleston and Pullum suggest that expressions of doubt have a 'clear' relation with negation; 'to doubt is to entertain the possibility that some proposition is false. The verb *doubt* with a declarative clause complement suggests an inclination to believe that the proposition is false' (2002:836). This is not clearly an expression of absence as the suggestion of an inclination to believe that a proposition is false is not the same as expressing an absence of going to the theatre. It is better characterised as an absence of belief and can be paraphrased as

- (5.41) I don't believe Lee's been to the theatre in ages.

Whilst expressions of doubt could be accommodated as realisations of absence, it is on the basis of the absence of belief in rather than an absence of the content of the complement. Expressions of counter-expectation and unfavourable evaluation, however, are more problematic; Huddleston and Pullum argue that (5.40) (b) and (c) create implicatures that sanction the occurrence of NPIs. In (5.40)(b) that is that the speaker has a prior expectation

that they would not take any notice of him, and in (5.40) (c) it is that someone should not take any more risks than the minimum (2002:836). Even though these examples licence NPIs, (5.40) (b) implicates an expectation of absence rather than the absence itself, and (5.40) (c) does not present an absence, but an evaluation of possible future actions.

Because NPIs are licensed by constructions other than negation and are therefore not consistent in indicating that a construction realises an absence, using NPIs as a test for determining the classification of linguistic expressions as negation is unreliable. However, paraphrasing does provide a basis for classification and will be applied in the following sections on further implied forms of negators.

5.3.4.2 Peripheral semantic forms

In this section I want to return to the issue of opposite terms and consider Givón's inclusion of antonyms as a form of negation. I will also consider the small range of semantically positive and negative forms that straddle the divide between negation and affirmation.

Givón (2001), in his typology of negators argues that antonymy can in fact function as negation, asserting that lexical items with antonymous relations, such as *tall* and short, loud and quiet, negation is at work. He argues that in pairs of antonymous words, one member of the pair is marked as a lack of a property of the unmarked pair, that is, short lacks the property of being long. He explains this through a dual approach; firstly that the category of long and short is termed as length (as opposed to *shortth). Secondly, in terms of perception, long is more easily visually perceived than short, therefore, short is the marked member of the pair as it required additional effort to perceive short things. However, this seems to be a flawed argument. Take a similar pair of adjectives to 'long' and 'short', 'fat' and 'thin', they both prototypically describe characteristics of a physical object. However, fat and thin are components of size, where long and short are components of length (tall and short would be

height). So, 'size' errs neither towards fat nor thin (unlike length in long and short). So although it is true of long and short that the category name, length errs towards long, in fat and thin, it does not, suggesting that this rule cannot be applied to antonymous relations in general to indicate markedness. There is also a socio-cultural or pragmatic notion; in today's Western society at least, 'fat' is widely conceived of as a lack of thinness, but in Givón's criteria, fat, as more easily perceived would be the unmarked and therefore positive member of the pair.

Despite the criticisms levelled at Givón here, there is a sense in which antonymic opposition, because of its regularity, necessarily involves the negation of its opposite (Jeffries 2009). The extent to which both binary terms are available during interpretation, however, is still debateable. Further, as noted above, there are opposites that can be demonstrated to err towards a negation reading (e.g. *fail*/succeed).

Whilst there has been little attention paid in general to inherently negative lexical items, there has, however, been significant attention paid to a small class of words that have been variously referred to as 'fuzzy negators' (Tottie 1977), 'quasi negators' (Atlas 1997), 'seminegative words' (Hidalgo-Downing 2000) or 'approximate negators' (Huddleston and Pullum 2002) (see also for example Horn 1989, Verhagen 2005). This group of words includes the adverbs barely, rarely, 'seldom', 'hardly' and 'scarcely', and the determiners 'few' and 'little'.

Huddleston and Pullum (2002) refer to these forms as approximate negators in that they approximate zero and behave in the same way as syntactic negators in that they co-occur with Negative Polarity Items including the determiner 'any' (see also for example Quirk and Greenbaum 1973, Atlas (1997), Horn 1989, Klima 1964);

(5.42) (a) There was *n't* any food left

(b) There was *hardly/scarcely/barely/seldom/rarely* any food left

Similarly, Tottie (1977) notes that 'fuzzy negators' can take positive tag questions and can be followed by the *neither* conjunction in the same way as *not*;

- (5.43) (a) John didn't go to the shop, did he?
 (b) John seldom/rarely went to the shop, did he?
- (5.44) (a) No writers accepts suggestions, and neither do many publisher.
 (b) Few writers accept suggestions, and neither do many publishers

However, whilst these forms behave like negators, they do not in fact realise an absence, only a near absence, and Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 816) suggest they only approximate zero; in (5.42) (b) whilst there is not much food left, there is a minimal amount, or some left on a minimal number of occasions, equally if it is barely raining, it is raining, but only minimally. Tottie (1977) suggests that this approximation of zero gives these forms negative force. Huddleston and Pullum (2002) account for the difference between what these forms mean and their negative force. They suggest that, in general, approximate negators are imprecise quantifiers that entail that the upper bound of a relevant scale is not high, but only implicate that the lower bound of the scale is not zero. In (5.43) (b) 'John seldom went to the shop', 'seldom' entails that 'John often went to the shop' is false, but only implicates that 'John never went to the shop' is false. That the lower bound is only implicated can be supported by the fact that the implicature can be defeated; 'John seldom, if ever, went to the shop'.

Tottie (1977) argues that this negative pragmatic force is not constant, but variable according to sentence position. She found in a series of tests where participants were asked to fill in the blank with either a positive or negative term, for example;

- (5.45) (a) My brother seldom drinks tea.....do I.
 (b) I have little hope.....has my friend.

Her results showed that neither occurred significantly more frequently than a positive version. However, she also found that the syntactic position of little affected the frequency with which it was interpreted as negative. For example, the results for (5.46) were inconclusive;

(5.46) Little good came of this.....much harm.

This small group of lexical items, then, whilst not indicating an absence, do seem to have negative pragmatic force. On the other side of the affirmation/negation divide is an even smaller group of words that is rarely discussed (see Horn 1996), these are **almost** and **nearly** (see also **just short of** in grammaticalised metaphors and **all but**) (see table 5.4 for examples). Whereas 'hardly', 'barely', 'scarcely' and so, on indicate a presence, if a minimal one, **almost** and **nearly** indicate an absence, but only a minimal one. Where the former have negative pragmatic force, the latter have positive pragmatic force. Further, this small group of quasi positives do not co-occur in the same syntactic context as negation;

(5.47) (a) Amy **didn't** finish any of the work - negation

(b) Amy **almost** finished *any/some of the work.

(c) Amy finished *some* of the work – affirmation.

There is, then, a small group of words which straddle the divide between affirmation and negation in that they semantically indicate absence or presence, but have the opposite pragmatic force (fig 5.1). Tottie (1977) argues that the occurrence of negative adverbials, 'barely', 'scarcely', 'rarely' and negative quantifiers 'few' and 'little' provide evidence for the notion that varying degrees of negative force can be expressed, existing on a continua from strong to weak; "There is thus no sharp distinction between strong and weak sentence negation, but a gradual transition from stronger to weaker" (1977:43). Though Tottie's comments are concerned with this small group of lexical items, her argument captures the notion that variation in negation is motivated by expression variation in force. What motivates the need for weak or strong negation will be considered in Chapter 6.

Quasi negatives	Barely	Each day, 17 babies are stillborn or die shortly after birth, a figure that has <i>barely</i> changed since the late 1990. http://www.guardian.co.uk/society/2012/jan/18/charity-action-baby-deaths-stillbirths?newsfeed=true
	Scarcely	<i>Scarcely</i> any mainstream US financial institutions are willing to buy. http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/5b47a460-3ae5-11e1-b7ba-00144feabdc0.html#axzz1jnm2e7Ts
	Rarely	“Thank you” are two words <i>rarely</i> used in politics, certainly not in any sincere way. http://www.scotsman.com/news/cartoon/peter_jones_it_s_really_not_hard_to_say_thank_you_scotland_1_2060006
	Hardly	Until yesterday, I can’t say I’d ever read Now magazine and had certainly never bought a copy, which is <i>hardly</i> surprising as it’s a celebrity gossip magazine aimed at young women. http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-2088111/Spare-honeymoon-night-tales-Mr-Cameron.html#ixzz1jolW8vyI
	Seldom	The ghosts of Europe's troubled past hover over the institutions of the European Union but <i>seldom</i> come to life. http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/wintour-and-watt/2012/jan/17/eu-francisco-franco
	Few	Recruiters have warned there are <i>few</i> sectors likely to see an increase in job vacancies this year as the eurozone crisis threatens British job creation. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/jobs/9022212/Unemployment-rise-reaction.html
Quasi positives	Little	“When I decided to take a career break and left Deloitte, <i>little</i> did I know that I would end up using my experience of the City to write a fiction series about the lives of four professional women working on a high-profile M&A deal...” http://www.efinancialnews.com/story/2012-01-17/life-after-the-city-penny-avis?mod=blogheadlines-home
	Nearly	Mr Livingstone said <i>nearly</i> all his policies from tackling climate change to building more homes were aimed at the under-25s. doc 39
	Almost	Britain's highest-paid quango bosses are <i>almost</i> doubling their salaries

	All but	with six-figure bonuses, special allowances and pension windfalls, an investigation by The Daily Telegraph has found. The Telegraph 29/08/11
	Short of	Hillary Clinton's bid for the US presidency is <i>all but</i> over. Sunday Morning Herald 08/05/08
		Although the MP for Vauxhall, South London, fell <i>short of</i> naming Mr Livingstone, of whom she has been highly critical, Daily Mail 30/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 1

table.5. 4 examples of quasi negatives and quasi positives

Negation	Affirmation
Semantically negative	Semantically positive
Nearly Almost (just short of)	Barely Scarcely Rarely Seldom Few little
Positive force →	← Negative force

Fig 5.1 pragmatic force and quasi negatives and quasi positives¹⁸

5.3.5 Pragmatic forms

With pragmatic forms, we move towards the peripheries of the category of textual vehicles for negation. The following examples of implied negation are included on the basis that

¹⁸ There are a wide range of expressions that cluster around this point between affirmation and negation, e.g. *all but*, *in sight of*, *for all practical purposes*, *virtually*, *only just*.

they can be paraphrased with one of the core prototypical negators, but do not contain any overt markers of negation. Where appropriate, I also refer to the possibility of the co-occurrence of implied forms with NPIs; while, as noted above, NPI tests can prove to be problematic, because they only occur in non-affirmative contexts, they can at least establish that forms included are not affirmatives.

Research in this area of implied forms of negation is sporadic and tends to focus on individual forms or other language phenomena rather than on the notion of a range of implied negators. For example, Dancygier and Sweetser's (2005) (see also Sweetser 2006 and Dancygier 2010) analysis of past tense conditional constructions (if...then) illustrates that such constructions imply that some situation that is the subject of hypothesising did not happen; the negation is, in a sense, the by-product of construction. Yamanshi (2000) on the other hand, is concerned with the range of metaphors which have become grammaticalised as, and therefore function as, negation markers. Work on Jespersen's cycle¹⁹ has also shown that sentence elements can migrate from one function to another (e.g. Kiparsky and Condoravdi 2006, Horn 2002 Van der Auwera 2008); that is, lexical items which formerly functioned as strengthening elements to negation have the potential to become grammaticalised and function as negators themselves. This is evident in the case of expletive negators (e.g. Horn 2002a, Dundes 2002). Within his discussion of the contexts that licence NPIs, Horn (2002) draws on examples of implied negation which he views as unlicensed NPIs. These NPIs appear to function as negators, for example, the ironic reading of 'a fat lot of good **that** did me' (2002: 181) where *a fat lot of* implies *no*.

¹⁹ Jespersen's Cycle refers to a language development phenomenon whereby Negative polarity items have the potential to shift from a post verbal position functioning to strengthen the negator to function as the negator itself. Jespersen (1917) demonstrated this shift with references to developments in French where, he argued, the negation particle, *ne*, weakened over time and required additional support from *pas* (step). Over time, the *pas* element ceased to provide an emphatic force and was essential to the expression of neutral *ne* negation. Further development saw the potential for *pas* on its own to express negation without the need for *ne*. Jespersen (1917) argues that this is a cycle, and over time, *pas*, like its predecessor, will require strengthening from an additional sentence element. There has been significant research in this field in the intervening years since Jespersen put forward the idea (e.g. Schwenter 2005, Kiparsky and Condoravdi 2006) which has both developed and challenged Jespersen's mechanism, as well as questioning whether the idea originated with him or earlier language analysts.

Type	Form	Examples
Grammaticalised metaphors	<p><i>Out of</i></p> <p><i>Left out</i></p> <p><i>apart from</i></p> <p><i>far from</i></p> <p><i>beyond(me/you/her)</i></p>	<p>Arsenal <i>out of</i> answers after latest defeat to Blackburn Rovers.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Telegraph 19/09/11</p> <p>Pubs in brewery town of Tadcaster <i>left out</i> of Good Beer Guide.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">The Press, 19/09/11</p> <p>The campaign, which will see the postcards sent to every area <i>apart from</i> Conservative heartlands, will also use the slogan in newspaper adverts and on billboards.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">The Evening Standard 29/04/2008–Appendix 1, document 8</p> <p><i>Far from</i> being "blundering political idiots", Johnson and Livingstone are "politicians of the first rank"</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Irish Times 26/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 20</p>
Expletive Negators	<p><i>Fuck all,</i></p> <p><i>bugger all,</i></p> <p><i>Jack shit,</i></p> <p><i>diddly squat</i></p>	<p>"That show sends out the message that you can be famous for doing <i>fuck all</i> and that you can succeed even if you're not a good singer,"</p> <p style="text-align: right;">http://www.stereoboard.com/content/view/167819/9</p> <p>So what's best for our mental wellbeing: going round and round in ever-decreasing visual circles, or being able to see miles and miles of <i>bugger all</i>, to paraphrase the late Denis Thatcher?</p> <p style="text-align: right;">The Herald 20/09/11</p> <p>a withdrawal by his team from a race after flicking 'V' signs at [he said at the time] "journalists who know <i>jack-shit</i> about cycling".</p> <p style="text-align: right;">The Guardian 9/07/10</p> <p>'You've done <i>diddly squat</i>': actor Cumming slams Obama over gay rights.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">The Herald 24/10/10</p>

<p>Past tense modal auxiliaries</p>	<p><i>I wish you had x,</i></p> <p><i>you could have x,</i></p> <p><i>you should have x,</i></p> <p><i>you ought to have x.</i></p>	<p><i>I wish I had</i> a spare evening a week to sit around discussing fuel prices with other like-minded people in my area, perhaps over cheese and wine. <small>dailymail.co.uk 20/09/11</small></p> <p>There are always little moments where you think I <i>could have</i> handled that better. <small>The Guardian 19/09/11</small></p> <p>Boris <i>should have</i> picked that up, hard, and several other things in Tuesday's debate. <small>The Evening Standard 10/04/2008-Appendix 1, document 53</small></p> <p>He <i>ought to have</i> intervened immediately, or reported it up the chain of command but, in fact, it seems he did not have the courage to do either." <small>Guardian.co.uk 8/09/11</small></p>
<p>Past tense conditional constructions</p>	<p><i>If x, then y</i></p>	<p>"If I had been to university, then maybe the rough edges would have been smoothed out. " <small>The Evening Standard 30/04/2008-Appendix 1, document 3</small></p>

Table 5.5 Summary of Pragmatic forms of negators with examples

By the very nature of implied meaning, the range of constructions that could give rise to an implied form of negation is limited only by the use of language in the context of communication. This section then will focus on only a small illustrative selection of forms that realise an absence. The criterion for this selection is that these forms, although pragmatic in nature, can be understood to realise an absence across a range of contexts rather than requiring a highly specific context in order to generate it. Table 5.5 summarises the range of implied negators considered in this section.

Like the category as a whole, the range of pragmatically constructed negators ranges between those that are closer to the prototypical forms and those that are further away. This section, then, begins with what are likely to be the most easily recognised forms of implied

negation, grammaticalised lexical items. A range of metaphors and expletives have come to function as negators which have taken on some of the attributes of the syntactic forms.

5.3.5.1 Grammaticalised forms

This section considers two forms of grammaticalised negators, metaphors and expletives. Yamanashi (2000) posits the notion that a range of ‘indirect negative expressions’ are derived from our cognitive experience of the world and are understood through a metaphorical interpretation of space and location. He grounds this suggestion in the notion that lexical items can take on grammatical functions and thereby become grammaticalised (2000:243). Although he focuses on metaphor based expressions in Japanese, Yamanashi’s approach is based on the way in the ‘psychological and perceptual understanding of containment and boundedness constitutes one of the most basic and central parts of cognitive experience’ (2000:246). We can understand a range of metaphors functioning as negators based on the notion that physical space and boundedness maps on to conceptual space and boundedness, so phrases indicating that something is outside of the boundaries or distant from a location can metaphorically realise a negation. Yamanashi (2000: 245-51) posits three main categories of metaphor derived indirect expressions of negation; a) Boundary-based orientation, b) centre-periphery orientation, and c) container-content orientation.

- a) BOUNDARY-BASED ORIENTATION – we literally view the world from a particular vantage point, and the further away objects are, the more difficult they are to perceive. This maps onto the notion that the further away something is, metaphorically, the less likely it is to be the case. Yamanashi provides the following examples from English (2000:249);

(5.48) His conduct was *beyond* reproach

(5.49) She is **past** hope of recovery

(5.50) She is honest and **above** telling a lie

b) CENTRE-PERIPHERARY ORIENTATION – This category is based on the notion that central areas or spaces tend to be subjectively more important than peripheral ones. Yamanashi argues that this tendency serves as the metaphorical source domain for the notion that truth and relevance are closer to the centre, and falsity and irrelevance are on the periphery;

(5.51) That is **far from** the truth/**far from** being relevant

(5.52) That question is **beside** the point.

(5.53) Your answer is **wide of** the mark.

c) CONTAINER-CONTENT ORIENTATION – Here the basis of the expression of indirect negation hinges on the use of a container metaphor. Yamanashi follows Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) notion that we show a tendency to construe ourselves as bounded objects or containers with an in-out orientation. He further notes that these containers can be understood as containing some 'psychological or intellectual substance' (2000:250). Yamanashi (2000) relates this point to the use of 'lack' where an individual lacks some psychological or intellectual property, e.g. *He lacks moral fibre*. However, it is not difficult to extend this notion to any abstract notion that can be metaphorised as a container with contents (abstract or otherwise), for example;

(5.54) The school was **out of** books/ the teachers were **out of** patience /we're out of teabags – the school had no more books/the teachers had no more patience/ we don't have any more teabags

(5.55) John was **left out** of the line-up – John was not in the line-up.

Here it is the in-out orientation of the container metaphor that gives rise to the realisation of a pragmatic form of negation, but it need not be restricted to individuals, nor does what is absent need to be abstract.

Expletive negators are a type of implied negator that has come about as a result of language change. They can be observed to be in a state of flux where they can be used as either emphatic supports for negation or serve the function of a negator;

(5.56) (a) You don't know *bugger all* about keeping tropical fish.

(b) I don't *give a bugger* about tropical fish.

(c) You know *bugger all* about keeping tropical fish.

All of the examples in (5.56) are viable in present-day English. In (a) the expletive functions as a Negative Polarity item, providing emphatic support for the negator (not) as an indication of a minimal/negligible amount²⁰; the meaning then, is 'you don't know a minimal amount about keeping tropical fish'. As negation implies a pragmatic interpretation of *less than* when applied to quantifiable properties (Horn 1989), the result is, 'you know less than a minimal amount', that is, *nothing*. In (c), however, the expletive has taken on both the role of the negator and the minimiser and shifted to the role of negator on its own and can be paraphrased as *nothing*. Conflicting accounts of why this process takes place have been put forward (e.g. Horn 2002 and Kiparsky and Condoravdi 2006). Horn (2002) represents the view put forward by Jespersen (1917) that erosion in the strength of the pre-verbal negator²¹ results in the need for a strengthening element. Kiparsky and Condoravdi (2006), on the other hand, argue that such shifts can be accounted for through the process of 'bleaching' the emphatic force from a NPI. 'Bleaching' occurs when repeated and extensive use of an emphatic form leads to familiarity and thus a new strategy is required for supporting the negation function. See table 5.5 for further

²⁰ The most widely observed class of NPIs are minimisers. These are stereotypically minimal units and typically take the form of indefinite noun phrases (e.g. a jot, a crumb, a red cent, an iota) or incorporated in a verb phrase idiom (lift a finger, bat an eyelid, miss a beat) (Israel 1999: 715). Potsma (2001) suggests that these taboo forms of NPIs (*bugger all*, *fuck all*, *sod all* and so on) are semantically empty (empty of sexual meaning), and constitute a productive area in the realisation of the minimiser function.

²¹ The erosion comes about as a result of the contraction of the negator, *not*, with the auxiliary verb or dummy auxiliary – e.g. *isn't*, *wasn't*, *can't*, *won't*, *don't*, *didn't*. This can result in a minimal representation of the negation marker, particularly in spoken language, e.g. /ɪnɪʔ/, /dʌnoʊ/.

examples of expletive negators. The question of the relative force of negators will be discussed Chapter 6.

5.3.5.2 Modality and past tense conditional constructions

This section considers constructions which produce negation as a by-product of another textual practice, hypothesising. These are modals expressing boulomaic and deontic modality and hypothesising through past tense counterfactual conditionals. Jeffries (2010a) argues that, like the category of textual vehicles for negation, the textual vehicles for hypothesising are many and varied. The textual practice itself reflects the sense in which texts don't necessarily hold a mirror up to the world, but represent 'the speaker's or writer's view of how the world is or might be, how it ought to be or how they wish it was' (2010a:114). Hypothesising then, like negation, involves the contemplation of possible alternatives. Jeffries' discussion is concerned with linguistic realisations and ideological effects of hypothesising about past, present and future alternatives. However, the focus here is on only on those constructions that overlap with the practice of negating and thus imply an absence. These forms have traditionally been approached as semantic presupposition triggers, but are treated here as pragmatic as their role as negators is implicit rather than explicit and dependent on context.

These forms typically, though not exclusively occur in past tense constructions. The significance of past tense here concerns the way in the distancing of past tense morphology produces a context in which the outcome of a situation is typically already known (Dancygier and Sweetser 2005:71).

Some past tense modals have the effect of implying that some hypothesised situation is known not to have been the case; it generates a counterfactual scenario. For example;

(5.57) (a) John should have paid attention in the lecture.

Implies – John did not pay attention in the lecture.

(b) I ought to have taken up skiing as a pastime.

Implies – I did not take up skiing as a pastime.

(c) I would have liked him to have shifted his stuff.

Implies – He did not shift his stuff

(d) You could have let me finish before you took the plate away!

Implies – You did not let me finish before you took the plate away.

(e) I wish I'd had a million pounds.

Implies – I didn't have a million pounds.

The expression of a desire for some situation in (a) to (e) implies that it ('paying attention', 'taking up skiing' and so on) is an alternative to the actual situation. When combined with the past tense morphology, the implication is that the desired situation was absent. However, this type of construction need not only have past tense morphology, nor do all instances of past tense use generate absences. For example;

(5.58) (a) I wish you would do the washing-up.

(b) He would go on to be an expert in his field.

(c) He should have finished, I'll go and check.

(d) You ought to have found that easy. Did you?

(e) He could have driven to work. His car will be in the car park if he did.

In (5.58) (a) the use of the modal expression 'wish' is context dependent and could either be an indicator of the desire for a future action, or a generic wish that the 'you' would do something

that they do not normally do. In (5.58) (b), 'would', used without 'have', indicates a future event. (c) to (e) display the past tense morphology and the use of a modal, but the following clauses ('I'll go and check', 'Did you?', and 'His car will be in the car park if he did') all make clear that the outcome of a past event is not known. These are therefore, are only hypothesising, and do not realise an absence.

A major strategy in hypothesising is the use of conditional constructions; *if p then q*. Dancygier and Sweetser (2005), have carried out substantial research in the area of conditional constructions, and like Jeffries' approach to textual practices, they note that conditionality can be realised through a variety of forms. Where their work on conditionality overlaps with that on negation is in the notion that past tense conditional constructions can produce the effect of evoking alternate, counterfactual scenarios. Dancygier and Sweetser (2005) note, however, that 'counterfactuality is not a conventional meaning of the forms involved, but rather a contextually prompted inference from those forms in context' (2005:71).

Conditional constructions are made up of a *p* clause (antecedent) and a *q* clause (consequent). The *p* clause sets up the conditions for the *q* clause;

(5.59) *If it rains (p), then I'll take the car (q) / I'll take the car (q) if it rains (p).*

In (5.59), the *p* clause sets up the conditions under which the *q* clause could occur. It is hypothesising about some possible future event. Alternatively, in (5.60) the hypothesis concerns a present situation, but one that is unknown, and a future event that is contingent on finding out whether the *p* clause is true or false.

(5.60) *If it is raining, then I'll take the car*

Where past tense morphology is added, the conditional structure gives rise to an implied counterfactual, as in (5.61).

(5.61) *If it had been raining, then I would have taken the car.*

(5.61) can be paraphrased as ‘it was not raining so I did not take the car’. Dancygier and Sweetser (2005) suggest that this is one of the cognitively simplest forms of counterfactual;

Counterfactuality represents the “strongest” case of both temporal and epistemic distance. It presents the space being set up as directly contradicting a reality that is known and cannot be changed. But remarkably, this kind of counterfactual interpretation is also one of the cognitively simplest ones, since all it does is reverse some known assumption about a reality (spelled out in the p-clause) and imagine it not to be true.

Dancygier and Sweetser 2005:76

However, there is a certain amount of complexity introduced through the combination of positive and negative implied clauses; the combination of prototypical negators with past tense conditional structures function in a similar way to multiple negation in that one negator logically cancels out the other.

(5.62) If it had **not** been raining, I wouldn’t have taken my car.

(5.63) If there had been **no** rain, there would have been **no** reason to take my car

In (5.62), the combination of past tense conditional with the syntactic negator not, produces a positive in that ‘it was raining’ and ‘I did take my car’. This remains in line with Dancygier and Sweetser’s (2005) notion that counterfactual conditionals reverse a known reality, in this case, that it had *not* been raining. This basic form produces two absences, one in the p clause and one in the q clause. However, this combination of implied positives and implied negatives is flexible:

(5.64) (a) If Jim had gone to the party, then he would have got a goody bag.

Implies – Jim did not go to the party, and he did not get a goody bag.

(b) If Jim had not gone to the party, then he would not have got a goody bag.

Implies – Jim went to the party and he got a goody bag.

(c) If Jim had not gone to the party, then he would have got a goody bag.

Implies – Jim went to the party and did not get a goody bag.

(d) If Jim had gone to the party, he would not have got a goody bag.

Implies – Jim did not go to the party and he got a goody bag.

A certain note of caution is required at this point; as noted, past tense conditionals only *imply* counterfactuality based on temporal distance in the past tense morphology and the structure of *if p,q*. The context in which the utterance occurs can determine whether it is a counterfactual or a hypothetical utterance. If we add some context to (5.64) (a) where a speaker is speculating whether Jim might have a goody bag, then the events of the past (whether or not Jim went to the party) are unknown and are the subject of speculation.

5.4 Conclusions

This chapter has presented a typology of negation that ranges from the prototypical form, *not* and *no*, to peripheral forms in the shape of implied negatives, e.g. past tense conditionals. This typology has taken a broad view of what constitutes a ‘textual vehicle’ for negation, going beyond the prototypical morphosyntactic realisations and has significant consequences for research generally into negation. As Hidalgo-Downing (2000) notes, research into negation frequently focuses on explicit forms in declarative structures outside the context of use, and further work needs to be done to determine if implicit forms function grammatically and pragmatically in the same way as explicit forms. This broad view of what constitutes a negator could also potentially influence research into distributional patterns of negation in relation to affirmation. As noted above, both Givón and Tottie argue that affirmation is significantly more frequent than negation. However, as Tottie (1991) and Watson (1999) note, it is difficult, if not impossible, to automate a quantitative measure of inherent negation, and it is likely to be even more difficult with negation that is implied by context. The relative proportion of negation to affirmation then may be higher than assumed, but there are currently no means

of testing this hypothesis other than a laborious and time-consuming close reading of a significantly sized corpus.

Motivations for variation in the linguistic form of negation

6.1 Introduction

I began the last chapter with the notion that the conceptual practice of negating can be realised through a wide range of linguistic forms. Chapter 5 was concerned with providing an outline of this range. This chapter addresses the question of what motivates this variation and proposes that these motivations can be divided into four main areas;

- i. Scope – the sentence or utterance elements that negators take scope over.
- ii. Synthesis –additional syntactic, semantic or pragmatic elements
- iii. Discourse constraints – the constraints on choice determined by stylistic, text –type, and lexical gap considerations.
- iv. Force – the variable focus on possible presence or actual absence.

Essentially, the last chapter considered the *how* of variable form, this chapter considers the *why*. Of the four motivations listed here, the most significant in the context of this thesis are i) and iv); i) scope, is a question of what is negated, and therefore what constitutes the content of the pragmatically presupposed expected positive, and iv) force/variable focus, is concerned with speakers'/writers' choices in how the conceptual practice of negating is performed. In choosing one form of negation over another, speakers/writers are able to vary the pragmatic force of negation by shifting focus between the possibility of presence and the actuality of absence. These two factors, when considered alongside the context of use, form part of the basis for determining how and what utterances containing negation mean in context. However, the choice between negators appears to be constrained, to some extent, by the functional

requirements of synthesis (e.g. quantifier and negator combined) and what Tottie (1980) refers to as 'knockout' constraints on the distribution of prototypical negators (syntactic and affixal negators). Since these features constrain writers'/speakers' choice of negator rather than contributing to meaningful variation between them, they will only be considered in brief here.

6.2 Scope

Issues of scope are fundamental to comprehending negation. Scope relates to the sentence or utterance elements that fall under the influence of a negator. This includes whether negators take scope over verb phrases, which prototypically negate propositions, noun phrases, which take scope over portions of a proposition rather than the whole, and word level, in which morphological negators take scope over the base words to which they attach. Whilst this variation can be realised through the choice of a particular linguistic form of negator, such as the choice between *not*, *no* and *un-*, they can also be realised by syntactic position. The importance of scope lies in its relationship to the presuppositional nature of negation; as established in Chapter 4, negation can be viewed as a pragmatic presupposition trigger, but the extent of what is presupposed is determined by which sentence or utterance elements fall within the scope of a negator.

This approach is largely based on the distinctions offered by Huddleston and Pullum (2002) and Givón (2001). However, as noted in the last chapter, Huddleston and Pullum's focus on providing a grammar of English negation, with only brief forays into the pragmatic aspects of its use, results in the need to adapt their classifications to suit a broader definition of negation as a conceptual practice. Hence, where their discussion of the scope of negation focuses on the core negators, the discussion here is concerned with how both explicit and implicit forms take scope over sentence and utterance elements.

6.2.1 Sentence scope

Sentence scope appears to be relatively simple in that it is concerned with which elements of sentences fall under the scope of a negator and thus constitute the pragmatically presupposed expected positive. However, there is no clear form/function correlation between textual vehicles for negation and the sentence elements they take scope over. Consequently, the various types of negators listed in the last chapter can be seen to behave in ways that allow them to take scope over both propositions and constituent parts of propositions. Huddleston and Pullum (2002) demonstrate that both analytic *not* negation and synthetic negators can take scope over both clausal and sub-clausal sentence elements, functioning to negate either propositions or elements of propositions.

- (6.1) (a) Amy did not finish her homework. (Clausal – takes scope over the proposition – *Amy finished her homework*)
- (b) Not all of Amy's homework was finished. (sub-clausal – taking scope over *all of Amy's homework*)
- (c) Amy was berated for not finishing her homework. (Sub-clausal – taking scope over *finishing her homework*, but not *Amy was berated*)
- (e) She finished it in no time (sub-clausal –taking scope over time)
- (f) They were arguing about nothing (sub-clausal – taking scope over something)
- (g) They showed no remorse. (clausal – taking scope over They showed remorse.)
- (h) You did nothing about it. (Clausal – taking scope over You did something about it)

(i) I dislike her work (clausal – taking scope over I like her work)

(j) Unfinished work remains a problem for the company (sub-clausal – taking scope over finished [work])

Whilst such fluidity in behaviour is observed for the core syntactic negators, implied forms of negation are restricted. For example, the inherently negative verbs such as *forgot*, combine the negation function with verb function and, whilst producing a propositional equivalent of *not*, cannot negate other sentence elements in the same way as *not*. Similarly, *should*, as a modal auxiliary takes scope over clauses rather than sub-clauses, and past tense conditionals take scope over the propositional content of the *p* and *q* clauses.

Co-textual as well as syntactic features can influence the scope of negators. Givón (2001: 381) (see also Huddleston and Pullum 2002) notes that optional sentence elements, such as adverbial clauses can attract the focus of negators in the case of verb phrase *not* negation. For example, in (6.2) the addition of the prepositional phrase ‘with a gun’, shifts the focus of the negator to this phrase rather than the proposition, ‘she shot him’;

(6.2) She didn’t shoot him *with a gun* = she shot him, but not with a gun. (Optional instrumental)

Example from Givón 2001: 381

Givón includes further optional constituents in the form of ‘benefactive’, ‘associative’, and purpose, time, frequency and locative adverbials. However, these optional elements need not take the focus of the negator; as Givón also notes, scope can be expressed through the use of contrastive stress. Stress on *individual* sentence elements in the case of syntactic *not* negation can create focused negation which, in Givón’s terms, take scope over subject, object or verbs. Though this is primarily a feature of spoken language, contrastive stress can be realised through graphological measures, here through italicised bold text;

- (6.3) (a) John didn't kill the goat = He did not kill the goat. (Neutral VP-negation)
- (b) John didn't kill the goat = Someone else killed it, but not John. (Subject focus)
- (c) John didn't kill the goat = He killed something, but not the goat. (Object focus)
- (d) John didn't kill the goat = John did something to the goat, but not kill it. (Verb focus)

Givón 2001: 380-1

The use of contrastive stress can override the potential shift in focus brought about by the addition of optional elements. For example, in (6.4) placing stress on the subject ('she') or direct object ('the book') can produce quite different meanings relative to scope:

- (6.4) (a) She didn't write the book for her father. (Optional benefactive)
- = Somebody wrote the book for her father, but not her.
- (b) She didn't write the book for her father.
- = She wrote something for her father, but not the book

6.2.2 Semantic scope

Whereas sentence scope is concerned with sentence elements, semantic scope is concerned with which aspects of semantic content can be subject to the scope of a negator. The negation function can be characterised as negating events, entities and attributes, but can be further characterised as negating quantifiable and non-quantifiable properties of the situation in focus. This can be approached via the notions of gradability and complementarity.

- (6.5) (a) John walked the dog
- (b) John did not walk the dog

- (6.6) (a) John was happy
- (b) John was not happy
- (c) John was unhappy

In (6.5), (a) and (b) between them exhaust all possibilities and represent complementary positions in that John either walked the dog or he did not; there is no intermediate stage in between. However, in (6.6) 'happy' is a gradable adjective, so negating one end of the scale happy/sad, as in (b) and (c), is not equivalent to sad, nor do they exhaust all points on the scale, only one end²².

Where this is relevant to semantic scope is in the notion that different uses of negation can take scope over different semantic components of words relating to gradable or non-gradable properties. This is most clearly demonstrated in the differences generated by variation in negative prefixes. In the discussion on morphological negators in the last chapter, it was noted that whilst there is significant overlap in the semantic content of individual negative affixes, there is potential in the differences to take variation in scope. This is usefully demonstrated in those examples of base words which can take alternate affixes, for example;

- (6.7) (a) Unrealistic (b) Non-realistic
- (6.8) (a) Un-American (b) Non-American
- (6.9) (a) Immoral (b) Amoral
- (6.10) (a) Irreligious (b) Non-religious
- (6.11) (a) Inhuman (b) Non-human

²² Jeffries (2009) notes the tendency for negated gradable adjectives to be interpreted as though they were complementary rather than gradable. In which case, not happy and unhappy are interpreted to mean sad even though they only indicate some point on the scale other than happy.

In these examples, the (a) prefix negators can be observed to take scope over the qualities associated with the base word, whilst in the (b) constructions they take scope over the classification function of the base word. In his analysis of morphologically negated adjectives Kjellmer (2005) refers to this variation as ‘classification’ and ‘characterisation’. Where the negator takes scope over the denotational aspect, it produces a negation of the classification of the base word, whereas, if it takes scope over the connotational aspects, it is a characterisation of the base word²³. To be ‘inhuman’ then, is to belong to a set of entities classified as ‘human’, but to lack the qualities associated with being human.

The same effect can be observed in selective uses of the quantifier *no* over *not*. For example

(6.12) (a) Henry is no leader

(b) Henry is not a leader

In this example, (a) can be glossed as ‘Henry is not a good leader’ whereas in (b), ‘Henry does not have the role of leader’. In (a) then, the use of the quantifier *no* takes scope over quantifiable aspects of ‘leader’, rather than simply the classification of Henry as a leader. The variation in scope leaves intact the propositional content that Henry is a leader, but takes scope over the characterisation of Henry as having the qualities of a leader.

However, such variation in scope can only occur where there is a possibility that the negated lexical item can occur as adjective or noun. In the following example, the same syntactic structure is supported, but the occurrence of ‘fool’ does not overlap with its adjectival form ‘foolish’. As a consequence, it is likely to be understood as an emphatic form rather than a variation in scope;

²³ See also Horn (1989, 2002), Zimmer 1964, Hamawand (2009). The same phenomenon is discussed but using differing terms relating to classification and characterisation. Horn refers to ‘descriptive’ and ‘emotive’ content of the base word.

(6.13) Henry is no fool.

6.2.3 Utterance/context scope

The debate on metalinguistic negation (e.g. Horn 1989, Carston 1998, Burton-Roberts 2005) demonstrates that negation can also take scope over any aspect of utterance content including, lexical choice, pronunciation, scalar implicatures, and refers to the unassertability of a proposition based on the form of the assertion rather than its propositional content. For example

(6.14) Stephanie didn't climb Mount Fuji

In (6.14) the negator can take scope over the propositional content such that an event in which Stephanie climbed Mount Fuji did not take place. However, with the addition of a following correcting clause, the scope of the negation is shifted;

(6.15) Stephanie didn't climb Mount Fuji, she scaled it.

Here the negator does not take scope over the propositional content, but over an element of utterance meaning, namely the implications of the lexical choice of 'scaled' rather than 'climb'. 'Climb' and 'scale' can be viewed as semantically related in that they represent progressively more difficulty in ascending. The pragmatically presupposed expected positive here then, is not the supposed prior assertion that 'Stephanie climbed Mount Fuji', but that 'Stephanie climbed Mount Fuji and it was relatively easy'.

The kind of variation in scope outlined here is restricted to the use of analytic verbal negation (**not**) and can only be realised through the addition of a following correcting clause. It is this necessity of a correcting clause that strongly suggests that this type of usage should be viewed as a question of scope rather than of any special category of negator or negation

function. Nonetheless, such uses have given rise to significant debate on the potential pragmatic or semantic ambiguity of negation. This is predominantly a question of the interpretation of negation and will be discussed further in chapter 7. However, it is included here in order to illustrate that such uses of negation can be approached from the point of view of scope rather than ambiguity.

The case of metalinguistic negation illustrates the importance of co-text in determining the scope of a negator. Co-text, too, can determine which parts of propositional meaning are the focus of a negator. Take for example Mark Anthony's famous assertion in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (Act 3 scene ii)²⁴;

(6.16) I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him.

We can observe that the word 'praise' has two component meanings; on the one hand it refers to the event of speaking and on the other, it refers to the type of speech act that takes place (i.e. 'praising' rather than, for example, 'criticising') The co-text here, 'I come to bury Caesar', as a reference to a different type of event, indicates that the negator takes scope over the event aspect of 'praising'. If the co-text had been 'I come to criticise Caesar', since 'criticise' also involves speaking, the negator would only take scope over the type of speech act and not the event of speech taking place. This variability in scope allows for the possibility of Mark Anthony implying the speech act of praising even though he has explicitly asserted that it is his intention only to bury Caesar.

6.3 Synthesis and Co-text, text-type and lexical gaps

Synthesis as a motivation for variation is concerned with combining negation with other syntactic, semantic and pragmatic functions. This is relevant in the consideration of

²⁴ See Dancygier 2010 for an extensive discussion of the use of negation and alternativity in this speech.

morphological and implied forms of negation such as semantic forms. In these forms, negation is an element of or implied by the form alongside additional semantic information. For example, the use of morphological negation combines a negator with the semantic content of a base word. There is then a symbiotic relationship between the affix and the base word as the prefix and context determines which feature of the base word falls within the scope of the negator;

(6.17) Non-American versus un-American

Whilst *non-American* negates the property of having American nationality, *un-American* negates the property of being a good American, or a good example of what it is to be an American.

Additional semantic content is more significant with implied forms of negation where absence is embedded in the interpretation of an utterance rather than explicit. In this case, negation, even though integral to the meaning of an utterance can be secondary to other considerations. The use of '*forgot*', for example, is propositionally equivalent to *not*;

(6.18) (a) John *forgot* to take the dog for a walk

(b) John did *not* take the dog for a walk

Here (a) and (b) are propositionally equivalent. However, in (a) there is an additional semantic element in that not only was John expected to take the dog for a walk, but there was an intention to do so. This kind of additional semantic information allows not only for absence to be communicated, but also additional information regarding the expected presence, and possible evaluation of the expected presence or actual absence.

Whereas synthesis can be a factor in writers'/speakers' linguistic choices, issues of co-text, text-type and lexical gaps are less so. This section makes only a brief foray into these areas. These issues are primarily concerned with the constraints on writers'/speakers' choice of textual vehicle for negation and how they are distributed relative to one another. Part of the motivation for the foregoing discussion of the meaningful variation between negators is the question of language users' choice. Where there is meaningful variation, speakers/writers can choose the form of negation based on what each form offers to the communicative context.

However, Tottie's (1980) research on the relative frequency of negation in spoken and written discourse suggests that the choice of negator is more than a matter of meaningful variation. Working with explicit forms of negation (*not, no, none* etc. and morphological negation) she found that negation was significantly more frequent overall in spoken than written discourse, but further, that morphological negation is more frequent in written than spoken discourse. She accounts for the overall greater frequency in spoken language by its interactive nature, and the occurrence of repetition. In interaction, speakers are able to negotiate meaning, correct themselves or their interlocutors and ask and respond to questions, all of which potentially give rise to the need to use negation. In the case of repetition, a speaker may repeat a single negation several times in the same reply for emphasis, for example;

(6.19) Speaker A: You haven't told anyone have you?

Speaker B: Oh no! No. Absolutely not. Of course I haven't.

Tottie (1980) accounts for the differences in frequency of morphological negation by what she refers to as 'knockout constraints' and 'stylistic constraints' (1980:103). She posits that whilst meaningful variation between morphological negators and syntactic negators is one of the factors determining choice, it is certainly not the only one. She suggests several features that constrain the distribution of negation types, arguing that in some contexts, one form or the other is obligatory. For example, there are lexical gaps where morphologically negated lexical items have no extant non-negated form which could take an alternative form, e.g. *incessant/*not cessant, unkempt/*not kempt*. There are also situations in which the morphologically negated form is not equivalent to its syntactically negated form, e.g. *uneasy/not easy, indifferent/not different*. Alongside this kind of 'knockout' constraint, Tottie (1980) also notes stylistic constraints (which are less frequent than other types of constraints), for example, the use of repetition prompts the repetition of the same form of negator as well as the repetition of negation itself. Tottie's (1980: 108) example is shown in (6.20);

(6.20) Everybody seems to be unhappy, the educationalists are unhappy, the journalists are unhappy...

Tottie (1980) lists 13 constraints on the types of context and co-text that limit the choice of negative form and whilst not completely constraining choice, certainly influences it. Tottie's (1980) conclusions regarding the constraints on frequency are supported by observations of a large amount of data drawn from corpus based analyses. However, whilst it is necessary to take into account text type (written or spoken) in assessing meaningful variation, what is left unanswered is why the more formal context of written language should favour one form of negation over another. Tottie's approach to the syntactic constraints (leaving aside questions of lexical gaps and stylistic issues) on the distribution of morphological and syntactic negators takes as its starting point that particular syntactic structures limit the choice of negator. However, one might posit that it is the choice of negator that limits the syntactic structure rather than vice versa. What is not answered by Tottie's (1980) observations is the question of what is contributed by morphological negation that prompts language users to construct particular sentence types that support this type of negation more frequently than syntactic negators.

6.4 Variable force

Whilst there are the above motivations that influence language users' choice of textual vehicle for negation, I would suggest that it is also strongly motivated by a variable focus on possible presence or actual absence. In effect, the non-gradable quality of negation, the presence/absence dichotomy, can be expressed with varying degrees of pragmatic force. Whilst the semantic content of negators express an absence, this absence can be accompanied by varying degrees of negative force, which has an impact on the way in which negation is interpreted in the context of use. Tottie argues that negation can be expressed with variable

force, or, citing Ross (1972) varying degrees of ‘negginess’. However, Tottie is not clear on what exactly is meant by variable force and what the quality of ‘negginess’ is. I maintain here that variable force is, in fact, the variable focus on actual absence or possible presence with the intention of emphasising or attenuating the focus on one or the other. This is most obvious in the distinction between implicit and explicit forms where there are degrees of accessibility to the negated positive, or where additional meaning indicates proximity to the positive or negative.

In the core explicit forms of negation, the negator stands as a free morpheme and makes explicit the positive which is easily recoverable by the removal of the negator;

- (6.21) (a) Jack did **not**/ **didn’t** finish his homework
(b) Jack did finish his homework/ Jack finished his homework

Depending on the context of the utterance, the choice between the forms *did not* and *didn’t* can produce an emphatic effect, focusing on the absence, or neutral effect. For example, in a formal report, the use of *did not* is the expected form, whereas in an informal conversation, it could be seen as an emphatic form focusing on absence (Huddleston and Pullum 2002). Variability can also be seen in the way particular forms express a metaphorical distance between absence and presence and the way in which the negator is emphasised. Consider the following examples;

- (6.22) (a) His comments were far from appropriate
(b) His comments were not at all appropriate.
(c) His comments were not appropriate.
(d) His comments were inappropriate.
(e) His comments were nearly appropriate.
(f) His comments were just short of being appropriate.
(g) His comments were almost appropriate.

All of the examples in (6.22) convey the same basic propositional content in that there was an absence of appropriateness in the comments. Whilst it might be argued that this range of expressions reflects the gradability of ‘appropriate’, the same range can be observed in a non-

gradable adjective, 'finished', in (6.23). Again, each of the examples conveys that 'the job was not finished'.

- (6.23) (a) The job was far from finished
(b) The job was not finished at all.
(c) The job was not finished.
(d) The job was unfinished.
(e) The job was nearly finished.
(f) The job was just short of being finished.
(g) The job was almost finished.

It appears, then, that variation in form reflects a pragmatic understanding of something akin to a gradable relationship between affirmation and negation, between presence and absence. It seems that it is not simply a case of *is* and *is not*, but a pragmatically understood notion of some (metaphorical) distance between the two. This is not to suggest that absence is gradable, but the force with which it is expressed is. The degree of negative force, then, expresses a point on this metaphorical scale between absence and presence. However, alongside the concept of this metaphorical distance, is the idea that linguistic strategies can be used to create emphasis as well as distance from the positive.

Such variable force has long been recognised in the study of negation, particularly in the areas of Negative polarity items, emphatic double (or multiple) negation (hypernegation, Horn 2010: 110) and logical double negation (LDN), all raised in Jespersen's (1917) influential monograph (see also, for example, Horn 2002b, 2010, Kiparsky and Condoravdi 2006, Schwenter 2006). Negative polarity items (e.g. not a jot, not at all) and hypernegation (e.g. didn't know nothing) are used to strengthen a negator. The role of LDN is less clear; LDN, the cancelling of one negator by another (*not impossible*) whilst producing a logical positive (*possible*) is more complex in the context of language use than logic would allow. Despite the criticisms levelled at LDN, it appears to allow writers/speakers to produce an utterance which straddles the divide between affirmation and negation, and offers what Horn (2010: 115) refers

to as a 'loophole' in discourse. The strategic use of additional linguistic items or constructions aimed at strengthening or weakening negation, then, establishes the notion that writers/speakers not only express absence, but express it with variable pragmatic strength.

Following arguments put forward by Bolinger (1968) and Horn (1978) Givón (2001) discusses this phenomenon with reference to the degree of embeddedness of the negator, either within the linguistic form or the syntactic structure:

There appears to be a gradient in the strength of negation correlating to the depth of embedding of the negative operator. This scale proceeds from the inherent/lexical negation (weakest) to syntactic negation (strongest), and from complement-clause negation (weaker) to main-clause negation (stronger).

Givón 2001:396

Givón (2001) considers negative force to be realised by the linguistic form of the negator as well as its syntactic position, noting that the negative operator (negator) can be embedded within words as well as within structures. However, his scale of strength is based on a narrower range of negators than put forward in the last chapter (syntactic, morphological and inherent/lexical). The following sections, then, consider how the variety of forms discussed in Chapter 5 not only express absence, but absence with varying negative force.

The aim of the following sections (6.3.1 and 6.3.2) is to attempt to place the various negators within the brackets of either weak or strong negative force. The first problem that arises with such a task is the question of what constitutes negative force. I noted above the difference between the notion of metaphorical distance from the positive and the notion of emphasis. The former can be seen as an issue around the way in which language is used to refer to situations. The latter is a question of speaker emphasis in an utterance. So, in (6.24) the use of *far from* indicates a metaphorical distance from the possibility of presence. However, by indicating a distance it also expresses speaker emphasis on the actual absence.

(6.24) He was far from ready to take on such a demanding role.

Similarly, the addition of minimising or generalising NPIs (Kiparsky and Condoravdi 2006) can express both distance (in terms of quantity) and emphasis, as in (6.25).

(6.25) (a) He didn't *lift a finger/move an inch/care a jot/give an inch* – minimizer

(b) He didn't *do anything* – generaliser.

Other forms of negators, such as expletives, express writer/speaker emphasis, but not metaphorical distance, as in (6.26).

(6.26) He's got *bugger all* when it comes to common sense.

Another complicating factor can be seen in the fact that not all the various forms of negation reflect varying force, nor is there a correlation between type of negator and force. For example, whilst the semantic negator *fail* implies **not** (as in *he failed/did not pick up his keys*), it is neither emphatic nor an expression of metaphorical distance, but a matter of the writer's/speaker's judgment. In the case of *almost*, however, another semantic negator, its semantic content indicates closeness to the possibility of presence, and could be argued to be at the other end of the scale from *far from*.

A further problem arises in what constitutes a neutral point on the scale that is either strengthened or weakened by the choice of form. It is possible to argue that main clause negation realised with **not** (e.g. 'I did not eat the buns') constitutes the neutral form of negation. However, as noted above, this can be neutral or emphatic depending on context; spoken between friends where the contracted form of **did not** would be the more usual form (Huddleston and Pullum 2002), the un-contracted form is marked and may well be interpreted as emphatic. It is with a note of caution, then, that main clause **not** negation is taken to stand for a neutral balance point between strong and weak negative force. Finally, a problem in the classification of weak or strong negative force is that, to some extent, it is impressionistic and subject to bias from analyst interpretation. Testing how language users rate the negative force of various types of utterance would offer some verification (or illumination) as to relative negative force, but such tests are beyond the remit of this thesis. Despite these caveats, I would

suggest, like Givón (2001), that linguistic forms that imply negation will tend towards a weaker negative force, whilst explicit forms will tend towards a stronger force.

6.4.1 Weak negative force

Weak negative force would tend to include those linguistic expressions where negation is implied rather than explicit, though this would exclude most of the grammaticalised forms which have taken on the grammatical function of syntactic negators. Weak negative force is evident in the case of modal auxiliaries and past tense conditionals. In the case of modal auxiliaries, the negation is implied but secondary to the expression of modality. For example, *should have*, implies an absence, but in the context of expressing obligation. Past tense conditional constructions, as noted by Dancygier and Sweetser (2005), imply an absence, but this absence provides the foundation for drawing inferences about the actual situation rather than the hypothetical counterfactual situation. Again, this makes the expression of negation secondary to the hypothesising function.

Similarly, semantic, or inherently negative forms, imply absences alongside the semantic content of the word. So, words such as *fail* or *forget* could be seen to express the speaker's/writer's judgment regarding the situation that is realised as absent. This embeddedness is indicative of weak negative force. However, lexical verbs which imply negation can occur in the same syntactic position as *not* negation, suggesting a stronger negative force than modal auxiliaries or past tense conditionals, for example;

(6.27) (a) John failed to get the job (John did not get the job).

(b) Amy forgot to walk to dog (Amy did not walk the dog).

(c) Jim avoided getting a parking ticket (Jim did not get a parking ticket).

(d) The applicant lacked any relevant experience (The applicant does not have any relevant experience).

However, as noted above, the semantic negators, almost and nearly, and their grammaticalised metaphor counterpart, *just short of*, have weak negative force based on their expression of a minimal metaphorical distance.

Possibly the most difficult forms to classify in terms of negative strength are the morphological negators. Here the negator, although explicit, is embedded at word level, combining negator and semantic content. It is further complicated by the variability within the negative affixes themselves, for example, the *un-* prefix, although flexible, tends towards a gradable meaning, whereas *non-* produces a complementary meaning. As a consequence, *non-* is possibly more readily understood as equivalent to *not* than *un-* although both express an absence (of one point on a scale in the case of gradable *un-*). Determining relative negative force for morphological negators is also difficult where there is no non-negated counterpart or where ostensibly negated base words have, over time become lexicalised (Tottie 1991, Hamawand 2009), losing their negative force altogether, e.g. *individual*, *incredible*.

6.4.2 Strong negative force

Strong negative force can be expressed by explicit negators, emphatic constructions or constructions indicting a maximal distance from the positive or minimal quantity. Givón (2001) notes that noun phrase negators (*no*, *nobody*, *no-one*, *nothing*, *never*, *nowhere*) (absolute negators – Huddleston and Pullum 2002) can be viewed as emphatic forms;

Emphatic negation seems to be transacted under subtly different communicative conditions. To begin with, not only is it used to deny a proposition – presumed to be the belief of the interlocutor – but it attacks it more vigorously. In the course of this attack, the speaker zeros in explicitly on one specific constituent – subject, object, etc. –

that makes the proposition so utterly objectionable: Not only did the event as a whole not occur with the listed participants, but one of the presumed participants couldn't have possibly been involved.

Givón 2001:393

Givón (2001) argues for a cline of emphatic denial where noun phrase negation is stronger than verb phrase negation. In (6.28) (a) is more emphatic than (c);

(6.28) (a) She read **nothing**.

(b) She **didn't** read anything.

(c) She did **not** read the book.

As noted above, grammaticalised metaphors and expletives can also express strong negative force by emphasising the negator (expletives) or maximising the metaphorical distance away from the possible positive (e.g. **far from, wide of the mark**). Alternative strategies for strengthening negative force include the addition of NPIs in post verbal position in the form of minimisers or generalisers (6.29) (a) and (b), or the use of multiple non-standard negation (hypernegation) (6.30).

(6.29) (a) They **didn't** care in the least bit about the film.

(b) They **didn't** care at all about the film.

(6.30) I **didn't** say **nothing** about the film/ I **never** said **nothing** about the film

6.4.3 Negative force as variable focus on possible presence or actual absence

So far in this section, I have adopted the notion of negative force to explain some of the variations observed in the expression of negation. However, neither Tottie (1977) nor Givón (2001) explain what is meant by negative force. Here I posit the notion that negative force is the

variable focus on possible presence or actual absence. I noted above that there appears to be a metaphorical distance between affirmation and negation, between absence and presence, and I would suggest that the variable force observed by Tottie and Givón is the expression of the speaker's/writer's focus on the possibility of presence that is being negated, or on the actual absence that is created through the negation. So, whilst strong negative force focuses on the actual absence, for example, in (6.31) the emphatic force of the expletive form of a negator places focus on the furthest metaphorical distance from 'it's got something to do with me'. In effect, it maximises pragmatic force of the absence.

(6.31) It's got ***fuck all*** to do with me.

On the other hand, where the negator is embedded and thus weaker, the focus is on the possibility of presence and the actual absence is frequently only implied or secondary to other functions. For example, semantic content in an implicit negator can shift the focus away from actual absence towards the possibility of presence. For example the following two sentences are propositionally equivalent;

(6.32) (a) Unemployment has ***not*** reached an all-time high.

(b) Unemployment has ***almost*** reached an all-time high.

In both (a) and (b) the rate of unemployment is not as high as it has been at its peak, but they express variable focus on the possible presence and actual absence of unemployment reaching that high point. In (a), the expression is neutral in that it provides a balance between absence and presence. In (b), however, the use of the adverbial negator ***almost***, whilst indicating an absence, focuses on the possible presence as its semantic content indicates close proximity. So whilst it still indicates an absence, it is a qualified absence indicating *just less than*. Both statements could be used in relation to the same unemployment figures, but if (b) were used by member of a shadow government in relation to the government of the day, it could be viewed as a criticism that unemployment has been allowed to increase under their policies.

6.5 Conclusions

This chapter argued that variation in expression of the conceptual practice of negating outlined in chapter 5 is motivated and these motivations can lead writers/speakers to purposefully choose one form of negation over another. I suggested that these motivations are scope, synthesis, discourse constraints and variable force/focus. I noted that scope and variable force/focus were particularly relevant in the context of this thesis which negotiates the semantics/pragmatics interface. Choice of form can determine what constitutes the content of the pragmatically presupposed expected positive and vary the focus between that negated positive and the actual absence. A variety of textual strategies can be adopted to vary focus and these include the options of emphasising the negative in order to focus on absence, e.g. expletive negators, grammaticalised metaphors indicating distance, the addition of negative polarity items, or non-standard forms of multiple negation. Speakers/writers can also attenuate the negator and shift focus onto the possibility of presence, e.g. morphological negators and a range of forms which imply absences.

Within the approach presented in Chapter 1, the variability of negation is one of the factors influencing the way in which it is interpreted and understood in texts. In the following chapter, I will draw the discussion of the theoretical aspects of negation to a close by considering how its presuppositional nature (discussed in chapter 4) and its variability in form, discussed here and in chapter 5, contribute to the way in which negation is potentially interpreted in the context of use.

Interpreting and using negation in the context of communication

7.1 Introduction

In relation to the approach to negation proposed in Chapter 1, Chapter 4 discussed its presuppositional nature and Chapter 5 and 6 tackled the issue of its variability in linguistic form. This chapter aims to demonstrate two facets of negation; first, that it has the potential to generate conversational implicatures, second, it constitutes a textual strategy which generates a variety of textual effects. This chapter is the culmination of the discussion of the theoretical aspects of negation and will include a summary of the approach proposed.

I will begin by outlining the potential levels of inferencing that appear to be called for in the interpretation of negation. This chapter will then focus on the potential conversational implicatures (Grice 1975) generated by the choice of what is negated. In proposing a Gricean (1975) account, it outlines and incorporates Moeschler's (1992) Relevance Theoretic approach to the meaning generated by the choice of what is negated. The focus of the discussion is that negation is as much about potential presence as it is about actual absence, both in relation to conversational implicatures and as a textual strategy. Through the linguistic realisation of an absence then, we are required to consider the significance of presence as well as absence. The significance of this is captured by Jeffries (2010a):

If it [negation] allows the speaker/writer to produce a hypothetical version of reality, even though it is marked as 'unreal' in the case of negation..., there is at least the *potential* for a reader/hearer to conceptualize this hypothetical situation. To the extent that it is conjured up, it may have some persuasive power.

Jeffries 2010a:107

7.2 Negation and implied meaning

This section goes beyond the semantic content of negation and considers what meanings are implied when it is used. The first point to be considered is that negation potentially gives rise to several levels of meaning based on its linguistic form, its presuppositional nature, its default interpretation of 'less than' when applied to gradable qualities, and the selection of what is negated as indicated by its scope. The discussion will then focus on the last of these levels, calculating the contextual implied meaning of negating a particular state, entity or event.

7.2.1 Potential levels of meaning

Understanding negation in context is complex and potentially involves several levels of processing. Take the following example;

(7.1) Mr Jones is far from suitable for the position.

If (7.1) was included in a reference by Mr Jones' previous employer and addressed to a potential future employer, the following processes would be involved in understanding what has been

asserted. The reader must work out the significance of using the grammaticalised form of a negator *far from* which implies that not only is Mr Jones not suitable for the position, but emphatically so (see Chapter 5). The reader is likely to interpret the negator as also meaning 'less than' suitable rather some higher point on a gradable scale of suitability²⁵. Further, it constitutes the defeat of an expectation present in the context of the utterance, 'Mr Jones is suitable for the position' (as evident in an application for the position and pragmatically presupposed in the utterance) and the (ideal) reader is wrong to think Mr Jones is suitable. Finally there is the question of why it is significant that Mr Jones is not 'suitable'. This may seem like an unreasonable question to ask. After all, the purpose of a job reference is to comment on the suitability of the applicant for the position. However, this knowledge constitutes the background context to the utterance and an alternate view of job applications might see 'Mr Jones is far from being a good dancer' as relevant in context. The reader then, also has to work out the significance of the one thing out of a multitude that does not apply to Mr Jones, that is, 'Mr Jones is suitable for the position'. Given the background context and the presuppositional nature of negation, the reader might well conclude that what is implied by the utterance is that Mr Jones would be a bad employee.

This example then, demonstrates four levels of interpretation; 1) an emphatic form of negation is used in the form of a metaphorical grammaticalised negator indicating distance. 2) Negation here produces a meaning of 'less than' in relation to the gradable property of *suitability*. 3) The expectation of suitability (the pragmatically presupposed expectation of the

²⁵ See Horn (1989) for extensive discussion of scalar implicatures. He argues that the 'less than' meaning of negation when used in conjunction with scalar properties is an implicature, as can be demonstrated though the potential for the implicature to be cancelled –

(a) John did not eat three buns – implicature – John ate fewer than three buns

(b) John did not eat three buns, he ate four.

Moeschler (1992: 52) takes an alternative approach and argues that the 'less than' meaning of negation can be incorporated into a Relevance theoretic perspective. He suggests that this 'less than' meaning is an 'invited inference' based on optimum relevance and it constitutes the default assumption where no other co-textual element defeats the 'less than' implicature.

positive) is defeated, indicating that the (ideal) reader is wrong in their expectations. 4) *Mr Jones would make a bad employee*²⁶.

This example demonstrates that interpreting negation is not as simple as arguing that it implies or functions as denial, prohibition, refusal or description, but involves a complex of interpretative processes. My concern here is with the fourth level of interpretation; calculating the significance of the choice of what to negate. I will return to the functions of negation in 7.4 in relation to negation as a 'textual practice' (Jeffries 2010a).

7.2.2 Negation and implicatures

In the use of negation then, there is potential for implicatures based on what is negated as well as the other levels considered above. This is illustrated in the following example taken from a newspaper report in The Evening Standard on the 2008 London mayoral election;

(7.2) He told the audience: "What I'm offering you is change and somebody who is not interested in talking but is actually interested in getting things done."

²⁶ What has not been included here is the notion that there is a sense in which the use of negation implies a negative evaluation. There has been a long tradition of not only viewing negation as inferior to affirmation, but also that negation serves to impart negative evaluation (see Horn 1989). This is also apparent in research into morphological negation where there has been a tendency to view negative prefixes as attaching primarily to positively evaluated adjectival base words, e.g. unhappy (e.g. Jespersen 1917). However, work by Zimmer (1964) and Horn (1989) undermines this position with examples of prefixes attaching to positive or neutral base words. There is then, no automatic relationship between negation and evaluation. However, in relation to interpreting negation in context, it is worth briefly touching on the work of Potts (2010) whose research shows some correlation between the use of negation and its role in negatively evaluating the concept within its scope in the context of Internet review articles. Although Potts' work is not on a large enough scale to present a definitive argument that negation is evaluatively negative, his corpus approach suggests that understanding negation in context may well be tainted with the flavour of negativity as an aspect of the conventionalised connotations of negation.

Here negation occurs in an oppositional structure, *not X, but Y* (Davies 2008, Jeffries 2009), which places ‘talking’ and ‘getting things done’ in opposition to one another through a combination of the negator, the contrasting conjunction, ‘but’ and the parallel use of ‘interested in’. A decontextualised reading of ‘not interested in talking’ would simply reverse the polarity of ‘interested in talking’. The oppositional structure, however, makes clear what is implied by the negative clause; that is, not being interested in talking is equivalent to ‘interested in getting things done’. So, *X* is constructed as opposite to *Y*, but **not** *X* is equivalent to *Y* (or *X* is equivalent to **not** *Y*). The significance of this opposition needs to be seen in the context of an election campaign where the presumed intention of the speaker is to distinguish his candidacy from the other candidates by indicating that he would be an effective mayor. The notion of being ‘interested in talking’ then, can be taken to imply that the candidate would be ineffectual, and its reversal, triggered through not, implies that the candidate will be an effective mayor. The use of negation also evokes the possibility of only talking. In the wider context of an election campaign, the candidate attempts to distinguish his character against the other candidates. He does this by raising the possibility that mayoral candidates may *only* be interested in talking, a possibility that does not apply to him. The implicature of the utterance as a whole, then, could be said to be something along the lines of *vote for me because I’ll be an effective mayor.*

The interpretation of the negation in the above example is limited by the oppositional structure. In another context where the equivalent positive is not made apparent, readers/hearers would need to work out the significance of not being interested in talking. For example, if the context were two friends watching TV and one of them tries to start a conversation, the other’s assertion that they were not interested in talking could be taken to generate the implicature that they actually want to watch TV. The potential meaning of what is specifically negated is context dependent and generally needs to be worked out.

7.2.3 Moeschler's Relevance Theory approach to negation.

Moeschler (1992), approaching negation via the debate on the difference between 'polemic' and description negation, attempts to incorporate its several levels of inferencing within a single model. In doing so, he considers the implicatures that are potentially generated by choosing to negate a particular situation. Taking a Relevance theoretic approach, Moeschler (1992) suggests that the interpretation of negation is based on its optimum relevance in context relative to the cognitive effort required for that interpretation;

The hypothesis I will make, and which supposes an inferential view of negation, is that the negative must be considered as the most relevant in the circumstances, i.e., the utterance whose effect is sufficient to balance the supplementary cognitive effort imposed by the treatment of negation.

Moeschler 1992: 66

This is in line with Leech's (1981:101) assertion that whilst a sentence containing negation is ostensibly uninformative, because of the assumption of linguistic co-operation, it will, in fact, be used when the utterance is more informative than a positive counterpart in context. Leech's conclusion that this results in the generation of an implicature of denial, however, only constitutes one element of the meaning of negation.

Moeschler's (1992) account considers how the selection of state, entity or event that is negated is meaningful in context. He argues that interpreting negation is a combination of context and invited inference (1992:67-68). He uses the following example to illustrate;

(7.3) Speaker A: How is the weather today?

Speaker B: It is not nice.

Moeschler (1992) suggests, the meaning of speaker B's response is dependent on context. Where there is an understanding between speakers that they will go to the beach if the weather

is nice, this constitutes the context for the interpretation of B's utterance. Speaker A would be likely to recover the contextual implication of B's utterance as they will not be going to the beach/they will stay at home. Such an inference is based on the notion of invited inference whereby the context establishes the conditions under which the type of weather is relevant; if the weather is nice, they will go to the beach, *if p then q*. Here Moeschler incorporates logic in that if it is the case that *if p then q*, then logic results in *if not p then not q*. Consequently, the interpretation of not going to the beach results from *if not p then not q*.

Moeschler's (1992) analysis demonstrates two things of significance here; first that using negation produces meaning beyond implying its opposite (not nice/bad) based on context. Second, that recovering this implication is dependent on considering the significance of the positive. There are however, problems with Moeschler's (1992) approach that precludes his wider framework being adopted here. Firstly, his discussion of context only takes into account existing assumptions of the positive situation which is being negated. He does not discuss how negation itself pragmatically presupposes the expectation. Further, his discussion seems to rely on the notion that the implication of the positive is already a part of the shared knowledge between speaker and hearer. Whilst this may be the case, particularly with spoken interaction, it is less likely with written texts. Readers need to calculate the implied meaning of the positive as well as the negative based on contextual and co-textual cues. Finally, Moeschler's (1992) use of Relevance theory over simplifies the inferencing processes to the notion that speakers will say that which is most relevant. As I will discuss below, negation can be seen to be more than a question of relevance, but can also be seen to flout Grice's Maxims of manner and quantity (Jeffries 2010a:107).

7.2.4 Using Grice's Cooperative principle and maxims to explain the role of negation in implicatures.

This section considers what is implied by the selection of the particular event, state or entity that is represented as absent. Here I argue that there are two elements to what is implied when negation is used; first, the selection of a particular element is contextually meaningful, and second that it implies that the ideal reader/hearer is wrong in their beliefs/expectations. Consider the following example;

(7.4) Speaker A: Some vicious cat has been terrorising all the other cats in the neighbourhood.

Speaker B: My cat's not male.

Speaker B's utterance flouts the maxims of quantity, relation and manner; it conveys more information than is strictly called for by the conversational context, it is not strictly relevant to the previous utterance and it is not as clear as it could be. Speaker B's utterance not only implies that her cat is the complementary opposite, female, but also generates the conversational implicature, *vicious cats are male, some cat other than mine is responsible for terrorising the neighbourhood and you are wrong if you think it is my cat*. However, the significance here is only partially that the cat is female, more important is the possibility of it being male. What is being argued here is that when we interpret negation, we are not interpreting absence, but interpreting what it means for something to be present. So, we can apply Grice's maxims, particularly the maxim of relation, to the pragmatically presupposed positive. For example,

(7.5) "Boris Johnson has no serious experience or track record of managing substantial budgets or any previous commitment to this city".

The Evening Standard April 18th 2008, Document 37

This example is a quote from an interview with Ed Balls (Labour minister) during the 2008 London mayoral election. The context is such that Balls is commenting in support of the Labour candidate for mayor (Ken Livingstone). It pragmatically presupposes an expectation that

Johnson, as a candidate for mayor, has experience of managing budgets and a commitment to London that predated the election campaign. The question is what is the relevance of Johnson having experience of big budgets and how does this relate to the pragmatic presupposition of this expectation?

I return here to Moeschler's (1992) notion that the positive forms the basis for interpreting the negative. Example (7.5) flouts the maxim of relation as there is no co-textual reference to the expectation. It also flouts quantity as it is ostensibly uninformative, it does not say what Johnson does have, and it is overly informative because it is not the overt topic of the discourse. It is necessary, then to calculate how the assertion is relevant to the on-going discourse, that is, the significance of the possibility of Johnson having 'experience and prior commitment', the *if p, then q* element of Moeschler's (1992) explanation. Given the context, which includes;

- i. the basic knowledge of the role of mayor of London as managing the budget of one of the largest cities in the world, and,
- ii. election campaigns focus on the potential strengths and weakness of the candidates

the possibility that Johnson has 'experience and commitment' may imply that he would make a good mayor of London. So, the significance of potentially having 'experience and commitment' is what it implies about the quality of the mayoral candidate who has these attributes. Now, because negation creates an absence of 'experience and commitment', the reader is required to modify what is implied by having these attributes relative to their absence;

- if Johnson has experience and commitment, then he may make a good mayor.
- If Johnson lacks (does not have) experience and commitment, then he may not make a good mayor.

Here then, we might recover the opposite of the positive implicature, *Johnson may make a bad mayor*. As the utterance pragmatically presupposes that the ideal reader expects that Johnson has experience and commitment, it also implies that this ideal reader assumes he will be a good mayor. So, the utterance further implies that the ideal reader (and actual reader if they share the assumption) are wrong. This follows Givón's assertion that negation represents a state of affairs where the hearer knows wrong, the speaker knows better (2001:372). Similarly, it is in line with Verhagen's (2005) cognitive approach where negation is not concerned with making statements about the world but about others' conceptualisations of it.

In example (7.5), the pragmatically presupposed expectation is not a part of the co-text but draws on a general contextual understanding that experience and commitment are usually part of the requirements to be good at something. However, as it does not link to specific assertions of the positive, it simultaneously creates a background expectation that mayoral candidates require 'experience and commitment' through pragmatic presupposition alongside generating an implicature through an interpretation of the presupposed expectation and its reversal. This interpretative process also applies in contexts where the expectation is already available, for example, in straightforward denial;

(7.6) Speaker A: John won a million on the lottery

Speaker B: John didn't win a million on the lottery (possible following clause – he won £50,000)

'John didn't win a million' pragmatically presupposes the expectation that 'John did win a million' (which echoes the assertion in the previous utterance). In context, this flouts the maxim of quantity, repeating information already present in the co-text and might generate the implicature *you're right!* But the occurrence of negation requires that the implicature generated by the positive be modified– *you are wrong (he won £50,000)*. The occurrence of negation then

evokes a possible presence which is interpreted and the interpretation is reversed by the negation itself. The processing of negation can be seen as follows;

- i. Absence pragmatically presupposes the expectation of presence
 - ii. The significance of a presence in context is calculated, potentially generating an implicature.
 - iii. The potential implicature is modified by the assertion of absence.
-
- i. Boris Johnson lacks experience and prior commitment.
 - ii. Boris Johnson has experience of managing budgets – flouts the maxims of quantity (more information than strictly necessary) and relevance (experience assumed to be relevant to the role of mayor or mayoral candidate) and generates possible implicature; *Johnson is a good mayoral candidate/ would make a good mayor.*
 - iii. The actual absence of experience causes the implicature to be modified – *Johnson is a bad mayoral candidate/Johnson would make a bad mayor.*

7.2.4.1 Interpreting negation and variable form

The previous sections have considered the process of interpretation within the confines of the prototypical core form of negation. This section briefly considers how this interpretative process is impacted by the variable forms of negation in relation to its variable force. I maintained in the last chapter that the variable forms of negation are, in part, motivated by a variable focus on absence and presence. This can be achieved through expressing a metaphorical gradability between absence and presence and through the potential for emphatic forms of negation. Above, I provided an explanation of how negation generates implicatures; this is achieved through the modification, by the negator, of what it would mean if a negated

entity, attribute or state were to be present. Since various linguistic forms can function as textual vehicles for negation (see Chapter 5), we also need to examine what these variable forms contribute to the meaning of an utterance. However, as discussed in Chapter 5, some uses of variable form can be accounted for by the needs of scope and/or discourse constraints, e.g. discourse coherence requirements or lexical gaps.

There are, however, meaningful variations and these will be discussed here. Where the prototypical negators *not* and *no* straightforwardly contrast absence and presence, generally indicating complementary rather than gradable understandings, pragmatic forms of negator can produce gradable meanings. For example where quasi positives are used, *almost*, *nearly*, e.g.

(7.7) I've almost finished this chapter.

Here the use of *almost* indicates that the chapter is not finished, but metaphorically closer to being finished than not finished. Given some context, we can calculate the possible implicature generated. Uttered in the context where the hearer is waiting to receive a copy of this chapter the utterance pragmatically presupposes that the speaker expects that the chapter is finished. Were this to be the case, then it would mean that it could be sent immediately. Since the chapter is not finished, the hearer must continue waiting. However, the form of the negator here modifies what would be implied were the chapter to be finished relative to the closeness to being finished. The potential implicature is then that the hearer will only have to wait a little longer, rather than an unspecified amount of time.

The opposite effect is created through the use of a grammaticalised metaphor such as *far from*. Consider the following example from a newspaper report on two candidates (Boris Johnson and Ken Livingstone) in the 2008 London Mayoral election:

(7.8) Mr Johnson and Mr Livingstone, *far from* being blundering political innocents, are both politicians of the first rank.

In this example, the grammaticalised metaphorical negator *far from*, indicates that Mr Johnson and Mr Livingstone are not only not ‘blundering political innocents’, but metaphorically, a long way from being so. The contextual meaning of the pragmatically presupposed expected positive, ‘blundering political innocents’, given the context of a political election, could be understood to mean that the candidates would be bad at politics. The use of *far from* modifies ‘bad at politics’ by specifying how far (metaphorically) the distance is between what they are expected to be and what they actually are, producing an emphatic opposite of bad, i.e. good or very good, which is the argument of the main clause in which the negated clause is embedded.

The variable form also allows for a shift in pragmatic focus rather than implicature. Emphatic forms of negation, for example, expletives or absolute negators (see Chapter 5) place the focus of an utterance on absence. It is the absence of a particular event, state or entity that is the focus of discourse, rather than the possibility of its presence. Implied forms of negation, for example, past tense conditional constructions or past tense modals (e.g. *should, ought*) shift focus to the possibility of presence. As this variable focus is a question of pragmatic force rather than potential implicatures, it will be discussed in relation to the textual effects it can generate in Chapters 8 and 9.

7.2.4.2 Negation, implicatures and imperative structures

The previous sections have discussed role of negation in generating implicatures in relation to declarative structures. Indeed, much of the literature on negation in general has a similar focus on declaratives. However, an account of how negation implies must also take into consideration its occurrence in imperative structures. For example,

(7.9) Do not exceed the recommended dose (packet of paracetamol painkillers)

(7.10) De-fuse your food (advert for Zantac heartburn relief tablets)

(7.11) Don't call me by my stage name (TV advert for Aviva financial institution)

In these examples, the negative imperatives appear to function in distinct ways; in (7.9) the prohibition on exceeding the stated dose would appear to be as direct as possible. In fact, given the context of its appearance on a packet of medication, it would seem to be counterproductive if it were open to interpretation (see also Jordan 1999 and Giora et al 2010). In (7.10), negation occurs in an imperative structure in the form of a morphologically negated verb and directs the hearer to carry out some action rather than refraining from action. In (7.11) the negative imperative occurs in the context of a TV advert and appears to be used as a device to introduce the notion that the addressee (some generic financial institution) intends to call the hearer by their stage name. Given that negative imperatives indicate that a prohibited course of action is not desirable to the speaker, then this implies that a company that would behave in this way is not a good company.

At first glance, the issue of negative imperatives would seem to complicate the issue of negation and implicatures. It differs from negation in declarative structures, not only in its syntactic form, but also in pragmatic features. It would appear to;

- i. pragmatically presuppose the hearer's intentions rather than expectations,
- ii. carry an evaluative sense due to the sincerity conditions (Searle 1969) of its use (the speaker does not want the hearer to do *X*) and indicates the speaker's unfavourable attitude towards the possibility of the hearer doing *X* (Lyons 1977),
- iii. primarily, though not exclusively, function as a prohibition.

The function of negative imperatives in discourse to direct the hearer's behaviour would also seem to undermine the notion that negation implies more than what is literally said. If a speaker wants to convey to the hearer that they should not do *X*, then the possibility of this kind of

directive being open to interpretation would seem to be counterproductive (Jordan 1999, Giora et al 2010). Understanding how negation is processed is further complicated by the fact that negative imperatives can refer to either future possibilities or present actualities. The directive in (7.12) can occur in a situation where the hearer is doing X or where the speaker has reason to believe the hearer intends to do X (Davis 1986), perhaps based on previous behaviour. Which meaning is in play is only recoverable from the context and not from the form.

(7.12) Don't feed the dog at the table.

The question of form is also a complicating factor. As (7.10) above demonstrates, negation can occur in an imperative form but not function as a prohibition on a particular action, but directs the hearer's behaviour in order to bring about an absence of X (Lyons 1977), and would thus presuppose that X is already the case. Further, negative imperatives can be lexicalised in the form of inherent negators which can either function as prohibitions on actions (7.13) or directives to carry out an action to bring about an absence (7.14).

(7.13) Avoid the motorway, there's been a crash.

(7.14) Forget I ever said that.

Despite these complications, I would suggest that negative imperatives give rise to contextually significant pragmatic presuppositions and have the potential to imply more than what is literally said. Lyons (1977) suggests,

There is no point in telling or asking someone to refrain from carrying out some course of action, unless we have some prior expectation that he will or may do what we want him not to do.

Lyons 1977: 776

Although Lyons does not discuss negative imperative in terms of presuppositions, we can assume that the presence of a negative imperative in an utterance pragmatically presupposes the speaker's expectation that the hearer intends to or may do X. Thus the utterance both

reflects the speaker's expectations and projects the ideal hearer's intentions. The distinction between what readers/hearers intend to do and what they may do, is significant here and is captured in the work of Linden and Di Eugenio (1996) who draw a distinction between two types of negative imperatives based on what speaker expect. These are DON'T imperatives and neg-TC imperatives. Based on their corpus analysis of written instruction, they suggest that the former occur where the speaker has reason to believe that the hearer intends to carry out one out of a potentially infinite number of possible actions which is inappropriate/wrong in a particular context, (7.15). The latter, which conveys a 'take care not to' meaning, occurs where the hearer is not aware that a choice of actions is available and may inadvertently carry out the wrong one, (7.16).

(7.15) Don't throw that dish.

(7.16) Don't drop that dish.²⁷

Despite the apparent differences in the contextual occurrence of these two types of imperatives, they each, nonetheless attribute the intention to carry out that action to the ideal hearer, and thus has significance for the way in which writers/speakers construct their view of a situation. I will return to this in 7.4 below.

Where negative imperatives would seem to resist the notion that they can imply more than they literally say, we can refer back to the work of Giora (2005) and Giora et al (2004, 2007, 2010) and the notion of the Retention Hypothesis. They maintain that information within the scope of a negator is not suppressed in favour of some opposite or contextually relevant interpretation, but retained as part of the on-going discourse where contextually relevant. The information within the scope of a negative imperative then is retained as part of the on-going context. In the case of (7.9), the directive to not exceed the stated dose then can be retained

²⁷ The distinction between intentions and possibilities in this example can also be captured with Halliday's Systemic functional grammar where the difference between throw is a material action intention process and drop is a material action supervision process (Jeffries 2010a).

alongside a contextual understanding that to do so is dangerous (something that is viewed as unfavourable in the context of medical advice is likely to be understood as dangerous/potentially harmful to the health).

Whilst Lyons (1977), Davis (1986) and Linden and Di Eugenio (1996) consider the context in which negative imperatives occur and their pragmatic functions, they do not consider what is contributed by the choice of what to prohibit. The focus of this wider discussion on negation and implicature is what, if anything is implied by that choice. Like negation in declaratives, negation in imperative structures can be approached via a consideration of what it would mean if the pragmatically presupposed positive were to be the case. Here then, the speaker calculates, based on context, what it would mean if the positive continued to be the case or was brought about through the speaker performing the prohibited action. Consider the following example taken from a poster entitled 'How to treat young people' (created as part of the Respect campaign run by the Warren Centre, city wide project for young people 16-25) which appeared in the School of Education at the University of Huddersfield. This example is the first line of a series of instructions;

(7.17) Don't stereotype us. Don't label us.

In this example, the utterance can be seen as a flout of the maxims of manner and relation; manner, because it does not tell the reader what to do (as is suggested by the title) and relation, because it selects one out of a multitude of things that the reader could be instructed not to do, which the reader must assume is relevant in the context. Assuming the intention to be cooperative, the reader must recover an implied meaning. This process can be accounted for with reference to the pragmatically presupposed positive. Here then, the utterance presupposes that the ideal reader currently or intends to stereotype and label the writer(s) (presumably the young people of the title). The contextual significance of 'stereotype' and 'label' is that if the reader does do these actions, they will be reducing young people to an anonymous collective rather than unique individuals with individual characteristics. Combined with the negative

evaluation prompted by the use of the negative imperative (indicates the speaker's unfavourable attitude towards doing the prohibited action), the pragmatically presupposed intention to 'stereotype' and 'label' can be understood as indicating a lack of respect for young people. The possible implicature is then, that the reader should treat young people as individuals and with respect. This is in fact reinforced by the final line of the instructions, 'RESPECT O.K.'. This example will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 9 in relation to attributing intentions to readers/hearers. This process can be summarised as follows;

- i. A negative imperative pragmatically presupposes that the hearer intends to do *X*
- ii. If the hearer does *X*, then (contextually sensitive) *Y*
- iii. Speaker directs hearer to not do *X* and thus maintain or bring about a situation in which the opposite of *y* is the case

In summary, we can observe several levels of meaning in utterances containing negation. One of those levels involves the reader/hearer understanding the significance of the speaker/writer's selection of one out of a multitude of things to identify as absent. The assumption of linguistic co-operation (Grice 1975) provides a basis for understanding how negation potentially generates implicatures. Hearers/readers are likely to calculate what it would mean if the positive were the case and modify that meaning, relative to the linguistic form of the negator, to recover the implicature of the its negation.

7.3 The three inter-related features of negation: presupposition, variable form and potential conversational implicatures – summary of approach

The previous section on negation and implicatures constitutes the last element of the approach to negation proposed in this thesis. Here I will provide a summary of the approach. Negation can be seen to have three inter-related facets; (i) it is presuppositional (Chapter 4), (ii) is realised through a variety of linguistic forms (Chapters 5 and 6) and (iii) potentially gives rise

to contextually dependent conversational implicatures (section 7.2). It pragmatically presupposes that one or more discourse participants expect the negated positive to be the case, (or that the ideal reader/hearer intends to carry out a prohibited action) and thus projects an ideal reader/hearer; where the speaker/writer asserts that *X is not Y*, the text projects that the ideal reader/hearer expects that *X is Y*. To return again to Ken Livingstone's assertion;

(7.18) This election is not a joke – pragmatically presupposes that one or more participants expect/believe that the election is a joke; thus the ideal reader/hearer expects/believes the election is a joke.

Negation is a conceptual practice; the linguistic expression of significant absence. A variety of textual forms can linguistically realise an absence and are thus textual vehicles for the conceptual practice. The presuppositional effect of negation is triggered by the textual practice rather than the specific linguistic form. For example, the propositional content of example (7.18) can be realised in a variety of forms;

(7.19) This election is not/no/far from/ almost/ has failed to be a joke.

This variety of forms gives rise to different effects, but the propositional content that the election is not a joke remains constant.

The selection of entity, state or event that is negated potentially gives rise to conversational implicatures. The reader/hearer calculates the contextual significance of the one out of multitude of states, entities or events that could be marked as absent and modifies that relative to the form of negator used. Thus, an assertion, *X is not Y* is understood relative to what it would mean if *X* were *Y*. In example (7.18), the negation of the metaphorical use of 'joke' gives rise to one level of meaning in triggering an opposition to it in the form of 'serious'. On another level it flouts Grice's maxims and potentially gives rise to a series of implicatures; *my opponent (Boris Johnson) wrongly believes this election is something amusing or entertaining; the reader*

should vote for me because I think the election is serious. (7.18) flouts the maxims of quantity and relation;

- Quantity – a joke is a structured, language based episode geared towards generating amusement/humour/laughter. The reader is highly likely to know that the format of an election (two or more candidates arguing their effectiveness to lead over a series of events over time) is different from the format of a joke. The assertion that this election is not a joke therefore states the obvious and is more informative than necessary.
- Relation – there is no co-textual assertion that this election is a joke and its negation is therefore not ostensibly relevant to the on-going discourse. The reader/hearer, assuming the writer/speaker is being co-operative calculates the relevance of the possibility of being a joke.

Given the wider context of the utterance in a campaign where Livingstone's main opponent (Boris Johnson) has been characterised by the media as a clown-like figure or buffoon, the possibility of the election being a joke is relevant. The reader/hearer, therefore, may well understand that Livingstone is projecting Johnson as one of the discourse participants who believes the election is something amusing or entertaining. For examples analyses which illustrate the presuppositional nature, variable form and implicatures generated in examples of negation see appendix 2.

7.4 Using negation in context

The approach outlined above can be seen to provide an idealised version of negation. It is, of course, more complex in the context of its range of uses in texts. There is the issue of why writers/speakers choose negation over affirmation. Section 7.2 above examined the notion that negation has the potential to generate implicatures. However, as Leech (1983) notes, where

there is the possibility of a positive alternative form, this has the potential to generate the same implicature. In example (7.4), the implicature that some cat other than the speaker's was responsible for terrorising the neighbourhood could equally have been generated through a positive assertion, 'my cat is female'. Similarly, the implicature that Boris Johnson would make a bad mayor could potentially have been realised with 'Johnson has managed small budgets and his commitment to the city started when the campaign started'. Negation, then, represents a particular linguistic strategy in creating meaning, and this strategy reflects more than the potential to generate conversational implicatures. The speaker's choice of a negative over a positive represents what Jeffries (2010a) refers to as a 'textual practice'. The textual practice of negating draws on the three elements of the outlined approach, its presuppositional nature, its variable form and its potential to generate implicatures based on what is negated.

The analysis of negation then is a useful tool in the examination of written texts. This multi-faceted textual practice forms the basis of examining these textual effects, and as Sweetser (2006: 313) notes, choosing to describe a situation as *not X* has important rhetorical and stylistic effects. Approaching negation as a 'textual practice', the following section will outline the notion that negation contributes two fundamental features to texts; first, a contrast between a hypothetical unrealised situation and the actual situation. Secondly, it attributes expectations/beliefs to the ideal reader/hearer.

7.4.1 Negation as a 'textual practice'

Research into negation has frequently focused on its interpersonal functions (Halliday 1985) (denial, rejection, prohibition) and how these can be distinguished from its descriptive function (e.g. Horn 1985, 1989, Carston 1998, Burton-Roberts 1989, Guerts 1998, van der Sandt 1992). Little attention has been paid to its ideational dimension, how it represents images of the

world (fictional or factual) and what textual effects it creates. Here I will focus on this ideational dimension of negation and return to Jeffries' (2010a) notion of negation as a 'textual practice'.

In her development of a text analyst's 'toolbox', Jeffries (2010a) presents a range of tools which provide a means of analysing 'the different ways in which texts allow/ask us to conceptualise those topics they are addressing' and provides 'some means of accessing this representational practice through the linguistic features that are already well-described in the very many semantico-grammatical theories and models' (2010a:14). She further points out that 'it is important not to lose sight of the fact that there is a level at which texts organize the world we experience and that this is demonstrable in the words and structures in the texts themselves' (ibid). It is in this context of language representing experience that we must also consider negation. And indeed, Jeffries includes it as a tool of analysis (2010a: 106-113). Negation allows writers/ speakers to draw on or project readers'/hearers' expectations of the world (factual or fictional) being represented as well as representing that world as well.

Although, as noted above, much scholarly effort has been expended on the interpersonal uses of negation, these uses will only be considered in relation to their ideational dimensions. One reason for this shift in focus from the interpersonal to the ideational is that the latter focusses on the text producer's intentions in communication. The notion of negation as a textual practice, on the other hand, errs towards a consideration of the text receiver's understanding of the phenomenon by explicating the potential effects it creates in discourse. This is in line with the aim of the thesis to offer a means of analysing what the use of negation adds to interpretations of and potential ideological effect in texts.

In the realm of textual representation, choosing negation over affirmation then, presents the possibility for distinct textual effects. Whatever interpersonal function it serves, negation reflects a particular textual strategy in representing meaning. I take this strategy as having two fundamental levels. The first is that negation establishes a contrast between a hypothetical version of a situation and the actual version. Readers/hearers are asked, therefore, to consider

the actual situation relative to some absent property. Secondly, through the presuppositional nature of negation, it attributes expectations/beliefs to the ideal reader/hearer.

In this example (7.20) (this example is also used to demonstrate the three aspects of the approach in appendix 2), the opening lines to a news report on Boris Johnson's 2008 election campaign for mayor of London, the Conservative candidate is represented relative to the possibility of being a clown-like figure.

(7.20) THERE was no spinning bow tie, no baggy polka-dot pants or big red nose as the Conservative candidate for London mayor fixed the partisan audience with a stern, cowl-like stare.

The Herald 28th April 2008. Appendix 1, document15

Here, the possibility of the Conservative candidate dressing as a clown is drawn upon, making available to the reader two alternative scenarios. The use of negation both projects and defeats the ideal reader's/hearer's expectation of Johnson appearing as a clown-like figure. Thus the negation of the appearance spinning bow tie, and so on, both constructs an image of the world where the reader believes Johnson to be a clown-like figure, but also indicates that in this particular scenario, he deviates from this characterisation. This presuppositional nature of negation, then, has the potential to project a reader's point of view. This is potentially ideologically significant and will be discussed in Chapter 9.

These are relatively uncontroversial features of negation. Jeffries (2010a) proceeds on this basis when she explains that negation;

sets up for the reader/listener a particular kind of regular opposition by conjuring up not only the absence of the occurrence of a process (*the dog didn't bite the postman*) but also a positive version in which the process occurs (*the dog bit the postman*).

Jeffries 2010a:110

This concept of contrast is also captured by the notion of counterfactuality (Sweetser 2006, Dancygier 2010 and Riddle-Harding 2007). Similarly, it underlies the notion of Polyphony (Nolke (2006) and Nørgaard 2007). Werth (1995 and 1999) and Hidalgo-Downing (2000) outline the same relationship in their framing of Text World theory approaches. Here, negated information falls into a sub-world distinct from the text world, thus creating an analogy for the contrast between the conceptualisations of absence and presence.

Where these features of the textual practice become significant is in the range of effects they can potentially realise in the discourse. This range of effects will be explored in the next two chapters. However, like the generation of implicatures discussed above, the textual effects are context dependent and are thus potentially open-ended (Jeffries 2010a). The following section presents a broad outline of the range of textual effects that can be created by negation.

7.4.2 A broad outline of the range of textual effects of negation.

This section presents only a broad outline of the types of effects created, specific examples and effects will be analysed in the next two chapters. The first distinction to be made is between contrastive and presuppositional effects. Contrastive effects are concerned with the creation and comparison of alternate possibilities. The presuppositional effects are concerned with attributing expectations of the positive to the ideal reader/hearer. These textual effects can, in turn, give rise to ideological effects. The effects discussed here are not discrete, but overlap; examples of negation can and do realise several different effects.

7.4.2.1 Opposition

Negation triggers opposing possibilities, the presence and absence of some state, entity or event. However, it overlaps with another of Jeffries' (2010a) textual practices, opposition; It can function as a syntactic framework to trigger an oppositional relationship between non-canonical opposites (Jeffries 2009, Davies 2009) to create mutually exclusive categories. For example,

(7.21) Don't vote for a joke. Vote for London

2008 London Mayoral Election campaign poster for Ken Livingstone

The use of the negative imperative and repetition of 'vote for' sets up an opposition between 'joke' and 'London'. Given the context of an election campaign where Boris Johnson had been characterised as a clown-like figure, one side of the opposition is Boris Johnson. The other represents a metonymic relationship where London stands for the people who live and vote in the city. The mutually exclusive opposite then is either voting for Johnson or voting for the benefit of the people of London.

7.4.2.2 Evaluation

Evoking alternative scenarios can provide a framework for evaluating those alternatives (Riddle-Harding 2007). The above example, (7.21), as well as creating mutually exclusive opposites, also provides a framework for evaluating the prohibited positive. Since prohibitions indicate that an action unfavourable to the speaker, the possibility of voting for Johnson is negatively evaluated.

7.4.2.3 Introducing new information/establishing background norms

Where negation occurs in a context where no previous assertion has been made of the positive, it has the potential to introduce new information into the context about alternate possibilities. For example;

(7.22) They [the Taliban] want to maintain an attitude that keeps women unhealthy, unfed, uneducated.

In this example (see also appendix 2 and Chapter 9), Hilary Clinton describes Afghanistan's Taliban regime to a senate committee. She could have asserted that the Taliban want to maintain an attitude that keeps women 'sick', 'hungry' and 'ignorant'. However, in using the negated forms, 'unhealthy', 'unfed' and 'uneducated', she introduces the possibility of another way of being for these women (and one that is likely to correspond to the reader's pre-existing expectations). In example (7.17) the directive to not 'stereotype us' introduces the information that the reader intends to carry out this action.

7.4.2.4 Attributing expectations/intentions

The presuppositional nature of negation attributes to the ideal reader/hearer the expectations or intentions that are being defeated or prohibited. This creates the potential for the text to project alternate points of view (Nolke 2006, Nørgaard 2007). In the following example (7.23), taken from Sky Online's coverage of Labour 'spin-doctor', Alistair Campbell's appearance before a parliamentary select committee on the Iraq war, his reported assertion clearly functions as a denial, but in denying the assertion, he is attributing to the reader/hearer the point of view that he did indeed 'sex up the dossier'.

(7.23) I did not sex-up the dossier.

As noted above, these constitute only a broad outline of the potentially open ended range of effects created through the use of negation (Jeffries 2010a: 106). The next two chapters will present a more fine-grained analysis of examples from literary and non-literary texts, examining how they contribute to the meaning and structure of the text and the potential ideological effects created.

7.5 Conclusions

In conclusion, this chapter argued two main points; first, that in the use of negation there is the potential to generate conversational implicatures (Grice 1975) based on the writer's/speaker's choice of what to negate. It argued that choosing one out of a multitude of states, events or entities that are absent requires the reader to calculate what it would mean if they were present in order to understand the contextual import of their absence. However, this potential for conversational implicatures only forms a part of the overall picture of negation. Section 7.3 placed this aspect of negation in the context of the approach being presented in this thesis (see appendix 2 for a series of example demonstrating how it applies in the analysis of texts). The second argument was that this approach provides a basis for understanding how negation reflects a particular textual practice on the part of the speaker/writer in constructing an image of the world (factual or fictional), and thus, represents not only an interpersonal function of language, but also an ideational one (Jeffries 2010a).

The next two chapters will discuss some of the potentially open ended range of textual effects created through the use of negation. Chapter 8 will focus on the effects in literary texts, whilst Chapter 9 will focus on the potential for negation to create and reinforce background norms/ideologies.

Chapter 8

Analysing negation in written discourse – textual effects of negation in literary texts²⁸

8.1 Introduction

This chapter moves beyond the theoretical discussions of the previous chapters into how negation works, and takes the outlined approach and applies it to the analysis of negation in discourse. The aim is to add to the growing body of research into the effects of negation, with a particular focus on literary texts. This chapter and Chapter 9 make the distinction between literary and non-literary texts in order to differentiate between effects that contribute to characterisation, narrative development, building fictional worlds on the one hand and ideological effects on the other. That, however, is not to suggest that these effects are the exclusive domain of literary or non-literary texts, nor that there are in fact such clearly

²⁸ The differentiation between literary and non-literary texts is far from clear cut, but is used here to allow for a focus on the types of effect typically associated with each text type. See Jeffries (2001) for an extensive discussion of the difficulties of determining what constitutes a literary or non-literary text in the context of challenging Cook (1994) and Semino's (1997) versions of schema theory.

demarcated genres of discourse. This distinction provides an analytical convenience to illustrate the usefulness of the approach to negation developed in this thesis in exploring a range of effects generally associated with, but not exclusive to, each genre.

As noted in Chapter 7, negation can be viewed as a particular linguistic strategy, a textual practice (Jeffries 2010a), which has significant effects in the construction of texts. Simpson (2010) suggests readers can derive ‘complex inferences from absences in the story’ (2010:299). This chapter then focuses on what inferences readers can derive from the possible presences that underlie these absences evoked through the use of negation.

Previous chapters have focused on the theoretical elements of the approach presented; negation in discourse, however, is necessarily more complex than the theories that model it. It is in the application of the approach that the complexities of negation in discourse can be examined. Although negation is a stable conceptual practice, how it is realised, both in form and its local textual function, is dependent on the unique context in which it occurs. This is demonstrated in the following example. Here the effect of negation is not so much in just what is presupposed, but by the co-textual elements with which it interacts. . However, the practice of negating still exploits its associated expectations for effect. This example is an extract from Terry Pratchett’s (2007) fantasy novel *Making Money*. Here, Moist von Lipwig, Postmaster General, is visiting Lord Vetinari, the city’s ruler, following the mysterious death of an elderly woman. Lipwig assumes Lord Vetinari has had a hand in the woman’s death, but refrains from saying as much.

(8.1) ‘We progress. We would not progress if the ruler was the kind of man who would kill elderly ladies, do you understand?’

‘I never said - ’

'I know exactly what you never said. You refrained from saying it very loudly.'

Vetinari raised an eyebrow. 'I am extremely angry, Mr Lipwig.'

Pratchett 2007:124

Here, I am not so much concerned with the absence that is being evoked, what was not said by Lipwig, but with the way that absence is treated by the surrounding co-text; the use of 'know exactly' and 'very loudly' creates a sense in which the absence is as tangible as presence. The possibility of knowing something exactly would conventionally require that the thing that is understood has in some sense come to fruition – one can know exactly what was said if one hears it. However, exact knowledge of an unrealised event is somewhat incongruous. The notion of unspoken words having volume is similarly incongruous. The text projects an impossible situation (impossible even in the fantasy world of the novel), where unspoken words can be known exactly and have volume. The treatment of the absence in this context creates a situation in which the expectation of the unspoken accusation between the two characters is so great as to have a figurative presence. In context, this construction of a tangible absence contributes to the construction of Vetinari's character; as ruler of the city, he is all powerful and has a reputation for knowing everything that goes on, and in this case, he even seems to be privy to the thoughts of the Postmaster General.

This chapter consists of a series of analyses of examples of negation drawn from prose, poetry and drama, and argues that negation contributes to the construction of textual effects through the projection or reflection of expectations. These expectations of a negated positive constitute the background against which the foreground of a particular situation is understood in context. The first step, however, is to consider the interaction of background knowledge and the expectations triggered through the use of negation.

8.2 Negation and background knowledge

The discussion of the approach to negation so far, has only briefly touched on where its presuppositional nature intersects with the background knowledge brought to a text. The presupposed expectations, as noted in chapter 4, can be explicit and part of the co-text, part of the shared background generic knowledge between speaker/writer and hearer/reader, or projected as part of the shared knowledge where the actual reader may have no prior expectations. However, the presuppositional nature of negation results in the idea that expectations are embedded in utterances, and consequently, the occurrence of negation constructs the expectation independently of whether the actual reader shares those expectations. That is not to say that the actual reader's background knowledge that they bring to a text is irrelevant. Indeed, understanding negation in context is in part the recognition of where the evoked expectations in the text interact with the potential expectations of the actual reader.

In her monograph on a pragmatic account of negation in the context of discourse, Hidalgo-Downing (2000) addresses the issue of background knowledge and negation with reference to schema theory; she argues that,

Schemata are standardly defined as expectations; if negation is understood as the defeat of an expectation, we can understand the relation between a negative and a positive in terms of the relation between the schemata or frames evoked by each.

Hidalgo-Downing 2000:116

Hidalgo-Downing's use of schema theory is an attempt to account for the source of the expectations that are defeated through negation. She argues that they are located in the schemas or packets of information evoked by the text. These take the form of situations which are familiar to the reader, such as Schank and Abelson's (1977) famous RESTAURANT schema where the settings, participants and events form part of a package of information. In this

schema, if a diner were described as leaving without paying the bill, the evoked expectation of paying the bill forms part of the background knowledge for this type of situation. Where there is no familiar schema, readers will take into account higher level schemas to understand the motivation for an evoked expectation. Hidalgo-Downing illustrates the evocation of a higher level schema with reference to a character, Yossarian, in *Catch-22* who takes pride in not having built an officer's club-house. She suggests that this is incongruous because, although readers may have no specific knowledge of building club-houses, they have knowledge regarding what people are generally proud of, that is, doing something, rather than proud of not doing nothing.

Hidalgo-Downing's application of schema theory allows her to argue that instances of negation projecting expectations independently of existing co-textual or contextual expectations (negative accommodation) are rare. Within schema theory, the reader is able to draw on schemas for specific familiar situations, or higher level schemas to account for the expectations evoked. This allows Hidalgo-Downing to explain the peculiar world view she notes exists in *Catch-22* as being based on a conflict between the evoked expectations of the reader and the world view projected through the characters and events deviating from the reader's expectations. However, this idealised interaction between reader and text does not take into account that not all readers come to a text with the same knowledge or expectations; what is for one reader an expectation based on context, may be for another an instance of negative accommodation. Even where a schema is evoked, the particular expectation evoked through negation may not be part of an individual reader's existing schema. Determining what is reflected by negation and what is projected then is fraught with difficulties.

There are problems with an approach to negation based on schema theory; schema theory is grounded in a cognitive approach to language and discourse analysis and is concerned with what actual readers bring to texts in terms of background knowledge and how that knowledge is activated by the text itself. It is, to a large extent, dependent on the notion that readers come to a text with definable packets of information which are uncomplicatedly

accessed. In challenging Cook's (1994) and Semino's (1997) development of schema theory in relation to literature, Jeffries argues that the relationship of text to actual reader is much more complex than texts activating existing packages of information. She suggests that such theories are faced with the problem that texts have multiple readers with varying background knowledge and experience. This may result in readers not having particular schemas or having individual points of view that clash with a text projected schema. Readers may in fact, 'read against' a text; although they adopt the textual point of view temporarily whilst reading, their interpretation of the text is influenced by the individual knowledge and experience they bring to the process of comprehension. Jeffries does not dismiss the notion that readers have packages of information out of hand, noting that the reading experience can bring the 'thrill of recognition' when readers recognises a particular schema at work (2001:334). Instead, she argues that schema theory needs to be developed in such a way as to take into account the complex interaction of actual reader and text or that some other account of the background knowledge that is evoked in the reading process is needed.

Though Hidalgo-Downing's (2000) explanation of negation in discourse depends on schema theory, she does acknowledge some problems with the theory. However, these are largely to do with the specificity of the theory itself rather than its underlying premise; she notes that it is not clear how many or what types of schemas there are, or if they overlap, or even if more than one can be activated at one time (2000: 121).

Not knowing what individual readers bring to a text leads to the notion that, in some sense, all negation that relies on implied (rather than co-textually explicit) expectations, projects those expectations (fig 8.1). The question is to what extent those projected expectations overlap with the actual reader's/hearer's expectations.

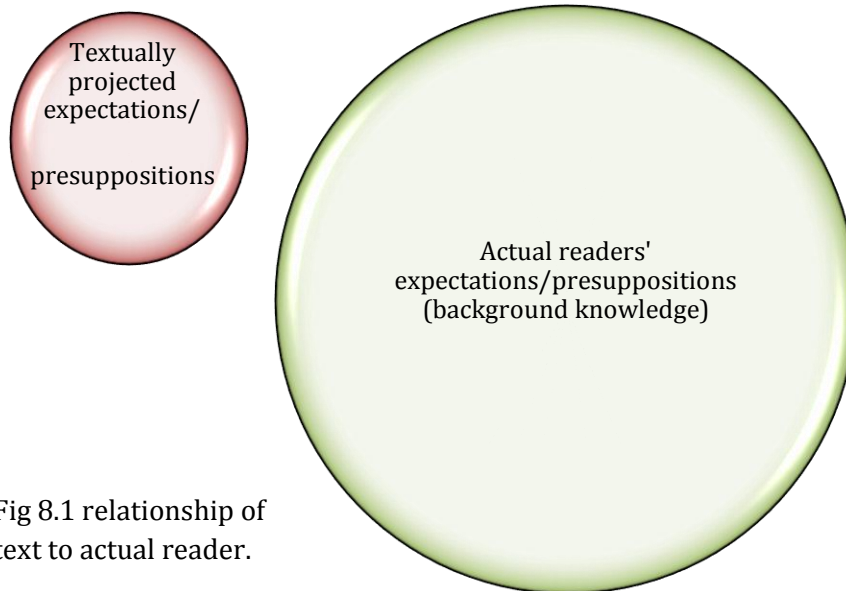


Fig 8.1 relationship of text to actual reader.

This overlap occurs when the background knowledge of the reader meets the world (fictional or factual) view constructed by the text. As argued by Jeffries, readers adopt this textual world view, if only temporarily, for the time of reading. This is modelled in fig. 8.2. Here the textual world view is projected by the text where no expectation exists in the actual reader's background knowledge. It is, therefore, projected as part of the textual world constructed between the text and actual reader. When reading fictional texts, the overlap between the text's points of view and the reader's is likely to be temporary (though as Short (1996) notes, background knowledge of the world can be built up through encounters with fictional versions of real world situations). Where the knowledge constructed in a text coincides with readers' existing knowledge (fig 8.3), there is a two-way movement of information; texts project which elements of knowledge are relevant, and the readers' knowledge feeds back into comprehending that evoked knowledge in context. This may well result in the 'thrill of recognition' that Jeffries (2001) notes. Again, this process is temporary and when the reader stops reading, the world views of the text may have no permanent effect on the reader. However, in this temporary overlap, there is the potential for the permanent migration of 'knowledge' from the textual world to the actual reader's real world. Where the projected expectations are compatible with existing knowledge, but not part of it, readers may

permanently adopt the projected knowledge. Where these textually projected expectations correlate with readers' existing expectations, they have the effect of reiterating and perhaps confirming existing world views.

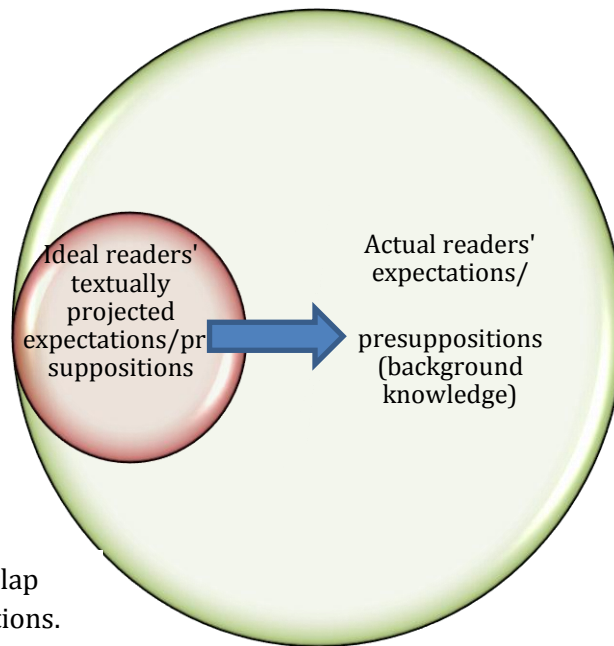


Fig 8.2 Temporary overlap with projected expectations.

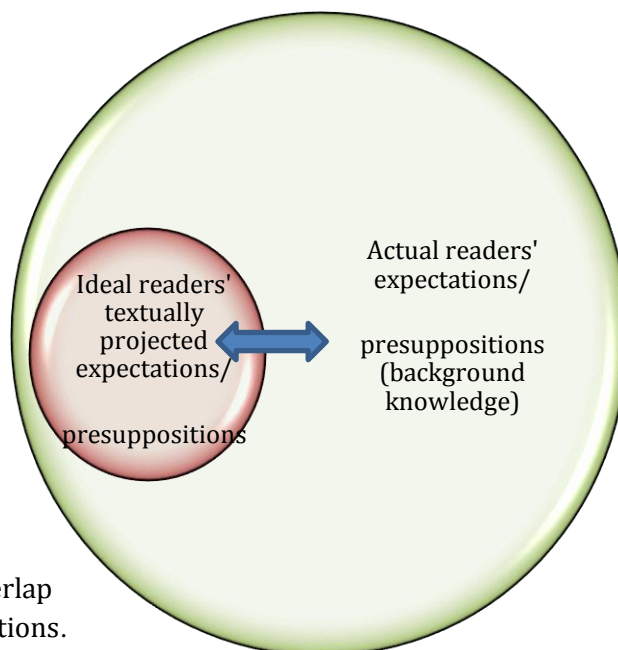


Fig 8.3 Temporary overlap with reflected expectations.

The expectations associated with negation then can have the effect of building up images of fictional worlds or permanently affecting actual readers' conceptualisation of the factual

world. The ideological significance of this will be pursued in Chapter 9; here I will expand on how this is relevant to the textual effects of negation.

Whilst there are problems with schema theory, writers clearly construct their texts on the basis that readers are likely to share some background knowledge; without shared knowledge, it would be difficult to imagine that writers/speakers could communicate with readers/hearers. The related, but more generalised notion of 'background knowledge' has the potential to provide a means of engaging with the expectations triggered by negation. Where a text does trigger a recognisable package of information with its attendant expectations, negation indicates to the reader which specific elements of the schema are relevant in the situation in question; this is a process of selection whereby the expectations associated with a schema may prompt the possibility of a multitude of potential presences, but not all of them will be relevant in the specific context. In selecting which ones are absent, negation marks the potential presence of these as relevant in context. For example, we may note that a diner left the restaurant without paying the bill; it is also possible that s/he did not order a starter, did not complain about the food, did not dine with a friend, and so on, all of which are potentials in a schema for a visit to a restaurant. However, by noting that the diner left without paying, the negation draws attention to which part of the RESTAURANT schema is relevant in this context.

Taking the same RESTAURANT schema, we might also assert that the diner did not have the frogs' legs starter. Whilst the possibility of having such a starter is plausible, it is dependent on the cultural context of the writer and reader; evoking the possibility of such a starter would refine the RESTAURANT schema to a specific type or location of restaurant (possibly a French restaurant). This kind of refinement of a schema is of course dependent on the reader's background knowledge of restaurants, and as noted above, such dependence can be problematic. However, because of the presuppositional nature of negation, even where an actual reader has no knowledge of frog's legs starters or the type of restaurant where they are served,

noting that the diner did not choose this particular starter allows the possibility of this choice to be incremented into the schema for restaurants, or at least the specific restaurant in question.

The relationship of the expectations associated with negation then, is not as simple as activating readers' knowledge, but determines which of the potential presences, that are part of that knowledge, are relevant in a specific context. Further, it can project the possibility of presence where none previously existed. Negation then is as much about drawing attention to potential presences as it is about actual absences. Through negation, texts build up complex backgrounds of expectations which are unrealised but are significant because of the possibility of their presence. In literary texts, building up this complex background contributes to the construction of the parameters of textual worlds, drawing on reader's existing knowledge and projecting knowledge. The analyses below will examine the way in which texts can exploit these potentials for particular effects. They will look at the way negation determines relevant background knowledge, but also where the expectations prompted by the text potentially clash with readers' existing knowledge.

8.3 Textual effects of negation in a collection of data drawn from literary texts

The range of local effects in texts that can be created through the use of negation is possibly as wide as the range of contexts in which it is used. For example, Nørgaard (2007) notes that it can reflect multiple points of view from characters or narrator. Hidalgo-Downing (2000) explores how it can create absurd contradictions. Sweetser (2006) lists a variety of effects including narrative level contributions where negation can 'foreshadow' future events. Dancygier (2009), in her analysis of Mark Anthony's famous funeral speech in Shakespeare's

Julius Caesar, explores how pointing out what is not going to be said can in fact bring about the very act of saying it. The range of effects then is likely to many and varied. However, I would contend that these effects are built upon the basic elements of negation in discourse outlined in this thesis; negation presupposes an expectation of the positive, takes variable form and gives rise to implied meaning beyond its basic propositional content.

The following analyses explore some of the ways in which negation contributes to meaning in written discourse, focussing on literary texts, and takes the framework of the outlined approach as a starting point. Extracts from prose, poetry and drama are analysed in relation to the presuppositions and variable form elements of negation that determine how it is interpreted in context. The first section looks at how pragmatically presupposing expectations can be exploited to build up readers' conceptualisations of fictional worlds and characters. These analyses are divided between those expectations that project new information into the reader's background knowledge and those that are likely to reflect actual readers' existing knowledge. The second set of examples examines the way in which the variable form of negation can be exploited for effect. Here I also consider how breaking the rules of conventional usage in the expression of negation can give rise to particular effects. The final example examines the way in which the textual practice of negating can overlap with the textual practice of constructing oppositions (Jeffries 2009).

8.3.1 Negation in literature – preliminary notions

The basis of this chapter is the analysis of negation in literary texts. The following analyses then are framed within a stylistic approach to text analysis and make use of relevant frameworks and theories in this area. The first thing to take into account in analysing negation

in the context of literary texts is that writers, readers and texts are all involved in the construction of fictional worlds and characters. As Toolan (2001) notes

Character entails an illusion in which the reader is a creative accomplice. Out of words we make a person. A variety of descriptions of some posited individual, together with descriptions – implicit or explicit- of that individual's actions and reactions, suffice to lead most readers to conceive of a person of whom these references and insights are just glimpses...readers continue to apprehend most novel characters as individuals (whether seen dimly or sharply, whether recognisable, comprehensible, lisible or impenetrable, alien, and unfathomable). And as these apprehensions are built up, revised, and articulated, all sorts of extra-textual knowledge, including our knowledge of characters in the real world, is brought to bear.

Toolan 2001:80-81

Similarly, the worlds these fictional characters inhabit are built up through the text itself. The textual effects of negation then contribute to the construction of these worlds and characters. The writer's choice of negation over affirmation, and the choice of one form of negation over another contributes to this process. The possible presences that are evoked through the presuppositional nature of negation can project the parameters of those worlds or reflect readers' existing expectations which are brought to bear in constructing them.

Of particular significance in determining the local effects of negation in the extracts discussed below is the question of who holds the expectations that are presupposed. Here it is useful to refer to Short's (1996) model of the discourse structure of poetry, drama and prose (a diagram of Short's discourse structure for prose is provided in fig 8.4). Short makes the distinction between different levels of communication in discourse; there is the level at which the writer constructs a 'message' which is read by the reader. This is prototypical for poetry. This 'message' is more complex in the case of drama and prose. In drama, the writer's 'message' consists of the 'messages' constructed by in the speech of the characters. In prose, there is a level between the writer and the characters where the narrator tells the story to a narratee which consists of narration and the character to character communication. In this complex discourse architecture then, the expectations of the possible positive can be held by writer,

narrator, character, actual reader and implied reader (narratee)(Chapter 4 addresses the question of who holds the expectations associated with negation).

The data for the following analyses have been drawn from a range of literary texts including prose, poetry and drama. These examples are not intended to be representative of any particular genre of literary texts and have been selected to illustrate particular facets of negation within the approach proposed. Relevant context for the examples will be provided in the analyses below.

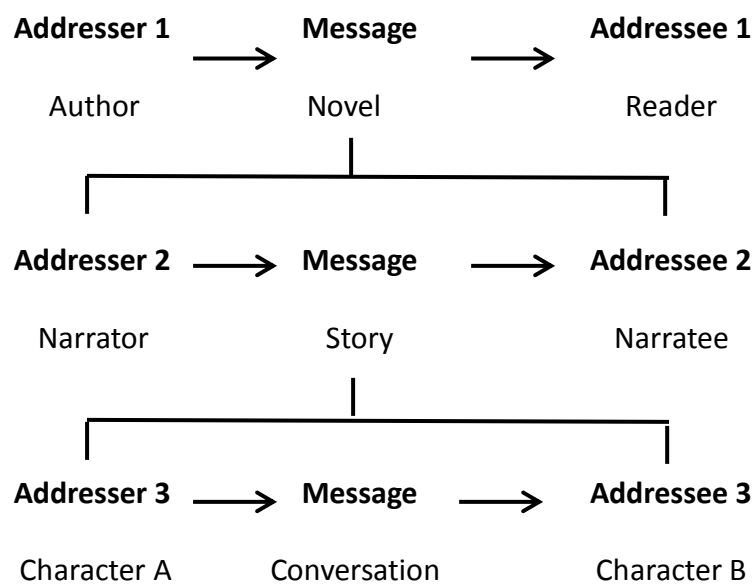


Fig 8.4 Discourse structure of prose fiction Short 1996:

8.3.2 Projecting background expectations

This section focuses on examples where negation serves to introduce expectations. These expectations can be added the background knowledge that informs text comprehension or clash with existing knowledge. This requires a consideration of extent to which the projected expectations are plausible and compatible with readers'/ hearers' knowledge or implausible

and clash with that knowledge. I also consider examples where it is the action of projecting an expectation, rather than the specific content that is significant.

8.3.2.1 Constructing fictional worlds and narrative elements through projecting plausible expectations

This first example demonstrates how negation evokes projected expectations which contribute to character construction, fictional world building and narrative structure. It is taken from Harper Lee's (1960) *To Kill a Mockingbird*. The novel tells the story of the first person narrator, Scout, growing up in 1930s Maycomb in Alabama, USA. In this extract, Scout is describing her widowed father, Atticus. As narrator, she is explaining why she is unable to boast about her father in the same way as her classmates boasts about theirs.

- (8.2) He was much older than the parents of our school companions, and there was nothing Jem or I could say about him when our classmates said 'My father -'.

Jem was football crazy. Atticus was never too tired to play keep-away but when Jem wanted to tackle him, Atticus would say 'I'm too old for that, son.'

Our father didn't do anything. He worked in an office, not in a drugstore. Atticus did not drive a dump-truck for the county, he was not the sheriff, he did not farm, work in a garage, or do anything that could possibly arouse the admiration of anyone.

Besides that, he wore glasses. He was nearly blind in his left eye and said left eyes were the tribal curse of the Finches. Whenever he wanted to see something well, he turned his head and looked from his right eye.

He did not do the things our classmates' fathers did: he never went hunting, he did not play poker or fish or drink or smoke. He sat in the living-room and read.

I am focusing here on the underlined sections where Scout creates an image of her father by describing the things he does not do; he does not 'work in a drugstore', 'drive a dump truck', 'was not sheriff', 'did not farm, work in a garage or do anything that could possibly arouse the admiration of anyone', go 'hunting', 'play poker', 'fish', 'drink' or 'smoke'. The narrator initially points out that her father 'didn't do anything', but elaborates on this by specifying just what it is that he does not do. In selecting these things that Atticus doesn't do, Scout constructs a world of unrealised possibilities, which contribute to the construction of both Atticus and herself, and the town of Maycomb in which they live.

In Chapter 4 I argued that the expectation of the negated positive can be held not only by the ideal/actual reader, but also the speaker/writer. In this example, it is the first person narrator who holds the expectations, whilst they are projected onto the ideal reader as the possible pastimes and occupations of fathers that Atticus deviates from. In pointing out what her father does not do, Scout is drawing attention to what it is possible for fathers to do. As a first person narrator, she is a character within the story world and consequently, her expectations are part of that world. Her expectations then reflect what is possible for fathers to do in Maycomb. The writer's choice of negation here then constructs Scout's expectations of fathers, but also what the other fathers in Maycomb do for work and leisure.

Had Atticus done any of the things that Scout notes that he does not, then she would have been able to boast about him to her friends. These negated occupations and pastimes are thus what she finds admirable. The projection of these expectations constructs Scout as finding her friends' fathers admirable whilst Atticus is not. Atticus then is constructed in opposition to the men of Maycomb; where they are active, e.g. driving dump trucks and being sheriff, he is sedentary and unexciting. At the level of writer to reader, in the wider context of the novel as a whole, constructing Atticus in this way foreshadows the future conflict between Atticus and the men of Maycomb over the trial of a black man, Tom Robinson, accused of raping a white woman, Mayella Ewell.

8.3.2.2 Character construction and projected implausible expectations

Whereas the last example analysed the plausible expectations evoked by negation, the next example looks at the effects on character construction of projecting implausible expectations. This example is an extract from Ben Elton's (2008) novel, *Stark*, a satirical exploration of the effects of greed, wealth and global pollution. The extract is taken from early in the novel where the reader is introduced to the two main characters, Sly Morcock and Collin. Here the use of negation projects a negated scenario in which billionaire, Sly Morcock, behaves more like a cockroach than a man. This can be explained with reference to the specificity of the negated clauses; although the negation indicates that Sly does not do the things that are pragmatically presupposed as expected, the specificity of the clauses, as a flout of the maxim of quantity, generate the implicature that they take place, but that someone or something else does them. This then is a question of the scope of negation; Sly does not 'hide in the milk spout', but cockroaches, as Collin's real enemies, do.

The passage is ostensibly about the character Collin and what has the power to control his life. It both projects and reflects the notion that it is usually people in power that have control (Sly Morcock), but what actually has control over Collin is the population of cockroaches that share his living space. The projection of implausible expectations equates both Sly Morcock and the ultra-wealthy with cockroaches, contributes to redefining concepts of power, but also potentially gives rise to humour through the incongruity of what is projected as expected by readers.

This first extract establishes the context of power as the issue that is the topic:

(8.3) (a) Yes, Sly owned Carlo, but he didn't rule the roost – not in Colin's little part of town anyway" (Stark 1989 :14)

Here, the use of the disjunctive, 'but' and the negated verb phrase, 'didn't rule' defeats the expectation, based on cultural knowledge of ownership, that 'owning' Carlton puts Sly in a position of power over its residents. This is modified with the negated propositional phrase, 'not in Colin's little part of town anyway', which partially negates the negation of the previous clause, producing the implicature that Sly controls some of Carlton. Reliance on the expectation of the positive triggers the mental representations of a billionaire (Sly) as, 'powerful', 'not powerful' and 'not powerful in a specific location'. As such, the readers' background expectations of the link between power, money and ownership are reinforced. This, in turn, reinforces the ideology that power comes with money. However, this is challenged in relation to what actually has power over Collin. The representation of Sly Moorcock as only having limited power is realised in part in the next extract. The following analysis focuses on the numbered underlined sections.

- (8.3) (b) No, Sly didn't bother Colin over much. So the guy was a billionaire, what could he really do to you? (1)Nothing. In the searing heat and natural abundance of a Carlton summer, Colin had much more pressing enemies than Sly. Let's face it, (2)Sly was unlikely to appear as if from nowhere, on Colin's breadboard and make him feel like throwing-up. He wasn't going to creep into the fridge and hide in the folded spout of the milk carton so that when Colin popped back the spout wings, there he would be! All horrid and scuttly! Then, off like a bullet, but not before he'd shocked Colin into dropping the milk and ruined Colin's day.

Sly Moorcock was more powerful than God in Carlton, but (3)Colin had never had to throw the butter away because he'd found Sly having a fuck in it – it takes a special kind of bastard to make you do that. Colin's enemies were cockroaches, he had no time to worry about billionaires.

In this extract, a series of absurd and implausible expectations are projected by the text (2 and 3) in which the use of negation pragmatically presupposes that the ideal reader expects Sly Moorcock to 'hide in the spout of the milk carton' and 'fuck' in the butter. This is inconsistent with actual readers' background knowledge and creates a conflict between what is projected as expected by the ideal reader and what is known by the actual reader (it would have to be a very large milk carton or a very small Sly Moorcock to avoid such a conflict). This evocation of absurd expectations is potentially a source for humour²⁹. So, although it is true that Sly Moorcock is unlikely to appear on Colin's breadboard or hide in the folds of the milk carton, the process of introducing them as expectations through the simultaneous introduction and defeat of those expectations, creates a conflict between what the reader is being encouraged to expect and what they know of the world. The conflict is further increased through the clarity of the negated mental representation; where 'nothing' (1) produces an under-specified mental representation of the positive, (2) provides complex details and evaluation (e.g. use of exclamations marks and evaluative lexis –'horrid and scuttly') of an unrealised event. This kind of specificity tends to be reserved for things that do happen rather than those that do not. This implies the actions take place, but that it is not Sly who does them. The question of who does, is resolved when the reader learns at the end of the passage that cockroaches are Collin's enemies, not billionaires.

As noted above, this evocation of such fine-grained unrealised expectations has the effect of triggering of a mental representation of Sly exhibiting the same behaviours as a cockroach. This is incremented to the mental representation of the character as a whole. This has implications for the construction of the unpleasant characteristics associated with the ultra wealthy characters introduced later in the novel. Although the pragmatically presupposed

²⁹ Theories around the concept of humour are incredibly complex (e.g. Nash, Raskin and Attardo, Attardo 2009) and this thesis is not the place to explore them. The interaction of negation and humour needs much more research, but here I rely on the notion that evoking something that is both patently impossible and absurd (rather than serious) provides a possible trigger for humour.

expectations of Sly's behaviour are implausible, the reader is nonetheless required to conceptualise Sly behaving in that way.

8.3.2.3 Exploiting projected expectations at character to character level

In example (8.3) negation effectively attributes to the reader implausible expectations. In this next example, I pursue this notion of attributing expectations, but where one character can attribute expectations to another. This extract is taken from Terry Pratchett's fantasy novel, *Making Money*. Hubert and Igor have built a machine that replicates the financial system in the city of Ankh Morpork. It is so accurate a representation that when they accidentally leave a valve open on the machine, money is lost from the financial system it models. Here, Hubert lies and tells Adora Belle that he has not done anything wrong.

(8.3) Hubert brightened up. This was easy! "We are not doing anything wrong, you know!" he said.

"I'm sure you aren't," said Adora Belle, trying to pull her hand away.

"It can keep track of every dollar in the city, you know. The possibilities are endless! But, um, of course we're not upsetting things in anyway!"

"I'm very glad to hear it, Hubert," said Adora Belle, tugging harder.

"Of course we're having teething troubles! But everything is being done with immense care! Nothing has been lost because we've left a valve open or anything like that."

Whilst the reader knows from the prior co-text that Hubert has done something to upset things and has 'left a valve open', Adora Belle does not, nor has she reason to suspect that he has. Here

the projected expectations are not operating at the level of writer to reader, but at the character to character level of Short's (1996) discourse model of prose fiction. By denying that he has done anything 'wrong', presumably with the intention of avoiding criticism that would arise from having done something 'wrong', Hubert's use of negation projects a background of Adora Belle's expectations that he has done something wrong. The negation here, in presupposing an expectation of the positive and denying it, runs the risk of unnecessarily alerting Adora Belle to the possibility of wrong-doing, not once, but three times. Hubert does not need to deny something that Adora Belle has no reason to expect, so in denying having done anything wrong in order to protect himself, Hubert runs the risk of raising the possibility of the very situation he is attempting to deny. At the level of narrator to ideal reader, the reader is privy to Hubert's attempts to protect himself, but also to the possibility that in doing so, he is opening himself up to such accusations of wrong-doing. The effect of using negation in this example is that it contributes to the construction of Hubert as naïve and unsophisticated; he, unlike the actual reader, seems unaware of the potential for negation to create the very expectation he seeks to suppress.

8.3.3 Reflecting background expectations

This section focuses on the effects created where writers appear to exploit and build on existing background knowledge. As noted above, the notion of readers/hearers holding a particular package of specific information is problematic. However, in the following examples, writers appear to make use of what can be plausibly assumed to form part of a reader's/hearer's existing knowledge of specific situations or how the world works.

8.3.3.1 Reflecting/projecting cultural expectations

I noted above the difficulty in determining which expectations are projected and which are reflected. This is a question of what knowledge actual readers bring to a text. This is illustrated in this next example from Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird*, where the use of negation can have slightly different effects for different actual readers. Whilst their father is away at the State Legislature, Scout and Jem attend church with Calpurnia, their black cook. The segregation of Maycomb into black and white communities means that the black community has its own church, First Purchase, built by freed slaves, and this is where Calpurnia takes Scout and Jem.

(8.4) First Purchase was unceiled and unpainted within. Along its wall unlighted kerosene lamps hung on brass brackets; pine benches served as pews. Behind a rough oak pulpit a faded pink silk banner proclaimed GOD IS LOVE, the church's only decoration except for a rotogravure print of Hunt's *The Light of the World*.

Lee 19/1960: 132

In this extract the narrator, Scout, through the use of negation draws attention to the lack of paint and ceiling in the church. These textually projected expectations of the background norm for churches, like example (8.2) also reflect Scout's expectations. The reader's knowledge of churches in the fictional town of Maycomb is built on Scout's observations as narrator. In evoking a background norm of 'paint' and 'ceiling', it is possible to extrapolate that in this divided community, Scout's experience of churches in the white community would include these elements. Here then, First Purchase is constructed as a textual entity in contrast with the churches that serve the white community. Further in the context of the extract where Scout notes the basic conditions of the church, First Purchase is being constructed as basic and poor in

comparison to other churches in the town. This adds to the picture of a racially divided town which is at the heart of the novel.

Whilst the effect in the text is to project Scout's expectations of churches, these expectations are likely to overlap with the expectation of, if not all readers, then perhaps American readers who are more likely to be familiar with the type of church evoked through the pragmatically presupposed positive. Here then, evoking the positive reflects a particular cultural background, and the author in selecting absent qualities is potentially reflecting her own cultural norms. However, that is not to say that this use of negation is not meaningful for non-American readers; the fact that the expectations on which negation is dependent are embedded in its expression, mean that all readers have access to the same expectations, but they may well resonate in different ways.

8.3.3.2 Exploiting reflected expectations at character to character level

Whereas example (8. 3) one character *projects* another's expectations, in this example, one character *reflects* another's expectations in the process of defeating it. This extract is also taken from the episode in which Scout and Jem visit First Purchase with Calpurnia in Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird* . In this extract, Calpurnia's assertion that the congregation cannot read makes explicit the background expectations that forms the basis of Jem's comments on hymn books;

(8.5) Jem said it looked like they could save the collection money for a year and get some hymn-books.

Calpurnia laughed. "Wouldn't do any good," she said. "They can't read."

(Lee 19/1960: 137)

In Calpurnia's assertion that 'they can't read' Jem's implicit expectation in suggesting that the congregation buy hymn books is brought to the fore. This reflection of Jem's expectation in turn reflects the experience of the white community that reading is the norm; Jem does not question whether the black community can read, he takes it as a given. The use of negation then can be understood as one of the strategies by which a contrast is made between the two communities in Maycomb which is fundamental to a novel concerned with the entrenched racism of the southern states of America.

8.3.3.3 Building on readers' existing expectations

The last examples focused on the way in which negation can create the expectations on which it is dependent and how this can be exploited to construct fictional worlds and characters. In this next example 'New Vows' by Carol Ann Duffy, I examine how negation is used to evoke a very specific package of information relating to wedding vows and the happiness associated with weddings that is likely to be shared by both writer and actual reader. Here, in the intertextual relationship between the cultural concept of wedding vows and the poem, the writer evokes a ritualised form of language and builds on it through negation to construct an opposite world of divorce. Duffy, herself, says of the poem, "It's a kind of 'vows for splitting up'. I hope it also holds within it the joy of its opposite. All the potential future in it is taken away." (Times Online 2010).

The use of negation is foregrounded through both its quantity and its unconventional forms. In this section I will focus on the way in which it evokes the possibility of making wedding vows in order to create a world in which the poem's persona makes 'divorce vows'. Since the way in which the wedding vows are evoked here through their reversal, the unconventional forms the negation takes will be considered here rather than in the section below on the effects of varying the form of negation.

(8.6) New Vows

1. From this day forth to unhold,
to see the nothing in ringed gold,
uncare for you when you are old

New vows you make me swear to keep ~
5. not ever wake with you, or sleep,
or your body with my own worship;

this living hand slipped from your glove,
these lips sip never from our loving cup,
I may not cherish, kiss; unhave, unlove...
10. And all my worthless wordly goods to unendow...
And who here present upon whom, I call...

First, I will consider how the background knowledge is evoked through negation. Although the text projects an ideal reader who expects the presupposed positives created through negation, in this example this knowledge is highly likely to reflect actual readers' pre-existing knowledge. Here the negated vows echo those of the marriage vows associated with traditional Western marriage ceremonies³⁰ which could be acquired through direct experience or generic/cultural knowledge of how marriage services are conducted³¹. Like the marriage vows that are evoked, the poem consists, in part, of a series of verbal complement clauses to the elided subject and performative verb elements, I vow, and adverbials. The following complement clauses comprise the vows themselves:

(I vow to) – unhold
- see the nothing in ringed gold

³⁰ The Book of Common Prayer 1809 has the following passages for the couple to recite – “I M. take thee N to my wedded wife, to have and to hold, from this day forward, for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love and to cherish, till death us do part...” and “With this ring I thee wed, with my body I thee worship, and with all my worldly goods I thee endow.”

³¹ As contemporary marriage vows show a huge variation in form from that of the book of common prayer, it would be possible to argue that the primary route for knowledge of these vows is not personal experience but acquired from other sources of marriage vows, e.g. films, television, books, general knowledge.

- uncare for you
- not ever wake with you, or sleep,
- or your body with my own worship
- unhave, unlove
- unendow

It is the presupposed positives that underlie these negative vows that evoke the world of potential that Duffy refers to in her comments. Through a reversal of marriage vows and the lexical choices which parallel those of the 'script' for the 'Solemnization of Marriage' in the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, all the potential of those vows is evoked, but their appearance in the negative form prompts the reader to create parallel conceptualisations of both the wedding and its reversal.

Here, negation is integral to evoking all the potential in the background knowledge of wedding vows. The use of un- in 'unhold', 'uncare', 'unhave', 'unlove' and 'unendow', with its potential to realise both an absence and a reversal, and its occurrence at word level, evokes the very words of the wedding vows themselves. For example, to 'unhold', itself, an unconventional negation, can perhaps be paraphrased as to 'let go'. However, in using morphological negation, the word 'unhold' echoes its positive version in the Book of Common Prayer. The absence meaning of un- potentially results in the meaning of both reversal and absence. Consequently, the speaker vows both to not hold and to let go. Similarly, in the use of 'see the nothing in ringed gold', the combination of the definite article, 'the', and the noun phrase negator 'nothing' creates the possibility of presence and actual absence of something for the 'ringed gold' (wedding ring) to go around (finger) but retaining the image of a wedding ring itself.

In evoking the potential of a lifetime commitment to love and hold and so on, the poem draws on the joy associated with such an occasion and reverses it to the imply the sadness of

separation and divorce. It is the loss of all that evoked potential that may give rise to an interpretation of sadness and perhaps even regret.

8.3.4 Varying the pragmatic force through varying form

In the analysis of example of (8.6) I noted that the forms that negation took were unconventional; 'hold' is not conventionally negated at word level, but at clause level, and in using a morphological negator, the poet evokes the words of wedding vows at the same times as indicating their absence and reversal. This created the effect of emphasising the possible presence of those vows rather than focusing on their actual absence. As noted in chapter 5, the conceptual practice of negating can be realised in a variety of linguistic forms. One potential motivation for this variation is the potential to shift focus between actual absence and possible presence. The following examples examine what contextual effects are created through this variation.

8.3.4.1 Focussing on possible presence through variable form

In this example I analyse the use of the prototypical negators, no and never in the poem, 'The Listeners' by Walter de la Mare. This narrative poem relates the story of a traveller calling at a house where he gets no answer. Despite the lack of response to his calls, the poem evokes a ghostly presence within the house. Here, the use of negation contributes to the embodiment of an absence, through the evocation of a possible presence. I would suggest the focus on the possibility of presence through the choice of negators, contributes to the reader's conceptualisation of an ephemeral ghostly presence.

- (8.7) The Listeners
 'Is there anybody there?' said the Traveller,
 Knocking on the moonlit door;
 And his horse in the silence champed the grasses
 Of the forest's ferny floor;
 5. And a bird flew up out of the turret,
 Above the Traveller's head
 And he smote upon the door a second time;
 'Is there anybody there?' he said.
 But no one descended to the Traveller;
 10. No head from the leaf-fringed sill
 Leaned over and looked into his grey eyes,
 Where he stood perplexed and still.
 But only a host of phantom listeners
 That dwelt in the lone house then
 15. Stood listening in the quiet of the moonlight
 To that voice from the world of men:
 Stood thronging the faint moonbeams on the dark stair,
 That goes down to the empty hall,
 Harkening in an air stirred and shaken
 20. By the lonely Traveller's call.
 And he felt in his heart their strangeness,
 Their stillness answering his cry,
 While his horse moved, cropping the dark turf,
 'Neath the starred and leafy sky;
 25. For suddenly he smote on the door, even
 Louder, and lifted his head:-
 'Tell them I came, and no one answered,
 That I kept my word,' he said.
 Never the least stir made the listeners,
 30. Though every word he spake
 Fell echoing through the shadowiness of the still house
 From the one man left awake:
 Ay, they heard his foot upon the stirrup,
 And the sound of iron on stone,
 35. And how the silence surged softly backward,
 When the plunging hoofs were gone.

The reader is alerted to the possibility of a presence in the title of the poem. Through existential presupposition in the use of the definite article 'the' and the nominalization of an action in 'Listeners', this presence is presupposed to exist, This presupposition however is challenged through the negation of their presence. The text triggers the possibility that there is someone in

the house; the traveller's purpose in calling out and knocking is not simply an end in itself, but to get a response. This expectation is made more concrete through simultaneous introduction and defeat of expectations of a presence in the first two negated clauses;

9. But no one descended to the Traveller;

10. No head from the leaf-fringed sill

11. Leaned over and looked into his grey eyes,

The possibility of a presence is therefore instantiated and mental spaces for that presence and absence are cognitively constructed. Further, the negators in these two clauses (l. 9-10) negate the subject, 'no one' and 'No head', rather than the predicator; it is the actor who is negated rather than the action. So the concepts of descending to the traveller or looking over the sill are still instantiated, whilst the presence of someone to do the descending or looking is negated. Similarly, in the instance of direct speech (Short, 1996:273) where the traveller himself speaks, 'Tell them I came, and no one answered' (l.27), the subject is again negated rather than the predicate. This prompts the construction of positive and negative mental spaces in which the action of answering takes place; in the negated space someone to do the answering is absent, and in the positive, something or someone is present.

The final instance of negation, 'Never the least stir made the listeners' (l.29), which follows the traveller's quoted speech, we can see as a negated response to the traveller's call. Here, the negator, *never*, is syntactically foregrounded in the sentence initial position, emphasising the negative force of the clause. Further, unlike the last examples, it does not negate the subject but the object. Although prototypically appearing in verb phrases, here *never* functions to premodify the quantity of 'stir' made by the listeners. However, the choice of *never*, rather than *not* or *no*, seems to emphasise even further the absence; where we might consider *not* or *no* to refer to specific points in time, for example, *I am not married* does not preclude the possibility of being married in the future, whereas *never* refers to all points in time. Therefore, not only did the listeners make no stir in response to the traveller, but it

implies that they made no stir at any point, something that would suggest their non-existence rather than existence.

The effect of these examples of negation seems to be to contrast an actual absence and expected presence, and so great is the expectation of a presence that the absence of someone is embodied, as if the absence itself were capable of carrying out the actions of responding, looking and descending (Nahajec 2009). This characterises the listeners themselves as ephemeral, indistinct, somewhere between existence and non-existence.

8.3.4.2 Focussing actual absences.

Whereas the variable form of negation in the last example focussed on the possibility of presence creating the effect of an almost tangible presence, the next two examples demonstrate how varying the form can focus on actual absence. Examples (8.8) and (8.9) are extracts from Ben Elton's (1999) *Inconceivable*. This novel, written in the form of the protagonists' diary entries, follows the exploits of a 90s couple, Sam and Lucy, trying to conceive a baby. In this first example, Sam is complaining about his inability to write. The combinations of different types of negator here, unlike in example (8.8), shift the pragmatic force of negation from the possibility of presence to the actual absence.

(8.8) I can't bloody write. I'm a creative-free zone. The only thing about me less fertile than my imagination is my bollocks.

Elton 1999:22

Here the writer makes use of a prototypical negator in the first sentence ('can't'), a peripheral form of morphological negation in the second ('-free') and an implied form of negative polarity item in the third. The implied NPI is based on co-text; Sam and Lucy are unable to conceive and Sam believes this is due to his infertility. The implicature generated through the flout of the

maxim of manner is that Sam's mind is as infertile as his sperm. This functions in the same way as a minimising negative polarity item to emphasise the absence of creativity/fertility. The two forms of negation plus an utterance functioning as a negative polarity item, all negate the same situation, that of Sam being able to write. This combination of negators together then emphasises the absence. So although the possibility of creativity and being able to write are evoked, it is secondary to the focus on its absence.

In this next extract, Lucy ponders the merits of fruit-flavoured tea after being advised by a friend that right combination of teas would instantly result in triplets.

(8.9) Fruit-flavoured teabags are a mystery to me because they're not fruit-flavoured at all. They smell of fruit, but quite frankly, they taste of bugger-all.

Elton 1999:24

The use of an expletive form of negation in this example (bugger-all) can be paraphrased as 'nothing'. Here then, although 'fruit-flavoured' is evoked in the first sentence with the prototypical negator (not fruit-flavoured), in the use of 'bugger-all' there is no evoked positive as 'nothing' indicates an empty category. The emphasis then is on the absence of any flavour at all.

8.3.4.3 Breaking the 'rules' of negation for effect

The examples in this section (section 8.3.4) have illustrated the potential for negation in its variable forms to shift focus between possible presence and actual absence. This variation occurs within the grammatical rules of its expression. This next example approaches the question of what textual effects are potentially created where the 'rules' of negation are exploited or even broken. I touched on the notion of unconventional negation in example (8.6)

where the use of negative prefixes was, in a sense, as unconventional as the idea of making divorce vows. This had the effect of foregrounding possible presence, which in turn served to emphasise the construction of divorce/separation as being not separate from marriage, but inextricably bound up with it.

In example (8.10) the productivity of negative affixes is exploited to similarly evoke shared knowledge and show a deviation from expectations. The unconventional use of negation here, however, is in the context of a conversation between characters in drama. I noted in example (8.5) that the use of negation in characters' speech can reflect the expectations of those characters. Here it reflects both the characters' expectations and those of the audience. However, again, I sound a note of caution on what knowledge and points of view actual viewers may bring to their understanding of the drama. This example is an extract from the film, *Waitress*, written and directed by Adrienne Shelly (2007). It is a romantic comedy without the conventional romantic ending. Jenna is trapped in an abusive marriage which is further exacerbated on finding out she is pregnant. Her doctor, Dr Pomatter, initially congratulates Jenna, but after she explains that she is not happy with the situation, the following interaction occurs;

(8.11) Dr Pomatter: Well, uncongratulations, you are definitely pregnant.

Jenna: unthankyou.

Here, the negation of the speech acts of 'congratulating' and 'thanking' draw on viewers' likely background stereotypical understanding that pregnancy is good news worthy of congratulations, and exploits that expectation in order to construct the character of Jenna, establish narrative features and treat a potentially serious situation in a less than serious way.

First, I address the question of how 'uncongratulations' and 'unthankyou' are unconventional. Although the prefix un- remains highly productive, there are limitations on the contexts that licence that productivity. Both items are interjections rather than verbs, adverbs,

nouns or adjectives, and lack the suffixes -able, ed or -ing which Horn (2002) suggests licenses productivity. Although both can take alternative grammatical forms as verbs and nouns, in this context, they are functioning as interjections which do not conventionally take a negative prefix, for example, we would be surprised to hear '*unhello'. We can also consider their unconventionality in terms of speech act theory (Austin 1962, Searle 1969). Both 'congratulations' and 'thankyou' can be considered as speech act performatives (Austin 1962, Searle 1969) in that in saying the words, the action is performed, 'I congratulate you', 'I thank you'. The addition of the negative prefix creates a logically impossible situation in which the speech act is simultaneously both performed and not performed, the speech act is both present and absent. Further, given the context provided by an earlier exchange between the characters, we can also view 'uncongratulations' as an attempt to 'take back' or reverse the action of the 'congratulations' already performed. Speech acts, by their very nature cannot be unperformed; a divorce is not accompanied with 'I undeclare you husband and wife'. It is worth saying a few more words on the use of 'unthankyou' in response to 'uncongratulations'. This parallel grammatical structure with the addition of the negative prefix echoes the meaning of the uncongratulations, that is an opposite, but it also seems to confirm the role of 'uncongratulations' as an action, a speech act requiring the conversationally appropriate response of 'thankyou', but since it is a voided speech act, a similarly voided token of appreciation is required³².

So, grammatically and pragmatically, 'uncongratulations' and 'unthankyou' are unconventional. But certainly not without meaning. It is in taking on board the features of negation that seem to be barred that these lexical items become both foregrounded and

³² As Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998) note: "Basically, these are pairs of utterances which are ordered, that is, there is a recognizable difference between first parts and second parts of the pair; and in which given first pair parts require particular second parts (or a particular range seconds). In other words, an invitation is the first part of the 'invitation-response' adjacency pair, and we recognize that invitations should be followed by a specific range of responses: mainly acceptances or declinations". Hutchby and Wooffitt 1996: 39-40

meaningful. Although they are ungrammatical, 'uncongratulations' takes on the meaning of both absence and reversal, whilst 'unthankyou' takes on the meaning of absence. This ungrammaticality furthermore foregrounds the negative element, in a sense making it more negative than saying 'you are pregnant and I am not going to congratulate you'.

Because of the external deviation created through employing a negative prefix in an unconventional form, the ambiguity between the potential semantic role of un-¹ (absence) and un-² (reversive) possibilities in 'uncongratulations' remains unresolved as there are no grammatical signposts to indicate which of the two alternative meanings is being used. However, because 'congratulations' is an interjection and not an adverb or adjective, they do not provide the option for a gradable, only a complementary reading.³³ As such, the viewer is required to consider both scenarios, the retraction of the action of congratulating and the absence of congratulations, in understanding the interaction.

'Uncongratulations' and 'unthankyou' then evoke the possibility of their opposites, congratulating and thanking. Understanding the negated construction in context requires an understanding of what would be implied if the un-negated forms were used. Given the background knowledge that a pregnancy is stereotypically a happy occasion worthy of congratulations, the withdrawal or explicit absence of these congratulations reverses the meaning that would be implied by their presence. The use of negation then generates the implicature that Jenna's pregnancy is a source for sadness and even distress. The effects of this construction in context are linked to this reversal of the evoked background norms and the way in which the negation is expressed.

Several local effects are created in this use of negation. Firstly, in constructing this pregnancy as a source of sadness or distress, the character of Jenna is presented as deviating

³³ It is possible that a further external grammatical deviation could produce a gradable reading in context, e.g. 'absolute congratulations', but this reading could not be recovered through the use of 'uncongratulations' on its own.

from conventional expectations of motherhood³⁴. This is crucial to the character's development where Jenna deviates from general expectations about pregnancy and initially views the prospect of motherhood with ambivalence if not antagonism. She views the situation as preventing her from leaving a controlling, jealous and violent husband. This is in stark contrast to the climax of the film where the birth of the child seemingly endows Jenna with the frame of mind to not only leave her husband but also to break off the relationship with her lover, Dr Pomatter and gain happiness and independence. In order to appreciate the enormity of Jenna's change of heart at the end of the film, the viewer must see her deviation from expectations when her pregnancy is initially confirmed. Jenna's relationship with Dr Pomatter is also pre-empted in the parallel structure of their interaction; he recognises her need to break with expectations. She, in turn acknowledges this by responding within the same unconventional framework. This mutual recognition is one of the elements that lead to them falling in love. Finally, the construction of an absurd impossibility in the simultaneous performance and non-performance of a speech act contributes to minimising the seriousness of the situation Jenna finds herself in; in 'playing' with the potential of negative prefixes to withdraw the congratulations, the text treats the situation less seriously than perhaps it would have been in more grim exploration of an unwanted pregnancy and abusive marriage.

8.3.5 Constructing opposites through negation

The examples looked at so far have required readers to work out the implied positive from a consideration of the possible presence and actual absence of some element in a situation. In this final (8.13) example, negation provides a framework for a constructed opposite (Davies 2008, Jeffries 2009) where the significance of the absence is made explicit in the text. There is a

³⁴ This could also be analysed in Critical Stylistic terms in that the presentation of Jenna as deviating from a background norm reinforces the ideological view that pregnancy and the prospect of motherhood is viewed as a positive thing worthy of congratulations.

sense in which negation can be seen as a regular opposition; it encodes an opposition between presence and absence. In some lexical forms, e.g. forgot, it can also constitute a member of a conventional oppositional structure forget/remember. This example, however, is concerned with the role of negation in the construction of unconventional opposites (Jeffries 2009, Davies 2008). Jeffries (2009) and Davies (2008) note that negation can function in texts as a trigger for oppositional structures such as 'not X, Y', where the absence of 'X' is the equivalent of the presence of 'Y', but 'X' is opposite to 'Y'. In these contexts, the significance of the absence of 'X' is made explicit in the 'Y' element of the utterance. For example, in an assertion such as, 'it's not lemon, it's sunshine yellow', the absence of the colour lemon is presented as equivalent to the colour sunshine yellow. This construction also places the colours in opposition to one another even though they are in fact closely related. This kind of oppositional structure can be seen in example (8.12), however, it uses 'no X, Y rather than 'not X, Y'.

This example is an extract from Kathy Reichs' (2006) *Break No Bones*, one in a series of murder mystery novels that follow the work of forensic anthropologist, Temperance Brennan. Here, Brennan and the coroner are visiting the home of the owner of a wallet recovered from the body of a murder victim.

(8.12) Thirty yards in, the trees yielded to tangled scrub. Ten more and the scrub dissolved into a small dirt clearing. No developer's dream had reworked this place. No condos. No tennis courts. No Dickie Dupree.

A small clapboard house occupied the centre of the clearing, surrounded by the usual piled tires, auto parts, broken lawn furniture, and rusted appliances.

In this example, the contrast between what could have been present and what is actually present emphasises the poverty of the place Brennan and the coroner are visiting, and provides

a framework for evaluating the two alternatives (Riddle-Harding 2007). Here, the two list structures relate to the same place, one indicating what is absent, the other what is present; 'developer's dream reworked this place', 'condos', 'tennis courts' and 'Dickie Dupree' are presented in opposition to 'piled tires, autoparts, broken lawn furniture, and rusted appliances'. The absence of one is presented as the equivalent of the other. However, there is no semantic connection between the two sets of objects that would establish their antonymous relationship. These are conceptually constructed oppositions where the connection between the two is conceptual rather than being based on the semantic content (Jeffries 2009, Davies 2008). Even though the actual reader has no reason to expect the presence of any of the listed items, each list is likely to trigger associated meanings for the actual reader based on existing background knowledge; 'developer's dreams', 'condos' and 'tennis courts' have connotations of wealth and privilege, whilst 'broken lawn furniture' and 'rusted appliances' have connotations of poverty and disadvantage. This constructed opposition evokes a gradable scale of prosperity, placing the unrealised, but potential situation (wealth) at one end, and the actual situation (poverty) at the other. This place then is not only poor, but poor in contrast to the opposite end of the scale (wealthy).

The two alternative scenarios are likely to be evaluated positively and negatively as actual readers' background knowledge is likely to tend towards a positive view of wealth and a negative view of poverty. However, this framework of opposition also allows for further evaluation of the alternatives. The use of 'dreams' in 'developer's dreams' is likely to enhance the positive evaluation of the absent qualities. The use of 'broken' and 'rusted' is likely to enhance a negative evaluation of what is present. If the list of absent qualities were present then, the location would be positively evaluated. However, since negation and actual absence causes a reversal of the meaning associated with the negated positive, the implicature is that the location is not only poor, but also negatively evaluated.

8.4 Conclusions

This chapter moved beyond the theoretical discussion of negation in the previous chapters and discussed what effects the use negation can be observed to produce in literary texts. In order to do this, I laid out how negation interacts with background knowledge. I drew on Jeffries' notion that actual readers adopt the points of view projected by a text, if only temporarily for the time of reading. I suggested that the relationship of the negated positive to background knowledge is not so simple as activating actual readers' existing knowledge. Since determining what knowledge, or point of view, an actual reader brings to a text is difficult, negation can be viewed as projecting expectations, and some of these expectations will correspond to those held by actual readers. It is in the overlap between the text's projected expectation and actual reader's expectations that effects of negation can be observed.

Section 8.3 demonstrated some of the potentially open-ended range of effects created through the use of negation based on this overlap between text and reader knowledge. These analyses focused on the elements of the approach presented in previous chapters. They demonstrated how exploiting the presuppositional nature and variable form of negation gives rise to distinct effects and can contribute to character construction, world building and narrative development.

The next chapter also considers the role of negation in discourse. Here, however, the approach is applied in the exploration of the potential ideological effects of negation in the context of non-literary texts.

Analysing negation in written discourse – ideological effects in non-literary texts

9.1 Introduction

This chapter constitutes the culmination of this thesis and is a consideration of negation and ideology. In chapter 8 I discussed the relationship of negation to background knowledge with reference to a restricted notion of schema theory. This chapter continues this exploration and considers the relationship of negation to background knowledge in the context of non-literary texts. In the last chapter, I noted that negation can determine which aspects of existing knowledge are relevant in a particular context and project information as part of that background knowledge. I demonstrated how the analysis of this is useful in understanding the construction of fictional, textually constructed worlds. In this chapter, I will shift the focus and examine the way in which these same properties of negation play a significant role in the construction and reproduction of ideological positions in non-literary texts.

This chapter will begin by considering the role of negation in the analysis of ideology, locating the analyses that follow within the context of a stylistic approach to text analysis. The analysis of examples of negation in section 9.3 will focus on the potential for ideological effects in projecting and reflecting expectations and varying the pragmatic force of negation through form. As the primary focus of these analyses is the world view presented through the use of negation, this chapter will not include a consideration of where the ‘rules’ of linguistic expression are broken; instead I will discuss the potential ideological effects of an accumulation of negation across several texts relating to a single situation; section 9.3.5 then, will examine

aspects of the press' construction of London mayoral candidate, Boris Johnson in the 2008 election campaign.

9.2 Negation, background knowledge and ideology

This section returns to the discussion of negation and background knowledge and considers how this offers the analyst the opportunity to uncover covert ideologies within non-literary texts. I will discuss the potential for overlap between the pragmatically presupposed expectations encoded within the text and readers' actual expectations of how the world works. I will begin, however, with the term 'ideology' and outline how it is understood in the context of this thesis.

9.2.1 Ideology

This chapter is concerned with the ideological potential of negation and it is therefore necessary to lay out how this contentious term is being used here. The concept of ideology has been extensively explored and has been subject to a variety of definitions ranging from "system of ideas" to "ideas of the dominant ruling class" (Kress 1985:29). Simpson (1993) notes that a multitude of definitions of *ideology* are available, definitions which are often 'contingent on the political framework favoured by the analyst' (1993:5). Indeed, this seems to be the case in Kress's (1985) favoured definition;

And here it is essential to accept the category of 'ideology' as the term that covers concerns with forms of knowledge and their relation to class structure, to class conflict, and class interest, to modes of production and of economic structure, and with forms of knowledge in specific social practices.

Kress's view of ideology here reflects a particular Marxist political standpoint, and hints at an overarching class based understanding of ideology and ideologies. However, not all language use reflects a dominant ideology at work. Simpson (1993) provides a more objective view:

From a critical linguistic perspective, the term normally describes the ways in which what we say and think interacts with society. An ideology therefore derives from the taken-for-granted assumptions, beliefs and value systems which are shared collectively by social groups. And when an ideology is the ideology of a particularly powerful social group, it is said to be *dominant*.

Simpson 1993: 5

Whilst the term 'ideology' may be contentious, the notion that texts are the product of socially situated language users is not; texts are the products of ideas and ideas are formed in the shared discourses of a society. Jeffries suggests that ideology is varied and reflects different motivations, but most significantly, it is ubiquitous;

ideology is seen by most discourse analysts and linguists as an unavoidable fact of all discourse. Unlike its use in the popular press and some political environments, we do not use the term *ideology* to refer only to ideas that are motivated by political aims or selfish intentions. This is not to say that all ideology is equal; clearly some ideology *is* potentially harmful, some may be a force for good, and some is simply culturally restricted or a question of choice. There is not, however, any possibility that any discourse is free of ideas, and thus of ideology.

Jeffries 2010a:12

The following discussions of the ideological potential of negation proceed, as per Simpson (1993) on the premise that ideology in language is a reflection of 'value systems and sets of beliefs' of a society. I argue that negation has the potential to both reflect and project a set of beliefs and thus can reinforce existing beliefs or shape language users' beliefs about the world.

9.2.2 Negation and a critical linguistic approaches to text analysis

I return here to the issue of the relationship of negation to background knowledge, but from the perspective of a critical linguistic approach to text analysis. In the last chapter I argued that negation can both reflect and project expectations; it can delineate which elements of existing background knowledge are marked as significant in a specific context. It can also introduce new information which may or may not be compatible with actual readers' existing knowledge. This is possible because of the overlap between the textually constructed background knowledge of an ideal reader/hearer and the background knowledge of the actual reader/hearer. Where the expectations evoked by negation in non-literary texts coincides with actual readers'/hearers' existing expectations, it has the potential to reinforce those expectations of people, events and situations, even where they are defeated in a specific context. Where negation projects expectations of a situation about which the actual reader has no existing expectations, this has the potential to shape how readers conceptualise that background situation and the foreground of its defeat For example, in

(9.1) Michael didn't stop for lunch today

The propositional content refers to Michael's actions or lack of actions, but doesn't engage with the expectation that Michael would stop for lunch; stopping for lunch is a generic or normal expectation. Noting Michael's failure to stop for lunch marks his behaviour as a deviation, but also reinforces the background expectations of stopping for lunch as the norm. However, in an example such as;

(9.2) Michael didn't stop for a siesta.

UK readers at least may find this disconcerting, having no common background expectations that individuals break up their days with a siesta. However, the actual reader is likely to re-adjust their expectations to include the notion of taking a siesta, if only temporarily for the purpose of understanding the text; since negation defeats an expectation that under other

circumstances or in other contexts would come to fruition, the negation itself can be used to introduce the expectation of a siesta. Such a projection of expectations allows writers to construct and transmit a particular representation of the world in which some events, states, objects and so on, are the norm.

This section (see also 1.3.2) has outlined the way in which negation has the potential to create ideological effects in texts. The following sections apply these insights, based on the approach proposed in this thesis, to examples of negation drawn from a variety of non-literary texts. The aim is to explore the range of ways in which negation potentially shapes or reinforces readers' conceptualisations of the world.

9.3 Ideological effects of constructing an ideal reader through the evocation of expectations: Analysing the data

The following sections examine the ideological effects of negation in a series of examples drawn from a variety of sources. These are examined in relation to the expectations that are projected and/or reflected through the use of negation and how these are exploited, consciously or unconsciously, by text producers for particular effects. These examples will demonstrate the way in which negation can construct the background knowledge that informs text comprehension and in doing so, construct an ideal reader's conceptualisations of situations.

9.3.1 Data and methodology

As with the data collected for chapter 7, the data used in this chapter has been selected in order to illustrate the potential ideological effects of negation rather than as representative of

any particular genre. However, in order to demonstrate the ubiquitous nature of the effects of negation, the data has been selected from several types of non-literary discourses; these include advertisements in the form of posters, newspaper ads, and TV ads, political speeches, newspaper reports and editorials, and a poster. Relevant context for each example will be provided as each example is discussed. However, a brief note on the data collected for the final section of these analyses, that is, the analysis of several occurrences of negation in relation to Boris Johnson in the press. This data was chosen on the basis that an election campaign would be a likely site of disagreement between candidates and a source of negation as those candidates evaluate one another and their policies. The data is a collection of 70 newspaper articles published across five weeks running up to the London 2008 mayoral election. They are drawn from several national³⁵ and one local newspaper (The London Evening Standard) The Proquest search engine was used to collect articles using the search terms, 'London', 'Boris Johnson', 'mayor' and 'election'. These articles were examined manually for instances of negation according to the variety of forms discussed in chapter 5. Examples of the variable forms of negation are illustrated in chapter 5 from this data collection. It is also the source for illustrative examples of the textual and ideological effects of negation through this chapter. Although the data threw up almost a thousand³⁶ instances of negation, the analyses discussed are qualitative rather than quantitative in nature. The motivation for this method of data collection was twofold; firstly, a large body of data provided the opportunity to examine variation in the linguistic realisation of negation and potentially identify patterns of usage. Secondly, it provides something of a balance for the more intuitive methods used to collect the examples from advertisements, political speeches and so on noted above.

³⁵ The Mirror, The Sun, The Glasgow Herald, The Times the independent, the Guardian

³⁶This count does not take into consideration the instances where multiple negators were used in a single construction.

Like chapter 8, the methodology used in the following analyses is qualitative in nature and approaches text analysis from a Stylistic perspective³⁷. The primary motivation for using a stylistic approach is its focus on the text as a starting point for any analysis. As Jeffries and McIntyre maintain, the text is central to the exercise of analysis in stylistics:

[Stylistics] is fundamentally attached to data in a way that other branches of linguistics are not. The central concern of stylistics is with the style of particular texts, whether they are representative of a genre, an author, or themselves alone. The context in which they are produced and received cannot be ignored, as we shall see, as this affects their 'meaning' in a range of subtle ways. But the unavoidable basis of all stylistics remains the text itself, and the linguistic choices that have been made (albeit unconsciously) to arrive at a particular form of worlds.

Jeffries and McIntyre 2010:15

This coincides with the nature of negation; negation is essentially a textual phenomenon, reflecting a cognitive ability and triggering particular mental representations. Negation is a relatively stable part of the language code, or *langue* in Saussurian terms, but subject to variation in form and effect. This focus on text makes stylistics an evidence based approach to text analysis, but further than that, it aims to be as rigorous, objective, replicable and empirical as possible and its results should be falsifiable (Jeffries and McIntyre 2010:22-24). In other words, the bases on which analyses are carried out should be clearly accessible to other researchers and any results, testable against new data or insights. This principled approach is necessary for the analysis of negation; as noted in the introductory chapter, negation is a complex psychological and linguistic phenomenon that has fascinated and eluded researchers across the centuries. It is all too easy for researchers to shroud their discussions in impenetrable jargon, making engagement with their arguments virtually impossible for all but

³⁷ There has been extensive discussion on the scope of stylistics and whether it is, or should be, concerned with the analysis of literary texts alone. However, as many scholars have pointed out (e.g. Simpson 1993, Jeffries 2010, Jeffries and McIntyre 2010), stylistics is the principled analysis of texts rather than genres: its tools and principles are equally applicable to literary and non-literary texts alike. Using a stylistics approach in this thesis then, is to adopt the principles of an evidence based rigorous discipline.

those in the know. This principled approach offered by stylistics underlies this thesis and the analyses that follow.

9.3.2 Textually projecting background expectations

The following sections analyse the ideological potential of projecting the background expectations on which negation is dependent. The examples illustrate the effects of projecting background expectations of specific situations, projecting more generic, social expectations and finally, the effects of projecting expectations of particular behaviours.

9.3.2.1 Projecting expectations of specific situations

In this first example I return again to the question and example I raised in the introduction to this thesis; during an interview in the run up to the London 2008 Mayoral election, Ken Livingstone asserted,

(9.3) This election is not a joke

The issue addressed by this thesis is how an assertion that ostensibly does not tell the reader anything about what the election is, can be meaningful. I explained in chapter 7 (see section 7.3) how Livingstone's negative assertion can be seen as a flout of Grice's maxims and that the reader may recover an implicature along the lines of, *my opponent (Boris Johnson) wrongly believes this election is something amusing or entertaining; the reader should vote for me because I think the election is serious*. This clearly has ideological implications within the context of an election campaign. Had Livingstone simply asserted that Johnson believed or behaved in such a way as to demonstrate that the election was a joke, readers would be in an easier position to argue that such a contention is false. Instead, the text projects such an expectation. As the majority of actual readers are unlikely to hold such a view, they are in a position of needing to

attribute this expectation to alternative discourse participants. Given the media coverage at the time of Johnson as a clown-like or buffoonish figure, this expectation may well be attributed to him. Even if the expectation is not attributed to a specific discourse participant, readers are likely to view it as a generalised, non-specific expectation, i.e. a part of the generalised background knowledge. By embedding it as a projected expectation, the text projects the ideal reader's view. As Jeffries (2010a) contends, actual readers must adopt the views of the ideal reader, if only for the time of reading, with the consequence that their conceptualisation of the situation is shaped by the expectations projected by the text. However, the actual reader's views may clash with those projected by the text, but the nature of negation that it defeats an expectation means that they need to attribute that expectation to some other specific discourse participant or wider generic background knowledge – someone thinks it is a joke, even if the actual reader does not. Assuming that most readers will believe that elections for individuals who will wield great power over the electorate is a serious issue, then Livingstone is able to disparage his opponent and attempt to encourage the electorate to vote for him through presupposing Johnson's inadequacy rather than asserting it.

9.3.2.2 Projecting generic background expectations

In the last example, negation was exploited to shape the background expectations of readers/hearers and attempt to influence voting behaviours. It is possible to argue that in asserting 'this election is not a joke', Livingstone is problematizing his opponent and leaving the electorate to infer from this that he is the more suitable mayoral candidate. This section pursues this notion that negation can project background assumptions of a problem for which a solution is provided. However, where it is possible to assume that Livingstone is attempting to suppress the notion that the election is a joke, even though it allows him to disparage his main opponent, it is not always the case that the negated positive is suppressed. Giora (2004, 2007, 2010) and

Giora et al (2005, 2007) propose the retention hypothesis (see chapter 2) whereby negation does not automatically suppress the information within the scope of a negator, but it is context sensitive. This is particularly the case in advertising.

In the next example, projected expectations are exploited to persuade readers/hearers to buy a particular product. This is achieved through constructing background problems for which an advertised product provides a solution. In their examination of advertising discourse, Vestergard and Schroeder argue that;

Adverts tirelessly offer us solutions which treat the basic causes of these problems as inevitable, solutions which invite us to overcome problems through bought commodities.

Vestergard and Schroeder 1985:139-40

Here, in order to establish a product's status as a solution to a problem, it is necessary for readers to retain the negated positive, i.e. the problem, as a point of comparison.

[context; John West used television and poster platforms to advertise a new product, NO-drain tuna. The selling point for this product is that it is packed in tins without liquid. This example is based on the television advert where the following was spoken as part of the voice over.]

(9.4) No-drain tuna, all the delicious flavour without the drama

In this example, the product name is constructed through a pre-modification of the noun, 'tuna' with a negated verb functioning as an adjective. It pragmatically presupposes an expectation that draining liquid from tuna is a background norm. The product is further described as having 'all the delicious flavour without the drama'. Here, both 'delicious flavour' and 'drama' are existentially presupposed through the use of the definite article. However, whilst one is present in tuna that does not need draining ('delicious flavour') the other is absent ('drama'). In constructing the absence of 'drama' the utterance also pragmatically presupposes the viewer's

expectation of its presence. Given an assumption of relevance, the lack of 'drama' is related to the lack of liquid.

Here then, the text projects a background expectation that draining liquid from tuna is somehow difficult. Since tuna is normally packed in liquid, the ideal reader, or viewer in this in this example, is thus constructed as believing that conventionally packed tuna is problematic. By implying other products as the problem, the advertiser is able to position its product as a solution. The potential ideological effect of this relies on the possibility that the text projected expectations can migrate from the ideal to the actual viewer. Actual viewers are unlikely to routinely associate tuna with difficulty, but in projecting the expectation of difficulty as if it is the norm, actual viewers may well permanently adopt this view as part of their understanding of tuna in general. However, this process may be stifled in situations where viewers have existing contradictory expectations, e.g. they use the drained liquid, or where the projected expectation seems implausible. My first reaction to this advert was to ask 'whoever thought tuna had drama' as the notion that draining tuna as a problem that requires a solution was implausible. This, of course, is a personal reaction and others may well feel that this is a problem crying out for a solution.

Whilst negation in this example may project an unfamiliar view of other ways of packaging tuna, which is presented as a problem, it also contributes to the recreation of what is likely to be a more familiar ideology; in framing this new product as lacking the difficulties supposedly associated with other products, it is recreating the ideology that difficulty should be avoided whenever possible.

In this example, 'drama' is being used metaphorically to imply that draining water from a tin of tuna is very difficult. It is also used in this way by Wonga.com, an online loan provider. They use a similar construction to John West in their television advertising;

(9.5) Wonga dot com. Straight talking money without the drama.

Again, noting the absence of 'drama' in this specific context, i.e. talking about money with Wonga.com, there is a pragmatically presupposed expectation of the positive – talking about money is dramatic/difficult. However, whereas this same construction in the John West example could be argued to project the expectation of 'drama', here it could be said to reflect existing expectations of, if not 'drama' specifically, then difficulty. For all but a very privileged few, money and financial issues are likely to be perceived as a source of difficulty. Noting the absence of difficulty in this specific situation then, reinforces its presence under normal circumstances. This potential for negation to reflect existing expectations will be explored further in 9.3.3.

9.3.2.3 Projecting behaviours

Although the notion of projecting behaviours is closely related to that of projecting expectations (see chapter 7), it is worth examining in a section of its own. Whereas negation in declarative structures pragmatically presupposes an expectation as the norm, imperative negation presupposes a type of behaviour to be the background norm. Public discourses abound with negative imperatives, all of which project some behaviour on the ideal reader, but are not necessarily ideologically significant. Readers will frequently encounter product packages that urge them to 'avoid direct sunlight', 'do not exceed the stated dose', 'do not reheat' and so on. These kinds of warnings would seem to indicate a writer's intention to take into account likely or potential courses of action that the reader may either not take into consideration and do by accident, or may assume is a reasonable course of action (neg imperatives paper). However, this projection of behaviours onto an ideal reader can have great ideological significance in both reflecting generalised background norms and projecting specific possibilities of a situation.

In this first example, I return to the London 2008 London Mayoral election. In example (9.3) above I examined the ideological significance of Livingstone's assertion 'This election is not a joke'. His campaign also produced posters and sent out postcards to the electorate urging voters not to 'vote for a joke':

(9.6) Don't vote for a joke

The use of the negative imperative pragmatically presupposes that the reader expects that voting for a joke is a viable course of action. In order for this to be a viable course of action, the reader is also projected as believing that voting for a joke is in fact possible. Since the electorate can only vote for candidates, one of those candidates is being projected as a 'joke'. Again, as with example (9.3), the context of the election is such that Livingstone's main opponent, Boris Johnson, was characterised as a buffoon or clown-like figure. The negative imperative and use of 'joke', rather than a candidate's name, means that the utterance flouts the maxims of quantity and manner. The reader then may recover the implicature that it is Johnson who is the projected as the 'joke'. The negative imperative pragmatically presupposes that the reader/potential voter intends to vote for Johnson who is negatively evaluated by referring to him as a 'joke'. Further, the use of a negative imperative implies that the prohibited action itself is negatively evaluated – prohibitions indicate what is not desirable to the speaker/writer. To carry out the prohibited action then is to do something undesirable to the speaker/writer. The text projects on to the reader a belief that Johnson is an unsuitable candidate and an intention to carry out a negatively evaluated behaviour.

It would seem a dangerous strategy to imply that the reader intends to vote for an unsuitable candidate. Such a strategy could potentially alienate voters by suggesting they are not taking the election seriously. However, as Jeffries (2001) argues, readers/hearers can simultaneously understand the presuppositions that constitute the background knowledge to a text whilst actually reading against it. It may be this aspect of text comprehension that the text relies on; the reader may assume that other voters are foolish enough to 'vote for a joke', but at

the same time, they dissociate themselves from that behaviour. Readers then may recover the additional implicature that in order to avoid not taking the election seriously, they must vote for someone other than Johnson. Example (9.6) then potentially shapes readers' conceptualisation of Boris Johnson and attempts to direct their behaviour based on this conceptualisation.

In the last example, the use of a negative imperative was a risky strategy where there is the potential to alienate the reader. In the next example, this potential for alienation in attributing behaviours to the reader/hearer appears to be exploited in order to highlight a particular image of how young people are treated in society.

[context: This text is taken from a publically displayed poster in the School of Education at the University of Huddersfield. It was produced by the Warren Foundation as part of their RESPECT campaign, but clearly endorsed by the department where it was on display and likely to be read by trainee teachers.]

- (9.7) How to Treat Young People
Don't stereotype us. Don't label us.
Don't deny our right to be heard.
Let us be ourselves. Believe us.
Allow us to make mistakes.
Don't tell us what to do.
Don't tell us what's best for us.
Don't exclude us from our society.
Support us in being active members of
our community. Let us make decisions.
Don't blame us for everything.
Don't threaten us with violence.
Don't abuse us. Support us with our education.
Listen to our opinions.
Encourage us to make up our own minds.
Don't make us pay for our education.
Don't pressure us to live in poor housing.
Don't deny us our choices. Give us decent jobs.
Support us in developing our skills.
Build our self-confidence
Don't throw us on the scrapheap.
RESPECT. O.K.?

The Respect campaign is run by the Warren Centre, city wide project for young people 16-25.

My focus is on the ideational aspects of this example, but it is necessary first to consider its interpersonal dimension. Imperatives are interpersonal in nature, regulating relations between discourse participants. Consequently, in the use of an imperative, there is an implied 'you' who is the receiver of the instruction encoded in the imperative. This implied 'you' is opposed in the text by the use of exclusive proximal deixis in 'us' and 'our'. Given the title of the poster, 'How to treat young people', it is plausible to assume that the referent for these terms are the 'young people' of the title. Negation here occurs in a context where a fundamental division is established between the young people being represented and anyone who is not a young person.

The choice of actions that are prohibited in this example shapes an image of the addressee as one that currently or intends to;

stereotype us

label us

deny our right to be heard

tell us what to do

tell us what's best for us

exclude us from our society

blame us for everything

threaten us with violence

abuse us

make us pay for our education

pressure us to live in poor housing

deny us our choices

throw us on the scrapheap

The actions that are prohibited here are negatively evaluated through a combination of evaluative lexis such as 'abuse', 'threaten', 'blame', 'poor' and 'scrapheap', but also through the negative construction itself. From a modality perspective, it is possible to see that if a speaker directs a hearer to not do *X*, this is motivated by a desire for that action not to take place. A desire for the absence of *X* would equate to a lack of desire, or dislike for the presence of *X*. By prohibiting these actions, then, they are being negatively evaluated. The use of negative imperatives then constructs an ideal reader who intends to carry out a series of negatively evaluated actions.

The negative imperatives here construct an image of both addresser and addressee. The addresser is one who has a series of expectations about how young people are treated by the rest of society; they are abused, pressured into living in poor housing, thrown on the scrapheap and so on. The addressee, the rest of society, is constructed as carrying out or intending to carry out these behaviours. There is then, a construction of 'them' and 'us', with the 'them' being all 'bad' and, by implication, 'us' as being 'good'³⁸ The ideological implications for such a construction is that for young people who read the poster it implies that anyone who is not a young person, is somehow the 'enemy'. It has the effect of constructing a homogenous image of both young people and the older generation.

Despite the apparent intention to direct the supposed behaviour of anyone who is not a young person, attributing to them the role of suppressor constructs the young people themselves as the suppressed, the victims of others' mistreatment and powerless to affect their world. The text reinforces an ideology that young people are distinct from and in conflict with the older generation.

³⁸ See Davies 2008 for an illuminating exploration of the power of constructions of 'them' and 'us' in the media.

Where negation contributes to division in the last example, in this one it contributes to a sense in which the reader and advertiser are united in their beliefs that a problem exists. Here, the combination of a negative imperative and a negative declarative has the effect of aligning the advertiser's viewpoint with that of the ideal reader.

[context: this is an advertising poster for an antiperspirant product, Sanex Naturprotect]

(9.8) Don't worry, we don't like lots of chemicals either. Sanex Naturprotect replaces the active chemical with mineral alum. More natural but highly effective.

The first negative clause 'Don't worry' pragmatically presupposes a particular behaviour on the part of the ideal reader – they will worry. The cause of this projected 'worry' is introduced in the second negative clause, 'we don't like lots of chemicals either'. The adverb 'either' normally occurs in a two part structure where both parts are negative, e.g. John won't go and Bill won't either. Since there is no first part in the text, the utterance flouts Grice's maxims of quantity and manner and the reader must infer who the other is that also does not 'like lots of chemicals'. Given the implied 'you' of the negative imperative, the reader is likely to uncover the implicature that the advertiser believes that it is they who do not like lots of chemicals. The negative declarative pragmatically presupposes that the reader expects the advertiser ('we'), to 'like lots of chemicals'. The text thus projects an ideal reader who is worried because;

- a. They expect it to be the case that the advertiser will like lots of chemicals, and,
- b. They (the reader) don't like lots of chemicals.

The expectation in a. is both projected and defeated through negation, so both writer and reader are constructed as not liking lots of chemicals. Further, the pragmatic presupposition that projects 'worry' on the part of the ideal reader implies that chemicals are something to be worried about. The possibility of liking lots of chemicals is thus negatively evaluated.

The assertion of a negative, albeit implied on the part of the reader, projects the possibility that some other wider discourse participant does like chemicals in antiperspirants. The text would seem to imply a third party who is neither 'we' (the advertiser) nor the implied 'you' (reader) that 'likes lots of chemicals'. This is unlikely to be potential consumers as it can be assumed that they are the readers, and nor is it Sanex. It must therefore, be other manufacturers of antiperspirants. Thus, the text sets up and exploits the powerful opposition between 'us' and 'them'; by aligning the viewpoints, the implied 'you' of the negative imperative and 'we' become the 'us' that 'don't like lots of chemicals'. Other implied manufacturers are other than 'us' and therefore, 'them' and like lots of chemicals.

Of course, the reader may never have considered the issue of chemicals in antiperspirants. Nevertheless, projecting and defeating the expectation of liking lots of chemicals raises the presence of chemicals as an issue. Further, given the temporary overlap between ideal and actual hearer, there is the possibility that the notion that chemicals are a problem may result in a permanent change to the actual reader's point of view. They may in fact come to believe that antiperspirants as a rule contain harmful chemicals and need to buy products without them. The text then, in constructing other products as a problem and providing a solution, has the potential to shape consumer beliefs and consequent purchasing habits.

The capacity for negation to project the expectations on which it is predicated makes it a particularly useful area to examine in the issue of language and the reproduction or construction of ideologies. The overlap between ideal and actual readers during the process of reading can lead to the migration of textually projected expectations from the ideal to the actual reader, thus shaping the actual reader's conceptualisation of the world around them. I would suggest that negation in general, where expectations are not explicit in the co-text, are a process of projection. However, these text projected expectations are often going to correlate with those of actual readers'/writers'. When they do, there is the chance that the reiteration of those

background expectations, even where they are defeated in a specific context, will have the power to reinforce actual reader's/hearers' conceptualisation of the world. The next section, then, explores the effects of reflecting existing background expectations.

9.3.3 Textually reflecting Expectations

The particular difficulty in determining projected and reflected expectations is one captured by Jeffries' (2001) critique of schema theory – it is impossible to determine which expectations and what knowledge any individual reader brings to a text. They may in fact approach a text with different types of expectations based on general knowledge on the one hand, and personal beliefs on the other, allowing them to both understand the text, but at the same time read against the viewpoint it projects. The examples in this section then are based on a somewhat intuitive approach to what can be considered as part of pre-existing background knowledge, with the caveat that it may not be viewed as such by all readers.

9.3.3.1 Reproducing stereotypes

The use of negation in the advertising campaign and packaging for Nestlé's *Yorkie* (see fig 9.1) caused a stir in the media and generated numerous comments on the Internet. Nestle were criticised for re-launching *Yorkie* in a gendered advertising campaign where women and girls appeared to be prohibited from eating the product. Alongside the 'not for girls' strapline and visual negation (woman with a handbag in a red crossed circle³⁹), television adverts depicted women dressed as men attempting and failing to buy the product. I am not so much

³⁹ Giora et al (2010) discuss the realisation of negation in visual form

concerned here with the overt gender issues in the use of negation (i.e. the prohibition on women from eating *Yorkie*), but in what the negation implies about women's consumption of confectionary as a background norm. The issue here is with negation and the specificity of what is within its scope.



Fig 9.1 Image of Nestlé's Yorkie chocolate bar packaging.

The use of negation here reflects a Western cultural expectation that chocolate is for women. There is a cultural stereotype that women are given gifts of chocolate and flowers. Indeed, we need only think about advertising campaigns for other chocolate products such as *Flake*, *Galaxy* and *Milk Tray* (*'The lady loves Milk Tray'*). That is not to say that all advertising in this area is aimed at women, but it has become entrenched as a stereotype. I would suggest that in the case of Nestlé's campaign for *Yorkie*, this stereotype is reproduced and thus reinforced.

The expectation that is pragmatically presupposed and defeated through negation is *Yorkie is for girls*. Given that *Yorkie* is a specific product in a range of chocolate based confectionary (e.g. Mars Bar, Flake, Twix), the evocation of an expectation that this type of chocolate is for 'girls' entails that the higher level superordinate, *chocolate*, is also for girls. However, in specifying which type is not for 'girls', the expectation of the superordinate,

chocolate, is left intact. So, whilst *Yorkie* may not be for 'girls', this use of negation reproduces the background norm that chocolate, in general, is. The text relies on this notion that chocolate is generally for women in order to establish a sense of exclusivity to this particular product; if *Yorkie* is prohibited for women, it must be exclusively for men⁴⁰.

The overlap between actual reader and ideal reader in this example is complex and dependent on the actual reader. Whilst the actual reader temporarily adopts the background norm projected by the text, the potential migration of the text projected norms from ideal to actual reader may be stifled. Where negation reflects an existing stereotype, actual readers may well recognise and understand the stereotype, but at the same time read against it. I.e. readers may not agree with the view that women are the main consumers of chocolate and are therefore unlikely to adopt the point of view presented in the text. On the other hand, where actual readers already think this is the case, this advertising campaign may well reinforce that view.

9.3.3.2 Evoking background expectations through negation and labelling

In the previous example, negation is being used in an assertion, albeit an advertising slogan. Negation also occurs, not in assertions, but in the process of labelling or naming. As an example, here I consider how negation is used in the labelling of products designed to prevent the odours produced from perspiration – antiperspirant deodorants. The labelling of these products is built around the negation of background expectations that potential consumers both perspire and, as a result, smell. Recent product naming strategies have also built upon

⁴⁰ When the campaign first started, Nestle commented on their website on their strategy, arguing that in a world where men were losing so much that had been exclusively theirs, *Yorkie* was being re-launched as something just for them. Unfortunately, Nestle has removed these comments, and the current description of *Yorkie* is as follows '***Yorkie*** biscuit is a delicious treat for the family. It is made with wholemeal flour and has no artificial colours, flavours or preservatives. ***Yorkie*** was launched in 1976 to take on brands such as Cadbury's Dairy Milk and provide a chunkier alternative to the slimmed down Dairy Milk bars.' http://www.nestle.co.uk/brands/Chocolate_and_Confectionery/Chocolate/Pages/Yorkie.aspx#

background expectations of the results of tackling the first two problems, that is, white marks on clothing from antiperspirant deodorants. These companies draw on expectations about potential customers and also expectations about other products.

The ideological significance of this naming strategy is not so much in evoking the expectation of perspiring, or even smelling; perspiring, at least, is a natural feature of the human body. What is of significance is the problematizing of these issues; by labelling a product as being 'anti' these natural functions, it characterises them as undesirable. In effect, negation contributes to establishing a problem for which a product provides a solution. It is in the financial interests of the company for perspiration and odour to be viewed as undesirable by potential consumers in order to maximise sales and profits. It does not allow for these consumers to view natural bodily functions as acceptable, but as problems for which modern technological advances have solutions. In a small way, it contributes to the technologisation of societies. Such views have become so ingrained that this labelling strategy is barely questioned and the use of such products is so normalised that I, for one, find myself reluctant to admit to not using antiperspirant deodorants because of the potential stigma attached to deviating from such an ingrained background norm.

This naturalisation is also evident in the new generation of deodorants which assert 'No white marks' (see fig 9.2 below). Here, the solution to perspiring and smelling has been that the product leaves white marks on clothes. By evoking the expectation of 'white marks' through a negative construction, these 'white marks' are framed as the background norm from which this product deviates. The value of this particular product then is foregrounded through reinforcing or establishing the norm for other products that allows it to stand out against this background. The result is that potential customers are not only not supposed to perspire or smell, but also leave no sign (white marks) of combatting the 'problem'.



Text: Nivea Deodorant

Pure

Invisible

24h antiperspirant protection

Fig. 9.2 image of packaging for Nivea Pure antiperspirant deodorant and product text

Alongside the specific marketing effects and the contribution to technologisation of society, such labelling strategies present a view of the human body and bodily functions as a problem; it potentially shapes reader's conceptualisations of the human body as flawed. The 'selling' of such a view may seem innocuous, but goes alongside other public discourses that promote the notion of the 'perfect' body. The promotion of such a concept as desirable, or even possible, is, inevitably, going to lead to many perceiving themselves as flawed.

9. 3.3.3 Reflecting background expectations as a dangerous strategy

The last example looked at the way in which existing background knowledge can be exploited to provide a solution in the form of a different product. Whilst the property of leaving white marks is not true of this product, the negation leaves intact the notion that other products

may well still have this property. This is, in fact, advantageous to the advertiser. However, in a case of straight forward denial of some contextually expected positive, despite the best attempts of the speaker to suppress the positive, it may well linger to have longer term repercussions. This is the case with US President Nixon, who, despite his vehement denial of being a 'crook', is possibly more famous (or infamous) for the possibility of being a crook rather than other aspects of his term in office. This also appears to be the situation in a more recent case where Labour 'spin-doctor', Alistair Campbell, denied having 'sexed-up' a dossier on the case for the Iraq war;

(9.9) I did not sex-up the dossier.

(Sky News Online 12/01/2010)

Despite his assertion to the contrary, Campbell continues to be associated with the positive that he worked so hard to suppress. The unintentional consequence of denying the positive is to evoke the possibility of that positive.

It seems that in negation, the old adage, 'there's no smoke without fire' holds true; speakers/writers are able to use this to their advantage and imply the 'fire' by creating the 'smoke' through negation. At the height of the parliamentary expenses scandal of 2009, BBC News online reported the following;

(9.10) Former Conservative minister, Douglas Hogg, has denied asking for £2,000 to cover the cost of cleaning a moat on his estate in the latest round of revelations of MPs' expenses.

(BBC News online 29/05/09)

Despite Hogg's attempt to suppress the notion that he had claimed for his moat being cleaned, the reporting of the denial allows the BBC to report the absence of an expenses claim, but also add to what was a growing body of sensationalist evidence for MP's misconduct.

9.3.3.4 Reproducing ideologies and cultural norms

The examples in the last section looked as the effects of negating expectations that are related to a specific situation (being a crook, sexing-up a dossier and claiming expenses), the denial of which can produce unintended effects for at least one discourse participant. The operation of negation can, of course, be much more subtle in respect of the reproduction of cultural norms and ideologies. I want to begin with an example related to the practice of labelling discussed above but not linked to a specific text, but to a generalised naming practice. It is the terms 'atheist', 'atheism' and 'atheistic', where the base words 'theist', 'theism' and 'theistic' are modified by the negative prefix 'a-' to produce a noun or adjective with the meaning of 'absence of religious belief'.

The cultural practice of labelling people and arguments as 'atheist' characterises this understanding of the world/universe as being relative to theism as the norm; these people, and their arguments, are represented as lacking some element of belief rather than as believing in some alternative way of understanding the universe. This is reflected in an on-going debate, in Britain at least, between those who argue that Britain has been and continues to be built on Christian principles and those who advocate a secular society. The debate could be characterised as the difference between a faith based understanding of the universe and an evidence based understanding. And yet the practice of labelling one side of the argument as 'atheist', frames the debate from the perspective of the faith based understandings. In effect, the naming practice can be seen to reflect the 'discursive deictic centre' (O'Driscoll 2009) of these debates – theism is presented as the norm from which a group of people advocating evidence based understanding of the universe deviate. It is not the nature of the debate that is being characterised, but the perspective from which the debate takes place that is. This can be demonstrated by considering how the use of a term 'non-secular' would shift the background

norm from theist to secularist. As a consequence, this naming practice reinforces theism as the perceived cultural norm despite growing evidence to the contrary⁴¹.

In the following example (9.11), background norms of a particular culture are reflected, locating the viewpoint of the speaker within a modern, western democratic view. In condemning the Taliban's treatment of women in Afghanistan, US Secretary of State, Hilary Clinton, reflects and thus reinforces the western norms that provide the basis of her criticism.

[Context: Hilary Clinton's 2009 statement before a US senate committee on foreign affairs. This was a spoken text, but reported online and in the press.]

(9.11) They [the Taliban] want to maintain an attitude that keeps women unhealthy, unfed and uneducated.

By selecting these three features, 'healthy', 'fed' and 'educated' as being absent, the use of negation presents these as the norm for the condition of women. Norms are, of course, naturalised ideologies, and in this example, Clinton's choice of adjectives to negate reflects the ideological background that shapes both the speaker's and hearer's expectations of the condition of women. The addressee of this text, the senate committee and wider public who will read reports of the hearing, are likely to share the same expectations. The overlap between ideal hearer/reader and actual hearer/reader allows the reiteration of these norms to reinforce the existing ideology.

The negation in this utterance is deeply embedded as post modifying negated adjectives to 'women' which is in a relative clause and specifies the nature of the 'attitude' the Taliban 'want to maintain'. The logical presupposition trigger, 'keeps' presupposes that women in Afghanistan are already 'unhealthy', 'unfed' and 'uneducated', and the use of morphological negation embeds the negation at word level. The focus of the assertion then is what the Taliban

⁴¹ For example religious belief appears to be waning in Britain, see the recent poll carried out for the Richard Dawkins Foundation for Reason and Science (<http://richarddawkins.net/articles/644941-rdfrs-uk-ipsos-mori-poll-1-how-religious-are-uk-christians>).

want, not what the condition of women in Afghanistan is, and certainly not whether they should or should not be healthy, educated and fed. The pragmatically presupposed expected positives, 'healthy', 'fed' and 'educated', are therefore deeply embedded and unlikely to be challenged. So, not only does the choice of what to negate reflect Clinton's discursive deictic centre as oriented to a Western cultural norm, it is embedded in such a way as to render it almost beyond questioning.

Although there continues to be questions around where actual readers'/hearers' existing background knowledge overlaps with that projected by a text, analysing the textual practice of negating does provide one means of examining the ideological implications of texts where this seems to occur. In reflecting existing expectations as part of the background, negation can be a mechanism by which those expectations are reproduced and potentially reinforced.

Sections 9.3.2 and 9.3.3 have focussed on the interaction of negation and background knowledge, making the distinction between expectations that are projected by the negation itself and those that are reflected by the choice of what to negate. The next section continues this discussion, but shifts the focus to the issue of variability in the linguistic form of negation. As noted in Chapters 5 and 6, there is considerable linguistic variation in the textual practice of negating which can result in levels of meaning beyond the simple absence/presence dichotomy. These additional levels of meaning are potentially significant to the issue of negation and ideology. The next section then looks at how variability in form can influence both what is presented as background expectations and how negated utterances are potentially interpreted.

9.3.4 Variable form: Shifting focus, semantic content, implied negation and hypothesising

I argued in Chapter 4 that the presuppositional nature of negation is triggered by the conceptual practice of negating rather than by any particular form of language. However, variation in the expression of negation can create additional levels of meaning beyond the possible presence and actual absence dichotomy. As noted in Chapter 6, variation in form can, amongst other things, be motivated by the scope of negators over events, quantifiable entities or attributes. Some variation is conditioned by sentence structure. However, it can also be motivated by an intention to vary the focus on actual absence and possible presence. This section examines how varying form can have ideological implications.

9.3.4.1 Shifting focus: exploiting the scope of negators

In this example, the use of the quantifying negator **no** is exploited to shift the scope of the negator to quantifiable aspects of being a newspaper;

[context: The Guardian newspaper writer, Polly Toynbee, evaluates the coverage of the 2008 London Mayoral Election in the Evening Standard. She attacks it for having an ‘anti-Ken [Livingstone]’ bias.]

(9.12) This is no newspaper, it’s a Tory campaign sheet more virulent than any previous one I can remember.

The Guardian 29/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 10

The use of the quantifier **no**, rather than **not**, results in the negator taking scope over quantifiable attributes of a newspaper rather than its classification as a newspaper. So, the use

of negation pragmatically presupposes an expectation that the Evening Standard has the quantifiable attributes of being a newspaper. The oppositional structure, by providing an explicit interpretation of what it means for those attributes to be absent, provides the basis of determining what those quantifiable attributes are. These characteristics could include the following notions; newspapers are objective rather than subjective, unbiased rather than biased, and report news rather than editorialise. Such characteristics are available as part of the background expectations of a newspaper, but also activated as part of the opposition with *Tory campaign sheet*. The characteristics of a campaign sheet could be seen to be that it would be a subjective account from the point of view of the party it supported, biased to that opinion, and editorialising rather than factual reporting.

The ideological potential of this form of negation lies in what is pragmatically presupposed as expected of newspapers; that they are unbiased, objective and sources of news rather than comment. Although these attributes are gradable, they constitute opposing ends of a scale. Given that newspapers are widely accepted as displaying some political bias one way or the other, the writer's choice of negation presents an idealised version of what constitutes a newspaper. Not only does this emphasise the contrast between what the Evening Standard is expected to be and what it is asserted as being (*Tory campaign sheet*), it treats the expectation of these qualities as the norm. The basis of Toynbee's criticism then is the presupposed expectation of an unbiased press, a view which is clearly at odds with a wider understanding of the political bias of newspapers.

9.3.4.2 Shifting focus: semantic content

Whereas variation in linguistic form in the last example determined the scope of the negator, in this next example, it is the additional semantic content that is brought by the form

that is discussed. In this advert, both the textual practice and linguistic form of negation contribute to the evocation of a series of background norms. These background norms provide the basis on which the product is presented as a solution to a problem.

[context: This is a transcript of a television advert for the Braun Series Three men's electric shaver.]

(9.13) Mmm, three day's stubble.

If you've enjoyed a weekend without shaving, use the new Braun Series three on Monday morning. The unique triple action shaving head cuts short hairs and longer ones just as easily to minimise the skin irritation.

Shave-free weekend?

Pain-free Monday.

This text relies heavily on what is implied rather than what is explicit. For that reason, it is worth providing a plausible interpretation before analysing how meaning is built up across the text;

If you have not shaved for three days (weekend), skin irritation and pain will be caused by shaving again after three days (Monday). If you want to avoid painful shaving that comes as a result of not shaving for a few days, then use Braun Series three.

So, Braun is presenting its product as a solution to a hypothetical scenario, that of not shaving, but in doing so, it relies on evoking background norms as the basis to the underlying problem;

- a) Being clean-shaven is the norm for men.
- b) Shaving is a burden
- c) Shaving after two days of not shaving causes irritation and pain.

The possibility of not shaving is introduced in a pseudo conditional construction where using the Braun series three is presented as a consequence of not shaving at the weekend. However, what is implied as the actual consequence of a period of not shaving is irritation and pain from shaving again. Using the Braun series three, then, is presented as a solution to the consequence of not shaving, i.e. pain and irritation, rather than not shaving itself. Despite the hypothetical structure, the absence of shaving, instantiated with the use of *without*, triggers two mental representations, shaving and not shaving. The possibility of not shaving pragmatically presupposes shaving as a background expectation. Not shaving is constructed as a problem through the implicature generated through the pseudo conditional and what the Braun series three is described as doing. The use of the definite article in 'minimize the irritation' existentially presupposes that irritation is caused by shaving long and short hairs. The implicature that is generated, via a flout of relation, is that not shaving for three days (and presumably having long hairs) causes the existentially presupposed irritation. The assertion that the Braun series three minimizes irritation then provides a solution to the implied pain of not shaving.

The textual practice of negating then pragmatically presupposes the expectation of shaving. This expectation can be seen to reflect the current norm for clean-shaven men⁴², thus potentially reinforcing that norm. However, the additional semantic content in the parallel phrases 'shave-free weekend' and 'pain-free Monday' implies that shaving is a burden. The use of the suffix, *free*, has more semantic content than an indication of negation; it also has the shared semantic content of *free* as an unbound lexical unit indicating not being constrained. The implication is then, that shaving is a burden associated with working which can be thrown off at the weekend, but which causes pain at the beginning of the next working week. This is added to through the choice of main verb in the verb phrase, 'have enjoyed'; not shaving is constructed as a pleasure and an opportunity for an element of freedom. The ideological implication is that not only does

⁴² I am suggesting that this is a covert rather than overt position evident in the current trend that significantly more men are clean-shaven than have beards.

the advert present shaving as a background norm, but also that men are willing to forego the pleasure of not shaving during the working week. It is perhaps a stretch, but it would seem to imply that the working week itself is a burden, if only because it calls for a man to shave, and thus creates an image of the world in which working is a hardship and the weekend is a pleasure. A further level of ideology is recreated here in that the solution for the man is not to simply allow his beard to grow, but to consume new products.

9.3.4.3 Shifting the focus: focussing on possible presence through 'quasi-positives'

In the last example, the linguistic form of the negator contributed additional semantic content to the textual practice of negating. The choice of the suffix *-free*, results not only in an absence being instantiated, but that absence is positively evaluated. In this section I consider the ideological effects of attenuating the pragmatic force of negation through its linguistic form. The force of the negator can be attenuated through its syntactic position or linguistic form (Givon 2001); for example, main verb **not** negation has greater pragmatic force than a morphologically negated premodifying adjective. Here I I examine the ideological effects of attenuating the force of negation through the use of 'quasi-positives', those forms of negator which, whilst indicating an absence, appear to attenuate the force of the negator to such a degree as to have positive force (see chapter 5). The negative adverbs **almost** and **nearly** (along with positive adverbials, scarcely, hardly, barely and seldom) are primarily indicators that what follows is gradable or quantifiable. Whilst propositionally indicating that what follows is not realised, they present an absence with the force of a positive. For example, a reader may *perceive* a container that is described as almost half-full as closer to half-full than one that is barely half-full, even though 'barely' is more than 'almost'. This type of negation clearly focuses on the possible presence rather than actual absence.

This has implications for where attention is focused in a text, and thus where the reader's attention is drawn; negators with positive force focus more clearly on the possibility of presence rather than the actual absence, with the possible effect of obfuscating, or at least minimizing the mental representation of that absence. The result can be that unlike prototypical forms of negation where it is the expectation of presence that is backgrounded, in this 'quasi-positive' form it is the actual absence that is backgrounded. This has the effect of producing an attenuated or minimized negation. This notion is explored in the following examples examining the role of the quasi-positive, **almost**, as a trigger for attenuated negation.

- (9.14) The congestion charge, a bold initiative, has become steadily less effective in tackling the paralysis of London's roads: traffic speeds are now almost back to pre-charge levels.

The Evening Standard 30/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 2

This example, taken from the newspaper coverage of the 2008 London Mayoral election, tackles the contentious issue of charging drivers a fee for entering the centre of London in order to reduce road congestion and allow those cars that do enter to move faster. A plausible interpretation of the text, given the context, is that traffic initially moved faster after charges were introduced but it has slowed over the intervening time to the point where it moves only slightly faster than before. The grounds on which the congestion charge is criticised is contained in the implicature generated, via a flout of the maxim of relation by the assertion that 'traffic speeds are now almost back to pre-charge levels'. Ostensibly, 'almost' realises an absence of being 'back to pre-charge levels' and would be propositionally (though not pragmatically) equivalent to 'not back to pre-charge levels'. However, as 'speeds' is quantifiable, **almost** indicates that whilst they are indeed not at the pre-charge level, they are quantifiably closer to this level than at the point when the charge was initially introduced (see fig 9.3). In negating 'back to pre-charge levels' with **almost**, the reader is prompted to produce one mental representation of the positive, and another of something quantifiably just less than the positive.

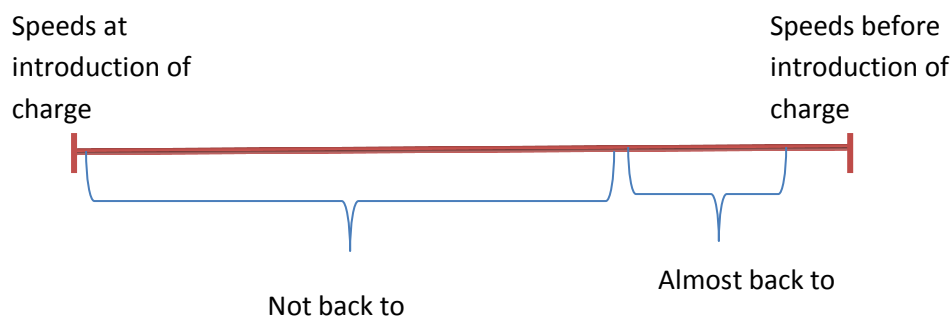


Fig 9. 3: Relationship of 'quasi-positive', *almost* to *not*.

In using *almost* then, the focus is shifted from the actual absence to the possible presence of speeds being back to pre-charge levels. It is this this notion that speeds are closer to what was the case before the charge was introduced that provides the basis for criticising it. If the assertion had been simply that speeds were not at pre-charge levels, this could equally have been used to justify the introduction of the charge. In effect, the actual speed is irrelevant. It is how this speed is framed as relative to other points on a scale that reflects the attitude of the writer towards the charge.

In example (9.15) *almost* is combined with a morphologically negated adjective, 'unprecedented'. The combination of negators produces a complex attenuated positive rather than negative; there is a precedent for Mr Brown's display of humility.

(9.15) Recognising the scale of the political damage caused by the 10p tax row, Mr Brown on Wednesday gave an almost unprecedented display of humility, admitting he had made "mistakes".

FT.com 30/04/2008

Although *almost* and *-un* logically cancel one another out, the implicature that results from this convoluted construction is not that there is a clear precedence of humility on Mr Brown's part, but that such displays are rare and unusual. So, whilst there is some precedent of humility, the focus on the possibility of it being 'unprecedented' highlights its rarity. What is also significantly backgrounded in this kind of construction is the pragmatically presupposed notion that readers/hearers are projected as expecting a precedence of humility in their politicians. As the expectation is embedded at word level and within the framing negation of *almost*, it is almost beyond the possibility of challenge.

9.3.4.4 Implied negation and hypothesising

The above analyses in section 9.3.4 have been concerned with variation in explicit forms of negation. This involved looking at the effects of the choice between different prototypical negators, additional semantic content in inherently negative lexical items, and attenuated negation in the use of 'quasi-positives'. Here I want to extend the discussion to implied rather than explicit forms of negation. Givón (2001) notes that the grammatical form and syntactic positioning of a negator influences the accessibility of the feature that is being negated. I would suggest that this is particularly significant in implied negation, that is, in those constructions where negation is recovered by inferencing. This section examines the way in which past tense conditionals imply an absence, but in such a way as to focus on the potential but unrealised presence and background the actual absence.

Past tense conditionals, *if x then y* constructions, trigger an implied negative. For example, 'if I had bought eggs, we could have an omelette' implies that I did not buy eggs and we cannot have an omelette. However, the focus is more clearly on the possible presence rather than actual absence. This can be seen in the following examples;

(9.16) "If I (Ken Livingstone) had been to university, then maybe the rough edges would have been smoothed out. It's a bit like when they [former Tory premier Harold Macmillan] called Herbert Morrison a "dirty little cockney guttersnipe". This is one of the wider problems with today, the graduatisation of the political and media worlds. So many people are now excluded because they left school at 16 or 18."

The Evening Standard 30/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 3

(9.17) When asked why he had a problem saying sorry, Mr Livingstone replied: "That's not true. If you are talking about the Oliver Finegold incident [where he accused a Jewish reporter of behaving like a Nazi concentration camp guard], if he had rung me up to say how upset he was then I would have said I'm sorry. If the Board of Deputies had phoned me, I would have said I'm sorry.

The Evening Standard 30/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 3

In (9.16), Ken Livingstone has neither been to university nor had the rough edges 'smoothed out'. In (9.17), Oliver Finegold and the Board of Deputies did not ring, nor did Ken Livingstone say 'sorry'. However, the focus of attention here is not on the absence of these actions, but on the potential consequences of their presence. This type of implied negative makes explicit the significance of the absence which is evoked (see Chapter 6) rather than leaving the reader to infer an implicature. The significance of going to university in (9.16) then, is that Livingstone would be a smoother politician, whilst in (9.17) phone calls from Finegold and the Directors would have resulted in an apology. But of course, none of this came about and Livingstone is not a smooth politician and did not make an apology

Even in an implied form, these expressions of absence tell the reader something about Livingstone's deviation from what is expected of him, but also something about the background knowledge that gives rise to these expectations. Part of the context for example (9.16) is that the text is a newspaper report on an interview with a politician (and candidate for London mayor).

This is likely to activate generic background knowledge about politicians which can include all kinds of information regarding readers' expectations; this might include the notions that politicians tend to be (though of course not exclusively) white, male, middle class and well educated. Evoking the defeated expectation of going to university specifies which part of this set of expectations Livingstone deviates from. However, whilst Livingstone goes on to note the consequences of this absence (he still has rough edges), it has the additional effect of confirming or adding to the readers' expectations that politicians in general are expected to have attended university (and have their rough edges smoothed out). Livingstone and his rough edges then, are deviant against a (confirmed) background norm for politicians. In fact, Livingstone goes on to take issue with this perceived background norm when he suggests that the 'graduatisation of political and media worlds' is a problem.

Example (9.17) is more complex; the specificity of the situation means that there cannot be a package of information relating to the event, although readers may have some cultural expectations regarding apologies. The implied absence of phone calls from Finegold and the Board of Directors projects an expectation of them making these calls which, Livingstone suggests, would have resulted in his apology. Here then, the apology is contingent on the actions of the supposedly wronged party; the absence of an apology is the result of Finegold and the Board of Director's failure to phone rather than Livingstone's failure to offer an apology. This has the effect of presenting Livingstone as somewhat arrogant as he projects the expectation to be proactive on those he has offended rather than on himself.

9.3.5 Potential ideological effects of an accumulation of negation across several texts: textual representations of mayoral candidate, Boris Johnson

The above analyses have examined the role of negation in reinforcing or creating ideological positions in isolated examples. This section takes a different approach to the issue of

what is negated, and discusses the potential ideological effects of an accumulation of negation across several texts relating to a single issue. The focus of this discussion is the press' representation of mayoral candidate, Boris Johnson, during the run up to the London 2008 election. Whilst prospective plans and policies for running London were a feature of the campaign, one of the prominent issues in the media in general was Johnson's character and whether or not he was capable of being an effective mayor. This issue was realised in two distinct ways; on the one hand, Johnson was referred to by such diverse terms as 'entertainer' and 'buffoon', on the other, he was frequently referred to as lacking in some way. This section focuses on the latter of these two stands in the data collected from the run-up to the election (see appendix 1). I will argue that the apparent patterns of negation in the press' representation of Johnson give rise to three distinct effects;

1. It contributes to a public discourse in which Johnson is presented as being inadequate in general.
2. It raises the possibility that Johnson has the pre-requisite qualities to be mayor whilst ostensibly defeating that possibility.
3. Reproduces the background expectations for those pre-requisite qualities across several texts, potentially reinforcing a particular view of what constitutes a viable mayor/mayoral candidate.

9.3.5.1 Patterns of absences in relation to the press' representation of Boris Johnson: the data

From a manual analysis of the data, one of the words that appeared frequently in relation to Johnson was 'lack' and its variations, 'lacked' and 'lacking'. Across the data, there were 14 instances where Johnson was described as 'lacking', that he had a 'lack of' or that he 'lacked'. These included the absences of (see appendix 3 for examples):

Credible policies

Sharpness

Attention to detail

Competence

Experience

Seriousness

Depth

Commitment

Proposals

Killer instinct⁴³

On further examining the data, some of the qualities that were noted as absent in the 'lack' clauses occurred more than once and were also apparent in other negative structures. There appears to be a pattern of recurring types of absences across the data. Those are absences of, 'serious/seriousness', 'commitment', 'competence' and 'experience' (see appendix 3 for examples). These occurred both in contexts where they were used as generic, non-specific attributes, and in contexts that specified the type of competence, seriousness, commitment and experience. For example;

(9.18) (a) His private life and perceived *lack of seriousness* (sub-heading).

The Evening Standard 23/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 27

(b) 34percent of Londoners agreed that Mr Johnson *was not serious* enough to be mayor.

The Evening Standard 14/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 44

⁴³ The issue of Johnson's 'lack of a killer instinct' was raised as a question rather than as an assertion, but nonetheless introduces, and, if not completely defeating, casting some doubt on its presence.

(9.19) (a) But today's revelation is sure to be seized on by opponents as proof of his lack of competence.

The Evening Standard 24/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 26

(b) "The very nature of the Tory campaign itself testifies to his lack of competence to do the job of Mayor of London."

The Evening Standard 24/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 24

(9.20) (a) Never known for passionate commitment to anything but himself, his strongly rightwing views are contemptuously ignorant of all social policies: we know this from his writings.

The Guardian 29/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 10

(b) But the Mayor seized on the articles as further proof of Mr. Johnson's lack of commitment to a racially diverse city like London.

The Evening Standard 04/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 61

(9.21) (a) Livingstone's track record of leadership and competence is without doubt an essential weapon against Johnson's lack of experience and breathtaking inability to master a brief.

The Guardian 24/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 25

(b) Boris Johnson has no serious experience or track record of managing substantial budgets

The Evening Standard 18/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 37

In (9.18) to (9.21) above, the a. examples illustrate how these terms are used in a non-specific context as generic attributes. In the b. examples, the type of experience or degree of seriousness, and so on, is specified in the co-text.

As with the individual examples of negation discussed earlier in this chapter, the negation of these attributes pragmatically presupposes that an ideal reader would expect these to be present in Johnson. Further, since they occur in the specific context of an election campaign where Johnson is a candidate for the role of mayor, it is possible to see these attributes as part of the actual readers' background expectations about mayoral candidates in general. There is then, an overlap between actual readers' expectations and those projected by the text.

Further, where actual readers may encounter the same negated concepts several times, the greater the chance that they will perceive the backgrounded expectations and foregrounded absences as, in some sense, true.

9.3.5.2 Patterns of absences in relation to the press' representation of Boris Johnson: the analysis

What makes the data above significant is that it shows a pattern of specific absences and a particular form of negation across several texts and in a relatively short space of time. This pattern would suggest that at least a part of the public discourse on the election was concerned with Johnson's suitability in general and his 'competence', 'commitment', 'experience' and 'seriousness' in particular.

The choice across the data of a semantic form of negation, 'lack' would seem to contribute to the sense in which Johnson is presented as generally inadequate as well as not having the specific attributes noted above. As a semantic negator, not only does 'lack' realise the conceptual practice of negating, but it also brings with it additional semantic content. There is a sense in which 'lack' is an evaluative form of negation which indicates not only an absence of

something, but that whatever is absent is desirable or needed. To be described as 'lacking' something then, is to be deficient or inadequate. The frequent references to Johnson lacking something not only constructs absences, but negatively evaluates those absences and thus Johnson himself.

The recurrence of the same backgrounded expectations of commitment, seriousness, competence and experience across several texts is ideologically significant in that it instantiates and reinforces a series of expectations of both Johnson and mayoral candidates in general. The negation of these attributes means that two mental representations of Johnson are constructed; one in which they are present and one in which they are absent. There is a pattern then across the data where the presuppositional nature of negation means that the ideal reader is constructed as expecting Johnson to be competent, committed, experienced and serious and the actual reader is required to conceptualise that version of Johnson. As noted above, raising the possibility of presence in order to negate it can be a dangerous strategy; in constructing a discourse in which these expectations are defeated, the press nonetheless constructs an image of Johnson in which he is competent, serious, committed and experienced. His eventual victory in the election is, perhaps, testimony to the power of evoking unrealised expectations.

Because these expectations are defeated in relation to Johnson specifically, they remain intact in relation to mayoral candidates in general. Like the Nestle Yorkie example (see figure 9.1) where 'Yorkie: not for 'girls' potentially reproduces the idea that chocolate in general is for 'girls', noting Johnson's lack of commitment, seriousness, competence and experience leaves the actual reader with the notion that even though Johnson does not have these attributes mayoral candidates are expected to.

This accumulation of negative constructions across several texts has three effects; it delineates the set of background expectations for a mayoral candidate/mayor of London, begins to paint a picture of Boris Johnson as personally falling short of what is required of a mayor, but also presents the potential for Johnson to have the qualities necessary for the role of mayor.

Although the assertion that Johnson lacks these attributes are largely framed as the claims or perceptions of others, the press' selection of what to quote, which results in their repeated occurrence, may have an effect on actual readers' beliefs about Johnson and expectations about what constitutes an electable mayoral candidate. Despite the potential to shape readers' attitudes, these types of ideological effects remain just that, potential; the outcome of the 2008 campaign, Johnson's victory, is testimony to the clear demarcation between the image of the world projected by (a) text(s) and how actual readers (and voters) understand the world. A sufficient number of voters either did not adopt the view of Johnson as lacking what is required to be mayor, or did not accept that those attributes he does lack are essential to a viable mayor.

9.4 Conclusions

The aim of this chapter was to demonstrate that the analysis of negation in the context of non-fictional texts can illuminate one of the mechanisms by which background assumptions in the form of expectations can reproduce or project ideological positions. I have taken the view that ideologies are related to both wider cultural expectations and more local or specific expectations. The locus of this effect is in the nature of the overlap between the expectations of the textually constructed ideal reader and the background knowledge of the actual reader. Where textually projected expectations correlate with actual readers' knowledge/expectations, the practice of negating has the potential to reinforce the reader's existing position. Where the actual reader has no pre-existing knowledge relating to a negated positive, there is the possibility for projected expectations to migrate into actual readers' conceptualisation of a situation.

This chapter has taken a critical stylistic approach to analysing negation. I have worked on the premise that in negating a pragmatically presupposed expected positive, that expected

positive forms part of the background set of assumptions about a state of affairs. However, it is not so simple as to argue that the background norm is simply abolished by the negation of it; once instantiated, the expectation is not so easily dismissed. Section 9.3.3.3 outlined the way in which evoking the possibility of presence is potentially a dangerous strategy; when Nixon said 'I am not a crook' he was attempting, unsuccessfully, to rid public perception of the notion that he is a crook. In this situation, Nixon's use of negation would seem to be an attempt to entirely suppress one part of the way the public perceives him. However, there are situations in which negation is used to delineate a background norm by retaining the negated positive. For example, in advertising texts, the background norm remains intact whilst a new product provides an alternative to this background norm. This is an important aspect of advertising in which a product needs to maintain the notion that some problem exists for which this product provides a solution. In an advert for deodorant which promises 'no white marks', there needs to be a background norm that deodorants produce white marks on clothes in order for this product to maintain its alternativity to that norm and thus its position in the market. Similarly in the product, 'no-drain tuna- all the delicious flavour without the drama', functions against the background norm that tuna comes packed in liquid and this is a problem for the consumer. The product provides a solution, but only while it constitutes a break from the background assumption that draining water from a tin of tuna is dramatic. These analyses go some way to confirm Giora and Giora *et al's* Retention hypothesis; that is, a product provides a solution, but can only be perceived as a solution if the background negated norm is retained as a point of reference.

Conclusions

*“...negation is to the linguist and linguist philosopher
as fruit to Tantalus: waving seductively, alluringly palpable,
yet just out of reach, within the grasp
only to escape once more”.*

Horn 1989:xiv

10.1 Aims of this thesis

The aim of this thesis has been to explore the extraordinary meaning making potential of negation in written texts. This has involved the presentation of a new approach to negation and the application of this approach in the analyses of literary and non-literary texts. It has aimed to illustrate the way in which, in evoking expectations, negation can reflect or project the background knowledge/beliefs of readers. This was explored in relation to literary effects in Chapter 8 and ideological effects in Chapter 9. The following sections provide a summary of the approach and range of effects demonstrated in this thesis. I also consider some of the limitations of the study carried out before suggesting further work in this area.

10.2 Negation in discourse

Negation has long been a mainstay of scholarly inquiry. It has intrigued researchers in linguistics, philosophy, psychology and has cropped up in computing, medicine and further

afield. It has been tackled as a logical operator, been followed through the history of language change, mapped across languages, described in relation to grammatical functions and examined in relation to pragmatic functions. However, this thesis began life as a deceptively simple question, or perhaps to be more accurate, a moment of mild confusion; how is it that saying what is not the case communicates something about what is? This question about how negation is meaningful in the context of communication has underpinned this thesis. In attempting to answer this question I proposed an approach to negation which is applied to the analysis of negation in written texts, and could be applied to the analysis of spoken interaction. This approach brings together insights from cognitive approaches to language study, linguistics and pragmatics. It is made up of three major elements; negation is presuppositional in nature, takes variable form and gives rise to implied meaning in context. Central to this approach is the notion that negation is the linguistic instantiation of an absence, but this absence is dependent on expectations of its presence. Negation, in effect, is as much about potential presence as it is about actual absence. This conceptualisation of situations in terms of absence and expected presence forms the basis of the conceptual practice of negating. This conceptual practice is realised in a variety of linguistic forms. Together they give rise to implied meaning in the context of communication. The sections below summarise this approach and its application in text analysis.

10.2.1. Negation as a presupposition trigger

Chapters 2 and 3 laid the foundations for a presuppositional understanding of negation. The first element was to establish that language users, when they encounter negation, engage with not only absence, but with the possibility of presence. Chapter 2 explored two features of language use and comprehension that would indicate that potential presences are conceptualised alongside actual absences. The first premise is that if language users

conceptualise both absence and presence when processing negation, it will take longer than affirmation. The second is, if both are conceptualised, there is likely to be evidence in how language users process texts or in the texts themselves that the negated positive is available.

Using evidence from experimental approaches, Chapter 2 demonstrated that language users took longer to process negation than affirmation, indicating a greater processing complexity and suggesting that language users conceptualise both absence and presence. Further, these same experimental approaches, on the whole, showed that language users retain information that falls within the scope of a negator. This was backed up with evidence from language structures (anaphoric reference and ellipsis) and discourse analysis (discourse resonance, negated comparisons and processing metaphors).

Chapter 3 was concerned with explaining how conceptualising both absence and presence translates into an expectation of the negated presence. It took a cognitive approach and suggested that examining the underlying cognitive processes that motivate the use of negation can account for its attendant expectations. This was demonstrated through the notions of stasis and change/figure and ground on the one hand and Verhagen's notion of intersubjectivity on the other. Particularly significant is the idea that negation is primarily concerned with others' conceptualisations of the world, rather than with the world itself.

Having laid the foundations in relation to conceptualising absence and presence and expecting that presence, Chapter 4 argued that negation is a pragmatic presupposition trigger. I argued that although negation implies the expectation of the positive, it does so consistently and there is therefore a kind of conventionalised relationship between the linguistic instantiation of an absence and the expectations it triggers. However, I also argued that since negation is a conceptual practice, realised through a variety of forms, the pragmatic presupposition trigger is not linked to a specific form of language, but to the practice of negating, whatever its form.

10.2.2 Conceptual practice realised through variable linguistic form

Chapters 5 and 6 were concerned with the textual realisation of the conceptual practice. This involved expanding on the range of forms that could be said to be a textual vehicle for the practice of negating. Building on the work of Huddleston and Pullum (2002) and Givón (2001), and incorporating insights from Sweetser and Dancygier's (2009) discussion of past tense conditionals and Yamanashi's grammaticalised metaphors, I constructed a typology that incorporated the core prototypical morphosyntactic forms of negation, but also semantic and pragmatic categories. However, what is particularly significant about this variation in the expression of negation is what motivates its use. Chapter 6 argued that this variation is motivated by a variety of factors and focused on the potential for varying form to express variable pragmatic force. The combination of variable form and the presuppositional nature of negation is what gives rise to implied meaning in context.

10.2.3 Negation and implicature

Chapter 7 concluded the discussion of theory by bringing all of the elements together to argue that understanding negation in context is a matter of interpreting the significance of potential presence, relative to the linguistic form, to reach the contextual meaning. Building on insights from Moeschler's relevance theoretic approach to negation, I suggested that negation can be interpreted via Grice's co-operative principle. These interpretations involve the recognition that one or more discourse participants are pragmatically presupposed to expect the negated positive, but in expecting that positive they are wrong and are being corrected. Negation involves implying meaning beyond what is literally said, and reflects a particular textual strategy in the construction of meaning. Where there are textual choices, there are

potential textual effects. Further, because negation relies on expectations, it has potential ideological effects. The next two sections summarise the results of applying the above approach to examples of data taken from literary and non-literary texts.

10.2.4 Using negation as a tool in the analysis of literary texts

Chapters 8 and 9 were concerned with applying the insights offered by the approach to negation proposed in this thesis to the analysis of literary and non-literary texts. Chapter 8 focussed on literary texts and the way in which writers can exploit the presuppositional nature and variable form of negation for particular effect. I began by challenging Hidalgo-Downing's (2000) use of schema theory to account for the expectations associated with negation. I suggested that where the negated positive is not explicitly available in the co-text, it should be viewed as projected by the text itself. These pragmatically presupposed expectations may or may not correlate with actual reader'/hearers' expectations. Where text projected expectations reflect readers/hearers' expectations, this can be exploited for particular effect where a situation in a literary context deviates from readers/hearers' background norms. Where there is an overlap between actual reader/hearer and implied reader/hearer, negation can specify which specific features of the shared background knowledge are significant in that particular context. Alternatively, where the negated positive is not part of the shared background, it can introduce new information into the textually constructed world. This was particularly evident in the case of the first person narrator's description of her father, Atticus, in Harper Lee's (2001/1987) *To Kill a Mockingbird*. Here the use of negation not only projected Scout's expectations of fathers, but it also contributed to the construction of the fictional world of Maycomb. Through reflecting the narrator's fictional expectations, the reader is informed about the background to the textual world that gives rise to those expectations.

I also looked at the effects of projecting expectations and how this can prompt readers to conceptualise a negated situation, even where that projected expectation is implausible, and in fact absurd. Looking at Ben Elton's stark I illustrated the way in which negation can evoke impossible scenarios. In this case negation projected the impossible scenario of Sly Morcock hiding in the spout of a milk carton. Projected expectations operate at character to character level as well as narrator to narratee level. A character's simultaneous evocation and denial of an expectation where another character has no reason to expect that positive can potentially give rise to humour at the writer to reader level, as well as contributing to the construction of a character who may appear naïve.

Nørgaard (2007) notes that negation in discourse has been under researched and that explorations into its use as a stylistic device is much needed. The application of approach proposed in this thesis, I hope, builds on Nørgaard's developments in this area (discussed in Chapter 1) and provides a viable means of expanding research in the future.

10.2.5 Uncovering ideologies: negation in non-literary texts

This thesis began with the question of how Ken Livingstone's assertion 'this election is not a joke' is meaningful in context. I returned to this question and the issue of negation and ideology in Chapter 9. This chapter was concerned with the potential of negation to both reproduce and create ideologies through the projection and reflection of readers' expectations, or the projection of expected behaviours. I argued that the overlap between actual reader and implied reader allows for the migration textually projected expectations and can potentially shape readers/hearers' conceptualisations of the world. Where negation reflects an existing expectation, even where it is negated in a specific context, it can confirm that expectation as part

of the cultural norms of a society. Negation, therefore, can play a part in the naturalization of beliefs to the point that they are accepted as common sense notions.

I also argued that negation can project expectations which can shape readers/hearers' view of the world. This is particularly relevant in the analysis of advertising where negation can project expectations where those expectations are problems for which a product provides a solution.

I concluded by considering patterns of negation in a small corpus of newspaper articles and suggested that whilst a single instance of negation may not necessarily shape the way a reader/hearer views the world, when there is a pattern of usage, it may have a cumulative effect. I looked at the way in which the press characterised London Mayoral candidate, Boris Johnson as lacking particular characteristics. I suggested that not only does this construct an image of Johnson as being deficient, but it presents a background ideal for candidates. The pattern of negation across the corpus showed that Johnson was constructed as lacking seriousness, commitment, experience, and competence. Whilst Johnson himself was constructed as lacking these qualities, the presuppositional nature of negation presents these qualities as if they are part of the readers' existing background expectations of mayoral candidates.

Negation then, I would suggest is a crucial area of analysis for those interested in uncovering the linguistic mechanisms that facilitate the reproduction and creation of naturalized common sense assumption in discourse.

10.3 Limitations of this study

The theoretical approach taken to negation in this thesis has inevitably led to a sidelining of some issues relevant to a complete understanding of negation, if such a thing is possible. A significant limitation is the rationale for data collection; the data collected was

motivated by a need to illustrate the theoretical properties of negation and its meaning making potential in discourse. An approach that drew on a clearly defined body of data and examined the range of examples and effects of negation in that data would have been more reflective of how negation is actually experienced by readers. The approach adopted here runs the risk of over representing the extent to which negation appears in discourse. Whilst negation pervades all languages and all discourse types, relative to affirmation, negation is significantly less frequent (tottie 1991). It would be interesting to see a future project that selects the data by some criteria other than its use of negation and which examines the range and effects of negation in that data.

The discussion of the textual vehicles for negation in chapter 5 is built on Jeffries' (2001) notion that negation is a conceptual practice realised through a variety of textual forms. However the range of types of negation is necessarily limited by the focus of the thesis on presenting an integrated approach to negation in order to examine its role in written texts. Whilst chapter 5 collated researchers' discussions of individual forms (e.g. Yamanashi) and expanded on existing typologies (e.g. Huddleston and Pullum, Givón), the categories included need to be refined. This is particularly the case with semantic forms of negation; although these forms realise an absence, they also carry additional semantic content. Had the focus of this thesis been on this expansion of the typology of negation, I would have explored how this category could have been further refined and classified according to this additional semantic content. The examples used to illustrate the variation in form are also limited and further contextualised examples would firm up their role as vehicles for negation. The approach to classifying particular expressions as negation was also somewhat intuitive when it came to semantic and implied forms. Further research, including examining reader responses to these forms, would provide a more solid foundation to their recognition as vehicles for negation.

The limitations of the theoretical focus of this thesis have also resulted in a limited engagement with the theories underpinning the analyses of literary and non-literary texts. I

have taken as given the parameters of stylistics and critical stylistics, engaging with them only in so far as they inform an understanding of negation. The same can be said of the long history of philosophical inquiry which has attempted to resolve the paradox of referring to that which does not exist. Some of the complexity of this issue is captured in my definition of negation as the realisation of actual absence and potential presence, however, this could possibly have been enhanced with consideration of the philosophical perspective from philosophers (e.g. Wood 1933) and linguistic philosophers (e.g. Strawson and Searle 1969).

10.4 Suggestions for further research

This thesis has laid the groundwork for an approach to negation in discourse, and as such provides a starting point more work in this area. There is significant scope for further research both on negation as a linguistic phenomenon and its role in texts. The following sections outline some of the further research that would support this approach.

10.4.1 Expanding the range of textual vehicles for negation

I noted in chapter 5 that the range of textual vehicles for negation is potentially open-ended. The types of textual vehicles included were based on observations of a variety of texts collected to illustrate the textual and ideological effects of negation. However, a more systematic approach is required to the categorisation of its types and forms. Although the core prototypical negators are a well-established category, further analyses of semantic negators and pragmatic realisations of negation is needed. With a better idea of the range of ways negation can be linguistically realised, we can get a more accurate picture of the frequency of negation as a

conceptual practice relative to affirmation. Since these are forms of negation are likely to be incredibly varied, there is currently no means of automating a search for them, and such research would require the time-consuming and laborious manual examination of texts. However, a better understanding of the expression of negation may shift the analysis of negation in texts from the margins of linguistic research.

10.4.2 Informant testing

One of the limitations to this thesis is the shortage of concrete evidence for the range of negators introduced in chapter 5 and the motivations for this variation. The observations are to some extent intuitive and require testing. Future research would benefit from experimental research into whether and to what extent participants recognise the range of forms introduced as expressions of negation. One of the significant problems with determining the extent of implied forms of negation is whether examples identified by a researcher would be recognised as variations in the expression of the negation meaning by readers/hearers in general. Informant testing would be one of the ways in which pragmatic forms could be tested against prototypical forms to determine if they prompt the same underlying cognitive processes. This would require the design of experiments which would elicit the same kind of responses from participants faced with prototypical and pragmatic forms. Not only would this type of approach potentially extend the range of recognisable forms of negation, but provide support for an understanding of negation as a conceptual practice realised in a variety of forms.

10.4.3 Corpus analyses

I noted above that automated approaches to the analysis of negation across a corpus is difficult where such a variety of forms exist. However, several researchers (e.g. Tottie 1991 and Watson 1999) have attempted to make use of corpus based approaches, and I feel that further work in this area is merited. As yet there are no corpus based analyses of negation in non-literary texts; an analysis of even the prototypical forms, however, may reveal significant patterns of use in relation to what is negated. Further, an analysis of negation in news reporting could highlight significant patterns in whether negation occurs in the writer's conceptualisation of situations or whether it is attributed to others in reported speech. This would be interesting in ideological terms as it would allow researchers to determine just who is reflecting and projecting expectations.

10.4.4 Applying the approach to negation in written discourse to negation in spoken discourse

In the analysis of negation in the context of use, this thesis has presented an approach to negation in written discourse and has only briefly mentioned negation in the context of spoken language. A possible next step would be to test the approach against spontaneous spoken interaction and determine whether it would need to be adapted to account for the multi-dimensional quality of face-to-face communication. The analysis of negation in spoken context would require much more consideration of its interpersonal functions than has featured here, and a systematic approach may reveal interesting patterns of usage. It would be particularly interesting to examine the relationship of negation to linguistic politeness and impoliteness strategies.

10.4.5 Applying negation as a tool of analysis

As noted above, the aim of this thesis has been to present an approach to negation which can explain its effects in literary and non-literary texts. Researchers in recent years have made advances in the exploration of negation in discourse and begun to identify its effects in literary texts. This thesis has hopefully contributed to these advances by demonstrating how negation in discourse can be analysed and illustrating some of its effects; further research into how this can be integrated into existing frameworks for the analysis of discourse would be interesting. For example, the way in which negation evokes an unrealised situation is compatible with Emmott's (1997) contextual frames theory where elements can be bound together in a conceptual frame. Comparatively little work has been done in the area of negation in non-literary texts. This thesis has aimed to contribute to remedying this short fall, but further work is required in this area. As Chapter 9 demonstrated, the conceptual practice of negating, in constructing an ideal reader, can influence how readers/hearers view the world around them. More research is required which systematically analyses the contribution of negation specifically but also as part of a suite of tools aimed at uncovering the taken for granted assumptions that underlie texts.

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*Evoking the Possibility of Presence:
Textual and Ideological Effects of Linguistic Negation
in Written Discourse*

Volume 2 of 2

Lisa Nahajec

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Appendix 1

Data collection from newspaper reports during the run-up to the 2008 London Mayoral election

Document 1

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Boris signs up Labour's Kate; Brown is furious as maverick agrees to be Tory's Olympic adviser

Michael Lea. Daily Mail. London (UK): Apr 30, 2008. pg. 18

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Apr 30, 2008

GORDON Brown faced fresh embarrassment last night after one of his high profile MPs announced she will work for Boris Johnson if he wins London.

Kate Hoey caused fury inside Downing Street by accepting an offer from the Tory front-runner to advise him on sport in the capital if he becomes mayor.

The Prime Minister was left powerless to sack her as a Labour MP because he was the one who promoted the idea of cross-party co-operation last summer when he recruited Tories to his 'government of all the talents'.

Mr Johnson's campaign announced yesterday that former sports minister Miss Hoey would become 'the first member of his administration' as an unpaid non-executive director if he is

elected mayor. The announcement, two days before tomorrow's crucial local and London elections, was hailed as a coup for the Tories.

It compounded the sense of impending doom in Labour ranks amid reports that the momentum has swung behind Mr Johnson.

Labour hopes that Ken Livingstone can cling on have been replaced by fears that his defeat could trigger a fresh crisis of confidence in Mr Brown. Number 10 is finalising plans for a blitz of policy announcements in coming days in an attempt to regain momentum.

The party machine also bit the bullet on a potentially tricky by-election by announcing the poll to replace Labour stalwart Gwyneth Dunwoody in Crewe and Nantwich will take place earlier than expected on May 22.

Miss Hoey's decision to work for Mr Johnson sparked frustration in Labour ranks that she had allowed herself to fall prey to what they said was a Tory stunt. Some MPs questioned whether she should be expelled from the party.

Miss Hoey said she would act as an unpaid adviser on sport and the 2012 Olympics on a 'non-partisan basis'.

She was forced to issue a statement 'clarifying' her decision after a tense meeting in the Commons with Chief Whip Geoff Hoon.

With the vote in London on a knifeedge, the move - so close to polling day - risks further undermining Labour hopes of holding onto the capital.

Mr Brown is braced for 'meltdown' in town hall elections across England and Wales with Labour expected to lose up to 200 councillors. Defeat for Mr Livingstone in London would be a damaging blow to the PM's authority.

Miss Hoey's apparent 'defection', announced in a Tory press release, took Labour by complete surprise yesterday morning. Mr Johnson said: 'I am delighted to announce that Kate Hoey will join me in my administration if I win on May 1. She and I agree that there is much more that can be done to promote sport and to develop sporting facilities across London.'

Echoing the Prime Minister's 'government of all the talents', which includes individuals from across the political spectrum, Mr Johnson added: 'Kate has a huge and well-known commitment to sport and to London, and I am determined to bring talent from across politics and the community to a new administration.' Tory leader David Cameron said he was 'delighted' with the ex-minister.

Shortly afterwards, Mr Hoon summoned Miss Hoey to his Commons office for a 'meeting without coffee' - a polite Whitehall phrase for a dressing down. Following a 'lengthy conversation' Miss Hoey issued a statement, which had been approved by No10, clarifying her position.

'This is not an endorsement of Boris Johnson for mayor,' she insisted. 'I will be voting for my party and Labour candidates on Thursday. I am a Labour MP and I am standing for Labour at the next election. I support the Labour Government.' Although the MP for Vauxhall, South London, fell short of naming Mr Livingstone, of whom she has been highly critical, her statement meant she avoided expulsion by staying just within party rules.

The key passage of the Labour rulebook states: 'Any member of the party who joins or supports a political organisation other than the Labour Party ... or who supports any candidate who stands against an official Labour candidate or who publicly declares their intention to do so will be automatically ineligible to remain a member.' Speculation that Miss Hoey could back the Tory candidate has been rife since she was scheduled to appear alongside him at a campaign event last week but pulled out, blaming ill health.

Yesterday, she compared her proposed role under Mr Johnson to that of Tory MPs who have agreed to work with Mr Brown on specific issues.

'The key part of the Boris Johnson statement - ie that I will be the first member of his administration - is wrong,' she said.

'I have simply agreed to act in a similar position, for example, to Conservative MPs John Bercow and Patrick Mercer - in that I have said that I will advise on a non-partisan basis in respect of my lifetime commitment to bringing sport to the people of London.' Miss Hoey has been a constant thorn in the side of the Government, particularly over her opposition to Labour's hunting ban.

Flirting with the enemy, however, was enough to provoke outrage within Labour's ranks yesterday.

Left-winger Jeremy Corbyn said: 'It is deplorable, regrettable and she should get behind Ken Livingstone.' But Mr Livingstone said Miss Hoey had been 'a sort of semi-detached member of the Labour Party in recent years'.

Quentin Letts - Page 14 m.lea@dailymail.co.uk

How to make sure your vote really counts

Who's electing what in London tomorrow? In London, 5.5million men and women are eligible to vote for their new mayor. Ken Livingstone, the Labour candidate, wants a third term. Boris Johnson, his Conservative challenger, has been leading in some of the opinion polls. London is also voting for the London Assembly, which is supposed to hold the mayor to account.

Some people have already cast their vote by post. The remainder can vote between 7.00am and 10pm on Thursday at their local polling station, with the result announced late on Friday.

How does the mayoral election work? On a pink ballot paper, every voter has one first and one second vote. In the first round of voting, only the first votes are counted, and if one candidate gets more than 50 per cent, they are the winner.

If, as is likely, there is no outright winner, then the top two go through to a second round. The second votes of those who voted for candidates who have now been eliminated are then counted, but only if, on the second preference, they voted for either of the two still in the race. The candidate with the most votes - first and second added together - wins.

What should I do if I want to get rid of Ken at all costs? You should vote for Boris. He's the only candidate with a chance of beating the current mayor, so if getting a new man into City Hall is all that matters, he's the only choice.

Is there any advantage in not backing the candidate I want to win with my first vote, then voting for them with my second? No. This is an urban myth. First and second votes count for exactly the same, so you might as well vote for your favourite with the first vote.

What happens if I vote for the same candidate twice? Your ballot paper will still be valid, but only the first vote will count.

Who holds the key to the election? Supporters of Brian Paddick. If the opinion polls are to be believed, the Liberal Democrat candidate will win around 9 per cent of the votes in the first round, and then be eliminated. If all his supporters then switched to either Boris or Ken, they would make the crucial difference. Paddick has refused to tell his backers how to use their second votes, arguing on the one hand that he wants to get rid of Ken at all costs, but on the other that Boris is too high risk. If the vote is very close, the second vote of supporters of other minority candidates - the Greens, UKIP, the BNP - could also be significant.

What about the London Assembly? Just to make life even more complicated, everyone has two votes, on separate ballot papers, for the London Assembly. The first vote - on the yellow ballot paper - is for the local constituency member (there are 14 constituencies across the capital). The winners are decided on a first-past-the-post system, as in a general election.

The second vote - on what is described as a peach-coloured ballot paper - is a London-wide vote for a political party. The last 11 assembly members are then chosen from party lists according to how many of these peach coloured votes their party received, using a complicated proportional representation formula.

What's happening in the rest of the country? Around Britain, voters will also be going to the polls in 159 councils to choose some or all of their councillors.

Some of the results will be known tomorrow night, the others on Friday. The crucial number that everyone will want to know is not be the number of council seats won, but the national share of the vote. If the Tories get over 43 per cent, they'll be happy. If Labour slip under 25 per cent, it's bad news for Gordon Brown..

HOW THEY STAND

Boris Johnson (Con) Ken Livingstone (Lab) Brian Paddick (LibDem) Other Average of last four polls in the battle for London Mayor Vote once (X) in column one for your first choice Vote once (X) in column two for your second choice column one first choice column two second choice

Richard Barnbrook British National Party Gerard Batten UK Independence Sian Berry Green
Alan Craig Christian Choice Lindsey German Left List Boris Johnson Conservative Ken
Livingstone Labour Winston McKenzie Independent Matt O'Connor English Democrats Brian
Paddick Liberal Democrats Election of the Mayor Boris Johnson Ken Livingstone Brian Paddick
Sian Berry

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Honesty and competence; These are the two overriding issues in tomorrow's mayoral election - which is why the Conservative challenger must win

Anonymous. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 30, 2008. pg. 13

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Apr 30, 2008

TOMORROW'S election for the Mayor of London is the culmination of a uniquely engaging contest, focused on two of the most charismatic individuals in British political life, Ken Livingstone and Boris Johnson.

Mr Livingstone has tried to present the election as a choice between success and catastrophe his victory, or Mr Johnson's. It is indeed a crucial choice, but not that one. London's Mayor has real power in relatively few respects: notably, policing, transport and planning.

In these areas, the two main candidates' policies have sharp differences.

But the contest between Ken and Boris represents two different ideas of the city, two opposite approaches towards the governance of London. And the central issues involved are competence and honesty.

This newspaper backed Mr Livingstone in 2004. But after two terms in office, there is no doubting what his rule represents. He sees City Hall as the centre of patronage and control, where he, as Mayor, plays various client groups defined in terms of ethnicity, religion, gender off against each other. The effect of the Mayor's patronage is divisive, giving the impression he favours every religious and ethnic group above his own. And his administration is profoundly personal, employing large numbers of bureaucrats committed to his interests, as well as an

insular personal clique. Where his administration once seemed radical, at the end of two terms it appears like the candidate himself tired as well as arrogant.

Mr Livingstone projects himself as the more experienced and competent candidate. It is true that he has done quite a lot but nowhere near as much as he claims. Indeed many of his achievements are double-edged. In the aftermath of the July 2005 London bombings, he articulated effectively the city's outrage though his role as a unifier has been compromised by his relationships with terrorist sympathisers such as Yusuf al-Qaradawi. He played a major part in attracting the Olympic Games to London, although his admission last week that he achieved this by grossly and deliberately underplaying the likely cost of the Games, thereby conning the taxpayer, severely tarnishes this victory.

The congestion charge, a bold initiative, has become steadily less effective in tackling the paralysis of London's roads: traffic speeds are now almost back to pre-charge levels. He raised the charge from [pounds]5 to [pounds]8, breaking his original promise not to do so, and extended it westward last year, riding roughshod over the findings of his own public consultation.

Businesses have suffered as a result. But he shows no sign of taking notice of objections that do not fit his pre-conceived plans.

Meanwhile, there are far more buses, but at vast extra cost currently [pounds]625 million a year, 11 times the subsidy in 2000. Indeed, buses operate at less than 30 per cent capacity, while nearly 10 per cent of passengers on bendy buses get away with not paying their fares, at an annual cost of [pounds]6 million. Fares have risen above inflation, and those unable to use the Oyster card have been hit with swingeing fare increases on both buses and Tubes another broken promise.

Mr Livingstone has not delivered on affordable housing, with new developments including just 34 per cent of affordable units the same number as eight years ago rather than his promised 50 per cent. His relationship with developers has been worryingly cosy, involving undeclared donations: the

Mayor has enthusiastically endorsed plans for high-rise buildings that will dramatically alter London's skyline, not just in the City but in the suburbs too. This trend would be accentuated by the Mayor's newly acquired powers to force through "strategic" projects against the will of councils who turn them down: if Mr Livingstone is reelected, it will change the face of London. .

LET US not forget either that Mr Livingstone has a marked tendency to take the credit where it is not his. Contrary to his claims, the City's economic boom has had little to do with him. Neither does the fall in overall crime rates although at the same time, he has eschewed responsibility for London's gang violence and social division.

But this race is not just about competence.

Honesty has not been Mr Livingstone's strong suit either. He has broken promises on fares, on the congestion charge, on retaining Routemaster buses.

He has also broken his original commitment not to stand for a third term a more profound mistake. As he himself said in 1998: "Corruption tends to flourish the longer an incumbent is able to hold on to power." The problems surrounding Lee Jasper, his race adviser, and the police investigations which resulted from Andrew Gilligan's investigations in this newspaper concerning the maladministration of more than [pounds]3 million of London Development Agency money, show exactly where this can lead.

As London's only paid-for newspaper, we considered it our responsibility to investigate the Mayor's record in detail.

Over the past six months, we have uncovered and chronicled the flaws of his administration. We are proud that we have transformed what was anticipated as a one-sided romp into a hard-fought campaign which has electrified London and beyond. Alone, the Standard has exposed the sleaze and cronyism which we believe now surrounds the Mayor; Channel 4 and BBC London have followed.

Our findings have helped persuade not just the Telegraph group and the Daily Mail to support Boris Johnson, but also The Sun and The Times, which have not backed the Conservative party at a major election since 1992.

But the reason for choosing Boris Johnson is not simply as the default alternative, or to give him a chance the main reason why most national newspapers have endorsed him. More positively, Mr Johnson has the potential to succeed where Mr Livingstone has failed.

Mr Johnson has a vision for the governance of London which is genuinely attractive. He aspires to a tolerant and inclusive city where power is devolved to localities and neighbourhoods. He seeks to encourage community groups, churches and voluntary bodies and to empower people on the ground in exercising authority. In this he is right London needs not more power exercised from the centre but the rebuilding of society from the grassroots. He has no truck with attempts to divide the city by race or religion for political ends. He is not divisive in the way Mr Livingstone is, and indeed his rule is likely to be less overtly political.

Moreover, although he eschews grand plans, Mr Johnson has a vision for the physical fabric of the city he wants new urban developments to be beautiful, not merely functional. He has clearly prioritised fighting crime, a major concern for all Londoners which Mr Livingstone has often downplayed. His approach to transport is common sense, phasing out bendy buses as well as scrapping the Mayor's planned [pounds]25 congestion charge for high-emission cars.

As an individual, Mr Johnson has considerable strengths. He has a better and broader mind than most contemporary politicians. He has political courage as can be seen in taking the decision last summer to stand at a time when Mr Livingstone seemed unbeatable, something more senior Conservative colleagues shied away from. He may not have a reputation as a master of detail but during the campaign he has shown that he has steeped himself in the complexities of London government.

From a somewhat chaotic and slow start, he has developed into a committed and serious politician who can cope with the rigours of a testing campaign.

Having a sense of humour should not deny you office, as Ken would testify. Crucially, he is a good delegator who will appoint people from the City and elsewhere in the private sector with real organisational strength and experience.

He has shown he can command loyalty.

And while there is little doubt that he can build a strong team, he appears to have no desire to dispense with the genuine talent and expertise that does exist beyond political cliques at City Hall and in Transport for London.

Honesty and competence are the overriding issues in tomorrow's mayoral election. Democracy cannot properly function if our elected representatives have not proved themselves to be the guardians of integrity. Ken Livingstone has comprehensively failed that test.

Londoners should vote for change and make Boris Johnson Mayor..

'Mr Livingstone has broken promises. He has also broken his original commitment not to stand for a third term a more profound mistake''Democracy cannot properly function if our elected representatives have not proved themselves to be the guardians of integrity'

Document 3

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'People may toy with the idea of voting for Boris but when it comes to it they will find they can't do it'; MAYORAL ELECTIONS 1 DAY TO GO www.standard.co.uk/mayor

PAUL WAUGH. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 30, 2008. pg. 6

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Apr 30, 2008

KEN LIVINGSTONE admitted today that Boris Johnson had run a strong campaign but predicted that Londoners would reject the Tory candidate at the very last minute.

In his final interview of the six-week race for City Hall, Mr Livingstone told the Evening Standard that Mr Johnson would suffer from the "hovering pencil" syndrome when electors finally made up their minds in the privacy of the polling booth.

He claimed that when faced with a brutal choice between himself and someone who was a "risk", the public would conclude that they could not take a chance on his Conservative rival to run the city's [pounds]11 billion budget.

The Mayor added that if he did lose tomorrow, it would not be through any fault of either the Government or even his own policies. The main cause would be the Tories' success in getting their supporters out and Labour's failure to similarly mobilise its core vote, he said.

"If I lost, it would not be because we lost the argument. It would in part be because the Tories would have run a superior campaign and in part because of differential turnout. Older voters who tend to vote Tory are three times more likely to vote than younger people, for example," Mr Livingstone said.

His remarks tally with those of Labour chiefs who have reported that on the doorstep it is relatively easy to persuade voters that Mr Johnson is a dubious choice, but it is more difficult to get them to commit to turning out against him.

"I just think that although people may be toying with the idea of voting for Boris, when it comes to it they will find they just can't do it. This is too serious for that. They will think 'it's my money, it's my job that is at risk if it goes wrong'." Underlining his final campaign message of "Don't vote for a joke: Vote for London", Mr Livingstone repeatedly claimed that a Mayor Boris would put at risk major transport projects and fail to unite different ethnic groups.

In a wide-ranging interview, Mr Livingstone touched on everything from his views on crime to why he never says sorry.

BORIS JOHNSON "Boris isn't doing this because he wants to be Mayor. He's doing it because he wants to succeed David Cameron after eight years at City Hall, get back into Parliament and try to become Prime Minister. I exhausted my national ambitions before becoming Mayor. I don't see why London should become a vehicle for his ambition. Boris is not a happy warrior. If he loses, he should ask how he allowed himself to be so managed by the party. They've squeezed all the humour out of him."

GORDON BROWN "I have met hundreds and hundreds of voters in the past few weeks and not one had a go at the Government. This is not a referendum on the Government, it is a referendum on me and Boris. Not a single person has mentioned the 10p tax issue."

CLASS When asked if his [pounds]25 congestion charge plan for 4x4 "Chelsea Tractors" was motivated by class hatred, he denied the charge and said he wanted to improve the environment. But Mr Livingstone did admit that his lack of a university education and tough upbringing in south London had left an impression on him.

"If I had been to university, then maybe the rough edges would have been smoothed out. It's a bit like when they [former Tory premier Harold Macmillan] called Herbert Morrison a "dirty little cockney guttersnipe". This is one of the wider problems with today, the graduatisation of the political and media worlds. So many people are now excluded because they left school at 16 or 18."

ARROGANCE "I have never been arrogant. If someone attacks me, then yes, I attack them back.

You have to be strong in politics otherwise you can't function. But this whole arrogance thing is part of a systematic campaign by the London Assembly.

"It all started when we consulted on extending the western zone of the congestion charge. But we had more than 40 per cent of people saying they were in favour and you will never get more than 50 per cent for a project like that." When asked why he had a problem saying sorry, Mr Livingstone replied: "That's not true. If you are talking about the Oliver Finegold incident [where he accused a Jewish reporter of behaving like a Nazi concentration camp guard], if he had rung me up to say how upset he was then I would have said I'm sorry. If the Board of Deputies had phoned me, I would have said I'm sorry. It was when the whole thing was blown

up by the Tory party to get me removed from office that I took the line I did. If the media find your breaking point, then you can't do your job.

"TERRORISM The Mayor once told a Jewish website that he "very much" drew a distinction between terrorist attacks on civilian and military targets, but he said he now disagreed with such a stance.

"Killing people is wrong. It doesn't matter who the target is or who started it. There can never be a military solution, there has to be negotiation. I condemn all acts of violence," he said.

"The tragedy of my first meeting with Gerry Adams in 1981 was that the government didn't engage at the time." He said that since 9/11 there had been three serious attempts to attack London.

"Given that we aren't a police state, it is inevitable that at some point someone will slip through the net. Al Qaeda want to polarise and to stir up a backlash. It was not really until the Madrid train bombings that I focused my mind on what I would say if there was a similar strike on London. I realised we had to keep the city together. I do worry though that, if we have a series of devastating attacks, whether London will still be able to hold together."

CRIME "The number of police has gone up so that can't be a reason why violent crime among teenagers has gone up. I do think we need to look at the violence in our culture now. I once went with my niece and nephew to the Trocadero and played one of these shoot 'em up games. It was totally addictive. It touches something profound about what we are as an animal.

All the last 10,000 years' slow march through civilisation has been an attempt to control that."

Document 4

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Livingstone unlikely saviour for Brown

George Parker, Political Editor. FT.com. London: Apr 30, 2008.

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Gordon Brown will receive the first direct verdict by voters on his struggling premiership at about midnight on Thursday as results from more than 4,000 local elections in England and Wales start to roll in.

His government is expected to get a battering in the town hall polls, but Mr Brown knows that even a humiliation could be offset if Ken Livingstone, Labour's candidate for London mayor, pulls off a victory in the capital. The prime minister will find out whether his first encounter with the voters since his arrival at Number 10 is an outright disaster, or a politically manageable setback, at about 5pm on Friday, when the London mayoral results are due.

Mr Livingstone is ranked as a 2-1 outsider to win the contest but is hoping Londoners will waver "at the last moment" before voting for Boris Johnson, the colourful journalist and MP fighting the mayoralty for the Conservatives. The Labour mayor, battling for a third term, claims his rival would suffer from "hovering pencil syndrome" as voters wondered whether they could trust Mr Johnson. "This election is not a joke," Mr Livingstone said.

The high-profile nature of the London contest overshadows other local elections, but Mr Livingstone would make an unlikely political saviour for Mr Brown: the two men have what has been described as a "hate-hate relationship".

May is turning into a month of reckoning for Mr Brown, whose botched abolition of the 10p starting rate of income tax, to the detriment of 5.3m low income households, has dominated the local campaigns. On May 22 Labour will defend the Crewe and Nantwich seat in a parliamentary

by-election. The Conservatives would win it on an 8 per cent swing - the shift in voters David Cameron's party needs nationwide to win the next election.

Recognising the scale of the political damage caused by the 10p tax row, Mr Brown on Wednesday gave an almost unprecedented display of humility, admitting he had made "mistakes". The tax dispute has exacerbated a growing sense of economic anxiety on the doorstep as voters struggle with higher food and fuel bills, which could rebound on a prime minister who built his career on a reputation for economic competence.

Meanwhile, Mr Brown is battling to contain a Labour backbench rebellion on his anti-terror strategy, with a possible Commons defeat looming on his plan to extend pre-charge detention for terror suspects to 42-days. Mr Brown said on Wednesday that he would not compromise on the plan, insisting it was vital for national security.

But Mr Cameron believes the government will be defeated on the plan - expected to go before the Commons in June - and claimed it would amount to a "vote of confidence" in the battered government.

Labour canvassers report a hostile reception on the doorstep from voters after months of political difficulties, while Mr Livingstone has taken the precaution of leaving the word "Labour" off most of his campaign documents.

Political pundits suggest a loss of 200 Labour seats would represent a disaster for Mr Brown, since the party polled only 26 per cent the last time these seats were contested in 2004 at the height of the Iraq war controversy.

The Conservatives will be looking to push through the 40 per cent barrier in terms of vote share to suggest the party is on course for a possible outright victory in a general election, expected in 2010. Meanwhile, Nick Clegg, leader of the Liberal Democrats, will be delighted if his party avoids significant losses. The third party did well in the 2004 elections, but Mr Clegg has yet to make an impact on many voters.

Document 5

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Livingstone is Labour's best hope of poll victory

Anonymous. Irish Times. Dublin: Apr 30, 2008. pg. 12

(Copyright (c) 2008 The Irish Times)

UK: Tories are riding high ahead of local polls, but mayoral election may save Gordon Brown, writes Frank Millar

KEN LIVINGSTONE and Boris Johnson today launch a final frantic pitch for support and the all-important second preference votes that could determine which of them wins tomorrow's election for London mayor.

Prime minister Gordon Brown and Conservative leader David Cameron likewise nervously await their first national contest, with local election results in England and Wales set to be closely analysed for what they may foretell about the next general election.

With the Conservatives riding high in the opinion polls, Mr Brown faces an uphill task to produce Labour gains to show an improvement in his party's performance since the same seats were contested four years ago at the height of the Iraq war controversy and Tony Blair's unpopularity. Mr Cameron's challenge is to build on his party's previous strong performance in terms of share of the vote (37 per cent in 2004) and seats won, and to show himself on course for 10 Downing Street.

The Conservative leader is hoping that a national "time for a change" mood will play to the advantage of Boris Johnson in London, while Mr Brown prays victory for Mr Livingstone can

offset a predicted bad night elsewhere for Labour that could see his leadership opened to renewed questioning.

Balloons portraying Johnson ahead of Livingstone were raised above Westminster Bridge yesterday to illustrate that users of the Betfair exchange system are backing the Tory challenger to unseat the Labour incumbent. However, both candidates were continuing their inner-London, outer-London battle in search of real votes amid final opinion polls suggesting that Livingstone is either about to narrowly retain his grip on City Hall or be "swept" from power by a double-digit lead for Johnson on first preference votes.

Liberal Democrat candidate Brian Paddick, meanwhile, again refused to endorse either of the front-runners, insisting voters should give him their first preference and then - if he does not come in the top two in the first round - use their second preference to ensure "that the wrong man is kept out".

Mr Paddick used an article in yesterday's London Evening Standard to challenge assumptions spread by his opponents that a vote for him would be "wasted" in what has always been a two-horse race.

"Not this time. You get two votes," he insisted. "A first preference vote for me says, 'I agree Brian Paddick is the best candidate'; it says, 'I want a serious alternative to Ken Livingstone'. But with your second preference vote you can vote tactically to make sure the wrong guy does not get his hands on the keys to City Hall."

Having already cast his postal vote, Mr Paddick maintained he would only say who he considered "the wrong guy" when counting begins on Friday, while promising that he would not accept a job, if offered, from either Mr Livingstone or Mr Johnson.

Mr Livingstone, meanwhile, shrugged off yesterday's news that Labour MP Kate Hoey will work as an adviser to Mr Johnson on sport and the 2012 London Olympics, should the Tory challenger become Mayor. Ms Hoey took care to avoid breaching Labour Party rules by actually endorsing Mr Johnson against Mr Livingstone, and actually contradicted Mr Johnson's claim that she had agreed to be the first member of his administration.

"I have simply agreed ... that I will advise on a non-partisan basis in respect of my lifetime commitment to bringing sport to the people of London." Ms Hoey also compared her proposed role to that of Conservative MPs John Bercow and Patrick Mercer in advising prime minister Brown on terrorism and learning difficulties. However, Mr Livingstone said the Ulster-born MP was "bonkers" and had been "a sort of semi-detached member" of the Labour Party in recent years.

Mr Livingstone's eve-of-poll postcard and billboard message - "Don't Vote for A Joke - Vote for London" - seeks to exploit concerns evidenced in the opinion polls that many voters still don't consider Mr Johnson a "serious" candidate for mayor. In a switch of tactics, meanwhile, Mr Johnson sought to tie Mr Livingstone to Labour's difficulties nationally, telling undecided voters that victory for Labour would allow both the prime minister and the mayor "to think they can get away with anything and never be held to account".

Document 6

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London is a serious city, so why treat the mayor's election as a joke?

SIMON HEFFER. The Daily Telegraph. London (UK): Apr 30, 2008. pg. 18

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There was a compelling BBC television drama series - and I apologise if it is early in the day for an oxymoron - broadcast recently called *The Curse of Comedy*. Its four episodes dealt with the dysfunctional lives of five entertainers: Tony Hancock, Hughie Green, Frankie Howerd and the two principals of *Steptoe and Son*, Wilfrid Brambell and Harry H Corbett. A fifth episode should be in the making, dealing with tomorrow's election for the post of Mayor of London.

I don't live in London, so don't have a vote. I am glad. Those lucky enough to live elsewhere should, though, join me in deploring the circus that comes to a halt tomorrow. Many of us work in London. Many more visit it regularly. It is our capital city, and showcase to the world. What happens to it matters to us all.

The present incumbent, Ken Livingstone, has, however, transcended comedy. He has done little to address London's core problems in his eight years in office, during which he has spent a sum of money equivalent to the gross domestic product of some developed nations. Much has been wasted on his friends and on the cult of his personality. London remains a place where young people all too easily find themselves on the wrong end of a knife, where public transport doesn't work, and where the roads are clogged. Add to this the deeply unsavoury nature of one or two of the Mayor's advisers, and the ease with which he drops apparently anti-semitic remarks, and one can easily conclude we are not dealing with a good man.

I doubt that anyone with the cast of mind and intelligence to read this paper might consider voting for him, so let us move on to Brian Paddick, the Lib Dem contender. Given he has for

nearly 30 years done a proper job - he was a senior policeman in London - he would seem serious, and one whose qualification for seriousness equips him to handle one of the gravest problems facing London. A few weeks ago, however, he said he would put a congestion charge of pounds 10 a day on anyone from outside Greater London who drove a car within its boundaries. If he had taken no consideration of the economic damage this would wreak, and the effect on the collapsing public transport system, then he is reckless. If he did, and still didn't get it, then he is a fool. Either way, forget him.

Which brings us to Boris Johnson. It is perhaps a kindness to some of you, who remember his genial outings on this page over many years, to advise that those of a sensitive disposition, who harbour affection for the Conservative candidate, might do better to switch off now.

Mr Johnson is not a politician. He is an act. The same stricture could fairly be applied to Mr Livingstone. Mr Johnson's act is, though, more finely wrought. He is serving a very useful purpose for his party. It was decided, presumably by one of the advertising men who now control the Conservatives, that the only way to beat an act was with another, even better one. They certainly went to the right man.

I want to dismiss a prejudice about Mr Johnson, and I do so as one who has known him for the past 20 years. It is that he is a buffoon. He isn't. The act is calculated and it has required serious application and timing of the sort of which only a clever man is capable. For some of us the joke has worn not thin, but out. Yet many less cynical than I am find it appealing. It conceals two things: a blinding lack of attention to detail, and (though this might seem to sit ill with the first point) a ruthless ambition.

Mr Johnson is the most ambitious person I have ever met. That ought to be a commendation for high office, since ambitious people normally understand they will go further only by doing their present job well. Mr Johnson's scattergun approach to life will not allow this. In his superb biography of him, my colleague Andrew Gimson outlines the practice that has allowed Mr Johnson to get so far in life: he has used his charm, to which only a few more seasoned hands are immune, to enlist at every stage what Mr Gimson calls "stooges" to help him advance. There were stooges when Mr Johnson was en route to be president of the Oxford Union. He has had stooges all through journalism, who did significant parts of his various jobs for him, usually with little thanks or reward. And now there are stooges in politics. If Mr Johnson became Mayor tomorrow, he would be the front man for nameless others who would run London. That may well be better than more of Mr Livingstone. It would not be what people think they are voting for.

I agree with Mr Livingstone on one thing, which is that running London is not a comic spectacle (though it is a pity that he didn't see fit to live up to that precept more often). What is there in Mr Johnson's past to suggest that his mayoralty would be anything but that? Where is the evidence of his adroitness in administration, his sense of responsibility, his ethic of public service? As Mr Gimson makes clear, one of Mr Johnson's failings is a belief that the public is there to serve him, not vice versa. He has given much pleasure to millions over the years, but will that cause the Underground to work better, the Metropolitan Police to catch more criminals, or business to thrive in London? Or would a Johnson mayoralty be yet one more chapter in an

epic of charlatanry - perhaps, since it is so serious a job with potentially no hiding place, the last chapter?

Mr Johnson will regard the job as a stepping stone to a Cameron cabinet (I have always expected Mr Johnson, in great old age, will befriend the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury, covering all bets about a better place in Paradise). Oddly enough, given how acute he is, that won't persuade him to do it properly. The guiding theme of his life is the charm of doing nothing properly. His sins themselves are charming in that they are the sort of failings that upset the Edwardians, and few others since. He is pushy, he is thoughtless, he is indiscreet about his private life. None of this matters much to anyone these days, which is why he has gone so far in spite of them, and tomorrow may go further still.

Lynton Crosby, the Australian public relations genius who has kept Mr Johnson out of trouble during his campaign, returns home after it. Then what? Who will guide the unguided missile? Who will support the figurehead? Who will ensure he turns up on time, or at all? How will they be accountable? Once, a man became mayor of Hartlepool dressed in a gorilla suit. Is what the main parties offer Londoners tomorrow any better? Or is London just a bit of a laugh?

No, it isn't. Both Labour and the Tories insult hard-pressed, overtaxed residents of London by failing to give them serious, strong-minded candidates to vote for tomorrow. Having always taken Stanley Baldwin's strictures about the prerogative of the harlot very much to heart, I do not presume to advise you on which of these preposterous figures to support. I would observe, though, that a massive abstention might just persuade the parties next time that London and its greatness deserve better than the Ken and Boris show.

Document 7

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Boris 'ahead by 10pc'; Poll predicts Tory is set to unseat Red Ken as Mayor

Michael Lea. Daily Mail. London (UK): Apr 29, 2008. pg. 8

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BORIS Johnson will win the race for London mayor by 10 points, a poll suggested yesterday.

With just two days before voters choose who they want to run the capital, the survey predicted a 55-45 per cent victory for the Tory candidate.

But almost one in seven Londoners have yet to make up their minds - and late decisions could still sway the outcome on Thursday.

'The election remains finely balanced,' Mr Johnson warned yesterday. 'The next few days are the most critical.' The findings in a YouGov poll for London's Evening Standard newspaper came as the Tory front-runner put crime at the centre of his campaign.

He highlighted an independent study showing street violence at a five-year high, with 43 per cent of Londoners believing they or their family were in immediate danger. The vast majority - 85 per cent - blamed Mr Livingstone.

Separate figures obtained by the Johnson campaign, and seen by the Daily Mail, show that there are five reported rapes in London every day.

Official Scotland Yard records show that there were 8,766 sexual offences - one an hour - in 2007-08, including 1,919 rapes.

Mr Johnson admitted during a TV interview yesterday that he had once tried to take cocaine - or at least something he had been told was the Class A drug.

The Tory candidate, who has admitted smoking cannabis, has long been at the centre of a mystery over whether he used cocaine while a student at Oxford.

He has said in the past: 'I think I was once given cocaine but I sneezed so it didn't go up my nose.

In fact, it may have been icing sugar.' Yesterday he told Sky News: 'I once abortively, and I stress abortively, attempted what I was told was cocaine. I have no idea whether it was or not because I'm afraid none of it produced any effect on me whatever.' Earlier in the campaign, Mr Livingstone was involved in a wrangle over drugs when the Green Party, with whom he has an electoral pact, backed a call to legalise Ecstasy. In a message to voters yesterday, Mr Johnson said: 'It is time to hold Ken Livingstone to account. If he wins on Thursday it is another four long years of waste, deceit, scandal, cronyism, crime and congestion.' Mr Livingstone is focusing on transport and his message that Mr Johnson is not up to running a city.

London is the top prize in a swathe of local elections across the country. If Labour fails to hold the capital and suffers heavy losses elsewhere it will further undermine Gordon Brown's premiership.

According to the YouGov findings, Mr Johnson is 11 points ahead of Mr Livingstone on first choice votes - 46-35 per cent - and a point ahead of his Labour rival on the crucial second preferences.

It means that, in a straight runoff, the Tories' man wins 55 to 45.

Such is the dogfight now raging that Mr Johnson yesterday accused Mr Livingstone's supporters of 'dirty tricks'.

They included adverts claiming that pensioners' free travel on public transport - the Freedom Pass - was under threat. A Johnson spokesman said of the transport claim: 'It is a measure of the mayor's desperation that he is being driven to frighten elderly people. The Freedom Pass is 100 per cent guaranteed.' The bruising nature of the battle proves just how crucial the result will be in a national context. Mr Brown has been urged to stay away, amid suggestions that he could damage Mr Livingstone's hopes, but Tory leader David Cameron was in London yesterday.

Littlejohn - Page 15 BNP boss and the ballerina: - Pages 22-23

HOW VOTERS IN THE CAPITAL CAN MAKE THEIR MARK (TWICE)

THE pink ballot papers which Londoners will fill in on Thursday have two columns: one to mark their favourite candidate and the other to select their second preference.

The Mayor will be selected under a system known as the 'supplementary vote', where voters choose both a first and second preference.

If one candidate receives more than half the first-choice votes, he is declared the winner.

This is highly unlikely, however, and there will be a second round between the two candidates with the highest number of first choice votes. These are virtually certain to be Mr Livingstone and Mr Johnson.

In the second round, all the other candidates are eliminated and the second choice votes cast by their supporters are added to the tally of the two front-runners.

Second-preference votes cast by supporters of the top two are not included.

The biggest batch of second-preference votes is expected to come from supporters of the LibDem contender Brian Paddick..

Finally, the candidate with the highest total is declared the winner. The system is designed to ensure that the winner has the active endorsement of more than half the voters.

The process will be carried out at an 'ecounting' centre, where ballot papers are scanned, tallied automatically and verified.

In the traditional 'first past the post' system - used in Parliamentary elections - the winner is simply the candidate with the most votes, even though that frequently falls below half the total cast..

10,215 people have signed up as 'Team Boris' members on his website

Document 8

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Battle to win floating votes; Mayor and Johnson fight for Paddicks endorsement

PIPPA CRERAR, PAUL WAUGH. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 29, 2008. pg. 9

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Apr 29, 2008

KEN LIVINGSTONE and Boris Johnson launched frantic final attempts to secure election victory today and battled it out for Lib-Dem candidate Brian Paddicks second preference votes.

The two leading candidates were con-tacting hundreds of thousands of vot-ers in the belief the contest remains on a knife edge.

Mr Livingstones Labour campaign sent out one million postcards with the slogan Dont Vote for A Joke Vote for London while his Tory rival was emailing 300,000 undecided voters saying that victory for Labour would allow the Prime Minister and the Mayor to think they can get away with any-thing and never be held to account.

The most crucial battle is over the sec-ond preference votes given by people who use their first choice to back Mr Paddick. It exploded into the open at a Sky News debate last night.

Mr Paddick has little chance of becom-ing mayor but his endorsement could swing the election. He has so far refused to name either of his main rivals as the next best option. In the final live debate, Mr Livingstone said he would support the Liberal Democrat over Mr Johnson without a moments doubt. He asked Mr Paddick: Why cant you express a choice for the lesser evil because thats what all politicians do?

Mr Johnson accused the Mayor of a sickening orgy of chasing his Lib-Dem opponents vote but moments later added: I think Brian has some won-derful things to say. Mr Paddick, mean-while,

urged voters to pick him first and then vote tactically with their second preference to keep out whichever of the two others they did not want as mayor.

Mr Johnsons attempt to link the race for City Hall to difficulties for Labour nationally is a clear change of tack.

His personal message to London-ers thanks all those who have supported his campaign and claims that his key pledges fighting crime, protecting green spaces, spending taxpayers money wisely, easing congestion and improving public transport, and properly overseeing planning and housing have struck a chord with voters.

In a separate debate today on LBC radio Mr Johnson pledged not to fight for a second term if he failed to cut crime by 20 per cent in his first four years a pledge Mr Paddick has also made.

Mr Johnson warned the election remained finely balanced despite polls showing him in the lead and claimed the next few days would be critical.

His email was addressed to those who may still be uncertain whether to vote, or for whom and went on to state that the decisions the Mayor takes can make life better ... OR ... as under the current Labour Mayor, worse.

If Labour win on Thursday, Gordon Brown and Ken Livingstone will think they can get away with anything and never be held to account, it said. Mr Livingstone has continued to out-poll his own party by distancing himself from it, but today's Tory message tries to link the Mayor and Downing Street.

The Mayor started the final 48 hours of campaigning by targeting Londoners worries that Mr Johnson is not serious enough for the job. The campaign, which will see the postcards sent to every area apart from Conservative heartlands, will also use the slogan in newspaper adverts and on billboards.

Although a new YouGov/Evening Standard poll gave the Tory candidate a healthy lead this week, it also confirmed that many electors have doubts. Some 42 per cent believe he lacks the seriousness required to make an effective mayor.

THERES ALWAYS ME, BRIAN PADDICK: PAGE 13"

Document 9

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Johnson heading for narrow win, says poll

Rosa Prince Political Correspondent. The Daily Telegraph. London (UK): Apr 29, 2008. pg. 8

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BORIS Johnson would become London Mayor by a narrow margin if the election was held today, according to a poll.

In the first opinion poll to ask voters in the capital for their second-preference choice, which comes into play as the mayor is elected using the alternative vote system of proportional representation, the Conservative is ahead of his Labour rival Ken Livingstone by 51 to 49 per cent.

Mr Johnson is the first preference choice of 42 per cent of Londoners compared to 41 per cent for the current Labour mayor, the poll found.

Brian Paddick, the Liberal Democrat, is in third place with 10 per cent, meaning his second preferences will be crucial to the outcome on Thursday.

According to the ICM poll for the Guardian, 43 per cent of Liberal Democrat backers say they will use their second preference to vote for Mr Johnson, while 30 per cent will opt for Mr Livingstone.

The poll also shows a divide between ethnic minority and white Londoners, with 64 per cent of non-whites saying the current mayor has done a good job, compared to 46 per cent of white voters. Mr Johnson will be boosted by the poll, which comes as he prepares to unveil his most

eye-catching policy, a ban on drinking on the Underground. He has accused Mr Livingstone of "dirty tricks" by telling elderly voters, who statistically are more likely to vote, that the Conservatives would withdraw free travel for the over 60s if he were elected mayor.

The row has led to the most bitter exchanges of the campaign, with Mr Johnson openly accusing his rival of lying. A spokesman for Mr Livingstone said: "Accusations of dirty tricks are ludicrous. Ken Livingstone's campaign does not and has no need to carry out dirty tricks, as Boris Johnson's appearances ... give far more convincing reasons not to vote for him than anything we could achieve."

Election experts say voter turnout, which has traditionally been low in London, will prove a key factor in deciding the contest.

Document 10

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Comment & Debate: A vote against this effete and frivolous Tory is a no-brainer: Ken Livingstone has relentlessly worked to improve London's lot. Boris Johnson is running only for fun and fame

Polly Toynbee. The Guardian. London (UK): Apr 29, 2008. pg. 31

(Copyright, Guardian Newspapers Limited, Apr 29, 2008)

Associated Newspapers, the owner of the Daily Mail, has used the London Evening Standard as a daily nuclear strike in the city's mayoral campaign. Its billboards across London every day claim spurious "scandal" after "scandal" involving Ken Livingstone. Few read the paper, but all London sees the newsstands.

The choice for Londoners on Thursday is stark - and it should be simple. It's not about a clash of personalities, it's between a rightwing lightweight and a seriously successful Labour mayor. By their policies you know them. Ask whose side are they are on? Boris Johnson campaigns mainly in the rich white suburbs, Livingstone in the inner city. Those with no vote in this race should be watching every bit as tensely as those who live in London: in many ways, here is a practice run for the general election. It is also a dummy run for how the Daily Mail will conduct the next general election for David Cameron.

Since few of you will ever read it, here is just one day's Standard coverage. Yesterday's front page sported a glowing picture of Cameron and Boris out with their wives, with a poll putting Johnson 11 points ahead. Page two hammered Labour's 10p tax troubles. Pages six and seven had a double-page anti-Ken spread. Page eight had "Ken accused of dirty tricks", written by Andrew Gilligan. Page nine had a Ken photo in Muslim dress with another Gilligan attack story. A leading article backs Boris, then another column by Gilligan attacks Ken for "The great Olympic 'con'". Opposite, another large opinion piece by Simon Jenkins begins "Londoners

should vote for Boris Johnson". The diary, on pages 14 and 15, carries six anti-Labour items, followed by a double-page spread attacking Livingstone's architectural record. Other anti-Ken bites appear on page 20.

This is no newspaper, it's a Tory campaign sheet more virulent than any previous one I can remember. Rumour has it that this is the loss-making paper's swansong, so it doesn't care how many readers it bores to death. It just wants to paper every London street corner with billboards damning Ken. The assault works: many who can't quite list his crimes feel that Livingstone is too sleazy to vote for.

Johnson looks dangerously close to squeaking in, thanks to a toxic combination of Labour's woes and the Standard's campaign. Day after day it has sent Gilligan and others digging for anything they can find. Dutifully repeated in the press and on the BBC, the actual stories exhumed have been pretty slim pickings for a mayor in power so long and in control of so much money. The worst they found was that 0.07% of the London Development Agency's huge grant budget since 2000 went to dubious or now defunct ethnic minority charities. That's bad. But ask any grant-giving foundation, including the lottery, how many small grants to community groups go wrong and the LDA's failures are not unusual. Giving to small local start-ups always risks money going awry.

Ken's history spans London's recent decades and we know him well - his monster side, his obstinacy, but also his foresight in the causes he espouses, more often right than wrong. He has always championed underdogs others were kicking, long before it was fashionable. His espousal of poor Muslim groups will be seen as prescient and right - just as he was ahead of his time on gays, women and other ethnic minorities. He is now miles ahead of other politicians on climate. His backstory is London government's history, defying Margaret Thatcher, defying his own party too - which would often have gladly abolished him. He has reinvented himself to suit London's needs. The City, to its own surprise, responds positively to him, giving him much credit for seeing off Frankfurt as a competitor and even trouncing New York.

The idea of a mayor is a larger-than-life character with personal power and determination. It is not a consensual, collaborative role. Anyone any good, in New York or here, should expect to arouse strong emotions. Livingstone has been relentless in defending the poor and the weak, relentless in championing the idea of London, successful in binding together interests in transport, housing, policing, and now pounds 78m for youth projects focused on gang culture.

Corrupt? Hardly. Money, celebrity and high society never interested him. His entire political life has been devoted to improving the London of his Brixton council estate youth. Whatever it takes, if it means pacts with devils, he will do it: nothing much interests him except London, its prosperity and its poor. It has taken political brilliance to prise huge transport investment from the Treasury - under Gordon Brown, his old enemy - for Crossrail, buses and the tube. Under him, London bus passenger numbers have risen 46% since 2000, while bus use is falling nationally. The local transport bill going through parliament will re-regulate buses with the intention of duplicating Livingstone's success around the country: that would never have happened without his lead, showing that local authorities need to control their own buses. His congestion charge made London a symbolic beacon for climate policy, as other capital cities flock to study it. He has shown that political bravery works.

So why isn't Livingstone winning hands down? Labour's woes are hanging around his neck - especially the 10p tax crisis, although he still runs far ahead of the Labour party nationally. Originally the Standard supported him to spite Labour; now it attacks.

When Londoners vote on Thursday, surely it's a no-brainer? Here is an effete and frivolous Tory only doing it for fun and fame. Never known for passionate commitment to anything but himself, his strongly rightwing views are contemptuously ignorant of all social policies: we know this from his writings. His bewilderingly few policies are to stop Ken's requirement that developers include 50% affordable housing in new building projects; to replace bendy buses at a cost he cannot name; to abandon local policing; to cut costs; and . . . well, that's it. Or there is Ken.

Londoners must go out and vote for the assembly too, where big abstentions risk letting the BNP gain the 1-in-20 votes it needs to win a London Assembly seat. If you can't bear Ken, then vote for nice Sian Berry the Green, or Brian Paddick the Lib Dem - but give Ken your second preference. That's the joy of the alternative vote we need for Westminster.

polly.toynbee@guardian.co.uk

Document 11

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Boris puts himself in election doghouse

Anonymous. Evening Chronicle. Newcastle-upon-Tyne (UK): Apr 28, 2008. pg. 4

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KEN Livingstone and Boris Johnson were today gearing up for the last few days of the London Mayoral race, with the election still too close to call, and focusing on different aspects of the campaign.

Mr Livingstone, inset, will highlight transport today.

He said: "In the last four years as Mayor I have secured the largest transport investment programme London has seen for over 50 years."

He criticised Mr Johnson over his past stance questioning the need to have Tube maintenance in the public sector and alleged failure to understand the importance of the Crossrail project for London.

Meanwhile, a spokeswoman for Mr Johnson said four more years of Mr Livingstone would mean "more council tax and fare rises and more waste at City Hall".

Mr Johnson regards crime as the main issue in the election, she said. "While the Mayor throws his hands up the air and says 'nothing can be done', Boris intends to change London for the better and make the city a safer place for us all."

Document 12

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BORIS SURGES AHEAD IN POLL; (1) Johnson leads by 11 points with only three days to election(2) But 13 per cent of voters still don't know who they will back(3) EXCLUSIVE

PAUL WAUGH, PIPPA CRERAR. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 28, 2008. pg. 1

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Apr 28, 2008

BORIS JOHNSON has raced ahead of Ken Livingstone with just three days to go until the mayoral election.

The latest YouGov poll for the Standard shows the Conservative candidate is 11 points ahead on first preference votes and 10 points ahead in the crucial second preference category.

The survey puts Mr Johnson on 46 per cent to Mr Livingstone's 35 per cent of first preference votes, while in an almost inevitable run-off, Mr Johnson would secure 55 per cent to 45 per cent for his Labour rival.

But the key factor in the contest is likely to be the large number of undecided voters.

YouGov found that when people were asked to choose solely between Mr Livingstone and his main rival, the gap narrowed.

Some 46 per cent backed Mr Johnson, while 41 per cent backed the Mayor. Yet 13 per cent said they still "don't know". Mr Livingstone will spend the final days of his campaign on his message that Mr Johnson is not up to the job and will unveil a new poster with the slogan: "Imagine Boris Johnson in charge of London's [pounds]39billion transport budget. Suddenly he's not so funny." Yet the Mayor said he would offer his defeated rivals including Mr Johnson jobs in his new administration. "I would genuinely want Boris to come in, take a job and get some experience, "

he said. Mr Johnson was concentrating on keeping his advantage with his campaign on the need for change.

YouGov found that for the first time in weeks, the gap in the "run-off" between the two has widened to 10 points compared with six last week.

The poll shows Liberal Democrat Brian Paddick is still the most popular choice when it comes to second preferences. Some 36 per cent would give him their extra vote, compared with 15 per cent for Mr Johnson and 14 per cent for Mr Livingstone.

The Greens pick up 15 per cent of second preferences. The YouGov survey contradicts others in recent days suggesting Mr Livingstone was ahead in the race. A spokeswoman for Mr Livingstone's campaign said: "This is a farcical poll which will do deep damage to the reputation of YouGov when the actual result is announced on 1 May."

A spokeswoman for the Back Boris campaign said: "This poll shows that every vote will count. If Londoners want a change in London, they have to vote for it this Thursday." YouGov polled a total of 1,138 people online between 23-25 April.

Document 13

Indexing (document details)

Author(s): DICK MURRAY

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TfL watchdog: It's time for arrogant Livingstone to go; MAYORAL ELECTIONS 3 DAYS TO GO

DICK MURRAY. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 28, 2008. pg. 7

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Apr 28, 2008

LONDON's transport watchdog today launched a devastating attack on Ken Livingstone, branding him as arrogant.

Brian Cooke supported Mr Livingstone in the past two elections but is now backing Tory candidate Boris Johnson. "It is time for a change," he told the Standard.

Mr Cooke's condemnation of the Mayor's transport policies is highly damaging to Mr Livingstone.

The TravelWatch chairman, who is a member of the board which oversees Transport for London, said: "Sometimes one wonders whether the truth and Mr Livingstone sit together at all.

"Ken has paid lip service to real consultation on a whole raft of issues and I don't believe Boris will have the arrogance of the 'Ken knows best' policy." Mr Cooke made clear he was attacking Mr Livingstone purely on transport policy the flagship of the Mayor's re-election campaign and is scathing on a range of issues. He said there was "strong evidence that the current Mayor has played with both Tube and bus fares for his own political aims".

It emerged last week that the Mayor attended a Transport for London board meeting that backed inflation-busting fare rises but one week later publicly called for a freeze. Mr Livingstone yesterday denied misleading Londoners about future Tube fare rises. He told BBC1's Politics

Show: "I chair the meeting [of the board], but I don't intervene at that stage." He denied he had approved the TfL board plan. "You don't approve it. What they are doing is making a submission to the Mayor so it comes to me and then I decide."

Mr Cooke described many members of the TfL board as "weak", adding: "TfL and Ken Livingstone are so joined at the hip that the board seem frightened of critiquing."

Accusing Mr Livingstone of not listening to others, Mr Cooke said: "An example was the introduction of free travel on buses for young people which many, including TravelWatch, predicted would cause major problems of anti-social behaviour and not only did but still is."

" He added that the Mayor had "dragged his feet" in extending the Oyster scheme to mainline rail services in London.

"He often blames the train operators but having been very close to this issue I believe much of the blame is actually at the Mayor's door." The chairman's decision to speak out is sure to trigger a row among TravelWatch members. The watchdog's board is politically independent but includes councillors and ex-councillors from the three main parties.

He emphasised that he was expressing personal views, which were "not necessarily the views of TravelWatch", and has taken leave until Thursday's poll.

Mr Cooke added: "I believe that Boris and his team would do far and away the best job in London in the vital years that will build up to the 2012 Olympics. Finally, like Boris, I believe the Mayor's term should be limited to two terms. It is time for a change."

Document 14

Indexing (document details)

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If Boris wins will the last person to leave London please turn out the lights

Lester Holloway. New Nation. London: Apr 28, 2008. , Iss. 585; pg. 2, 1 pgs

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SOME LONDONERS are planning to flee the capital if Tory Boris Johnson is elected mayor of London this week.

Professionals are considering the drastic action as the prospect of Ken Livingstone losing power after eight years becomes a real possibility.

Jimmy Lindsay, chair of the West Norwood Community Development Board, is one of many black residents who plan to pack their bags.

'If Boris wins I'm moving out of London,' he said. 'He will alienate black and ethnic minorities. He has not shown any knowledge of the issues raised by young black people.'

Jason Moriah, a teacher from West Kensington added: 'Anyone who writes about piccanninies and watermelon smiles is certain to wreck London's multiculturalism. If he wins, I'm out of here.'

Last week, as campaigning drew to a close, Livingstone blasted Johnson for overseeing articles claiming that black people had smaller brains than white people. The offending piece was published in the Spectator magazine, which at the time was edited by Johnson.

Livingstone also warned that events such as the Notting Hill Carnival and Africa Day could be under threat from a Johnson mayor.

Livingstone said: 'Boris Johnson would be a disaster for London. I want every Londoner to be able to share in London's success, and I am the only one who can achieve this.'

Polls put Livingstone and Johnson neck and neck, but the Labour candidate admitted last week that he is considering life after City Hall if he is defeated on Thursday.

Document 15

Indexing (document details)

Author(s):	MICHAEL SETTLE UK POLITICAL EDITOR
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The bow ties are out, the serious face on ... but can Boris unseat 'Red Ken'? London mayor's post up for grabs as polls suggest tightly fought contest

MICHAEL SETTLE UK POLITICAL EDITOR. The Herald. Glasgow (UK): Apr 28, 2008. pg. 7

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THERE was no spinning bow tie, no baggy polka-dot pants or big red nose as the Conservative candidate for London mayor fixed the partisan audience with a stern, cowlike stare.

Boris Johnson's makeover as a serious politician is holding. At a recent London press conference, there was only one momentary slip into his former light entertainment ego when he complained he had been 20 minutes late because of a "beached whale" in the traffic; one of the "bendy buses" which the straw-haired politician is determined to see the end of should he win the London crown on Friday.

Commenting on the nonappearance of the Bertie Woosterish Bozza, he declared in his idiosyncratic Old Etonian way: "There is no distinction between the old Boris and the new Boris. They are indivisible, co-eternal, consubstantial."

The Henley MP's transformation means he has a chance of replacing Ken Livingstone. Even Mr Livingstone has let slip the prospect of losing, suggesting that, were he to fail to secure his third term, he would "be taking the kids to school and starting a book on my last eight years as mayor".

However, the fight will go to the very last second, with large chunks of propaganda being served up until polling day.

Mr Livingstone, despite having previously said no-one should serve more than two four-year terms, is determined to go on and on.

Despite the concerted antiKen campaign waged every day with screaming headlines in the Evening Standard newspaper; the controversy over Lee Jasper, his closest aide who quit after a funding row; and stories about his three previously undisclosed children, Mr Livingstone is still admired by many Londoners.

Lately he has been ahead in the polls, although one yesterday placed him just two points clear of Mr Johnson.

Who, for example, a few years ago would have believed Tony Blair and Alistair Campbell would be helping "Red Ken" get re-elected?

Mr Campbell confessed: "I amaze myself talking up Ken because I used to think he was dreadful. But you have to admit that he has done a really good job and is one reason why London is effectively now the capital of the world."

Brian Paddick, the gay ex-Metropolitan Police chief who is the LibDems' candidate, is a serious contender, exhorting a plague on both his main rivals' houses. Yet he is regarded as a doomed also-ran.

Both the Johnson and Livingstone camps admit the race is "too close to call". The nature of the preferential voting system means nothing is certain. Will people use second-preference votes - and who will they vote for? Mr Paddick has so far failed to say to whom his supporters should give their second votes.

But perhaps a Johnson triumph will prove bittersweet for David Cameron. Reports of last week's Shadow Cabinet meeting suggested much of it was taken up by the Tory front bench pondering how it could "insulate" the party leadership were Mr Johnson to make a mess of the mayoralty.

While the race for London will no doubt grab the headlines, there is a much wider battle going on across much of England and all of Wales in the local council elections.

Four years ago, Labour took a hammering, with a net loss of more than 450 councillors; the Tories and LibDems had net gains of almost 300 and more than 100 respectively.

Labour HQ insists that it was mid-term, the Iraq war was raging and so the result was not a surprise.

This time around, the usual political game is being played out with Labour talking up the chance of another big loss and the Tories talking down the chance of another big win.

Finding itself in a hole thanks most recently to the 10p tax furore, the governing party's message is: "We'll lose 200 seats." The Opposition is saying: "We'll be lucky to win any given the advances last time."

The truth probably lies somewhere between, enabling both sides to say the final result was not as good or bad as they had imagined.

Labour is looking to sneak Lincoln, where the Tories hold the council by one, and is also eyeing Liverpool, where the LibDem council was earlier this year named as the worst financially managed local authority in England.

However, it is on course to lose Reading, its last bastion in south-east England, to the Conservatives. The Tories also hope to gain Bury, north of Manchester, and North Tyneside, both of which have no overall control. Yet they could lose their only Sheffield seat, where the LibDems are hoping to gain control.

Eric Pickles, the Tories' election supremo, said: "I'm not making any predictions, " but beamed how the Tories were seeing the first "tangible signs of rebuilding" in the north of England even though they still have no elected councillors in Liverpool, Manchester or Newcastle.

While he might not make predictions, he nonetheless ventured to say that his "gut feeling" was that Mr Johnson would win in London. Perhaps only then will the bow tie start spinning.

The mayoral candidates

BORIS JOHNSON, CONSERVATIVES

The 43-year-old was born in New York and describes himself as a "one-man melting pot" with French, German and Turkish ancestors. He is married with four children.

His career in journalism saw him serve as Daily Telegraph reporter in Brussels in 1989 and as editor of The Spectator from 1999 to 2005. He became MP for Henley in 2001, served as Shadow Minister for the Arts in 2004, and was higher education spokesman from 2005 to 2007.

He attracted controversy over an unsigned Spectator editorial which criticised Liverpool over grief expressed for Ken Bigley, the hostage killed in Iraq in 2004. Mr Johnson later apologised.

He is regarded by critics as a likeable, gaffe-prone buffoon.

KEN LIVINGSTONE, LABOUR

Born in London, he is 62 and the son of a window cleaner. Married, with five children, he turned to Labour in the late-1960s.

Mr Livingstone was elected to the Greater London Council in 1973, becoming leader in 1981. He was an arch-enemy of Margaret Thatcher; The Sun branded him "the most odious man in Britain". After the Tories abolished the GLC, he became a London MP in 1987.

Mr Livingstone lost the Labour selection battle for the London mayoral position in 2000, and was kicked out of the party when he stood as an independent. He won.

He rejoined the party in 2004 and became its official mayoral candidate.

BRIAN PADDICK, LIBDEMS

The 50-year-old son of a salesman was born in London.

He joined the Metropolitan Police in 1976 and was a Brixton community officer after the 1981 riots. Openly gay, he was moved from his job as commander of Lambeth after an ex-lover claimed he had smoked cannabis. He was later cleared.

Mr Paddick clashed with Met Chief Sir Ian Blair over the shooting of Jean Charles de Menezes and left the force in 2007.

The assembly

There are 10 mayoral candidates.

The mayor serves a four-year term. He has responsibility for transport, planning and development, culture and environment and sets budgets for the police, fire and transport authorities. The budget for this year is GBP3.1bn.

Twenty-five London Assembly seats are being contested - 14 constituencies and 11 in a top-up.

In 2004, the Conservatives won nine seats; Labour seven; the LibDems five; others four.

The results are due on Friday night.

The key issues

On crime, Ken Livingstone wants to see a 6 per cent annual cut and to increase police numbers by 1000 over next year; Boris Johnson is calling for more police on buses and trains and crime-mapping to pinpoint blackspots; while Brian Paddick wants a 5 per cent annual cut and police chiefs to be more accountable.

On transport, Mr Livingstone wants improved train and Tube services and more investment in cycling and walking; Mr Johnson is calling for the scrapping of "bendy buses"; and Mr Paddick wants to introduce "women-friendly" night Underground carriages.

On housing, the Labour candidate wants 50 per cent of new homes to be affordable to buy or rent; the Tories' wants 50,000 more affordable homes by 2011; and the LibDems wants more social housing.

On the environment, Mr Livingstone wants public buildings to be more energy-efficient; Mr Johnson plans GBP6m to tackle graffiti and fly tipping; and Mr Paddick is against a third runway at Heathrow.

The councils

Some 4023 seats are up for election; 2761 out of 10,500 in England and all 1262 in Wales.

In England, most of the 137 councils have one-third of councillors up for election. All 22 Welsh authorities are being contested.

In England, the Tories defend 51 councils, Labour 18 and the LibDems 12. Most of the rest have no overall control.

Four years ago, the Tories had a net gain of 13 councils and almost 300 councillors. Labour had a net loss of eight councils and 450 councillors. The LibDems had a net loss of two councils but a net gain of more than 100 councillors.

Councils to watch include: Bury (NOC); Coventry (Con); North Tyneside (NOC); Cheshire West & Chester (new); Reading (Lab) and Vale of Glamorgan (NOC).

Some election results are due on Thursday night, with the rest on Friday morning.

Credit: Newsquest Media Group

Document 16

Indexing (document details)

Author(s): Fraser Nelson

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Anti-Boris, pro-Tory!

Fraser Nelson. News of the World. London (UK): Apr 27, 2008. pg. 6

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I HOPE Boris Johnson triumphs at the London Mayor election on Thursday, but I know some Tories who'll vote against him. "If he wins, Brown will get a jolt and he might change tactics," my source said. "We couldn't have that."

Document 17

Indexing (document details)

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Bet on it . . . that Old Etonian will come from behind to cast shadow over No 10 TORCUIL CRICHTON ON LONDON'S MAYOR

TORCUIL CRICHTON. Sunday Herald. Glasgow (UK): Apr 27, 2008. pg. 39

(Copyright (c) 2008 Newsquest Media Group)

EXCEPT for the overabundance of ags run up by the prime minister across Whitehall last week they were white for St George not for surrender you wouldn't know that the capital, and the country, stand on the edge of a political precipice.

Both Gordon Brown and David Cameron will be waiting on the result of this Thursday's London mayoral election with bated breath. It is their first electoral test as leaders and the outcome could decide their fate as much as it settles the future of bendy buses on London's streets.

The latest opinion poll gives Labour's Ken Livingstone a narrow lead on 41-per cent with the Conservative Boris Johnson three points behind. With the second preference votes distributed, Livingstone is due to win under this forecast, but with a slew of other polls reading the election the other way it's time for psephologists to consult the real experts the betting shops.

Right now the odds favour Johnson, the Billy Bunter caricature turned presidential material by a highly disciplined campaign team. Johnson, who hasn't been allowed to open his mouth to put his habitual foot into it for the past six months, has been rewarded with electoral credibility.

He's taken the Tory campaign from nowhere and now he is 8-15 on to win. My gambling friend explains this means you would get GBP8 back for every GBP15 you put on.

As a low-stake punter you might feel short-changed but it sounds just about right when it comes to the deal London would probably get from Johnson.

Livingstone, who has a commendable eight-year record of managing multimillion pound budgets and projecting London as the best city on the planet, has been on the back foot. For the first time in his life he is the establishment incumbent. He's also been under relentless attack by the Evening Standard, London's only paid-for daily newspaper, and been criticised from the left by a phalanx of London's left-liberal commentariat, splintering the alliance of minorities from which he draws so much electoral strength. Over the next few days he can expect an all out assault from the Standard although they do seem to have thrown everything except the newt bowl at him over the past few weeks.

Surviving depends on a pact with the Green party candidate, Sian Berry, holding up. Livingstone, who hasn't lost an election since he entered politics in the 1970s, needs a lot of political luck this time and it's beginning to look as if Tony Blair used up all of Labour's share of good fortune over the past decade.

Livingstone began the campaign looking tired and irritable but remarkably in the past few days he seems to have found some of the old chippy, cheeky Ken that Londoners loved from his days as leader of the Greater London Council and when he took office in 2000 as an independent because the Labour leadership wouldn't back him.

The Labour leadership has been pretty lukewarm with its support this time too, although that dynamic duo, Blair and Campbell, are said to have been lending a hand. The countdown which will see Labour warning that Johnson is a bad joke and a risk that London can't afford has the hallmarks of a New Labour campaign that worked, for a while, in Scottish elections.

Friday will be a long tense day similar, I expect, to the morning after last year's Scottish election, when we spent sleepdeprived hours calculating and re-calculating just who was going to win.

Everyone agrees Livingstone will be ahead to begin with as the boxes from the inner London boroughs are counted first. But as the results come in from the leafy suburbs the pendulum is expected to swing towards the mighty blond one. Johnson has spent a lot of his time and his GBP1 million campaign budget on the outer boroughs and in galvanising his core vote.

The result will depend not just on those second preference votes that are distributed to the top two candidates, but also on the ability of the two main parties to get their core vote out. After the 10p tax rate asco and depleted by the Iraq war, Livingstone, who is a divisive figure in the Labour party, fears there simply aren't enough activists left in the branches to get the vote out.

Into the vacuum created by the Labour party step the far-right, who play on legitimate fears about immigration, housing and cultural identity to push forward a darker agenda. The BNP is close to making a breakthrough onto the London Assembly and would be helped greatly by a low turnout.

There is a school of thought that Cameron's favoured outcome is for Johnson to come a close second because a win would put the reality of a Conservative government under very close scrutiny in a high risk and high profile way, and that conversely, Brown is secretly hoping that Johnson will win.

I don't buy that theory, particularly with Brown under such an electoral storm and many in the Labour party predicting losses of more than 200 seats in the English and Welsh elections on the same day.

The sky won't fall in on London late on Friday afternoon if Johnson does win, but there will be a particularly dark cloud over Downing Street.

Having an English establishment clown as London mayor even if he has to be straight-jacketed and gagged in a dark room for two years will make the idea of an Old Etonian running the country, as well as the capital, seem quite normal.

Credit: Newsquest Media Group

Document 18

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London needs a new face in City Hall

Anonymous. The Sunday Telegraph. London (UK): Apr 27, 2008. pg. 20

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The election that will decide who will be Mayor of London on Thursday has significance for the whole country - and not just because London generates much of Britain's wealth and hosts the nation's legislature and executive. It is also because the two main candidates have genuinely competing visions of how the capital should be run, indeed of what politics should be and do.

Ken Livingstone, the incumbent and the Labour candidate, has made no secret of his commitment to socialism. His admiration of the Venezuelan leader Hugo Chavez, and his unctuous flattery of Fidel Castro and the regime he created in Cuba, are a reflection of that commitment. Mr Livingstone is willing to accommodate himself to the market - but like all socialists, he believes that at bottom it is an immoral way of distributing goods. Only his belated recognition that the City of London is the economic dynamo upon which so much of the city's wealth depends has curbed his desire to increase taxes on wealth. He has made it clear that the financial markets, like all others, are to be tolerated only for as long as expediency requires it.

The Congestion Charge - which Mr Livingstone introduced against considerable opposition - should be recognised as his greatest success. The relentless rise in the charge, however, has ensured that many Londoners now bitterly resent the amounts they have to pay every time they drive to the centre. The transformation of the Congestion Charge into a device for extorting ever-greater sums out of Londoners is, however, of a piece with Mr Livingstone's enthusiasm for increasing taxes and regulation wherever possible.

Boris Johnson, the Conservative candidate and Livingstone's only serious challenger, takes a different view. While recognising the essential role that governmental authority can and should have in the life of the city, he believes that the rules should be structured so as to maximise individual freedom and initiative rather than to stifle it. He wants to hold people, himself included, responsible for what they do, rather than to continue the replacement of individual accountability by bureaucratic organisations for whose mistakes and incompetence no one takes responsibility. Mr Johnson is staunchly in favour of the wealth-creating mechanism of the market: he believes that individuals are better able to solve their own problems than government officials who insist their role is to "help". He sees the fundamental role of government as achieving the stability and order that are necessary if individuals are to flourish.

In common with David Cameron, Mr Johnson recognises that there are many activities, from parks to planning and from schools to local housing, that are now controlled by local government but would function better if they were controlled directly by local people.

Both mayoral candidates rightly share a vision of a multicultural, multi-ethnic London: they have to, because that is the reality of today's capital. London is now one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world, and gains very significantly from the skills and the energy that immigrants from more than 100 countries bring. Mr Livingstone, however, has appeared to be willing to compromise what should be non-negotiable liberal principles in order to court the votes to be garnered from some varieties of religious fundamentalism. His now-infamous embrace of Sheikh al-Qaradawi, a religious bigot of a very objectionable kind, was interpreted as endorsing al-Qaradawi's views. Mr Livingstone denies it was anything of the kind: but the symbolism was, to say the least, unfortunate.

What do the differences in political philosophy between the two main candidates mean for their respective policies? Ken Livingstone in office has been much less ideologically extreme than one might have predicted from his pronouncements. He has not campaigned in this election on a platform of great change: he offers a continuation of the basically pragmatic set of policies that have characterised his tenure as Mayor. Mr Johnson insists he is determined to bring about change. He says his primary concern is to reduce London's frighteningly high level of violent crime. To that end, he has promised 4,400 extra police community support officers. He also reacted to the general loathing of "bendy buses" - those leviathans of the road that block streets, endanger cyclists and pedestrians, and belch pollution - by promising to get rid of them and replace them with the old double-deckers. He has made it clear that he wishes to ensure that those who "free ride" on buses when they are not entitled to, will face consequences.

Neither candidate has a spotless personal life, but history and experience show that this does not necessarily determine that a politician will be ineffective in office. We support Boris Johnson's conservative political philosophy, and we believe that his concrete policy proposals will help to make London a better place to live. In all modesty we cannot claim that his past as a journalist was the ideal preparation for political responsibility. The crucial test for him will be assembling talented, experienced advisers who can compensate for his organisational deficiencies. But at least he is not one of those local government bureaucrats who dedicate their political careers to protecting the special interests of other local government bureaucrats - which is what Mr Livingstone appears to have become, and perhaps always was.

The most important thing about the London election, and indeed all of the local elections taking place across Britain this week, is not whether you support Ken or Boris or the Labour or the Conservative or any other candidate: the most important thing is that you exercise your democratic right and vote. We, the people, need to take government back from the bureaucrats who have stolen it from us. Taking the first step on that road requires you to vote in this week's local elections. We urge you to do so.

Document 19

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Mayor of the mix Diverse but also divided, London prepares to vote

BOB SHERWOOD. Financial Times. London (UK): Apr 26, 2008. pg. 11

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When Ken Livingstone launched his campaign for a third term as London's directly elected mayor, he chose not to be introduced by booming music or a celebrity supporter. Instead it was a softly spoken, middle-aged black woman who endorsed the Labour mayor and brought him on to the stage. She was Doreen Lawrence, whose teenage son, Stephen, was murdered in 1993 in a racial attack that horrified the capital.

Mrs Lawrence told her audience that London's "culture of openness, tolerance and mutual respect is one of the most important things at stake in this mayoral election". She went on to insist that Boris Johnson, Mr Livingstone's Conservative rival, would never have had the "commitment" shown by Mr Livingstone to support the creation of the mentoring and education centre set up in her late son's name.

From those first words of the campaign, which will culminate in elections on Thursday, London's racial diversity and its attendant tensions were placed centre stage.

Mr Livingstone drove the point home. After delivering his launch speech, he called on to the stage the Labour party's candidates for London assembly seats, also up for election next week. The group was a diverse collection of men and women of various ethnic backgrounds. "We actually look like London," he exclaimed.

Opinion polls show the incumbent is running neck-and-neck with his Conservative challenger. Though both are maverick politicians from outside their party's mainstream, the contest is

inevitably also being seen as a test of Gordon Brown's prime ministership. Mr Livingstone has often been a critic of the Labour government, notably in opposing the Iraq war. Even so, losing the London mayoralty would come as a bitter blow for Labour nationally.

There are eight other candidates standing, most prominently Brian Paddick for the Liberal Democrats - a former deputy assistant commissioner of the Metropolitan Police who was the highest ranking openly gay police officer in the UK. None, however, is thought to have a chance of progressing to the second round, when one of the top two candidates will be elected by a single transferable vote system.

Mr Livingstone's career has been marked by a willingness to embrace London's various racial and religious groups, sometimes extending a welcome to leaders of questionable credentials, such as Yusuf al-Qaradawi, a cleric who has expressed his approval of female genital mutilation, wife-beating and the execution of homosexuals in Islamic states.

It is easy to see why such an inclusive electoral strategy is important in the world's most multicultural capital. But following a damaging row over an alleged misuse of City Hall grants to companies from ethnic minority communities - as well as campaigning from the far-right British National party and strong Conservative support in less diverse outer London areas - some are concerned that the contest could to an extent become polarised along racial lines.

About 30 per cent of Londoners are from "non-white" groups; while London makes up just 15 per cent of the English population, it contains 43 per cent of the nation's non-white people. According to the last census in 2001, the boroughs of Brent in north-west London and Newham to the north-east are less than half white. London's population is continuing to swell from international migration, in part to meet skills and labour shortages. Between 2001 and 2004 the non-white population of London grew by 129,000 to stand at 2.25m.

Mr Livingstone has firm support among ethnic minority communities - but his concentration on community relations is not just the normal Labour-versus-Conservative strategy. His campaign team sees Mr Johnson as vulnerable on racial and religious issues. The Livingstone camp has dredged up a number of examples of Mr Johnson's less politically correct journalism published in *The Daily Telegraph* and in *The Spectator*, a magazine he edited. His writings include references to "piccaninnies" with "watermelon smiles" and comments that Islamophobia seemed a "natural reaction" to non-Muslim readers of the Koran and that "Islam is the problem".

A senior member of the Livingstone campaign insists it has never alleged that Mr Johnson expressed racist views but that "the reason he was prepared to say those offensive things was that he didn't understand it was a serious matter".

Mr Johnson stresses that he is proud of his own Muslim ancestors, from Turkey, adding this month: "My great-grandfather knew the Koran off by heart." The Conservative candidate has also put himself at odds with his party by supporting an amnesty for failed asylum seekers and migrants who have been in London for more than four years.

A Johnson campaign official denies that the amnesty support is an attempt to woo the ethnic minority vote, saying Mr Johnson is appealing to people of all backgrounds by focusing on

common issues they face, particularly crime. "We talk to the Muslim press and they ask us, 'what are you going to do to make the streets safe?'," the official says.

Livingstone supporters have been hard at work to shore up the Muslim vote. A group called Muslims 4 Ken has been campaigning for the mayor in the final weeks of the campaign, voicing claims that Mr Johnson is anti-Islam. However, such associations could also harm the incumbent at the polls, particularly if he is perceived to be cosyng up to supporters of militant Islam. The Evening Standard, the London daily that has been particularly critical of the mayor, recently ran the front-page headline: "Suicide bomb backer runs Ken campaign." The article alleged that an advocate of suicide bombing was among leaders of the Muslim group attempting to mobilise support for him.

The strength of the efforts to target ethnic minority communities is a natural reaction to the support commanded by Mr Johnson in wealthier outer-London areas. Ipsos Mori data compiled for the Financial Times this week found that Mr Johnson had a strong lead over the mayor in outer London boroughs, while the mayor was clearly ahead in the more deprived and multicultural inner London areas.

Mr Livingstone's strategists acknowledge that their plan is to target inner London voters plus the liberal, anti-Iraq war contingent across the capital. But the drive is also in part a recognition that a Labour candidate can no longer assume he has the votes of the ethnic minority communities. Tony Travers, director of the Greater London Group, a research centre at the London School of Economics, says that as immigrant communities have become more established, they have developed a wider range of affiliations.

"The problem for the Labour candidate is shoring up what used to be an easy Labour vote," he says. "That's why Ken is working hard on the Muslim vote. He is running against the trend that migrants and minority ethnic communities are less likely to vote Labour en bloc."

The mayor also addressed a meeting of Poles in south London last week. The Polish community, which has grown rapidly in London in recent years, is something of an electoral enigma. There are an estimated 300,000-400,000 Poles eligible to vote, along with other residents from European Union and Commonwealth countries.

Many from Poland are short-term economic migrants, though, and are considered unlikely to turn out in large numbers. The Federation of Poles in Great Britain says 65,000 Polish citizens were registered to vote by February (the electoral roll was open until mid-April). Mr Travers adds: "We cannot assume that Poles in London would vote naturally for Ken - they are Catholic and conservative with a small 'c'. We just don't know much about this."

Turnout will be a big factor. Opinion polls show Mr Livingstone has greater support among younger people as well as ethnic communities, both groups that are less likely to vote. Werner Menski, chair of the Centre for Ethnic Minority Studies at London University's School of Oriental and African Studies, says the capital's minorities could have a decisive influence "in terms of the numbers of people entitled to vote - yes. But will they vote? I'm not so sure".

At a time when politicians of both main parties are seeking to curb immigration and when sensibilities are running high over terrorism in the name of Islam, Professor Menski says there is growing evidence that many im-migrants and members of ethnic communities feel disconnected from mainstream institutions. That is likely to be reflected in non-participation in the election. People have expressed "a widespread feeling that 'we are not trusted, we are not accepted and so why should we take part in the processes?' ", he adds.

Such feelings would be exacerbated if the BNP gains ground in the polls for local authorities and the London assembly. The party hopes to secure a seat on the assembly, which holds the mayor to account. The BNP has also urged supporters to give Mr Johnson their second-preference votes - an unwelcome endorsement for the Conservative.

Mr Travers points out that London's continuing need for immigrant skills has been one of the great silences of the campaign, hardly addressed by any of the candidates. The need for immigration has been recognised in the financial district, though. A City of London report on the capital's place in the economy in 2006-07 concluded: "London continues to be a magnet for international migration, which adds both to the labour pool available to London's employers and to the level of demand in the economy, thereby stimulating employment opportunities. As a result we expect London to create an extra 600,000 net jobs by 2016."

With immigration into the capital continuing apace, the ethnic divisions and lack of connection with political processes among minority communities will have to be addressed by whichever candidate emerges victorious on May 1 if he is to claim to represent all Londoners.

Document 20

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Has he got news for you

Anonymous. Irish Times. Dublin: Apr 26, 2008. pg. 5

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PROFILE BORIS JOHNSON: The Tory MP and TV presenter has been classed as a clown, but he could be a serious contender in the race for Mayor of London. And his party leader, David Cameron, would certainly be pleased with that outcome, writes Frank Millar

'MY FRIENDS, AS I have discovered myself, there are no disasters, only opportunities. And, indeed, opportunities for fresh disasters." So spake Alexander Boris de Pfeffel Johnson after being sacked from Michael Howard's Conservative frontbench in December 2004. The former Classics student, President of the Oxford Union, Spectator editor, serious broadcaster and celebrity host of Have I Got News For You is certainly accident-prone.

As his biographer Andrew Gimson recalls, in September 2004 Vanity Fair published an admiring profile billing him a likely future British prime minister.

Within the month storm clouds had gathered over a Spectator editorial (which Johnson did not write but for which he accepted responsibility) about reaction in Liverpool to the murder of British hostage Ken Bigley in Iraq. The article criticised "the mawkish sentimentality of a society that has become hooked on grief and likes to wallow in a sense of vicarious victimhood". It also underestimated the death toll in the Hillsborough disaster while repeating the charge that drunken fans had been to blame, something ruled out by the official inquiry. Howard, a keen supporter of Liverpool FC, famously ordered Johnson to the city to apologise.

Even before that storm subsided, however, his private life reached a crisis point, the ostensible excuse for media intrusion being that he had denied an extra-marital affair as "an inverted pyramid of piffle". He would hardly have prevented the damage or the intrusion by simply refusing to comment on his private life. Nor had he ever posed as a moral champion, much less accepted that politicians should "set an example" to help uphold the institution of marriage. Yet such episodes speak to a wider capacity for controversy for those unsure whether Boris can realise his high ambitions and, indeed, whether he is altogether serious about the politics game.

ON THAT QUESTION the MP for Henley-on-Thames certainly divides his party. And, of course, across much of Britain this New York-born Old Etonian with Turkish forebears is much loved for it. It is his delicious irreverence, his desire to have his large cake and eat it - perhaps above all his willingness to be ridiculous - that marks "Boris" out from the whip-bound jobsworths within the political classes on all sides. For much the same reason, Howard's successor David Cameron will expect Australian election strategist Lynton Crosbie to keep his man on a tight leash between now and Thursday.

For if all politics could be relied upon to determine the "local" outcome, Boris would seem set fair in his bid to supplant the no-longer-quite-so-Red Ken Livingstone as mayor of London. And that would be an undoubted fillip for Cameron's attempt to persuade the British public that he is ready to replace Gordon Brown as Prime Minister in one general election leap.

Like Boris, "Ken" enjoys first-name recognition and campaigns with the flexibility this allows to distance himself where expedient from his official "Labour" label. Instant recognition and easy familiarity do not, of course, always spell affection, and many remain highly resistant to their respective charms.

Journalist and former Tory minister George Walden considers all three main candidates dreadful - of Lib Dem standard-bearer Brian Paddick there is simply "nothing to be said" - and has urged Londoners to continue their well-established habit of staying at home on polling day.

Londoners have never been entirely convinced about Tony Blair's gift of an elected mayor, and Walden recently served up the sobering statistic that some 86 per cent of those eligible did not vote for Livingstone in a one-third turnout. The result? "Flush with his 14 per cent authority, the representative of our great city will put you right on world affairs in bar-room style. Such as how we must dialogue mutely with Muslim clerics so as not to offend any medieval sensibilities. Corruption? If our national treasure were caught roasting babies on a spit in Trafalgar Square people would grin and say, c'mon, that's just our Ken, innit?"

In full Grumpy Old Man rant, Walden continued: "Then there is Boris Johnson. The gaiety of nations I understand, but the most entertaining thing about Johnson is when he puts on his serious, solicitous look."

Writing in the same Times newspaper, on the other hand, Anatole Kaletsky acknowledged the media bias in the coverage of the campaign justified by the "larger-than-life and buffoonish character" of both main candidates and their gaffes, or, for the most part, lack of them. "As a result the dinner-party consensus among the chattering classes has turned the election into a question over whether Ken Livingstone or Boris Johnson is the less likely to self-destruct."

According to Kaletsky, this conventional wisdom is wrong. Far from being "blundering political idiots", Johnson and Livingstone are "politicians of the first rank", whose promised gladiatorial contest has sadly degenerated "into a dull Punch and Judy show that even London's local papers can scarcely bring themselves to report."

Again, this should be good news for the Tory challenger. London's "local" elections (for Mayor and the Assembly) have played out against a backdrop of rising levels of disillusion about - and within - Britain's ruling Labour Party. Along with Ken versus Boris, the dinner party chat over reportedly reduced fare nowadays from Clerkenwell to Clapham and Croydon is about how far the property market will fall.

Labour's high employment achievement makes comparisons with the worst days of the Conservative "boom and bust" misleading, yet at least one in 10 households is said to be at risk of negative equity. Fears about redundancies in the City were already vying with rising food, fuel and council tax costs for front-page attention, even before rebel Labour MPs finally awoke to the potential disaster of Gordon Brown's wheeze (in one of his last acts as chancellor) to increase the tax burden of some of the lowest-paid workers in the UK.

No matter that (with honourable exceptions such as Frank Field) the same MPs had cheered Brown's "tax-cutting" trick the year before. When the outraged word from the campaign doorsteps finally reached Westminster something had to give. And if Cameron and many commentators are right, it will prove to have been a substantial dollop of prime minister's Brown's already diminished authority.

AT THE START of this week it seemed a given that Labour's 10p tax rebellion would not happen, if only on the time-honoured principle that "turkeys don't vote for Christmas". Yet Wednesday's dramatic U-turn - or "listening" and acting exercise, as Brown would have it - confirmed the whips' calculations that the government was actually facing defeat on a key plank of Brown's very own budget. No matter that that vote was scheduled within days of the English and Welsh council elections and the landmark London poll. Or that the results of these "mid-terms" have the potential to set a national mood ahead of what the prime minister must hope will be a general election year. The man hailed a welcome and necessary "change" from Blair just 10 months ago might very well have been a goner. And who can doubt that, in such circumstances, Ken would have been going with him?

To Brown's frustration, the latest display of Labour panic and indiscipline coincided with evidence this week that the situation may not be as bad as mutinous Labour MPs fear. After a double-digit lead a month ago, ICM gave Cameron's Conservatives a lead of just five points over Labour. Moreover, while Johnson is running neck and neck with Livingstone, the discomfiting evidence from London is that any national "time for a change" mood is not playing so strongly in the capital. After two terms the 62-year-old Livingstone looks distinctly shop-soiled, while 43-year-old Johnson is not only the more popular but also the more trusted. Ken admits to being power-hungry and attracts charges of cronyism, although allegations of corruption among some of his appointees have not been proven. Ken accuses Boris of permitting racist articles to appear under his Spectator editorship, while Boris counters with accusations of the Mayor's "anti-semitism" and seeks to exploit his embarrassing courtship of homophobic Islamist scholars. But nobody outside the partisan fray seriously believes multicultural and "inclusive" London would

be set in reverse by a Johnson mayoralty. Both men reflect the tolerant and libertarian culture of the capital city and there is no real "fear" factor at work here.

Livingstone has been better for business than people would have imagined, has the congestion charge under his belt, and proved an able leader for all Londoners after the 7/7 bombings. Yet while people are bored with Livingstone, find him increasingly unlikeable, and are not perturbed by the idea of Boris as mayor, Andrew Cooper of the polling organisation Populus says: "It's just that this seems to be a pretty marginal call and it's almost as if Livingstone has done a better job of persuading people he wants it more."

Boris has but a few days in which to challenge and change that perception. As with the Oxford First that he wanted but didn't get, the ability is not in question . . . but he still has to work to do.

"It is his delicious irreverence, his desire to have his large cake and eat it - perhaps above all his willingness to be ridiculous - that marks Boris out

CV BORIS JOHNSON Who is he? Boris Johnson, Tory MP and sometimes celebrity anchor of Have I Got News For You. Why is he in the news? He's in with a serious chance of defeating Ken Livingstone in next Thursday's election for London Mayor. Ideal home: Merry England Hero: Margaret Thatcher Most likely to say: "My chances of being PM are about as good as the chances of finding Elvis on Mars, or my being reincarnated as an olive" Least likely to say (now): "Voting Tory will cause your wife to have bigger breasts and increase your chances of owning a BMW M3."

Document 21

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Contest that pits city against the suburbs

Andrew Grice. The Independent. London (UK): Apr 26, 2008. pg. 4

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The mayoral election has revealed London to be a divided city, with support for Labour concentrated in the inner London boroughs and the Conservatives dominating the suburbs.

Analysis by the polling company Ipsos MORI found remarkably similar levels of support for Labour's Ken Livingstone and the Tory candidate, Boris Johnson, in their respective inner- and outer-London strongholds. The figures mean that next Thursday's contest could be decided by the two main parties' ability to persuade their natural supporters to turn out.

Although Tory officials deny it, Mr Johnson has been accused of pursuing a "doughnut strategy" in which he focuses his 1m campaign on the leafy suburbs. He has promised that he would be a mayor for "greater London" who would represent the city from public transport zones "six to one". The Tories accuse Mr Livingstone of being an "absentee mayor" in the suburbs.

The Ipsos MORI analysis shows why the Tories might be tempted to concentrate their fire on their heartlands. In the outer boroughs, Mr Johnson is on 45 per cent to Mr Livingstone's 36 per cent, among those who say they are certain to vote.

In inner London, the tables are turned. The incumbent is on 48 per cent and his Tory challenger 34 per cent.

When first and second preference votes are combined, Mr Livingstone is ahead by 58 per cent to 42 per cent in inner London, with Mr Johnson holding a 10-point lead in outer London. Overall, the figures point to a 50-50 split.

Although the divide was a factor in Mr Livingstone's victories in the 2000 and 2004 mayoral contests, the latest analysis suggests that it may have widened. Outer London boroughs have accused the Government of skewing its grants in favour of inner London and ensuring higher levels of public investment there. Labour has fared badly in borough council elections in the suburbs, with the Tories taking control in Bexley, Harrow, Croydon, Ealing, Hillingdon and Havering last year.

Other polls have shown people living in inner London are more satisfied with their area than those in outer London, where residents complain about creeping "urbanisation" and problems such as congestion and antisocial behaviour.

Senior Labour figures fear the row over Gordon Brown's decision to abolish the 10p tax rate could jeopardise their attempt to mobilise their core vote. "It is the only national issue to feature," one said.

Labour fears that some supporters will abstain. It is working hard to "get out the vote" in its strongholds and making a strong appeal to ethnic minority voters.

A separate survey by Ipsos MORI for the trade union Unison put Mr Livingstone on 41 per cent, Mr Johnson on 38 per cent, Mr Paddick on 12 per cent and Ms Berry on 3 per cent. After second-preference votes were reallocated, Mr Livingstone was on 53 per cent to Mr Johnson's 47 per cent. Mr Livingstone was regarded as more trustworthy by 41 per cent and Boris Johnson by 30 per cent.

A Livingstone spokesman said: "This poll shows that after weeks of debate Londoners are considering the stakes for them in this mayoral election and, while the contest remains close, Ken Livingstone is moving into a clear lead. The difference between all voters and those certain to vote shows the more people use their vote the more likely it is that Ken Livingstone will win."

Document 22

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Election for London mayor on a knife edge

BOB SHERWOOD. Financial Times. London (UK): Apr 25, 2008. pg. 3

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The election for London mayor on May 1 will leave the UK capital more polarised than ever, according to calculations carried out for the Financial Times that show the two leading candidates each commanding 50 per cent of the vote - but with different power bases.

According to Ipsos Mori data compiled for the FT, the incumbent Ken Livingstone has an unassailable lead in inner London boroughs, with 48 per cent support compared with 34 per cent for his rival Boris Johnson, among those who say they will vote.

But the picture is almost the opposite in suburban outer boroughs, where the Conservative Mr Johnson has 45 per cent support - a nine-point lead on the Labour mayor.

The differences are exacerbated when first and transferred second-preference votes are combined, putting Mr Livingstone ahead by 58 per cent to 42 per cent in inner boroughs and stretching Mr Johnson's lead to 10 points in outer London.

The figures, extracted from a combination of three recent polls, suggest Mr Johnson is garnering support in outer London boroughs, where many people feel they have been ignored by the mayor and are frustrated by lower levels of public investment.

The government's formula grant settlement to inner London boroughs including the City for 2008-09 totals Pounds 2.16bn (Dollars 4.3bn) for about 2.8m people. By contrast, the grant for outer boroughs is Pounds 1.87bn for 4.8m people.

The election is poised on a knife-edge, however, as the figures show an even split between the two leading candidates, based on a combination of pledged first and second-preference votes.

The broad division between Conservative support in leafy suburbs and Labour inner city heartlands is hardly new. But the split has been growing, reflecting increasing dissatisfaction in outer London.

In the 2006 local elections, Labour suffered badly in London and the Conservatives won control of the outer London boroughs of Bexley, Croydon, Ealing, Harrow, Havering and Hillingdon.

Tony Travers, director of the Greater London Group at the London School of Economics, said it would be surprising if the same effect was not seen in the mayoral election. "People in inner London have become more content in recent years, while those in outer London have become less so."

Mr Johnson has sought to tap into a sense that the outer boroughs have been neglected by Mr Livingstone. Last September he claimed he would be a mayor for a "greater London".

A senior Johnson campaign official said: "Boris has been touring the outer boroughs repeatedly and there are a hell of a lot of people there who say that they never see the mayor."

Document 23

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Special report: London mayoral election: Standard views: Jester Boris eyes Ken's crown, with the help of some powerful friends: Even if he does not win, a strong showing would prove the modernised Tory party is reaching beyond its comfort zone

Nicholas Watt, Sam Jones. The Guardian. London (UK): Apr 25, 2008. pg. 8

(Copyright, Guardian Newspapers Limited, Apr 25, 2008)

With endless supplies of Pol Roger champagne, the Spectator's annual parliamentary awards ceremony at Claridge's tends to be a lively event for Britain's political elite.

Last November's lunch proved no exception. As immaculately dressed waiters served up roast lamb in the hotel's chandeliered ballroom, one of the prime movers in London politics gave vent to months of frustration. "Boris, you've got to pull your finger out," the Evening Standard editor, Veronica Wadley, told the Tory candidate for London mayor.

An Eton scholar who does not take kindly to being rebuked, Johnson mumbled incoherently as other guests took the opportunity to air their own concerns about his lacklustre campaign. But the blunt assessment hit home. By the turn of the year, his campaign had sharpened up and now Johnson could be close to the biggest political breakthrough by the Conservatives since John Major's surprise general election victory in 1992.

"Boris looked very sheepish as Veronica told him he had to pull his finger out," one of the guests said. "A lightbulb came on - by January he was really energised and now he may be on the verge of an extraordinary upset."

David Cameron, who faced criticism last year for throwing his weight behind such a maverick, now believes he may soon be vindicated. One senior Tory explained Cameron's thinking. "Ken Livingstone is one of the most skilled campaigners in British politics. And yet Boris is now slugging it out with Ken and setting the policy agenda of the campaign by focusing everyone on crime and transport. Even if Ken pulls it off - and Boris is within striking distance - that would still be a pretty stunning result for us."

A strong Johnson showing would provide the first electoral evidence that the modernised Tory party is reaching far beyond its usual comfort zones. "London is totemic and will grab the headlines on May 1," said one member of the shadow frontbench.

"This is the most multiracial and multicultural city in the country. If we can do well there that will really capture people's imagination."

If Johnson wins, the debt he will owe to Associated Newspapers, and Wadley in particular, will be huge. For the first time, the capital will have a mayor in tune with the Standard's concerns on crime, the congestion charge and the costs of the Olympics.

There is another factor: in two years' time, Associated's multimillion-pound contract to supply tube stations with the free Metro newspaper will expire. The renewal of the contract is a decision for Transport for London, whose chairman the mayor appoints.

A nod of thanks will also be due to Rupert Murdoch, whose Sun came out for Johnson this week, hailing him "a new and fresh champion for London".

But he was by no means an automatic choice for the Tories. And he needed to be persuaded to stand. Wadley played an important role in championing him last summer, and it is her newspaper that has provided him with unswerving support ever since.

"Veronica told anyone who would listen in senior positions in the party that there was only one guy who could win this: Boris," one senior Tory said. "That had a profound effect on David Cameron and George Osborne."

Johnson had flirted with the idea of standing for London mayor for some time, but it took a light-hearted intervention from a former boss - and a pillar of the Tory establishment - to make up his mind. A friend sent an email last year to Charles Moore, the former editor of Daily Telegraph, where Johnson first made his name as a journalist. It read simply: "Boris for mayor?"

The mischievous Moore fired back a reply: "Boris for mayor of Henley" - the affluent Oxfordshire constituency he represents in parliament. "Boris was so outraged by what Charles wrote that he was spurred into action," said a friend.

The sight of a rejuvenated Johnson at the end of the year came as a relief to the Tory leadership. Last autumn, they were seriously worried at the faltering start to his campaign after he was overwhelmingly selected as the Tory candidate on September 27.

Osborne, the shadow chancellor, passed on his concerns to Johnson at about the same time as the Wadley ticking off at the Spectator lunch. Johnson listened carefully to the man who will coordinate the Tories' next general election campaign; he has learnt to respect Osborne, who was made the Spectator's politician of the year at the Claridge's lunch.

The Osborne intervention - and the pressing need to get their candidate back in the race - led the Tory high command to seek out someone who could both discipline Johnson and identify and exploit the issues that concerned Londoners.

Their search led them to Lynton Crosby, the Australian strategist who delivered a string of election victories for the former Australian prime minister John Howard.

Despite Crosby's failure to secure a win for the former Conservative leader Michael Howard in the 2005 general election, Osborne, Cameron and the chair of the Tory party, Caroline Spelman, decided he was the one to break in their candidate.

Since Crosby took charge in January, Johnson has learned to talk seriously about issues such as crime, public transport and housing - and toned down the buffoonery. Crosby's decision to focus on outer London boroughs such as Enfield and Bexley, normally neglected by mayoral candidates, and to pinpoint wards where the Tories should concentrate their efforts, have also won him praise.

One senior figure said: "Lynton has worked out the outer London strategy. He has got armies of people out to tube stations. A lot of themes that he used for our 2005 campaign are now being used. But this time we have the right messenger in Boris and David Cameron has made it possible for the party to talk about these things."

The Crosby campaign has appointed an outside press team - iNHouse PR - run by the former Tory press officer Katie Perrior. Ed Staite, a popular Conservative press officer who is expected to move to City Hall with Johnson if he wins, is also on hand. In a sign of the Australian-style approach to the campaign, Perrior is on a commission - the better Johnson performs the more her company will be paid.

Whenever Johnson takes to the streets, be it Soho for the Chinese new year or Edmonton for his campaign launch with David Cameron, his PR minders are never more than an arm's length away, appearing to act as much as bodyguards as gaffe-guards. They often round on journalists who fail to portray Johnson in a flattering light - even those who work for "friendly" publications such as the Evening Standard.

Crosby himself also favours the hands-on approach. At both the unveiling of Johnson's crime manifesto at Millbank in February and the Edmonton launch, he looked on mutely from the sidelines as if trying to transmit telepathic messages to his protege. And while he will exchange a few words with journalists, his gaze never seems to leave his potentially unruly charge.

Some believe that Crosby has not so much banished Johnson's outer clown as coaxed out the old Etonian's inner self.

Lloyd Evans, the Spectator's theatre critic, who has known Johnson since they were at Oxford, said his friend - now "a bit plumper" than at university - was finally coming across as "the fully rounded Boris".

Johnson still enjoys the support of a number of Oxonians - including a few members of the Bullingdon club, the dandyish dining society to which both he and Cameron belonged. A handful of former Bullingdon members attended a fundraising dinner hosted by Johnson at the beginning of this month.

But despite the overhaul, support and some intensive cramming - he has asked more than 100 parliamentary questions about London in the past few months - Johnson is often still visibly struggling to master his brief.

At a KPMG business hustings at the end of March, he dithered over whether or not to shut down the mayor of London's overseas offices, saying he needed to consult the business community. When it was pointed out to him that he was addressing the business community, and that most of its members favoured the "embassies" and their trade benefits, he dithered a little more. Last week he went back on his original pledge to close them. Similar indecision over the cost of his plans to replace the bendy buses he loathes with a new generation of eco-friendly Routemasters has been one of the most salient and embarrassing features of his campaign.

After initially admitting that he did not know how much the buses would cost, he alighted on a figure of pounds 8m.

The low figure was immediately questioned by independent transport experts, who suggested he was out by around pounds 100m. Nonetheless, Johnson stuck to the pounds 8m figure until last week, when he was caught on a mobile phone camera telling a Labour supporter that he believed the scheme would cost around pounds 100m.

To muddy the waters still further, he appeared on a BBC debate a day later claiming that the new buses would cost no more than pounds 8m. He now estimates the cost to be around the pounds 100m mark.

His ability to weather this series of policy fumbles is proof of the goodwill his personality seems to evoke from the public and certain sections of the press: had Livingstone shown such a hazy knowledge of his key policies, he would have been torn to shreds - particularly by the Evening Standard.

The success of the past three months has left the Tory high command pondering what Mayor Johnson could mean for the party nationally. Would he rally young non-committed voters with his Woosterish japes, or would he allow Labour to paint the Cameron Conservatives as unreliable and unsuited to office?

Opinions are divided among Tories, though most believe the Johnson gamble was worth taking. One senior figure spelled out the thinking of those who have yet to be convinced.

"One of the reasons why Boris was encouraged to go for it is that he is a semi-detached member of the Conservative party. He is of the Conservative party but not with the Conservative party. His relationship with the Conservative party is a bit like London's relationship with the rest of the country. That is why he is such a good call.

"But I do not think we have got our heads round what a Boris win will mean. Boris has this manner that makes it like entertainment rather than serious campaigning. Conservatives will be as unprepared as London if Boris wins.

"There will be a feeling, this could be interesting, it seemed a good idea, but are we ready for this? Boris will be his own man. How will he relate to the Labour government? . . . This is a double-edged sword. A victory would say the Conservatives are coming back. But there is also the element that you can't control Boris. If he screws it up that will rub off on us."

Johnson's screw-ups - or gaffes as they are more charitably known - are legendary. In the course of his career, he has referred to black children as "piccaninnies" in an attempt to mock Tony Blair's globe-trotting, and the people of Papua New Guinea as cannibals. He even sympathised with parents who did not like Jamie Oliver's campaign to make school meals healthier.

He eventually apologised to the black community and acknowledged that some of the things he had written had been offensive, but many black people remain wary of Johnson. Among them is Doreen Lawrence, the mother of the murdered teenager Stephen Lawrence, who told the Guardian last year that Johnson was "not an appropriate person to run a multicultural city like London". He was initially booed at a debate earlier this month organised by London Citizens, an umbrella group for scores of religious and ethnic minority groups. Although he went on to charm most of the crowd, when a black woman approached him after the event to berate him for some of the things he had written, he was swiftly surrounded by aides and whisked away.

Johnson thinks the charges of insensitivity about race are unfair. He likes to point out that his great-grandfather was Turkish and his wife, Marina, is half Indian.

While old articles have come back to haunt Johnson, his way with words, when properly focused, has served him well, propelling him on to the leader writers' desk of the Telegraph at the age of 23, and into the editor's chair of the Spectator 12 years later. He has also written a handful of books, including a novel, and presented a TV series about one of his passions, the Roman empire.

Another senior Tory was enthusiastic about Johnson's chances, pointing to his intellectual rigour and determination.

"We are all surprised to find ourselves in the position where Boris is the frontrunner. Ken Livingstone has held the London franchise for a generation. We all thought it was a long shot to win it. I always thought that to win it we needed a candidate who was a big personality. I have always thought that Boris is a serious figure. He is very hungry and he is driven."

The prospect of a Johnson victory has led senior figures in the party to make military-style preparations for a new high-flying City Hall team. Nick Boles, the founding director of the

modernising Policy Exchange thinktank, is vetting candidates for up to 12 posts such as chief of staff to a Mayor Johnson. Boles, whose main job is to prepare members of the shadow cabinet for life as government ministers, would have been the Tory candidate for mayor had he not fallen ill a few years ago. He is now fully recovered.

One frontbencher said: "Nick is working out what responsibilities each person would have at City Hall. He is working out whether you need to re-engineer the posts held under Livingstone by [former race adviser] Lee Jasper and [chief of staff] Simon Fletcher. The mayor has a lot of personal appointments." Johnson used a mayoral debate last week to announce that Bob Diamond, president of Barclays Capital, would advise him on encouraging City firms to invest in community projects. Diamond is the highest paid FTSE 100 boss, earning pounds 36m last year. On Monday, Johnson revealed that other advisers to the Mayor's Fund for London would include the former Labour donor Sir Trevor Chinn and his mayoral campaign fundraiser, Lord Marland. Steve Norris, the Tories' previous candidate, expressed an interest in running the London Development Agency but added that nothing had been agreed.

The leadership and Johnson are determined to keep a lid on the people they have lined up for City Hall because they have other jobs which they may need to hold on to if the Tories lose. But if Livingstone overtakes Johnson in the closing days of the campaign, the Tories may release more names to show he is capable of attracting talent to his team.

Johnson's critics are keen to point out that the Conservative challenger has never represented anywhere bigger than the safe Tory seat of Henley, which has little in common with London but the Thames. His constituents, though, seem pleased with his performance and he enjoys a majority of almost 13,000.

As he stood on the steps of Henley town hall three weeks ago, waiting to begin his constituency surgery, a stream of locals stopped for a chat or honked their horns as they drove past. He shook hands with one enthusiastic constituent who wanted to wish him luck in London.

"Thank you very much," he said. "But it's going to be very close."

Looking out over his parliamentary fiefdom, he seemed relaxed and more like the Johnson of old. He shrugged his shoulders over the news of Livingstone's "secret" children, insisting it would be irrelevant to Londoners, but complained grumpily that the mayor seemed set on stealing his policies.

Asked how he felt about the BNP advising its supporters to give him their second-preference votes, he reached for Virgil: "Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis tempus eget" (Not such aid nor such defenders does the time require).

And, before mooching off to Oxfam to browse the secondhand books, he had a confession to make about his highly motivated PR people: "They scare me, too."

Document 24

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MAYOR TALKS OF BORIS WIN; (1) I'll start work on my book says Livingstone(2) He gives Tory rival advice on what to do first(3) Fears of poor turnout among Labour voters(4) Boris deliberately vague

PAUL WAUGH. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 24, 2008. pg. 1

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KEN LIVINGSTONE has talked for the first time about the prospect of losing to Boris Johnson.

He even advised his Conservative rival to oversee a "graduated transition" should Mr Johnson win the mayoralty.

Mr Livingstone, who was launching his overall manifesto today, spoke frankly about a possible defeat and the reality of life after

City Hall. He would immediately begin work on his autobiography.

He said he was trying to focus on winning but admitted that if he lost he could consider taking up Mr Johnson's after-dinner speaking engagements.

The Mayor revealed what he would be doing following any defeat on 1 May: "If I don't win, come 6 May I will be taking the kids to school and starting a book on my last eight years as Mayor." Previously, he had consistently refused to comment on what he might do if defeated, but he dropped his guard yesterday on the campaign trail in Lewisham, even providing some hints on how a new mayor should behave.

"My advice would be don't rush to make rapid change, try to take your time to people and listen, and actually organise a more graduated transition," said Mr Livingstone. "Because someone who

comes [in] with 'slash and burn' might then find after six months that was a big mistake. So I'd take your time.

"Boris, because he has never been a council committee chairman or chair of a local authority, or involved in any other local government, would still have a lot to learn even after the election. I was lucky I had 30 years experience in local government before I got in. He shouldn't rush." He added: "If I lost there would be a vacancy on the after-dinner speaking circuit so we would really just be swapping jobs."

No publishing deal has been negotiated yet for his autobiography. Although those close to the Mayor believe he is just ahead or neck and neck in the polls, there are major fears among Labour activists about getting their supporters out to vote. The Standard's YouGov polling suggests Mr Johnson has maintained his lead and is set to win next week.

Critics will suspect that talk about losing is a ploy by the Mayor to galvanise Labour supporters into voting for him. But his remarks were unscripted. At his manifesto launch today in Wood Green, Mr Livingstone was set to unveil his complete policies on transport, crime, housing and other areas.

Underlining there is one week to polling day, he was set to emphasise the winning of the Olympics on 6 July 2005 and the 7/7 terror attacks the day after as the reason why he should be re-elected.

He was expected to say: "This election is about what it means to be Mayor. It is not about personality and it is not about making jokes. It is about every day taking many decisions that affect the lives of seven and a half million people. Sometimes they are about highs, as on 6 July 2005 when we won the Olympics. Sometimes they are about the very lows, as on 7 July 2005.

"Many are about very big financial decisions ... for example the decisions on how to proceed with the [pounds]1 billion a year modernisation of the Tube, or the [pounds]16 billion for construction of Crossrail." Mr Livingstone was set to claim that Mr Johnson's campaign had been deliberately vague: "The entire aim of his campaign has been to make sure he is in a position where he is shielded away from the responsibility for his own statements and decisions.

"The very nature of the Tory campaign itself testifies to his lack of competence to do the job of Mayor of London." He was set to stress policies including free travel for under-18s on the buses, a target that 50 per cent of all new housing in London must be affordable and supporting the London "living wage".

Document 25

Indexing (document details)

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Comment & Debate: The national fallout from London will be felt for years: If Livingstone were to win against the odds, it would be a springboard to challenge the direction of Brown's government

Seumas Milne. The Guardian. London (UK): Apr 24, 2008. pg. 33

(Copyright, Guardian Newspapers Limited, Apr 24, 2008)

By any reckoning, Alistair Darling's announcement yesterday that low-income losers from the abolition of the 10p tax rate will, after all, get backdated compensation, was a stunning climbdown - and nonetheless welcome for that. For the first time since New Labour came to power, the party's core voters have forced a U-turn in government policy of the kind normally reserved for corporate lobbyists. Having lost the argument, and facing meltdown in next week's local elections, the government bowed to political necessity. As Jon Trickett, a leading backbench rebel, put it, this was a "victory for the party's sense of social justice".

But it has also left Gordon Brown floundering before Tory accusations of weakness. Labour is talking up the prospect of a council wipeout next week to discount the impact of what is widely expected to be a dismal performance. But given the fact that these seats were last contested in 2004, when Labour came third with 26% of the vote on the back of hostility to Tony Blair over the Iraq war, the outcome may be less decisive than the spin would suggest.

That will certainly not be the case in London, where the fallout from the mayoral election is likely to be felt in national politics for years to come. Nor is it a contest that can remotely be characterised as a Tweedledum-Tweedledee affair where voters struggle to put a cigarette paper between the candidates. For all Ken Livingstone's accommodations with the City of London and Boris Johnson's jokes and floppy hair, the dividing lines could not be clearer. This is a battle between a veteran radical who has used his powers to redistribute, to protect the

environment and help make London one of the most successful multicultural cities in the world, and a Thatcherite privateer and opponent of the Kyoto treaty who backed the Iraq war and has managed to alienate almost every one of the ethnic minorities who make up 40% of the capital's population.

Perhaps it's no surprise, then, that this election has also been the focus of the most poisonous media onslaught for almost two decades. The relentless attacks on the mayor by London's only paid-for newspaper, the Evening Standard, which has in effect run Boris Johnson's campaign throughout, have turned election rules on their head with character assassination ads displayed on an almost daily basis on newsstands across the city. Genuine investigations into cronyism or development grants have long since lapsed into smears, reaching a new low last week with the mendacious "Suicide bomb backer runs Ken campaign" banner headline.

The fact that the Standard and its parent company, Associated Newspapers, have an interest in the renewal of the contract for the exclusive distribution of their Metro freesheet on the London Underground next year can only reinforce the paper's long-established ideological hostility to Livingstone and everything he stands for. The flipside is that the Tory challenger is given the gentlest of media rides. Johnson is, after all, a candidate who underestimated the cost of his plan to build a new generation of Routemaster buses by a factor of 12, who wants to reprivatise the tube but isn't quite sure how, and whose minders' main concern is to keep his pronouncements to a bare minimum, in particular about who would be running City Hall if he were elected.

Even more alarmingly, this is a man who struggles to apologise for calling black people "piccaninnies" or for insisting after the 2005 London bomb attacks that "the problem is Islam", the "most viciously sectarian of all religions", and that Islamophobia seems a "natural reaction". It's scarcely surprising that the British National party has called for its supporters' second preference votes to go to Johnson, which the latter's disavowals will do nothing to restrain. The prospect of such a figure uniting London in the event of another 7/7 beggars belief.

Nevertheless, the intensity of the media assault, Labour's national unpopularity and the fact that Livingstone has been in office for eight years combined to put the mayor on the back foot early on and trailing in the polls. And while the not-so-liberal Lib Dem candidate Brian Paddick has evidently tilted towards Johnson, Livingstone's initial irascibility and over-egged efforts to project a statesmanlike image helped undermine a crucial part of his appeal.

With most polls now showing the two main candidates neck and neck, that is clearly changing. Meeting community activists in a church hall in Herne Hill, south London this week, Livingstone was visibly relaxing into his more popular persona. Sitting next to the Blairite minister for the Olympics Tessa Jowell, he cheerfully described the private train operating companies as "rapacious thieving criminals" and the management of the Post Office as a "dodgy couple" who were "only interested in the bottom line". "Well, there you are," Jowell responded awkwardly.

Livingstone's track record of leadership and competence is without doubt an essential weapon against Johnson's lack of experience and breathtaking inability to master a brief. But the mayor also needs to distance himself from Brown and remind voters of his continuing radical edge if he is to mobilise his strongest support among young, ethnic minority and women voters: from his return of privatised tube lines to public hands, to the extension of free transport to the under-

18s and over-60s, to the requirement that 50% of all new housing be affordable, to the imposition of a pounds 7.20 an hour living wage, to the new pounds 25 congestion charge on gas guzzlers - along with multibillion-pound investment plans for transport, housing and training. To underscore his commitment to the coalition behind him, now stretching from Jowell to George Galloway, Livingstone yesterday committed himself to appointing Greens and Lib Dems to his administration.

The implications of next week's London contest for national politics are obvious. If Livingstone is ousted, it will be a dramatic blow to Labour's attempts to pull itself out of its tailspin and an emblematic boost to David Cameron's efforts to put the Tories in a commanding electoral lead. But if London's mayor were to win a third term, it would be a powerful springboard for the growing challenge to the government's warmed-up Blairism - and an unanswerable demonstration that there are alternative routes to electoral success.

s.milne@guardian.co.uk

Document 26

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Boris failed to declare shares in TV firm

PAUL WAUGH, ALEX CLARKE. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 23, 2008. pg. 8

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TORY candidate Boris Johnson has breached Parliamentary rules by failing to declare his shareholding in a TV production company, the Evening Standard can reveal today.

Mr Johnson owns a third of Finland Station but has not entered them in the MPs' register of members' interests.

Under the MPs' code of conduct any shareholding greater than 15 per cent has to be registered.

The Henley MP has built his mayoral campaign around a pledge to publish the City Hall register of interests on the internet to prove the transparency of his administration. But today's revelation is sure to be seized on by opponents as proof of his lack of competence.

Finland Station which changed its name from Black Rock Productions because another company of that name already existed has produced two history documentaries, *The Flame Of Rome* and *Boris And The Clash Of Civilisations*, which were both presented by Mr Johnson.

Companies House documents obtained by the Standard show that Mr Johnson has owned 33 per cent of the shares in the TV company since it was founded in September 2006 but it has taken almost 20 months to register them. On 28 January, Mr Johnson did declare in the

MPs' register an unspecified income from Finland Station for the making of *The Flame Of Rome* but made no other reference to it.

Finland Station has yet to produce trading accounts, so it is impossible to state how much Mr Johnson's stake in the company he set up with Barnaby Spurrier and John Nicholas is worth.

This is the second time that Mr Johnson has breached the rules on his finances. Earlier this year he was reprimanded by the Electoral Commission for failing to declare correctly [pounds]45,000 in donations.

After being contacted by the Evening Standard, Mr Johnson's campaign team admitted the error and claimed to have immediately placed the shareholding on the MPs' register. They also revealed the amount of income Mr Johnson received from the company.

A spokeswoman said he was not aware of the 15 per cent rule but he took personal responsibility for the "oversight".

"Boris Johnson has declared a payment from Finland Station of [pounds]30,000 as writer and presenter of a documentary.

This is the only income he has received from the company," she said in a statement.

"There have been no dividends paid nor are there expected to be in the near future. Finland Station is properly registered with Companies House as is Boris Johnson's interest in the company..

For more on the elections visit www.standard.co.uk/mayor @ Although he has received no other income from the company, his shareholding has been registered today with Parliament after this matter was brought to his attention. This is an oversight which Boris Johnson takes ultimate responsibility for." Mr Johnson's interest in Finland Station is just one of many outside ventures with which he has had an interest.

He has a [pounds]250,000-a-year contract with the Daily Telegraph, although his column has been suspended during the mayoral campaign.

Mr Johnson is also a regular after-dinner speaker and has recently accumulated [pounds]50,000 in fees.

He also has book contracts worth as much as [pounds]40,000 and as much as [pounds]35,000 in TV fees..

Document 27

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Johnson: I will be a human bridge between rich and poor; [MAYORAL ELECTIONS 8 DAYS TO GO 1]

PAUL WAUGH, ANNE MCELVOY. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 23, 2008. pg. 8

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BORIS JOHNSON pledged today to act as a "human bridge" between London's rich and poor as he declared that dealing with family breakdown would be the central mission of his mayoralty.

In an interview with the Evening Standard, the Tory candidate said he would champion both disadvantaged children and teenagers and the many voluntary groups across the city that are struggling to help them.

He said the "most eye-opening" aspect of the election campaign had been meeting those who had suffered from crime and "fatherlessness" and seeing at first hand the work of charities devoted to getting them back on track.

He said Ken Livingstone's "biggest single failure" as Mayor had been to ignore the work of voluntary groups.

Although improving transport and housing would be among his main tasks, the Henley MP made clear that trying to tackle social breakdown and thereby preventing crime would be his priority.

His Mayor's Fund, which would raise hundreds of millions of pounds from the City, would top up public money to help youth charities.

Mr Johnson said: "It's about using the power and energy of the Mayor to champion disadvantaged kids and give them opportunities and to champion the voluntary sector working with them.

"I want to join up the two halves of London, to be a sort of human bridge between the great, wealth-creating sector and the real anger, disaffection and disadvantage in the surrounding communities." Asked what was the main lesson he had learned from running for Mayor, Mr Johnson replied: "The most eye-opening thing has been looking at what the voluntary sector is doing and that they need the support and encouragement of the Mayor.

"I've started to think that this is where politicians should really be devoting their energies around that whole nexus of issues to do with education, aspiration, giving teenagers and young kids who are going wrong a confidence and hope.

"I suppose that's the experience of fighting the campaign, meeting so many people who have suffered in one way or another."

Mr Johnson, a father of four, said the five-month election campaign had underlined the role of charities.

"Around London, I've seen kids who are being taught to read, learn how to fix motorbikes, write plays, make music, box all manner of things, all by leaders and teachers who are energetic and charismatic," he said.

Helping the worst-off was "very much part of the attraction of the job".

Mr Johnson dismissed Labour's attempts to portray him as out of step with London's ethnic diversity, adding: "There will be important people in the new administration who will be black and who will be Asian and who will represent every community." But when challenged on his wider views on immigration, he appeared uncomfortable.

At first, he sounded the very model of a hardline Tory, saying: "I certainly don't think we should have uncontrolled, uncounted and unfunded immigration.

"Huge numbers came in who weren't properly accounted for and London boroughs have had to deal with the consequences." Yet when asked if there had been too much, too little or just the right amount of immigration to London in recent years, Mr Johnson refused to answer. "I think immigration has done a fantastic amount of good for London's economy," he said. "I have no hostility to immigration per se." He added: "There is an issue about population growth overall. One of the Mayor's advisers said he thought London could comfortably accommodate 30 million people.

That strikes me as a bit high, to put it mildly." If Mr Johnson made a success of being Mayor, would he run for Tory party leader one day? "If we had some ham, we could have ham and eggs if we had any eggs," he said. "Let's win on 1 May."

BORIS ON &

Training teams of non-unionised drivers to smash Tube strikes

"I can't pretend it hasn't crossed my mind. I can't pretend that there aren't lots of people who urge me down this road. But I am absolutely convinced that the first thing you have got to do is to sit down and reason with the moderate people in the RMT. Most people in the RMT do a fantastic job with some pretty antiquated Victorian infrastructure.

They deserve congratulation but they've got to realise that they can't endlessly have their thumbs on our windpipe."

On Transport for London's anti-motorist stance/fares freeze

"Useable road space is endlessly minimised by aggressive kerbing, these obelisks they put in and phasing of the traffic lights. If you look at their manifesto, their charter and aim is to reduce the effective capacity of the road.

Your rage is their joy. That's what these people get off on." What do you get off on? "Public service, working hard. It's a fact that fares are extremely high. I'm just not tempted to say anything more until I am able to see the fare box and work out what the state of TfL's finances is. It would be cheap and easy, a cynical Livingstonian ploy, to make a commitment now about fares."

His private life and perceived lack of seriousness

"I genuinely think, having shaken the hands of thousands and thousands of Londoners for the last five months, even though they are interested for the same good prurient reasons that newspapers are interested they are much more interested in how I'm going to reduce crime on their buses and make their streets safer.

"This is by far the best thing I've ever tried to do. Insofar as I have to be disciplined and committed and all the rest of it, I will do that.

"I know that I simply cannot afford to give the media any sign that I'm not taking it seriously. I do think it is much, much too important to forfeit just for the sake of some image."

Document 28

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Mayoral contest turns on the TV; [COMMENT 1]

Anonymous. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 23, 2008. pg. 12

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WITH LITTLE more than a week to go until the Mayoral election, Boris Johnson has given us his vision of a more inclusive London. In his interview with this paper today he speaks of reaching out to young Londoners whose lives are blighted by social breakdown, and of using the voluntary sector, via his proposed Mayor's Fund, to transform their lives.

Certainly the voluntary sector could make a greater contribution through such funding; small grassroots organisations can turn round the lives of youngsters vulnerable to crime and gang violence.

With this intervention, Mr Johnson is attempting to soften his message and embrace Ken Livingstone's natural supporters. But the contest between the Mayoral candidates has moved to television: after a shaky showing on Newsnight, Boris's performance will be scrutinised on several high-profile TV programmes in the coming week, including Question Time. In general, Mr Johnson has avoided the gaffes that many predicted initially, and his internet campaigning has been sharp. But his conformity with the rules will be questioned today after the revelation in this paper that he failed to declare an interest to the parliamentary registrars in a TV company in which he has a shareholding. He has rightly made transparency on funding and interests a priority for City Hall if he becomes Mayor; he must be seen to lead by example.

While he has maintained his poll lead for some weeks, the most recent poll suggests the race is still on a knife edge: it put him six points ahead including second-preference votes. Taking into account pollsters' margins of error, that leaves the race well within Mr Livingstone's reach if he can manage a modest last-minute surge. Both main candidates are now showing signs of tiredness, while Brian Paddick's recommendation for Lib-Dem voters' crucial second-preference

votes remains uncertain. For Londoners, the message is that every vote counts: it should make for a record turnout on 1 May..

Document 29

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Boris: I'll use the cash seized from drug dealers to fund police; MAYORAL ELECTIONS 9 DAYS TO GO

PIPPA CRERAR. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 22, 2008. pg. 6

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Apr 22, 2008

BORIS Johnson revealed today he plans to use money seized from drug dealers to help the police fight crime.

He promised to use measures in the Proceeds of Crime Bill to allow the Met to keep confiscated cash rather than handing it over to the Home Office.

The Tory candidate said he would fight off any attempt to block him by Home Secretary Jacqui Smith, whom he wants to meet to discuss the plans.

However, the Met already gets back 50 per cent of all assets seized, irrespective of crime, netting them an extra [pounds]1.4 million last year.

Mr Johnson told The Sun: "Everyone I meet in London is worried about crime on the streets, and they know it stems from drugs.

"These crooks are making a fortune by peddling drugs, using the cash to buy luxury homes, flash cars, jewellery, plasma TVs and whatever else.

"London police should know that when they seize such assets they will be allowed to use it to the benefit of Londoners." The money would be used to fund a range of measures including more drug rehabilitation schemes.

Mr Johnson blamed drugs crime for feeding the capital's gang culture, which has led to a series of stabbings and a rise in gun crime.

He made tackling crime the key plank of his manifesto after Londoners made it clear it was their number one priority for the mayor.

Liberal Democrat candidate Brian Paddick denied reports that he would consider taking a job from Mr Johnson if he was elected. There had been rumours the Tory candidate was prepared to offer Mr Paddick the chair of the Metropolitan Police Authority, even though Mr Johnson has said he would take on the role himself to put him in a better position to lobby the Government.

But the former senior police officer said: "He hasn't put it to me." He ruled out any role working with Ken Livingstone - saying the thought of having the Mayor as his boss "sends shivers down my spine".

Later he added: "I could not work with Boris Johnson. Ken Livingstone and Boris Johnson are as bad as each other and I would never serve in either of their administrations." Mr Paddick also refused to say who he would endorse with his second preference votes, which could swing the election, merely suggesting it would not be either of his two main rivals.

He said: "The way democracy works is this - you have different candidates and they try and convince the electorate that they are the best candidate.

"As far as who people vote for after that candidate, that's a matter for them."

Document 30

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Does Ken Livingstone deserve a third term?; (1) That was the question we asked at last night's Evening Standard debate. Here, we report on how the panellists argued for and against the Mayor of London's re-election(2) THE LONDON MAYORAL DEBATE

PIPPA CRERAR, KATHARINE BARNEY. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 22, 2008. pg. 18

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Apr 22, 2008

TESSA Jowell launched a vigorous defence of Ken Livingstone last night after his record at City Hall came under sustained attack. The Minister for London admitted the Mayor was disliked by many Londoners but insisted his Tory rival Boris Johnson would be a disaster for the capital.

She urged voters to base their vote on Mr Livingstone's policies, which she said had helped London become a worldclass city, rather than his personality. Ms Jowell admitted that she and the Mayor had not always seen eye-to-eye but was "proud" to be his campaign co-ordinator.

At an Evening Standard debate on whether he deserved a third term, she criticised "completely unjustified abuse" of the Mayor during the campaign.

"I'm certainly not going to pretend that Ken deserves a third term because he's universally adored by every citizen in London but I am arguing that Ken deserves a third term because he has been an extraordinarily successful Mayor," she said.

"Ken may not be your favourite dinner party companion. But being Mayor of London is one of the biggest jobs and most difficult jobs in public life. Over the next four years there will be enormous and difficult contracts to manage, in particular Crossrail.

"Boris is an amiable entertainer but when his policies come under serious challenge, I would say he is not up to the job and London would be put at risk if Boris Johnson was Mayor. "He is simply not a serious candidate." She listed Mr Livingstone's achievements including increasing public transport use, the C-charge, building more affordable homes, establishing neighbourhood policing, tackling climate change and winning the Olympics.

But shadow schools secretary Michael Gove launched a strong attack on the Mayor. "There are two great charges against Ken. He has treated London as his personal fiefdom and he's using our council tax as his personal kitty," said Mr Gove, a close ally of David Cameron.

"Ken has taken a city which is the most multicultural in the world, and he has divided the city, community against community, in order to ensure that he comes out on top," he said.

"He is playing a very dirty political game, seeking to ramp up sectional, cultural appeal. His divisive agenda has no place in a vibrant, modern, multicultural city. You can see it in the shameless way that Ken tries to paint Boris as a racist." The Tory MP, who has known Mr Johnson since Oxford, added: "Ken has now become the symbol of the very things he ran against in 2000 complacency, arrogance, taking it for granted. It's time we did to him what he did to the political establishment in 2000.

It is true that Boris has less experience but we've all had experience of Ken and that experience has been of grotesque mismanagement and setting London's communities against one another." But Ms Jowell denied the Mayor had tried to divide and rule London's communities: "Ken's view that London is a place for everybody as long as they live by the rules has been very important in defining what kind of city London has become over the last eight years." Historian Tristram Hunt, a New

Labour supporter, claimed that major projects could be at risk if Boris were to win.

He added: "You only have to look at his election campaign where he crawls the outer edges of the Central line, down the dark alley of the District line, with his dog whistle sort of touching up people's concerns about feral youths and bureaucracy at City Hall.

"This is no way to run a city." Both Mr Livingstone's and Mr Johnson's exponents attacked the BNP, with Mr Gove emphatically rejecting any collaboration between the party and the Tory candidate.

Ms Jowell said: "London is perhaps the most international city in the world certainly in the terms of nationality.

Three hundred languages and 200 nationalities and we are seeing a fall in racist attacks. The degree of cohesion in London meant in the immediate aftermath of the terrorist attacks in London there was not a single attack on a Muslim person in London.

"London came together under Ken's leadership. Ken has campaigned his whole political life against racist extremity.

But we all have reason to be worried and whatever party you decide to vote for vote against the BNP." Mr Gove said Boris renounced any endorsement from the BNP: "He regards the BNP as a disgusting group of human beings. He is horrified that anyone that would vote for the BNP would vote for him and has made it perfectly clear where they can stick their endorsement." He said Mr Johnson would rather a non-voter voted for Mr Livingstone than not at all to lessen the chance of a BNP candidate getting enough of a vote to win a seat on the London Assembly.

The panellists virtually came to blows over Olympic funding and regeneration of the East End.

Andrew Gilligan said: "Ken's Olympics will be one of the biggest turkeys of all time. It's a disaster. if you want to spend [pounds]10 million or [pounds]20 billion pounds on regenerating the East End, spend the money on regenerating the East End don't spend it on a load of stadia that will be used for 16 days. It's a terrible disaster waiting to happen the Olympics." But Ms Jowell insisted that 73p of every pound going to the Olympics would be spent on developing the land. However, this figure was disputed by Andrew Gilligan..

YES

TESSA JOWELL The Minister for the Olympics is also the Mayor's campaign manager

MS JOWELL said: "London is a world-class city and Ken has become a world-class mayor. That is widely recognised by leaders of other capital cities around the world. He has been extraordinarily successful in building the reputation of London and making it a great city to live in. The challenge of the next four years is to make it even better." She said Mr Livingstone's greatest achievements include: increasing investment in public transport by 50 per cent; doubling the stock of affordable housing; introducing neighbourhood policing across London and drawing up "the most comprehensive plan ever" to cut carbon dioxide emissions.

She dismissed Boris Johnson as an "amiable entertainer", adding: "When his policies are put under serious scrutiny, like the actual cost of replacing bendy buses or tough sentences when dealing with gun crime, I see he's not up to the job.

"Ken may not be your favourite dinner party companion but he deserves a third term and, more importantly, London needs Ken.

"I would go for experience and invite Boris Johnson for dinner instead."

NO

MICHAEL GOVE Shadow secretary for children, schools and families

MR GOVE condemned the Mayor for inviting controversial Islamic preacher, Yusuf Al-Qaradawi to City Hall, for spending taxpayers' money on fact-finding trips to Cuba and Venezuela and for blighting London's landscape by granting planning permission for tower-blocks and skyscrapers.

He added: "What has Ken ever done for the poor? He's patronised them and used them as a stage army in order to cast himself as a crusader.

"He's been in Caracas when he should have been concentrating on helping the poor in our own boroughs who have been so grievously let down." Rebutting Tessa Jowell's claims about the Mayor's achievements, he said: "On his watch, violent crime has increased and the proportion of affordable housing in new developments has dropped and not increased." He added that Mr Livingstone had reneged on his pledges to keep Routemaster buses and respect public consultations.

"Ken has now become the symbol of the very thing he ran against in 2000: complacency, arrogance and taking us for granted.

"If Boris does nothing other than get rid of Ken, he will have done all of us a favour."

YES

TRISTRAM HUNT Historian, author, columnist, broadcaster and Labour supporter

DR HUNT dismissed Michael Gove's attack on the Mayor as "what the mid-Victorians would have called the voice of the reactionary shopocracy".

He said: "London is at its best when it is governed from the centre, when we have a strong, progressive administration working from the centre. We need a powerful hand on the tiller, a City Hall of leadership that Ken has and Boris would put at risk." He added: "The Congestion Charge didn't happen by accident.

New York and Edinburgh have just flunked it. It takes political balls to deliver.

"The same is true of Crossrail, Oyster Cards and the Olympics. To deliver the policing reforms meant taking on the borough commanders. All this is at risk if Boris wins." Defending Mr Livingstone against allegations of cultural and ethnic "divide and rule" he said: "You just need to leaf through the pages of the Spectator in the Nineties when Boris edited this magazine and you would have more than your fair share of sectarianism and division. Do you want that running London? No! "Ken deserves a third, but in my view, final term."

NO

ANDREW GILLIGAN Columnist and reporter for the Evening Standard

"I AM a Lefty," said Mr Gilligan, "and like so many people on the Left I had a political crush on Ken, I wanted to have his babies, metaphorically speaking unlike so many women who want them in the literal sense.

Then I joined the Evening Standard and started to investigate his record.

"The most telling words ever spoken about Ken were said by Neil Kinnock. They were: 'Everyone likes Ken except the people who know him.' "What happened when I joined the Standard was I got to know him not personally but politically.

"Most of Ken's achievements are little or nothing to do with him, or just lies. The economy was already booming when he came into office, as was bus travel. The percentage of new housing that was affordable was 34 per cent and it is 34 per cent now.

CO2 emissions have risen in the last two years whereas they have been static in Britain as a whole.

"Ken said he would seek only to serve one term in office before he became Mayor. What we have seen since is decay and atrophy." On Boris Johnson, he said: "When he was editor of the Spectator he was crap at the general day-to-day stuff but he's not going to have to do that.

"But he was brilliant at strategic decisions."

Document 31

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Ken: Fatal flaw in Johnson plan to bring back Routemasters

PAUL WAUGH, PIPPA CRERAR. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 22, 2008. pg. 7

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Apr 22, 2008

BORIS JOHNSON'S plans for new Routemaster buses could kill more than 10 people a year through passengers falling off the back of them, Ken Livingstone has claimed.

In an ITV London debate, the Mayor warned that his rival's plans would never get off the drawing board because no manufacturer would want to be sued over deaths or injuries caused by the open-backed buses.

But Mr Johnson hit back, countering that his new design would be safer than the bendy buses they would replace. He also declared that he wanted all bus crime to be wiped out a "100 per cent reduction" during his first four-year term at City Hall.

The debate, to be screened on ITV1 tonight, saw Mr Livingstone, Mr Johnson and Liberal Democrat Brian Paddick clash repeatedly in their rowdiest televised hustings to date.

With just over a week to go before polling day, all three candidates were heckled and jeered as they sought to score points against each other on everything from transport to crime, to their fitness for office.

The Mayor used the debate to unleash a fresh attack on Mr Johnson's [pounds]100 million plans to phase out bendy buses and replace them with a new generation of disabled-friendly Routemasters.

He said: "No one will design one because people would be liable to be sued by the relatives of people who fell off the back and died.

"You used to have double figures every year for people falling off the buses." Mr Livingstone later said that he was referring to figures from the early Nineties, when Routemasters were last in use on a major scale.

He said that in the Seventies, when the bus made up half the fleet, around 20 people a year died in accidents, caused mainly when people tried to hop on the back of a bus, missed and were then run over.

Mr Johnson dismissed the claims, declaring "bendy buses are twice as dangerous as any other bus". He pointed to figures showing that there have been twice as many pedestrian and cyclists injuries involving the articulated buses as normal buses.

Today Mr Livingstone continued the attack by criticising Mr Johnson's lack of proposals for the Tube. The Mayor said it gave Londoners a "crystal clear choice" on which candidate was better suited to run the capital's transport network.

On a visit to a central London Tube station, he compared his record with that of his Tory rival. "I have put forward a clear programme and management for the Tube in this election, whereas Boris Johnson has produced complete incoherence on a [pounds]1 billion a year programme for a system on which three million Londoners travel every day," he said.

London's Mayor You Decide, will be broadcast on ITV London at 10.35pm MORE REPORTS:
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Document 32

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Muslims4Ken in racist slur on Johnson; The Londoner's Diary

Anonymous. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 22, 2008. pg. 14

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ANOTHER race row has engulfed the election for Mayor of London as it enters its final lap. Muslims4Ken, which supports Ken Livingstone's campaign, is accused of using invented or distorted quotes from Boris Johnson to portray him as a racist on its website.

There is a quote attributed to Johnson that racism is natural to imply approval of racism. But the full quote reads: It is common ground among both Right-wingers and Left-wingers that racism is natural, in that it seems to arise organically, in all civilisations. It is as natural as sewage. We all agree that it is disgusting, a byproduct of humanity's imperfect evolution. The question is, what to do with the effluent?

The Muslims4Ken website goes on, in its section headed Boris Johnson in his own words to include the quote: Black people have lower IQs. But they are not his own words. They were the words of Taki Theodoropoulos. It is true that Boris Johnson was editor of The Spectator where Taki's column appeared but that is hardly the same as Boris himself making the remarks.

The Muslims4Ken group has a key role in seeking to win an estimated 200,000 Muslim votes to re-elect the Mayor. But it has already attracted controversy. Its leaders include Palestinian-born Azzam Tamimi, a supporter of Hamas, the militant group dedicated to the creation of an Islamic state of Palestine. Tamimi has praised suicide bombers and said he would volunteer for a suicide mission in Palestine.

For us Muslims martyrdom is not the end of things but the beginning of the most wonderful of things, he has said. If I can go to Palestine and sacrifice myself I would do it. Why not?

Document 33

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BORIS: I'M DOWN WITH THE ETHNICS

Anonymous. New Nation. London: Apr 21, 2008. , Iss. 584; pg. 2, 1 pgs

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BORIS JOHNSON has bizarrely claimed he is 'down with the ethnics'. Speaking on BBC local radio last week, the Tory candidate for London mayor told a presenter 'I'm down with the ethnics. You can't out-ethnic me'.

Johnson, the great-grandson of Ali Kemal, a Turkish politician, managed to sound even more ridiculous than his party leader David Cameron who once told black community radio listeners in Brent to 'keep it real'.

Boris is certainly down in the opinion polls with the ethnics. Last week New Nation reported that 56% of black Londoners supported Ken Livingstone against just 15% for Johnson.

Boris' scringemaking remark came the day after he was forced to distance himself from the British National Party. Asked at a hustings why the BNP was urging its supporters to choose him as their second choice candidate, he replied: 'I do not want a single BNP supporter to vote for me.'

And Johnson also took the opportunity to apologise for numerous negative articles about the black community that appeared in the Spectator magazine while he was editor.

'My comments have caused great offence and I have said time and time again that I am heartily sorry. These words were taken out of context.'

London Mayor Ken Livingstone promised to double youth provision over the next two years, and to introduce hand held scanners that would detect when criminals were carrying a weapon.

'Everywhere I go in London, youths tell me that they have nothing to do. The church can do much more than any local authority can do on it's own. We want a mandatory prison sentence for anyone who carried a knife or a gun.'

Hustings organiser Reverend Nims Obunge said that the black vote would decide who became the Mayor of London in May. The event was organised by the Peace Alliance and Ruach Ministries in Kilburn, west London.

Document 34

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Boris Johnson

Roland White. Sunday Times. London (UK): Apr 20, 2008. pg. 17

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Good news for Boris Johnson, would-be mayor of London. No matter how much he annoys people, they'll still vote for him. Calvin Trillin, of *The New Yorker* magazine, asked a cabbie about the London election. The driver replied with a furious denunciation, from personal experience, of Boris's cycling style. "You're going to vote against him?" assumed Trillin. "Oh no," said the driver. "I'd rather have George W Bush for mayor than f***** Livingstone."

Document 35

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One point separates Ken and Boris

Anonymous. The Independent on Sunday. London (UK): Apr 20, 2008. pg. 28

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:: LONDON MAYOR

A new poll on the London mayoral election suggests that there is just a single point between the two front-runners. Research for 'The Sunday Times' puts Ken Livingstone, the current Mayor, narrowly ahead of his Tory rival, Boris Johnson, on 45 per cent and 44 per cent respectively. The Liberal Democrat hopeful, Brian Paddick, was a distant third on 9 per cent.

Document 36

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Charmer Boris, a one-man Messiah; Ken's big rival is a crowd magnet on the streets and ahead in the polls. Now, more than ever, the mayoral election is his to lose

KEITH DOVKANTS. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 18, 2008. pg. 18

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Apr 18, 2008

BORIS JOHNSON climbed out of his car, swept back his hair and made a visible effort to straighten up. There was something leaden in his stride and although he was smiling, the famously cherubic features were drawn.

"He's dog-tired," someone whispered.

Frankly, he looked it.

As the Mayoral election moves towards its climax, Boris is cramming in more meetings, more interviews, yet more broadcasts and hustings. From the moment he is picked up early each morning from his house in Islington then dropped back, often very late at night, he grinds away at a schedule more gruelling than either of his main rivals. The pace may be tough, but it appears to be paying off. Boris is ahead in the polls, he is the bookies' favourite and there is a growing sense that this election is his to lose.

Boris knows he cannot slow down.

There are suspicions in his camp that Ken Livingstone is about to unleash what one informed observer described as "the Armageddon strategy". Ken, it was noted, appears to have spent little of his election war chest so far, a sign that he may be gearing up for a massive push in the remaining 13 days of campaigning.

Ken, too, seems tired. He was half-an-hour late for a radio debate yesterday and although he has often appeared disdainful of those challenging him for what he seems to believe is his by divine right, there can be little doubt he is feeling every one of his 62 years.

And this election is being fought on political terrain not of his choosing.

Labour the party he clamoured to rejoin is like a dead weight on his back. The Conservatives are 16 per cent ahead in the polls nationally, Gordon Brown is the most unpopular prime minister since at least Neville Chamberlain and voters may use the coming local election to punish both him and Labour.

Ken knows he may also reap the whirlwind stirred by eight years of turning City Hall into a personal bailiwick, riven by cronyism, corruption and massive spending, not least on creating a cult of his own personality. He goes into the last two weeks of campaigning aware that he is fighting not just for his job but for his political life.

Can Boris fend off what is likely to be one of the most determined charges since Balaclava? The answer may depend on which Boris we are talking about. The Boris of celebrity fame is the one we know best, the fluffy-haired prankster of *Have I Got News For You?*; bad boy of the Tory front bench and author of a newspaper column peppered with controversial opinions and an arcane vocabulary.

This was the Boris who came to the mayoral race with a permanently-lit neon sign over his head flashing BUFFOON.

The received opinion was that Boris simply couldn't cut it because he is one of life's jokers, in thrall to his own talent to amuse. Besides, it was argued, he doesn't really want it. He's pulling down half a million a year from journalism, TV and elsewhere. Why should he beat his brains out at City Hall for a measly [pounds]130,000? He's standing for mayor, it was said, only because David Cameron wanted him to and the Conservatives couldn't find anyone better.

Some of that may be true but a new truth has entered the battle for London.

Cut to the scene a few nights ago when Boris walked into a meeting in Knightsbridge. A group of French and Belgian expatriates in London had invited the three main Mayoral candidates to talk to the Francophone community. It was organised by a charming banker, Laurent Ferniou, who told me that Boris was the only one who offered to turn up.

Exhausted from the campaign trail, Boris's rivals may have thought an evening with a bunch of Francophones was an effort too far.

That might have been a mistake.

M Ferniou explained that among London's estimated 300,000 French speakers there is a huge potential vote. European union nationals who pay council tax can take part in the London elections and, he said, many will.

The venue was the Royal Thames Yacht Club, a teak-panelled haven on Knightsbridge, overlooking Rotten Row and decorated with fine portraits of famous boats and distinguished members, including the Duke of Edinburgh, painted in his yachting heyday. The room was packed with close to 300 people and they gave Boris a polite, but restrained, welcome.

That was to change. He launched into his set-piece speech, delivering promises on cutting crime, providing homes for those who could not afford them, improving transport.

It was the usual election campaign fare. Then Boris began speaking in French. It was a touch jerky but he spoke clearly and with a passable accent.

The regime of "Monsieur Leavingsoon" he said, was "pourri" rotten. Change was needed "Voilà! Je vous conseille votez moi!" It brought the house down. Suddenly, the tiredness was gone and Boris was taking questions, firing back answers on everything from introducing a rent-abike scheme (like the one in Paris) to an amnesty for long-stay illegal immigrants.

When it was over they clapped and cheered. Boris had managed to combine a star-quality performance with serious politics. It was a potent mix that even a month or two ago seemed unlikely.

Iain Dale, the political commentator and blogger, said the change has been remarkable: "I wasn't sure about Boris at first," he said. "I thought: 'Is this going to work?' He did make some disastrous mistakes but I don't get the impression his team are taping his mouth up now. He seems to have grown into the role. Boris can walk down a street and a crowd will gather round him. That's crucial. People see him as someone who is not a machine politician and he appeals to those who may not even have thought of voting." A swift straw poll among the Francophones suggested many who heard him at the Royal Thames will vote for him. "I like him," magazine director Sabine Vandenbroucke told me. "He's a great character and he has good ideas." Perhaps. The important lesson from Boris's evening with the French and Belgians was that, even knocked out by a cruel timetable, he can bounce back with energy and conviction, at least in that company. This, after all, was a constituency to which Boris could relate.

Many of the expatriates hold down big jobs in the City. They are part of an elite with which Boris feels comfortable.

But London is not composed entirely of elites. What of the nitty-gritty of London life? Yesterday morning Boris took part in a radio debate with Ken and

Lib-Dem candidate, Brian Paddick, for the BBC's Asian network. It was staged in a cafe in Stratford and it seemed to go quite well for Boris until he tackled Paddick, the former police commander in Lambeth, over his "softly softly" policy on cannabis. It had not been effective, Boris said, and it had given out the wrong signal to children. .

PADDICK has proved himself a sharp performer in this campaign and he came back with a verbal rapier thrust.

During his time in Lambeth, he said, police had seized 110 per cent more cannabis and made 20 per cent more arrests for hard drugs than before.

Boris was at a loss. His experience of the back streets of Brixton can only be guessed at and he had nothing with which to parry the ex-cop's attack. He mumbled an apology. "In that case Brian ... I'm sorry," he said. "I misunderstood you. I will happily withdraw that." Boris has spent months getting on top of his subject. He has pored over reports and analyses of transport policy, housing policy, crime fighting and everything else that goes with the job of mayor. But he is unlikely to match Ken's grasp of detail on any of this and, from yesterday's performance, it would be folly to go head-to-head with Paddick on crime. And while he seems to have found a persona that combines his innate showbiz with an ability to inspire confidence on serious issues, he still lacks the sharpness for which Ken is justly renowned.

Witness the Newsnight debate of 10 days ago. Boris seemed wooden when he delivered his pitch; a self-conscious head boy among some very grown-up people.

At one point he said he wanted to build "lots more wonderful new houses".

Jeremy Paxman spared him no quarter but the lowest moment for the Boris camp came when, in a rare lapse, Ken offered up his jugular.

Ken had been forced on to the defensive over the appalling safety record of bendy buses and the horrific death of a passenger who was dragged under one as he got off. For reasons known only to himself, Ken blurted out something about the dead man being intoxicated and "massively over the limit".

Here was an opportunity for Boris to come back with what most people watching at home were thinking when they heard Ken's outburst shame on you! To defend a political decision by blackening the name of a man killed in a tragic accident one of many on Ken's beloved bendies was a low blow, even for a streetfighter like Ken.

But Boris let it go. Does he lack the killer instinct that is so vital at this level, or has his metamorphosis produced a man whose ideas of statesmanship include a notion that you don't stoop to the level of your opponent? Stephan Shakespeare, the pollster and co-founder of YouGov, thinks Boris has indeed changed: "He is more centred.

You see now someone who is thinking clearly and getting a serious message across. There was a cloak of buffoonery, but he seems to have cast it aside."

WILL it be enough to bring the change at City Hall many feel is overdue? Shakespeare noted that with a strong incumbent like Ken, the challenger has to be a long way ahead at this stage. As polling day nears, he said, the electorate becomes nervous. The idea of change becomes less attractive. What if it means change for the worse? Many may worry about who will do the top jobs. Why doesn't Boris name his team? The answer is he can't, for precisely the same reasons that hampered Ken in 2000. The reality is that behind the scenes a transition team has been quietly put into place and a range of advisers, including experts on the City and arts, has been lined up. But the executives who have been identified for the vital roles in running London are

already in high-powered positions and could hardly be expected to reveal their intentions ahead of an election that has yet to be won.

The list includes more than half a dozen executives from the very top drawer. An indication of their standing can be gauged from the announcement that Barclays chief Bob Diamond has already accepted the job of running Boris's proposed Mayor's Fund.

Boris may be ahead but no one can predict the result of a contest that everyone agrees is too close to call. We can be sure of something that may have been in doubt before: Boris badly wants to be mayor. Those close to him say it would be a mistake to imagine his former playful demeanour was a sign of ambivalence. "He believes he can win this," one said. "He is going to fight to the last gasp."

Document 37

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Tory mayor is a big risk for City says Balls; MAYORAL ELECTIONS 13 DAYS TO GO

PAUL WAUGH. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 18, 2008. pg. 8

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CABINET minister Ed Balls today warned that the election of Boris Johnson would be a "major risk" for the City of London and the capital's economy in general.

The Schools Secretary and former City minister declared that the Tory candidate for Mayor had no track record in managing big budgets and could be "duped" by private sector negotiators for Crossrail and other major transport projects.

Speaking alongside Ken Livingstone for the first time on the campaign trail, Mr Balls also said he worried about Mr Johnson's ability to "fight hard" for Londoners in negotiations with the Treasury.

Mr Balls said that even some of Mr Johnson's supporters in the City were "publicly and privately" worried about his ability to manage City Hall's [pounds]11 billion budget and the huge transport projects for which the Mayor was responsibly.

"Boris Johnson would be a major risk for the economy and the City of London because decisions taken by the Mayor on planning and transport are crucial to the financial services of this capital.

"If you get those decisions wrong, if you negotiate a bad deal, if you can't make your sums add up, if you get duped by wily private sector negotiators, then that will be a disaster," he said.

Mr Balls said that when he was City minister he was impressed that in the capital, and whenever he travelled abroad, Mr Livingstone was regarded as a tough negotiator and ambassador for London.

"Boris Johnson has no serious experience or track record of managing substantial budgets or any previous commitment to this city. London is doing very well right now, but New York, Frankfurt, Mumbai and other cities are looking all the time at how to exploit any advantage and are looking at every issue.

"London cannot afford to make any mistakes." Mr Balls conceded that when he had been Gordon Brown's chief economic adviser at the Treasury in Labour's first two terms, Mr Livingstone had often been at odds with the government.

"But I can tell you we never came across a tougher negotiator at the Treasury than Ken Livingstone.

"In my seven or eight years at the Treasury, particularly on the Tube, we knew Ken was the person who was going to fight his corner hardest." The minister had joined the Mayor in Camberwell to unveil a new [pounds]80 million pledge to provide extra youth facilities to keep young people off the streets and away from crime.

Mr Balls, speaking at the Hollington Club for Young People, endorsed Mr Livingstone's promise to fund youth clubs, sports schools, music studios and "safe places" to keep teenagers off the streets.

The Government has already given City Hall some [pounds]79 million to fund such facilities over the next two years.

The Mayor announced today that he would find a similar amount from his own budget to keep facilities going for a further two years, until 2012.

The pledge, which will be paid for by the London Development Agency, means that nearly [pounds]160 million will be spent on youth activities throughout a Livingstone third term if he wins. In a clear indication of how seriously the Government is treating the mayoral race, Mr Balls is the third Cabinet minister in five days to appear alongside Mr Livingstone on the stump, after Gordon Brown and David Miliband..

For more on the elections visit [@](http://www.standard.co.uk/mayor)

Document 38

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Boris, Ken and Brian hang out

EMMA JACOBS. Financial Times. London (UK): Apr 18, 2008. pg. 12

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Like spying your dad sashay on to the dance floor, watching politicians engage with the "common people" is usually best done through the gaps between your fingers. From Gordon Brown's rendition of Mariah Carey's "Touch my Body" on American Idol - sorry, his announcement on the US talent show of a Pounds 100m gift towards buying mosquito nets in the third world - to the very Daveness of David Cameron, such attempts are rarely successful.

So, as the first British election to play out on social networking sites (the Lib-Dem leadership contest does not count), the London mayoral race offers a glimpse of what engagement with the electorate really looks like. Brian Paddick is the only candidate to brave the noisy, flashing teen playground MySpace. It is Facebook, whose members are older, richer and better educated that is the politicians' preferred stomping ground.

Yet if politicians really are listening, it is only Mr Paddick who is polite enough to reply. At first he thanked his Facebook friends for their comments such as Hannah's: "Just read (an) interview with you which solidified my support for you as London mayor (unfortunately I'm only 16 and don't live in London . . . ". "Thanks Hannah!" (the use of the exclamation mark revealing he is "down with the kids"; or an exuberant Labrador puppy). However, as his friendship network expands he drops the personal touch for perfunctory referrals to parts of his manifesto. Maybe it demonstrates politicians necessarily lose touch with their voters as their numbers swell. Or perhaps someone finally remembered Mr Paddick has form on web discussions. This is the man once dubbed "Commander Crackpot" by the redtops when as Lambeth police commander he posted comments on the anarchist website Urban 75 and mused that the concept of anarchy had always intrigued him.

Boris Johnson, who on his profile lists QVC among his favourite TV programmes, quotes his grandmother's wisdom - "Always remember darling, it's not how you're doing, it's what you're doing" - and extends his recent strategy of keeping his mouth shut unless on a podium or in front of a TV camera to his Facebook site. Maybe some of his supporters should do the same? What to make of Rachelle, whose campaigning strategy is to "shout Vote Boris . . . as I run for the train". Or another who is putting a cross by the Tory candidate's name because "I look like you when I put on weight. If you win the election then I will eat loads of pies & be your stunt double! PS you're great - go boris." Political debate falls into two camps: Mr Johnson's corn-yellow mop ("I want to feel his hair", "Dear Boris, Would you kindly refashion your hair into a style more appropriate for a future mayor of London?") and anti-Livingstone ("My wife often sees K in Waitrose on the Finchley Road. She refuses to throw eggs at him but maybe someone else will stake the place out").

If mayors were selected on the basis of the number of Facebook gifts they received, Ken Livingstone would be a shoo-in. With at least four Facebook identities, none of which is official, he has received at last count, five presents, including a pumpkin pie and a glitterball. It is tricky to determine who will win on the basis of the number of the candidates' friends as Mr Livingstone's are distributed among his multiple identities; though the winner is not Mr Paddick. As with most things, except perhaps, elections, it is not the quantity but the quality that matters. On this, Mr Livingstone would do well to ditch some of his friends, particularly the vocal "Teen Wolf" whose discourse is peppered with abuse of the Labour candidate.

Tomorrow Mr Paddick holds a live webchat with Londoners. If politicians do indeed want to engage with the electorate, let Facebook be a lesson in what some of them sound like.

emma.jacobs@ft.com

Document 39

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A police cadet force in every high school under Mayor's youth manifesto; MAYORAL ELECTIONS 14 DAYS TO GO

PAUL WAUGH. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 17, 2008. pg. 7

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Apr 17, 2008

POLICE cadet forces in every London secondary school and half-price travel for teenagers in their first job were promised by Ken Livingstone today as he unveiled his youth manifesto.

The Mayor's wide-ranging New Deal for Young Londoners also includes plans for an Oystercard-type scheme to help parents pay for childcare, gun and knife scanners for schools and cheaper Tube fares for students.

With suicide the largest single cause of death of 15-25-year-olds in the capital, the manifesto promises to set up a London-wide network of mental health counsellors specifically trained to deal with younger adults.

In a pitch for the youth vote that could ensure his re-election, Mr Livingstone said nearly all his policies from tackling climate change to building more homes were aimed at the under-25s.

Some 350,000 people will vote for the first time in the mayoral elections on 1 May and Labour believes it has a healthy lead among younger voters.

The Metropolitan Police cadets pledge will roll out across London a scheme that allows young people to prepare for a career with the force while building discipline within state schools.

Today's New Deal plan promised to double spending on youth services to [pounds]79million in the next two years, mainly to give teenagers alternatives to a life of crime.

Among the key policies are: Weapons scanners for schools affected by gang crime.

Extending the current half-price travel for those on income support to include those in their first six months in a new job.

1,000 apprenticeships with London Underground and other City Hall- run bodies.

Capping students' daily Oyster fares at 30 per cent of a daily travelcard cost.

Making every residential street a 20mph zone to cut accident levels for children.

A new victim support scheme for young people mugged or attacked.

The Mayor will extend the Kickz summer sports programme run by the Premier League and Football Foundation so there are two projects in every borough.

As well as continuing to fund 10,000 affordable childcare places, the manifesto pledges to set up a new Oyster-type debit card enabling parents to access the childcare provider of their choice.

The debit card could be credited with childcare tax credit and early education grant entitlements, as well as employer supported childcare contributions.

Unveiling his plans in Kilburn today, Mr Livingstone said his proposals offered state-funded help in contrast to Boris Johnson's plans to set up a charitable foundation for the city.

"The policies in this New Deal for Young Londoners are real multi-million pound action to help build a better future for London, not the waffle based on charity handouts favoured by Boris Johnson," he said. "A quarter of London's

MORE REPORTS: PAGE ^) ANTI- SEMITISM AND KEN: PAGES I ^) & 1 ^ population is under the age of 19 and they are the city's future.

"Living in an exciting, thriving diverse world city offers London's young people incredible opportunities, but it also creates unique problems for many of them.

"All my policies will have an important impact on the future of London's young people. My plans to act to reduce the threat of catastrophic climate change are especially strongly supported by young people. And my proposals for more affordable homes to rent and buy are vital for young people starting out in life."

Document 40

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How Boris the Mayor could be a revolutionary

Anatole Kaletsky. The Times. London (UK): Apr 17, 2008. pg. 19

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* The battle for London need not be so lacklustre

Why has the London election, which seemed a few weeks ago to be on the point of capturing the public imagination, degenerated into a dull Punch and Judy show that even London's local papers can scarcely bring themselves to report?

The lack of interest can be partly put down to the cynicism of the media, whose coverage has revolved almost entirely around the personalities of the candidates and their gaffes - or for the most part, the absence of notable gaffes, which has been a bitter disappointment from the point of view of journalists. This bias has, of course, been justified by the larger-than-life and buffoonish character of the main candidates. As a result, the dinner-party consensus among the chattering classes has turned this election into a question over whether Ken Livingstone or Boris Johnson is the less likely to self-destruct.

Yet this conventional wisdom is completely wrong. Mr Johnson and Mr Livingstone, far from being blundering political innocents, are both politicians of the first rank. Mr Livingstone not only managed to outmanoeuvre and humiliate both Tony Blair and Gordon Brown by becoming the first Mayor of London, but proved himself to be the only British politician of his generation to confront Margaret Thatcher and win in the long run. Mr Johnson cannot, yet, claim any such electoral triumphs, but he has managed to survive verbal gaffes and personal scandals as serious as the ones that ended the career of David Blunkett and a host of Tory Cabinet ministers from the Thatcher years.

Perhaps, then, the farcical character of the London election reflects the lack of interest among voters in local issues. Is it that Londoners do not really care about the policies that fall within the mayor's purview: transport and congestion; crime and policing; pollution, housing and urban planning? To ask this question is to answer it. The list of the mayor's main responsibilities reads like a transcript of almost any bar-room conversation in London. It is, in fact, almost identical to the issues that voters say they are most concerned with when opinion pollsters ask them.

What, then, is the problem with London politics? And what are the chances that either of the two main mayoral candidates will manage to overcome it and emerge, despite the catcalls from the media, as a serious political figure in two weeks' time?

It seems to me there are two main reasons why Britain refuses to take this election seriously, and they have little to do with the personalities involved. The first is the generalised disdain for local politics in Britain's uniquely overcentralised system of government. Because local government is constitutionally nothing more than an agency of Westminster and Whitehall, British politicians with national ambitions are naturally contemptuous of local politics.

Instead of being treated as co-equal with national politics, or at least as a natural pathway to national power, as it is in America, France, Germany and most other democratic countries, involvement in local politics is treated by the British Establishment as either a pitiful consolation prize or, in the case of London, which cannot be denied some status, as a practical joke.

The second reason for the low esteem towards the office of London mayor is related to this overcentralisation, but ought to be easier for the candidates in this election to overcome. This second problem is the power of vested interests and pressure groups that take advantage of the lack of public interest in local government to pursue their single-issue objectives and to subvert or paralyse the few powers that local councils do possess.

To see what I mean, consider just one example of the sort of issues that should have dominated the London election, but which have scarcely surfaced above the nonsensical hubbub about gaffes and jokes.

Starting with transport, both main candidates have criticised the dysfunctional Public Private Partnership that runs London Transport and opposed plans for a third runway at Heathrow airport. But because both of the schemes are being imposed on London through the explicit personal direction of Gordon Brown - and continue to enjoy his direct personal backing - Mr Livingstone can have no credibility on these issues.

Mr Johnson, on the other hand, could be making a big theme of his opposition to Labour transport policies, and especially to the unpopular expansion of Heathrow. David Cameron could offer Mr Johnson invaluable support in this campaign by making an explicit promise to abandon the expansion of Heathrow and to reconsider the management of London Transport if the Conservatives come to national power. Such explicit promises on airport expansion and transport management would be popular with the voters of London and Labour would, by definition, be unable to match them.

Anyone who lives in London and considers politics for just a few minutes a day could think of a host of other ways by which local life could be improved through a new partnership between local and national government. These range from tightening the laws on knife possession and extending the responsibilities of traffic wardens to act as eyes and ears for the police on the streets of London to such elementary, and almost cost-free, improvements as the creation of cycle routes across the Royal Parks. Other improvements could be the erection of sound-baffles on the Westway and elevated sections of the M4 and M11 motorways running through some of the most densely populated areas of London, or the introduction of lane rentals, which would allow local authorities to charge utility companies for the congestion they cause by digging up the streets of London.

Such policies have never been seriously considered because of the vested interests - ranging from the police union to the utility companies - that have deflected public attention from them or successfully opposed them, in the case of lane rentals, even after the necessary legislation has been passed by Parliament five years ago.

The Tories now have a perfect opportunity to cure this paralysing disconnection between local and national government in Britain by taking the London election seriously and getting their candidate elected by committing themselves in advance to national decisions such as abandonment of Heathrow expansion or changes in the policing of London's streets. In doing this, the Tories would put themselves on the path to national power and create a suitable platform for Boris Johnson, one of their most able and charismatic politicians, to show what his party could achieve.

The only shame would be that another of Britain's most able politicians, Ken Livingstone, would be defeated in the process. But then, if the Tory plan were fully successful, there would soon be another job for the outgoing Mayor of London to aspire to. How about the leadership of the Labour Party for Ken after Gordon Brown's defeat in the general election - which would surely follow a victory for Boris in London?

Document 41

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Boris isn't serious enough to run London, says Miliband; MAYORAL ELECTIONS 15 DAYS TO GO

www.standard.co.uk/mayor

PIPPA CRERAR. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 16, 2008. pg. 7

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Apr 16, 2008

LABOUR'S big guns were out canvassing for Ken Livingstone today amid fears that losing London could have national repercussions.

David Miliband, bookmakers' favourite to succeed Gordon Brown, warned voters that Boris Johnson was not serious enough to run the capital.

The Foreign Secretary said the Mayor had put London at the top of international leagues and his Conservative rival would "fritter that away" if elected.

Campaigning in Palmers Green, he said: "Boris Johnson may be bored on the backbenches but London is a great international city not a toy.

"London needs strong leadership from Ken Livingstone, not entertainment for Boris Johnson. It has taken 10 years to put London at the top of the international leagues. It is vital that the next 10 years do not fritter that away." His backing came as Labour figures admitted privately that losing London could be damaging for the Prime Minister. Publicly, they insist the race is not a referendum on the Government but about issues affecting the capital.

Mr Miliband told voters that in "each and every one" of the 20 countries he had visited as Foreign Secretary the capital was a source of admiration and envy.

"Over the last 10 years it has come to stand for something simple: the one to beat. In terms of its economy, its culture, its people, its daring, its resilience, it is world class. That doesn't happen by accident; it takes leadership," he said.

"Ken Livingstone has provided the vision that has helped London reclaim its place as the number one international city. And critically London is moving forward not standing still. The best thing about Ken is that he is restless for more change not satisfied with the status quo." Minister for London Tessa Jowell was out on the stump for Mr Livingstone in north London yesterday.

Meanwhile, an influential study found today that the contest between Mr Livingstone and Mr Johnson is "too close to call".

The London Communications Agency report suggested the result would depend on second preference votes.

Crucially, it could turn on whether Lib-Dem Brian Paddick endorses either of his main rivals, which he has so far refused to do.

It comes after a YouGov poll for the Evening Standard showed Mr Johnson's lead over his Labour rival had halved in a week. "Both candidates can win," the study said.

"Ken needs to explain how his record to date has benefited London and adopt a more consensual tone of voice. He needs to remind people of the cheeky chappy Londoners liked in the first place. Boris needs to convince voters that he is up to the job as well as just being likeable." It concluded that only the Labour or Tory candidates stood a realistic chance of winning.

London local government expert Tony Travers said: "There is some evidence there is a small lead for one candidate but this is so small you have to call it a 'to the wire' contest." The LCA said there would be 10 new faces on the London Assembly although its overall make-up would remain almost the same nine Tories, seven Labour, five Lib-Dems, with the Green party up one to three seats and Ukip gaining one seat..

Document 42

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Boris: Bank chief will be one of my City Hall aides; MAYORAL ELECTIONS 16 DAYS TO GO

www.standard.co.uk/mayor

PIPPA CRERAR. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 15, 2008. pg. 7

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Apr 15, 2008

BORIS JOHNSON today named Barclays Capital boss Bob Diamond as one of his key advisers for City Hall.

The City's best-known banker would help him set up and run the multimillion pound Mayor's Fund, which will give money to some of the poorest Londoners.

The announcement came as a boost to Mr Johnson, who has been under intense pressure to reveal who will advise him if he wins the mayoral election.

The Tory candidate has faced regular charges of incompetence and the recruitment of such a heavyweight figure will provide welcome relief.

It comes as Ken Livingstone told a Reuters hustings that the London mayoral election would not be a referendum on Gordon Brown.

Mr Johnson told the audience: "The Mayor's Fund for London will be a streamlined vehicle for getting money from the wealth creating sector to communities across London that are facing hardship and deprivation, and are the victims of crime.

"Many people in the City of London are very interested in this idea and one man who's going to help is Bob Diamond at Barclays Bank, but there are many others who are going to come

forward in the next few weeks who are going to show their support." American Mr Diamond earned [pounds]6.8million in salary and bonuses last year. However, his total package was more than [pounds]21 million as he collected a further [pounds]11.4 million from an executive share award scheme and [pounds]3million from a share performance scheme.

The Barclays Capital chief is known for his sportsman-like leadership style, running his business as a meritocracy.

He is also an avid fan supporting the Boston Red Sox in baseball, Chelsea, the New England Patriots in American football, and the Celtics in basketball.

Mr Diamond is not registered as a donor to the Conservative Party nor has he publicly aired his political views.

A spokeswoman for Mr Johnson confirmed Mr Diamond would be working in a voluntary capacity. Meanwhile,

Mr Livingstone claimed the outcome of the mayoral contest would have no impact on the national political picture.

He said Gordon Brown and Tory leader David Cameron would be taking "an identical position" on the final results. "If this was a referendum on government this would be a very difficult election," he said.

"I'd be well behind in the polls all the polls show it's neck and neck. I don't think there will be any great significance for national politics from what happens in this city on 1 May."

But Lib-Dem candidate Brian Paddick said the election would "quite clearly" be a referendum on the state of the national parties. "We've got new leaders in two of the three major parties, you've got Gordon Brown as the new leader of the Labour Party, this is going to be the first major test of him as leader." He added: "You have to ask, with Gordon Brown being photographed with Ken Livingstone, is this an asset or a liability? With David Cameron saying Boris is his own man, that is political speak for he's got nothing to do with me." All three candidates denied the race had become a personality contest and set out their policies for the mainly business audience.

Mr Livingstone has said he will re-appoint Peter Hendy as Transport Commissioner, and Tim O'Toole as managing director of London Underground if he is re-elected. He said: "This is a team with a totally proven record of delivery for London and Londoners know I can deliver for London from the last eight years." ROWAN MOORE: PAGE 1 For more on the elections [@](http://www.standard.co.uk/mayor)

Document 43

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£1.3billion crime bill hits firms

Clodagh Hartley Home Affairs. The Sun. London (UK): Apr 15, 2008. pg. 12

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Boris wants US-style policing

HALF of all London firms are crime victims -costing the economy Pounds 1.3billion a year, mayoral candidate Boris Johnson said last night.

The Tory hopeful said there were 100,000 incidences of business crime in the capital last year.

He accused his rival Mayor Ken Livingstone of "standing idly by" as they were fleeced.

Mr Johnson vowed to introduce New York-style crime mapping with "Borough commanders" to encourage business victims to come forward.

Releasing his Business and Skills manifesto, he said: "Ken Livingstone has stood idly by for eight years while levels of business crime in London have spiralled.

"Crime affects business directly and by deterring investment and making London a less attractive place to live.

"Part of the problem is that one-third of businesses don't report crime. I will set up a non-emergency phone line to make reporting offences far easier, while freeing up the 999 number for emergencies.

"I also want businesses to work with the local police to tackle crime.

"Borough Commanders will give local business owners access to comprehensive information about crime in their area, and the opportunity to discuss the problems with their local police.

"Ken Livingstone has been quiet on this issue for too long, it is time that London had a Mayor who will make the changes that will keep business in the capital booming.

"I will make the changes that London needs."

He took the swipe after Mr Livingstone unveiled a list of 20 celebrities who support him. Mr Johnson accused the of reverting to name dropping after running out of ideas.

Ken Livingstone's list includes street artist Banksy, comedian Bill Bailey, fashion designer Vivienne Westwood, singer Damon Albarn and actress Emma Thompson.

Boris Johnson last night said: "Ken Livingstone says he wants to focus on policies and not celebrities and yet he does the opposite.

"The Mayor chooses to focus on people who make the gossip pages and not the news pages. Ken has said this election is not 'Celebrity Big Brother', yet he is now trying to cover up his lack of ideas."

Prime Minister Gordon Brown yesterday joined Labour candidate Mr Livingstone on the campaign trail, visiting a Sikh temple in Ilford, Essex.

A YouGov poll yesterday put Boris on 45 per cent, six points ahead of Ken on 39 per cent.
c.hartley@the-sun.co.uk

Credit: Clodagh Hartley Home Affairs Correspondent

Document 44

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BORIS LEAD IS CUT IN HALF; EXCLUSIVE

PIPPA CRERAR, PAUL WAUGH. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 14, 2008. pg. 1

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Apr 14, 2008

BORIS JOHNSON'S 13- point lead over Ken Livingstone has more than halved in the past week, a Standard poll reveals today.

The Tory candidate is now just six points ahead on 45 per cent compared with the Mayor's 39 per cent. In the last survey he was on 49 per cent to Mr Livingstone's 36.

His narrowing lead suggests the race will go down to the wire on 1 May. Mr Livingstone was today at a Sikh temple in east London, campaigning with Gordon Brown, in a sign of the importance Downing Street is putting on a Labour victory in London.

Mr Livingstone said: "More than 350,000 Londoners will have a vote for the first time at this election and I particularly appeal to them to keep our city going forward.

"I hope they will vote to keep London moving further forward and vote against

London becoming a Tory city." Mr Johnson was wooing the business vote as he attempted to lay to rest any perception that he is not a serious candidate.

Mr Johnson said: "I continue to campaign around all the London boroughs with my message of change on the issues that matter such as fighting crime and anti-social behaviour.

I am now ready to govern London for the benefit of all Londoners." The YouGov poll indicates that as polling day draws near the Mayor's relentless focus on whether Mr Johnson is competent has had some impact.

There are signs that Labour supporters are beginning to return to the fold while some Tory supporters are having doubts

Johnson just six points ahead in latest Standard mayor poll [broken bar] Brown joins Ken on streets in bid to secure Labour support about Mr Johnson. Last week 34 per cent of Londoners agreed that Mr Johnson was not serious enough to be Mayor while 40 per cent disagreed.

That position is now reversed 40 per cent agreed and 37 per cent disagreed. However, Mr Livingstone is still trailing with just over two weeks to go, meaning the Tories' message on time for change is hitting home. Polling experts also claimed the Mayor was having to fight hard to prevent the Labour Party's dismal national ratings rubbing off on him.

The survey shows an increase in support for Liberal Democrat candidate Brian Paddick to 12 per cent from 10 per cent. Lib-Dem supporters split their second preference votes, which could decide the election, equally between his Labour and Tory rivals. In that case Mr Johnson leads by 54 per cent to Mr Livingstone's 46 per cent, a narrowing of eight points on last week. Among those identifying themselves as Tory supporters, 90 per cent said last week they would give Mr Johnson their first preference vote while five per cent backed the Mayor. This week, the Tory's support among this group had dropped to 85 per cent while Mr Livingstone's had increased to nine per cent. The poll shows that Mr Livingstone has made his greatest gains among male voters. Mr Johnson is still ahead among men, but only by two points, whereas last week he was 14 points ahead. He is 10 points ahead among women and substantially in the lead by 18 points among the over-55s who are the most likely to vote. Today Mr Livingstone was also attempting to secure the votes of 350,000 firsttime voters aged under 22. In a bid to copy Barack Obama's success at energising young voters, he announced that his campaign had signed up the presidential contender's internet firm.

Although the Livingstone camp are convinced they have a large lead among those under 30, younger supporters are traditionally much less likely to turn out. The Mayor's campaign released the names of 20 prominent figures from the music, arts and environmental worlds who have said they will back him. Among them are Alistair McGowan, Jo Brand, Bill Bailey, Phil Jupitus, Arthur Smith, Emma Thompson, Prunella Scales and Antony Gormley.

His campaign spokeswoman said: "The more voters hear about the issues that affect their lives, and the lives of their children and their grandchildren, the more they realise that Boris Johnson has no answers to the challenges that confront Londoners and the city." YouGov polled 1,031 Londoners online between 9 and 11 April. A total of 13 per cent did not yet know who they would support, one point down from the last poll.

Document 45

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I prefer Ken but I'd work with Boris, says Green

PIPPA CRERAR. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 14, 2008. pg. 9

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Apr 14, 2008

GREEN Party mayoral candidate Sian Berry said today she would work with Boris Johnson if he won even though he would be "a disaster" for the environment.

Ms Berry said it would be better to work with the Tory than against him.

But she admitted her party would not have as much influence as it has done under Ken Livingstone, who relied on the Greens to get his budget through.

Ms Berry, who could win a London Assembly seat, has urged her backers to use their second preference votes for the Labour candidate.

However, she told the Evening Standard: "I'm sure Greens on the Assembly would be happy to offer advice [to Mr Johnson]."

"But the danger with Boris Johnson is the way the constituencies are set up means they [the Tories] don't need anyone's votes to get their budget. We would talk to them but they wouldn't have to talk to us." She added: "I saw very little in Boris's manifesto which was really getting to the heart of the matter. I saw a lot about trees, a lot about graffiti, that's the environment as far as Tories seem to be concerned. There's not the concrete measures to tackle the major carbon emissions in London." Almost 60,000 voted Green at the last mayoral election. Ms Berry, 33, denied she was the green wing of the Labour Party, insisting: "We're getting more out of it than he [Mr Livingstone] is." Since her endorsement, she appears to have been distancing herself from the Mayor, describing him as the "least worst" option on offer. "We've described a second preference vote for Ken as an insurance against Boris," she said.

"We're not expressing massive endorsement of Ken or Labour in any way.

"You've got to look at who is likely to be in the final round and it's those two, so you've got to chose between them.

Ken Livingstone would be less of a disaster than Boris Johnson." Ms Berry insisted the Mayor had not made her a job offer to win her party's support. "We've not even slightly had a discussion about anything that might happen after the election," she said.

Fourth on the Greens' list, she would need an Assembly vote share of 13.5 per cent, which the party achieved at the last council elections, to win a seat. She said she would be the member "with the good ideas" to make London greener.

Along with the other main candidates, she opposes Heathrow expansion. She would also close City airport.

"Most of the flights are short-haul for which there are alternatives, so I don't think it would be an enormous loss to the City," she said. "We definitely wouldn't let them expand. If they did hang in there the earliest chance we'd get is in about eight years when the leases on other parts of the land the GLA owns cannot be renewed and then it would actually have to close.

" Ms Berry has only flown once in the last 10 years for a holiday to Croatia in 2005 and would try to cut the amount of travel involved in being Mayor. "If you're just going to make a short speech is that better done by video? You've got to look at all those options," she said.

"There's time and money involved, as well as carbon emissions. On some occasions, yes, you would have to go to places that you can't reach but I think most of

Europe is accessible by train." Her flagship policy is to extend the Mayor's green homes scheme so free insulation would be available to all London households.

"We have some of the worst insulated homes in the country," she said.

She said her own environmental failings included printing off emails and smoking, which she pledged to give up if she became Mayor..

Document 46

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G2: Charlie Brooker: I don't care what Ken Livingstone does - I'll still vote for him if it stops Boris Johnson becoming mayor

Charlie Brooker. The Guardian. London (UK): Apr 14, 2008. pg. 5

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A few years back, during the run-up to the Nathan Barley TV series, my co-author Chris Morris and I briefly kicked around a storyline about an animated MP running for election. When I say "animated", I mean literally animated. He was a cartoon - the political equivalent of Gorillaz - fashioned from state-of-the-art computer-generated imagery so that he could move and talk in real time, like Max Headroom. His speech would be provided on-the-fly by a professional cartoon voice artist working in conjunction with a team of political advisers and comedy writers, so he'd have an impish personality not dissimilar to the genie in Disney's Aladdin. Debating against him would be impossible because he'd make outrageously goonish statements one minute and trot out cunning political platitudes the next. Because he wasn't real, he'd never age, die, or be bogged down in scandal - and huge swathes of the population would vote for him just because they found him cool or fun or different.

Fast-forward to now. On May 1 London chooses its mayor, and I've got a horrible feeling it might pick Boris Johnson for similar reasons.

Johnson - or to give him his full name, Boris LOL!!!! what a legernd!! Johnson!!! - is a TV character loved by millions for his cheeky, bumbling persona. Unlike the cartoon MP, he's magnetically prone to scandal, but this somehow only makes him more adorable each time. Tee hee! Boris has had an affair! Arf! Now he's offended the whole of Liverpool! Crumbs! He used the word "picaninnies"! Yuk yuk! He's been caught on tape agreeing to give the address of a reporter to a friend who wants him beaten up! Ho ho! Look at his funny blond hair! HA HA BORIS LOL!!!! WHAT A LEGERND!!!!!!

If butterfingers Johnson gets in, it'll clearly be a laugh riot from beginning to end, like a series of Some Mothers Do 'Ave 'Em in which Frank Spencer becomes mayor by mistake. Just picture him on live TV, appealing for calm after a terrorist bombing - the scope for chuckles is almost limitless.

Assisting Boris in his run, the London Evening Standard is running an openly hostile anti-

Livingstone campaign, which means every other page carries a muckraking down-with-Ken piece from crusading journalist Andrew Gilligan, played by Blinky, the three-eyed fish from The Simpsons, in his byline photo. All the articles blend into one after a while, but their central implication is that Ken's a boozy egomaniac surrounded by a corrupt circus of cronies, so you might as well vote for a rightwing comedy pillock instead. You know, him off the telly. With the blond hair. LOL!!!! WHAT A LEGERND!!!!

Now, even if the Standard photographs Ken carving a swastika into a dormouse's back, I'll vote for him for the following reasons:

1) I'm genetically predisposed to hate the Tories. It's my default, hard-wired position. If Boris wins, their simpering pudge-faced smuggerly is going to be unbearable. Picture the expression Piers Morgan makes when he's especially pleased with himself, then multiply it by 10 million, and imagine it looming overhead like a Death Star. That's what it's going to be like. Therefore I don't care who wins provided Johnson loses, and loses hard, preferably in close-up, on the telly.

2) Ken's other main rival is solid-but-dull Lib Dem

candidate Brian Paddick. He probably deserves a shot, but as he's not going to win, voting for him would be a waste of a perfectly good X, which might otherwise be used to pinpoint buried treasure, indicate affection, or mark a plague victim's door.

3) I wouldn't trust Boris to operate a mop, let alone a pounds 10bn Crossrail project.

4) On a related note, I don't believe in my gut that Boris gives even the faintest hint of a wisp of a glimpse of a toss about London, or indeed humanity in general. Both of which are fairly important in a job like this.

5) But on the other hand OMFG LOOK AT HIS FUNNEEE HAIR LOL!!!! BORRIS IS A LEGERND!!!!

Anyway, if the worst happens and Boris gets in, then provided he doesn't obliterate the capital in some hilarious slapstick disaster, or provoke war with Portsmouth with a chance remark -

provided, in short, that London still exists in some recognisable form - the rival parties should fight fire with fire by running equally popular TV characters against him in the next election.

It doesn't even matter if they're real or not. Basil Brush would be a shoo-in. Churchill, the nodding dog from the car insurance ads - he'll do. Or if we're after the ironic vote, how about Gene Hunt from Life on Mars? Or Phil Mitchell? At least he's a Londoner.

They might as well. Desperate times call for

desperate measures, and there's no more desperate sign of the times than the current wave of
LOL OMFG!!!! BORIS DONE A GUFF!!!! ROFL!!!!!! THE MAN IS A LEGERND I TELL YOU LOL!!!! I
CARNT WAIT 2 SEE HIM RUNNING THE INTIRE CTTY!!! BORRIS 4 KING!!! LOL!!! LOL!!!
LOLLL!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

This week Charlie toyed with the idea of growing a beard, then dismissed it as madness. He saw an advance copy of this Wednesday's The Apprentice, and has since had to repeatedly stifle the urge to discuss it with everyone he met.

Document 47

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SPECIAL REPORT: CAPITAL CONTEST GOES TO THE WIRE: As the election for London mayor enters its final few weeks, the gap between Ken Livingstone and Boris Johnson seems too close to call. The outcome will have implications far beyond London as both Labour and Conservatives pour resources into a battle neither can afford to lose. Ned Temko reports from the campaign trail

Ned Temko. The Observer. London (UK): Apr 13, 2008. pg. 8

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'My name is Ken Livingstone,' the Mayor of London declared last week during a rail journey across the capital to inject new energy into his campaign for re-election, 'and I'm running against pure evil.'

He was joking, sort of. Even Livingstone seems to have difficulty summoning up his trademark personal venom towards opponents when it comes to his mop-haired Conservative challenger, Boris Johnson. More important, as Labour's own focus groups have been telling him, he knows that even voters who do not like the Conservatives, or may not trust Johnson to run the capital, somehow cannot help liking him. Livingstone made his remark in a sound check for a local radio reporter - and he was careful to be much more measured once the tape was running for real.

Still, there was a deadly serious point at the core of his dark, offhand quip. 'This is the most formidable opponent I've ever faced,' he reflected half an hour later, during one of a series of walkabouts to meet and greet Londoners, lay out his record on transport and policing, and urge them to give him a third term in office.

And there are serious issues at stake for politics beyond the capital. Many observers now say that the outcome of the mayoral election could help determine the fate of the increasingly beleaguered government of Gordon Brown as it struggles to combat falling poll ratings and internal division.

Livingstone won his first term, eight years ago, at a canter - Livingstone the populist insurgent against Tony Blair's New Labour machine. In 2004 the Tory Stephen Norris gave him a bit more of a fight, but never really threatened to unseat him. Yet with the 1 May local elections drawing ever closer, Livingstone clearly has no doubt that this time around will be very different. 'Every vote,' he said, 'will count.'

Last week saw the race for London mayor, a contest not only to determine who runs the capital but with potentially huge national political implications as well, take off in earnest. Parliament was in recess. Newsnight's Jeremy Paxman hosted a televised candidates' debate. The three strikingly different contenders from the major parties - Livingstone, Johnson and the Lib Dem challenger Brian Paddick, a former Metropolitan Police deputy assistant commissioner - used TV and radio, meet-and-greet events with voters and newspaper interviews to begin cranking their campaigns into high gear.

In a departure from spin-managed politics, their aides were refreshingly frank, in private at least, about the potential weaknesses and vulnerabilities they would have to address as the battle heats up further.

In the Livingstone camp, the Newsnight debate seemed to have marked a turning point. Not even Livingstone's supporters were claiming a slam-dunk victory. The most accurate assessment of the oddly constrained television encounter probably came on the website of the Lib Dem London MP Lynne Featherstone, who declared Paxman the winner. But most neutrals felt Livingstone came over as the most assured of the three candidates and that Johnson suffered by his rambling reply to Paxman's persistent calls for him to name the price of his intended replacement for Livingstone's unloved bendy buses.

By the time the mayor turned up at West Hampstead overground station to begin his cross-London campaign swing the next morning, a new Mori poll, commissioned by trade union Unison, showed Livingstone holding a narrow lead over Johnson. Earlier this month, a member of his campaign team confided, Livingstone had seemed down, frustrated and 'tired'. And even with the fillip of the new poll, at nearly 63 he cut an oddly anachronistic figure on the station platform, bundled up in an overcoat and scarf despite the bright April sunshine.

But as the train headed eastward, with walkabout stops in Islington and Hackney and on the edge of the 2012 Olympic site in Stratford, Livingstone visibly warmed to the prospect of his three-week sprint to the election finishing line. This was the kind of front-line political battle he had always relished, and at which he had always excelled, and he seemed to take energy from each new pavement encounter with a would-be voter. Most were friendly and he took particular delight when an unsuspecting woman suddenly turned, saw him and shrieked: 'It's Ken! Ken!'

A few did voice real concerns - the congestion charge and Livingstone's pledge to slap a pounds 25 charge on 'gas-guzzling' 4x4s; rail and Tube transport; knife crime on the streets. But

Livingstone had detailed answers at the ready. The overground line that we were riding across London, he proclaimed, had been taken under the mayor's wing and, with a funding boost from the Olympics, was being thoroughly modernised. He had put more police and support officers on the streets. There were more buses and more people using them. He was now poised, if re-elected, to direct billions of pounds into further transport improvements, more affordable housing, and youth activities schemes to wean knife-toting young people away from gang life.

Buoyed by the response on the streets, he was none the less frank about the election challenge he faced as the campaign swing drew to a close. He would in effect have to accept that, for the first time in his career, the cheeky, popular outsider in the contest would not be 'Ken! Ken!', but his opponent. 'I mean 60 per cent of Londoners know who Boris is without prompting,' Livingstone reflected. 'He's been on Have I Got News For You seven times. Everyone thinks he's hilariously funny. . . What's, I think, important is getting across to people that this isn't a comedy show. This is a huge job. Dear old Boris might sound lovely, but a mayor needs to get all the major decisions right, at the right time, not put them off. If you don't get 90 per cent of the decisions right, the city will start to fail.'

Just hours later, at a hustings before a largely friendly audience at the Methodist Central Hall in Westminster, Livingstone drove that message home further, while Johnson was initially nearly drowned out by a chorus of boos and jeers. But the Tory challenger won a steadily warmer reception as the two-hour event progressed. And the sting came in the tail, with a reminder for the Livingstone camp of the formidable obstacles in confronting the Tory challenger's star quality: for a long period at the end of the event, he was mobbed by people wanting to shake his hand, take his picture on their mobile phones and get his autograph.

Johnson and his team, for their part, ramped up their campaign last week in a spirit of cautious optimism. The caution was rooted in the belief that, as one aide put it, despite a recent YouGov poll showing a wide lead over Livingstone, the race was likely to be 'very, very close' - an assumption borne out in today's Observer poll showing a much narrower lead of only 2 points over the mayor. And Johnson himself clearly recognised the need to tackle suggestions that he lacked the seriousness and administrative experience to be mayor, remarking amid a series of walkabouts in south-west London that he had to 'legitimate Londoners' desire to vote for me'.

But with the backroom support of Australian election strategist Lynton Crosby - just the kind of 'hard-edged input Johnson needs,' in the words of one London Tory MP - the campaign seemed to be drawing optimism, and growing energy, from a real sense that many voters harbour deep reservations about giving Livingstone another term.

As Johnson criss-crossed the city, he seemed sometimes to exude an almost rock-star magnetism of the sort Livingstone himself revelled in nearly a decade ago in the first race for mayor. The relentless emphasis was on quality-of-life issues and on pressing the argument that, despite all the high-profile Livingstone initiatives, day-to-day living for many in the capital has left voters hankering for change. Outside a number of Tube stations last week, young volunteers with 'Back Boris' badges were handing out campaign newspapers highlighting street crime, transport and the tripling of council-tax payments for the mayor's office in the past decade.

The warmest welcome for Johnson, predictably, came in more well-to-do areas, as he pledged to trim heavy-handed and 'anti-democratic' planning policies, save gardens and green space, fight to open a 'national debate' on killing expansion plans for Heathrow in favour of a new airport in the Thames estuary, and save pounds 6m by shutting down the mayor's 'propaganda' news sheet.

But he also zeroed in on crime in the inner city and unveiled a plan to encourage both private developers and local councils to do up more than 80,000 currently empty properties for 'social rented accommodation'.

As he made his way on foot from a campaign appearance in a small East Sheen street with a lawn area destined for a new block of flats, three hard-hatted construction site workers approached him beaming. 'Boris! How you doing, mate?' one of them asked, to which the candidate replied: 'Nice to see you. Can I count on your vote on

1 May?' The unhesitating reply was: 'Yes, mate, I'm already registered.'

Though recognising that the issue of experience would dominate the Livingstone campaign during the home stretch, Johnson felt confident that most people recognised that the same argument could have been made about 'Margaret Thatcher or Tony Blair or Gordon Brown' before they moved into Downing Street. 'I don't think that's going to be a decider. I think the issue is: Do people want change and improvement and hope?'

And another issue, Johnson's backers were suggesting, seemed to be energising voters' readiness for 'change' after eight years of Livingstone: a sense, amid a series of exposes about alleged corruption among the mayor's aides in the Evening Standard since last year, that City Hall was being run less in 'London's interest' than as a slipshod personal fiefdom.

Livingstone did not hide his anger over the Standard stories, suggesting they were merely the work of 'disgruntled' former employees. He attacked not only the newspaper but launched a personal broadside against Andrew Gilligan, who has written many of the pieces and was last week recognised at Britain's major newspaper awards as Reporter of the Year. Gilligan, untroubled by Livingstone's criticism, said that it was just journalism, following a trail of emails and other testimony from people who had worked alongside the mayor. And Johnson said that the deeper issue raised by the paper's reporting was serious, unavoidable and increasingly resonated with voters of all political persuasions. It was that Livingstone's rule had become 'more about Livingstone and less about London'.

Predicting an outcome to the race, as it enters its final furlong, is being made more difficult by a web of imponderables. Turnout is one. Barely a third of Londoners bothered to go to the polls in the last mayoral election. But with all sides convinced that the uncertain outcome will bring out many voters, the rival campaigns were focusing last week on efforts to energise support across the city's 32 boroughs. At the reported urging of the London and Olympics minister, Tessa Jowell, who has been delegated by Gordon Brown to throw Labour's full weight behind the mayor's campaign, Livingstone has begun a series of coffee-morning visits to outlying boroughs. Johnson's campaign meanwhile, according to one Tory MP, is fighting to deal with the

'doughnut' problem that has left the Tories weaker in the inner-city areas than the suburbs in past elections.

In addition, the London election rules stipulate that 'second preference' votes will come into play in the likely event that neither Livingstone nor Johnson win a majority outright. At the Westminster hustings, the Green candidate Sian Berry, who has unveiled an eye-catching pledge to ban junk food from school vending machines, received a particularly warm welcome - and she and Livingstone have both been urging supporters to give each other their second votes.

Paddick, too, has been creeping upwards in the opinion polls, a trend that could well continue with his higher media profile in events alongside the two frontrunners as election day draws closer. Even more than Johnson, he is the outsider. Emerging from an LBC radio debate with them last Thursday morning, his ramrod-straight spine and parade-ground gait marked him out as the former policeman he is - and he frankly acknowledged that he is no career politician. He is also openly gay, which he felt might well resonate with the 'tolerant' and 'liberal' spirit of the capital, and confided that were it not for duty in the US helping Hillary Clinton, his 'old friend' Elton John might have staged a concert on his behalf.

But Paddick was also keen to stress his experience on an issue that the polls and the focus groups show to be much higher among voters' concerns than Livingstone's and Berry's long-standing focus on environmental issues - crime, particularly the stabbings and gunshots that have increasingly claimed the lives of teenagers in city-centre areas. It is a message the Paddick campaign drove home with its first political broadcast last week, showing the candidate both in uniform and on a London walkabout and positioning him as the man most likely to be able to get to grips with the problem.

In the Newsnight debate, Paddick came over, perhaps inevitably, as a less fluent political communicator than either of the frontrunners. In smaller groups and more unguarded moments last week, he was much more at ease. Pointing out that Livingstone had said that if 'he fell under a bus' he was confident that Paddick - but not Johnson - could run London, the Lib Dem was asked whether an unexpected road accident might offer a strategy for victory. 'A bendy bus, maybe?' he replied, grinning. 'That would be an irony, wouldn't it?'

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Capital Fellow

GIDEON RACHMAN. Financial Times. London (UK): Apr 12, 2008. pg. 14

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Boris Johnson is not an easy man to confront. On the eve of London's mayoral elections we met in the coffee shop of a Marriott Hotel, just along the corridor from his campaign headquarters in County Hall. Johnson bustled in and ordered a cup of tea. He was his usual disarming, dishevelled self. But it was my task to ignore all that - and to tell him that many of his friends greet the idea of Mayor Johnson with a mixture of hilarity and horror. "They all like you," I said wheedlingly, "but they all kind of laugh at the idea of you as mayor... They say you are incredibly disorganised."

Johnson looked a little pained at this, and took the only line open to him - stout denial. "I think I'm extremely well organised and always have been - and achieve a fantastic amount. I work harder than almost anybody else I know. And I take these criticisms in the loving spirit with which I'm sure they're meant."

For now, Johnson can afford to shrug off such barbs. By early April three successive polls had shown him establishing a surprise lead in the race to be mayor - by margins of between two and 12 points. The bookmakers have installed him as odds-on favourite to win the mayoral race. That would mean beating the incumbent, Ken Livingstone, a formidable Labour party politician running for his third term in office, as well as Brian Paddick, a respected former policeman and the Liberal Democrat candidate. Johnson would be just the second elected mayor of London and the first Conservative to hold the job.

Victory would be a fantastic political comeback for a man often dismissed as a lightweight and a joker. Johnson was sacked from his first job, as a reporter at The Times, for making up a quote.

His early steps in politics ended in humiliating circumstances after he was sacked again, this time from the Conservative party front-bench team, for lying about an extra-marital affair. His dismissive phrase that the allegations were "an inverted pyramid of piffle" was funny - but false.

Such mishaps might have finished off a less robust individual. But now Johnson is poised to win one of the most powerful and high-profile jobs in British politics. The Mayor of London has three big responsibilities - over transport, planning and policing. Collectively, they give him the ability to change both the quality and feel of life in the capital. The mayor will also be the person who prepares London to host the 2012 Olympics.

He will be running a city that is richer, more vibrant and more international than it ever has been. But London's future as an ever richer, ever safer city is far from assured. Turmoil in the financial markets threatens employment in the City, one of the most important sources of London's wealth. Suicide bombings on the transport system in 2005 killed 52 people - and there have been further failed attempts since. Most experts think another big terrorist attack is just a matter of time.

If London installs Boris Johnson as mayor it will be taking a bet on an unknown quantity. Yes, "Boris" has already achieved one of the great emblems of political celebrity: like his main rival "Ken", he is always referred to by his first name. But while Livingstone has been a central figure in London politics for more than 20 years, Johnson's track record - despite his fame - is much less established. At the age of 43, his only managerial experience has been as editor of *The Spectator*, a small-circulation magazine. And while his CV suggests he is a Conservative politician of the most traditional sort - Eton, classics at Balliol College, Oxford, president of the Oxford Union, journalism, parliament - in other respects, his path has been hugely unorthodox.

As an award-winning columnist for *The Daily Telegraph*, Johnson established a reputation for wit, intellect and originality. But it was his appearances on *Have I Got News For You*, a television news quiz, that introduced him to a wider audience. The persona he presented to the public was that of a lovable idiot - who, when confronted with a difficult situation, would frankly confess: "I'm way out of my depth here. I've been totally stitched up."

YouTube is full of Boris Johnson clips. But they are not examples of Churchillian rhetoric. It is Boris getting locked out of his house, while pursued by the press during the furore over his affair; Boris rugby tackling a rival player during a celebrity football match; Boris the celebrity buffoon. Yet the complaint that Johnson is not serious misses the point of the man. Any fool can be serious. It is much harder to be funny - and Johnson is very good at that.

Johnson's strengths as a politician - fame, wit, charm - are also his weaknesses. As a mayoral candidate his dilemma is obvious. Does he go with what he's got, and run as the amiable buffoon that the public thinks it knows? Or does he, late in the day, try to convince London voters that he has changed?

His campaign so far looks like an uneasy compromise between the two strategies. In an effort to smarten himself up for office, Johnson has had a haircut - trimming his famously disordered stack of blond hair. He has also stopped writing his newspaper column, denying his opponents some potential ammunition. In public appearances, he is sticking to a well-worn stump speech,

complete with feeble jokes about "Mayor Leaving-Soon". Those who predicted a disastrous gaffe a day have been disappointed. Johnson has successfully made himself a little duller.

On the campaign trail, he occasionally displays a dangerous tendency to subvert his own message. At a demonstration against aircraft-noise in west London, he watched planes buzzing overhead, remarking doubtfully: "That's bad. But it's not exactly wrist-slittingly bad, is it?" Another plane passed overhead - this time far closer and noisier. With evident relief, Johnson said: "Yes, that's very bad. Very bad indeed."

At a breakfast speech a couple of days later, Johnson had to sit through an excruciating introduction full of nudge-nudge jokes about his sex life. The audience wanted him to be funny - and seemed baffled, then bored when he stood up and gave a speech about buses and affordable housing.

This half-hearted repositioning as a serious politician does not sound like the basis for a decisive Boris break-out. But the Conservative candidate has been lucky in his timing. London politics looks as if it might be shifting decisively against both the Labour party and Ken Livingstone, with Johnson the beneficiary. Nationally, some opinion polls have shown Labour at 13 points or more behind the Tories - the worst Labour position for more than 20 years. The Conservatives are already the largest group in the London Assembly. They control more London boroughs than the Labour party. If this was a straight Tory vs Labour contest, the Tories should walk it.

But like mayoral elections all over the world, the London race revolves around personality more than party. And Livingstone is a maverick whose personal brand is much more important than his party affiliation. In his first successful bid for mayor, he was so estranged from the Labour party that he ran as an independent.

It is Livingstone, not Labour, that Johnson must take on and defeat. As mayor, Livingstone made one important and controversial decision: charging motorists for the privilege of driving in central London. The move has been widely hailed as a success and Johnson is not planning to reverse it, although he might shrink the congestion-charge zone. Livingstone is sharp-tongued, witty and ruthless. Like Johnson himself, he has used the occasional gaffe to establish a reputation for straight-talking and authenticity. The mayor has established such a formidable reputation that most of the leading figures in the Tory party shied away from taking him on. Johnson was certainly not the Conservatives' first choice as candidate. He stepped in where other Tories feared to tread.

But in recent months, Livingstone has shown signs of imploding. A series of petty scandals surrounding the mayor's office has emerged in the press, and the mayor's reaction has been angry, defensive and unconvincing. All of a sudden, Livingstone looks vulnerable to the classic charges against a long-time incumbent - corrupt, out-of-touch, arrogant.

Under the circumstances, the winning formula might have changed. Tony Travers of the London School of Economics suggests that Johnson "has to give just enough ideas on how he might run the city to make it possible for people who don't like Ken to vote for him". Johnson is fulfilling this rather minimal requirement so far. He is campaigning on classic conservative themes:

crime, safety, value-for-money in public services, nostalgia - in particular, the restoration of much-loved double-decker Routemaster buses.

It is not yet what you would call a well-honed message. When I opened our interview with a standard question - "why should people vote for you rather than Livingstone?" - Johnson responded: "Because I don't think there's anyone yet who's grasped what could be done with the mayoralty. And for me, it's all about restoring order and decency to London's public realm and that's not just a question of cracking down on crime, of looking at things in a very negative way. But it's also about looking at the whole range of things the mayor could do to deal with a generation of kids that seems to be growing up out of control, and using everything in our arsenal, every tool available, to try to make a difference. You can encourage all sorts of things to do with sports, the arts, education, training, skills - all sorts of things that you can weave together to make something that I think would be a real programme for changing, helping to change - because no one person can do it - the lives of kids who are completely growing up without boundaries and respect and making life for everybody else pretty hellish. And that's basically what I want to say." For a man who is brilliantly articulate in print, Johnson can be strikingly inarticulate in person.

His campaign theme seems to draw something from the "broken windows" strategy of Rudolph Giuliani as mayor of New York. Giuliani believed that by cracking down on small crimes he could restore an atmosphere of civility to the city. That, in turn, would make it easier to take on the big issues of law and order.

In a similar vein Johnson argues that "we're allowing kids to think that the law is just irrelevant in their lives and no wonder they go on to commit worse crimes". Emphasising crime prevention is one way for Johnson to establish a clear difference between himself and a Labour mayor. One awkward fact about the campaign is that the policy differences between the two leading candidates are not that significant. They both want to reduce traffic, encourage public transport, build more affordable housing, protect the green belt that surrounds London, increase policing, oppose the expansion of Heathrow airport and allow more skyscrapers - but only if they are distinguished buildings. At times the mayoral debate seems to boil down to little more than the relative merits of "bendy" buses and Routemasters.

In fact, there are bigger issues at stake in the mayoral election. One of them is the city's delicate racial politics. Livingstone used the official launch of his campaign to play the race card - accusing Johnson of using attacks on political correctness as a "dog whistle" to rally white voters. The attempt to tar Johnson as a racist is important for the Livingstone campaign, which needs to mobilise black and Muslim voters in the city. References in an old Johnson newspaper column to "piccaninnies" and Africans with "watermelon smiles" have been wrenched out of context and quoted repeatedly to make the Tory candidate sound like the epitome of saloon-bar prejudice. Read in context, however, they were clearly meant as part of an ironic attack on Tony Blair's efforts to play "the big white chief" on a trip to Africa.

Boris likes to rebut charges of racism by claiming that he is a "one-man melting pot". He makes much of his Turkish ancestry. His wife is half-Indian. Watching him campaigning - and reading his work - the worst I felt Johnson could be accused of was a bluff determination to be colour-blind, which may be naive in a city like London.

Allegations of racism could nonetheless be damaging since more than 30 per cent of Londoners were born overseas. The London bombings have also heightened racial tensions in the city. Livingstone has, as mayor, made a determined effort to engage with radical Muslim leaders. His decision to host Yusuf al-Qaradawi, a theologian linked to the Muslim Brotherhood, was highly controversial, since al-Qaradawi has repeatedly endorsed suicide bombings aimed at Israeli civilians. Livingstone was also briefly suspended from office after accusing a Jewish journalist of behaving like a concentration camp guard.

His suspension was eventually over-turned by the courts. But nonetheless Johnson - a staunch supporter of Israel - received a very warm welcome when he spoke to a breakfast meeting of Jewish Care, a charity, in late February. His host emphasised that, as a charity, Jewish Care took no political positions. But then added: "But I've yet to meet a Jew who is voting for Ken Livingstone."

This seems unlikely to be true - Livingstone's deputy, Nicky Gavron, is Jewish. But there were nods of assent at the table I was sitting at. One man leaned over and said: "Yes, but all the Muslims are going to vote for Ken. And there are more of them."

Johnson himself is clearly uncomfortable with the racial undercurrent in the campaign. At the charity breakfast he refrained from any overt pandering to Jewish voters. And later he told me: "I think what Londoners want is less of that 'I've got the Muslims tied up, I've got the Jewish vote' and all that stuff. What they want to hear is what you're going to do to help all Londoners."

Livingstone is also playing the class card. Johnson certainly looks vulnerable on this score. He went to Britain's poshest school. His accent is patrician and his vocabulary is redolent of the country-house novels of P.G. Wodehouse. Even the argument over cars in London has taken on a class aspect. Livingstone has proposed charging the heaviest-polluting 4x4s a punitive Pounds 25 for driving into central London. Johnson has denounced this proposal as "Che Guevara posturing designed to show that the mayor can stick it to the rich". But opinion polls show that Livingstone's proposal is very popular.

Nonetheless, injecting class and race into the campaign might not be enough to allow Livingstone to close the gap on Johnson. It may also be the wrong line of attack, with Johnson's evident geniality undermining attempts to label him a snob or a racist.

The really damaging charges against Johnson are to do with his competence. Although Johnson cites Giuliani as a model, they could not be more different as characters. John Dickerson, an American journalist, has described Giuliani as "(coming off) as a guy in control, bursting with snappy competence. Rudy wants you to know that he has read the brief, knows the facts, and could organise an orderly evacuation of the building if someone yelled 'fire'". The idea of Johnson trying to organise an orderly evacuation of anywhere is, frankly, hair-raising. And this is not a minor point in a city vulnerable to further terrorist attacks. Even Johnson's friend and biographer, Andrew Gimson, writes that "unpreparedness has become one of Boris's hallmarks".

To be fair, he has achieved a lot for a man alleged to be a shambling wreck. Occasionally, hints of organisation and determination break through the chaotic exterior. He was, for example, bang

on time for every campaign event I attended - which is more than many politicians can manage. But the stories of disorganisation are too legion to dismiss. My personal favourite is from a friend who claims to have been told by Johnson that "I'm in a spot of bother. I've got to deliver a book to my publishers in 10 days' time. And I haven't started yet."

One way to defuse the charge of disorganisation would be for Johnson to surround himself with competent, managerial types. Tony Travers of the LSE suggests that he campaign as a figurehead and then say: "Here are a lot of boring chaps in suits who will actually run everything."

Travers points out that Michael Bloomberg, the current mayor of New York, has chosen to act more as a chairman than a chief executive. The difference, however, is that nobody doubts Bloomberg's managerial competence. He has, after all, built a multi-billion-dollar business. And so far, Johnson has been evasive about who his "boring chaps in suits" would be. When I asked him, in mid-March, about his managerial team, he replied: "I know who some of the people are going to be, but I really can't talk about it now." Evasive answers like that will not help Johnson persuade voters that London will be safe in his hands.

In any normal election, Johnson's reputation as an amusing lightweight might prove fatal. But perhaps not this time. The mood for change in London is now so strong that voters may be inclined to swallow their misgivings about Johnson - and vote for him anyway to get rid of Livingstone. A poll of business leaders taken by The Independent in January captured this paradoxical mood. Some 53 per cent of the people polled agreed that Johnson was "too much of a buffoon". But almost 60 per cent of them planned to vote for him anyway.

The London mayoral election will take place on May 1 - the 11th anniversary of the general election that swept Tony Blair and New Labour to power. On the night of his victory, Blair told an ecstatic crowd at London's Festival Hall that "a new dawn has broken".

I asked Johnson whether May 2 would mark another new dawn for Britain. "That is an incontestable fact," he replied. "A new dawn will have broken. All sorts of doors will open, windows will go up, lights will come on, curtains will be drawn."

On May 2, Londoners may well draw their curtains to find that they have just elected Boris Johnson as mayor.

Gideon Rachman is a senior FT columnist.

Document 49

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London crime costs us £400 a year each

Clodagh Hartley. The Sun. London (UK): Apr 11, 2008. pg. 27

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CRIME cost every Londoner Pounds 400 EACH last year, it was revealed yesterday.

The figure, totalling Pounds 3billion, emerged as Tory Boris Johnson put tackling lawlessness at the top of the agenda in the Mayoral election. He has already accused Mayor Ken Livingstone of failing to do anything to stop the ten gun crimes committed every day in the capital.

The new figures were released by the TaxPayers' Alliance, whose chief executive Matthew Elliott said: "Crime is set to be the issue in the election. Londoners are looking for a Mayor who will tackle the epidemic."

Yesterday, with just 21 days before the election, Ken and Boris clashed angrily in a live debate on LBC radio.

They traded blows over an article Boris wrote after the 7/7 bombings in 2005, in which he said it was a "natural reaction" of non-Muslims to fear Islam. Labour's Ken accused him of smearing "an entire faith". Boris furiously denied his claim and accused Ken of "demeaning" the May 1 poll by using such slurs.

The mood was lightened when Ken tried to spruce up scruffy Boris by untucking his shirt collar from his jacket.

One poll has put Boris nine points ahead. Another puts one point between them.

c.hartley@the-sun.co.uk

Document 50

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Blond brushes up his act but Mayor gets the laugh; SKETCH

ANNE MCELVOY. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 10, 2008. pg. 8

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YOU CAN tell the London mayoral race is getting serious when Boris Johnson brushes his blond mop just for the radio.

Five minutes to airtime and Mr Johnson was after my hairbrush.

A nerveless Ken Livingstone was devouring LBC's baked beans and eggs and Brian Paddick, wearing the sharpest black suit outside Reservoir Dogs, was having a healthy pre-marathon banana.

You can also tell that this odd trio has been tied together at the ankles for weeks on the road. "How are you Brian, old chap?" says Boris, a friendliness not unlinked to Mr Paddick's second preference votes.

Mr Livingstone volunteers to tidy Mr Johnson's askew tie, contriving to do so in front of the waiting cameras.

On air, hostilities resume. Boris is still claiming he ran 50 people at the Spectator (really?); Mr Paddick says he ran 20,000 as a senior policeman; Mr Livingstone sniffs and says he's been running London for eight years. So there.

The first flashpoint is his suspended race adviser Lee Jasper. The Mayor has quietly changed from to an all-out defence of his ally to more conditional support: "He has to be cleared by the judicial process." Ken has a little whine and moan about the Standard's coverage and makes an unwise diversion into the death of the late David Kelly, the government scientist at the heart of the WMD controversy.

Mr Livingstone bears his media grudges like battle scars, but they do bog him down in old feuds.

Brushed-up Boris is back on form after a blustery Newsnight debate. He wants "fresh ideas", and scores well on his plans to clamp down on late-night drinking on the Tube. Finally, he reveals the cost of his bendy-bus alternative.

There is something about figures and Boris which always make us hold our breath to see what will come out. The answer is conveniently the same as the bendy bus, in as much as anyone knows.

Ken gets the best joke on whether he would have held the Olympic torch: "It's election time: I'd have run the whole course if they'd let me." The advantage of inexperience is that the Lib-Dem contender often sounds more spontaneous than the politicians.

The downside is that when he makes an error, it's a big one. He wants to tackle anti-social behaviour on buses by getting the driver to tackle thugs. Dream on, Mr Paddick. Maybe those Chinese embassy guards could come in handy after all.

And the best remark on the phone-ins is courtesy of a listener who says: "All this climate change agenda... it's a load of hot air." Unlike the candidates, obviously..

Document 51

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Boris wins over the crowd after barrage of boos; MAYORAL ELECTIONS 21 DAYS TO GO

PIPPA CRERAR. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 10, 2008. pg. 8

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BORIS JOHNSON'S mayoral campaign was dealt a blow last night as he was booed and heckled at the biggest hustings of the race so far.

The Tory candidate was faced with a hostile audience of 2,500 Londoners including church groups, trade unions and charities.

But by the end of the two-hour event at the Methodist Central Hall in Westminster the jeers had turned to cheers as he won round much of the audience.

Mr Johnson was visibly nervous when he took to the stage at the London Citizens hustings, jiggling his foot and bearing a grimace-like smile. He was met with whistles and boos as he stood up to speak, admitting: "This is the most wonderful and intimidating event I've ever been at." The audience was packed with black church groups and student and trade unions who are the natural constituency of Labour rival Ken Livingstone.

Mr Johnson went on to talk about the high cost of living in the city, including the mayoral precept of the council tax, but was barely audible amid the noise.

Eventually one of the event organisers interrupted and told the gathering: "I'm sorry but I've got to interrupt here. In the interests of respect and dignity, we'll be giving candidates extra time if they're heckled and booed." The audience began to warm to Mr Johnson after he agreed to fund the "London living wage" of [pounds]7.20 per hour for the poorest workers if elected.

He won over even more people when he talked about housing and agreed to a oneoff amnesty for all illegal immigrants living in the capital.

Mr Johnson spoke of his own family's immigrant roots and said his Muslim great-grandfather, who fled to Britain from Turkey, would be "very proud" he was standing for Mayor of London.

The candidate said: "If an immigrant has been here for a long time and there is no realistic prospect of returning them, then I do think that person's condition should be regularised so that they can pay taxes and join the rest of society." Mr Livingstone added it was a "tragic miscalculation" by the Labour government not to have an "immediate amnesty for everybody" when it came to power in 1997. However, the Tory faced jeers when he said it was not within his powers to stop the Met staging controversial dawn raids of migrant families. "I've given you as many yeses as I can, my friends," he implored his audience.

He added that he would "look at" London Citizens' proposal to subsidise transport for failed asylumseekers in London, while Green Sian

Berry and Liberal Democrat Brian Paddick backed the idea.

Mr Johnson was then applauded when he repeated his pledge to scrap the Mayor's newspaper, The Londoner, and plant trees with the money saved.

Later, Tory aides attempted to put a positive spin on the evening, claiming that despite the rocky start, by the end he had convinced many attendees. One insider said: "Despite a trade union block booing Boris at the start he seemed to have turned some heads tonight. It took us more than half an hour to get out of the venue as he was mobbed for autographs and photos at the end." It comes after the Tories were accused of keeping Mr Johnson out of the public eye by avoiding events with potentially difficult audiences including ethnic minorities and Labour supporters.

He has vehemently denied he has been avoiding tricky hustings.

Mr Livingstone also attracted controversy at the hustings when he agreed to give failed asylum-seekers free travel so they could attend immigration interviews.

Many end up walking for miles across the capital because they are unable to afford the Tube or train fare.

"There may be a problem with the travel, but I'll think of a way round it," the Mayor said.

He suggested the scheme could be funded by dipping into the money saved as a result of a cheap fuel deal with president Hugo Chavez of Venezuela.

The Labour Mayor said: "[Mr Chavez] has given us [pounds]14 million that allows people on benefits to get half-price travel on the bus. I would ask him if he is prepared to amend the scheme to cover failed asylum-seekers." Mr Paddick and Ms Berry both gave confident performances. The Lib Dem sang along with the gospel choir and tapped his foot when he took

to the stage. He told the audience: "What I'm offering you is change and somebody who is not interested in talking but is actually interested in getting things done."

Document 52

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Gloves Are Off As Ken Accuses Boris of 7/7 Smear On Islam ; Mayoral Elections 21 Days to Go

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BORIS JOHNSON today accused the Mayor of "demeaning" his office by suggesting Mr Johnson had smeared Islam after the London bombings.

The Tory candidate said he took "deep offence" at Ken Livingstone's claim he had said the Koran was "inherently" violent.

However, the Mayor insisted Mr Johnson's remarks in contrast to his own rousing response to the 7 July attacks showed his true reaction to the tragedy.

In the first radio hustings on LBC radio between the three main candidates, Mr Johnson insisted he would have issued "exactly the same" kind of remarks after the bombings, which killed 52 people, as Mr Livingstone had if he had been running the city at the time.

"What Londoners want in the event of a tragedy of that kind& is someone who will speak for the city and give a voice to our defiance and our unwillingness to submit to that kind of terror and kind of cowardly attack," he said.

However, the Mayor claimed: "I know what Boris would have said because he wrote it in the Spectator the following week. Very different. I said this is a criminal act by a handful of men. It doesn't define a faith or an ideology.

"What you said, Boris, was Islam was the problem... And the Koran is inherently violent. I actually made certain that we were looking at individuals. You smeared an entire faith." An audibly furious Mr Johnson responded: "Can I tell you what deep offence I take at that? I think you really traduce what I said.

"My view is that Islam is a religion of peace and indeed I am very proud to say I have Muslim ancestors.

"My great-grandfather knew the Koran off by heart, Ken Livingstone, and I really wish you would leave off these kinds of tactics, which demean this race and demean your office." In an article for The Spectator magazine the week after the bombings, Mr

Johnson wrote: "The Islamicists last week horribly and irrefutably asserted the supreme importance of that faith, overriding all worldly considerations...

Islam is the problem.

To any non-Muslim reader of the Koran, Islamophobia fear of Islam seems a natural reaction... " However, he added: "Last week's bombs were placed neither by martyrs nor by soldiers, but by criminals.

It was not war, but terrorism, and to say otherwise is a mistake and a surrender." Lib-Dem candidate Brian Paddick, who was the Met police spokesman after the attacks, said he would have said: "These people cannot bow Londoners." The rivals also clashed over Mr Livingstone's tearful apology for slavery, which he made on the 200th anniversary of the abolition of the trade last August.

Backing him, Mr Paddick said: "OK, it's nothing to do with us at the moment but there is a serious concern by some people about what has happened in the past.

It is right to apologise for what's happened." However, Mr Johnson said he would not have apologised, adding: "I wouldn't have gone down that route because I think what you're doing is getting into a culture that entrenches and feeds grievances rather than trying to reconcile people.

" Mr Livingstone came under pressure from LBC presenter Nick Ferrari to discuss his five children by three different women but insisted: "I have a very good, happy, extended family and we're happy with that arrangement. I'm not going to talk about my private life." All three candidates said they would still attend the Olympic opening ceremony in Beijing this summer despite Gordon Brown's decision not to do so.

The radio debate came after Mr Johnson was booed and heckled last night at the biggest hustings of the race so far.

The visibly nervous Tory, faced with a hostile audience of 2,500 Londoners, admitted: "This is the most wonderful and intimidating event I've ever been at." Mr Livingstone also attracted controversy by agreeing to give failed asylum seekers free travel to attend immigration interviews..

Document 53

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The truth is: Ken could still wriggle through; The Mayor has been 13 points behind in the polls but could his skilful manipulation of the facts and his superior TV skills pull it back for him?

ANDREW GILLIGAN. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 10, 2008. pg. 13

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MANY years ago, an unlucky newspaper reporter got the sack after writing that a London fireman, badly burned rescuing people from a blazing Whitechapel building, was "the toast of the East End".

At the Press Awards two nights ago, the consensus across the High Command of print journalism was that that rather less heroic figure Ken Livingstone was the toast of London: dead, finito, history, over. Amid 13- point deficits in the latest YouGov poll, not even the most highly trained specialists of the London Fire Brigade could extract Ken from the meltdown that is his own campaign for re-election.

When conventional journalistic wisdom starts to form, that's when to scent danger. And perhaps it was just as well for the Mayoral frontrunner, Boris Johnson, that Fleet Street's finest were all at the awards on Tuesday.

It meant they missed his performance on Newsnight, the first TV candidate debate of the campaign period.

I must say that, having now watched the recording, I thought there was no clear winner and Boris did OK. So did some from notably anti-Johnson quarters, such as the Guardian's Andrew Sparrow. But I've been hearing and reading mixed reviews from others, including Politicalbetting's Mike Smithson (a Lib-Dem but a wellrespected, non-partisan commentator).

Boris was, I thought, quite good on the Mayor's waste and corruption but on a question he must have known would come up, the cost of reintroducing the Routemaster, he was still at sea, despite weeks of hassle from Planet Ken. He is a calmer, more controlled TV performer than he used to be but there is still, I think, work to do in this department, and a tendency to flippancy. "How's that for a policy?" he will sometimes say.

In these encounters, Livingstone is consistently more assured than Boris though, alas, many of Ken's assurances JOURNALIST OF THE YEAR do turn out to be lies. On Newsnight, for instance, the Mayor was asked about breaking his 2003 promise not to increase the congestion charge for 10 years (he raised it from [pounds]5 to [pounds]8 in 2005, you might remember). The voters approved his change of mind, he said. "If you go back and check my manifesto ... in 2004 when I sought reelection, I said I would increase it." Well, I have been back and checked..

There is, in fact, no mention of any increase in the charge in Livingstone's 2004 election manifesto, nor can I find any promise to increase it in any press coverage throughout the six months before that election. The 60 per cent increase in the congestion charge broke on London only once Ken was safely back behind the Mayoral desk.

Livingstone also misled Newsnight viewers about the Lee Jasper grants scandal, and claimed never to have been involved in fundraising for his campaign. Literally 12 hours later, the Standard revealed he'd hosted a fundraising dinner for the 2004 campaign at which he made a direct appeal for money.

The problem is that most viewers will not have known that Ken was lying; he does it well. And below the media radar, an effective viral operation is going on, with Labour supporters, never the campaign itself, sending out emails, writing blogs and possibly making telephone calls, claiming that Johnson want to axe pensioners' free travel, something that is not even in his power.

(Livingstone, indeed, has himself made this false claim on the record at least once.) The same people were blogging that Newsnight was a "disaster" for Boris before the programme had even finished, or perhaps even started.

Let us dispose of some of the myths about how this election will be decided.

Labour will not be saved by the ethnic vote. Ethnic minorities do not make up "more than a third of London", they make up 29 per cent. And because turnout is lower, and the community disproportionately disfranchised, they are only about 20 per cent of actual London voters.

It will not be decided by preposterous deals, such as the Green Party's, to "deliver" second-preference votes to Livingstone. The idea that any candidate can order their voters how to behave is fantasy. Green voters come from across the political spectrum.

But the election will be decided heavily on television. Until recently, Londoners' TV screens were filled with stories about Lee Jasper. Now they are filled with debates and other things at which Ken, as we have seen, is better than Boris. There are still three weeks to go. Could a combination of aboveand below-the-radar lying, superior TV performance skills, and fading

ANDREW GILLIGAN'S ARCHIVE [standard.co.uk/andrewgilligan](http://standard.co.uk/) memories of sleaze pull it back for Livingstone? To those of us for whom this is a frightening prospect, there are several items of comfort. First, minus a major gaffe by Johnson (which now seems unlikely), Ken really is running out of time. If Boris's lead is 13 per cent or even seven per cent, the poll average it's quite a lot of ground to make up. For all the Livingstone campaign's whingeing, YouGov polls have been consistently more accurate in past elections than the phone polls showing a much closer race.

Second, for all his undoubted stagecraft, Ken continues to leave no stone unturned in his efforts to craft a losing message. He has wasted nine months trying to paint Johnson as a racist and Right-wing fanatic, charges without credibility or traction. He proclaims his top priority is the environment an issue about fifth in the priorities of voters.

And finally, Livingstone's real nastiness still shines through. In the Newsnight debate, I was struck by the way he blamed the victim of a bendy bus accident, passenger Lee Beckwith, for his own death (claiming he was "several times over the legal limit for alcohol").

Smearing the dead, Ken? I didn't know there was a "legal limit" for riding on a bus.

Boris should have picked that up, hard, and several other things in Tuesday's debate. He is a vastly improved candidate, he is certainly ahead, but if I have a criticism it is this: he isn't yet closing the deal. Ken could still wriggle back through the cat-flap..

Boris is a calmer, more controlled performer than he used to be but he still has a tendency to flippancy. 'How's that for a policy?' he will sometimes say.

Document 54

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Labour has little to lose in this poll

JOHN CURTICE. The Independent. London (UK): Apr 10, 2008. pg. 6

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It might be thought that Labour's latest plunge in the opinion polls means the party is heading for serious losses in this year's local elections on 1 May. However, there is one good reason why that is unlikely to happen - Labour did so badly when most of the seats being contested this year were last up for grabs in 2004.

Held on the same day as the European elections, the 2004 local elections saw Labour record its worst local election performance since at least the 1960s. It lost nearly 500 councillors.

There was just one striking exception to that dismal story - Ken Livingstone's re-election as London Mayor. Thanks to his personal popularity, Mr Livingstone won even though his party was being outpolled in the simultaneous London Assembly election. Now Mr Livingstone's personal popularity is apparently much reduced, it should come as little surprise that he apparently faces a desperate battle for survival. In truth, it will be a bitter blow for the Tories if Boris Johnson does not become London's next Mayor.

However, in the 36 metropolitan districts outside London, 23 unitary councils (including four new ones), 80 shire districts and 22 Welsh councils where elections are also taking place this year, Labour has little left to lose. True, it would take no more than a small swing for the party to lose Reading, one of only three councils in the south of England outside London that the party still controls.

Merthyr Tydfil, Nuneaton, and Hartlepool are also vulnerable to small shifts in the electoral sands, while Labour could struggle to win control of the new unitary Northumberland council, even though it controls the existing county council.

But at the same time the party will hardly need to make any progress at all to record some gains. Jacqui Smith's local council, Redditch, and Jack Straw's backyard, Blackburn, are relatively easy targets, while Swansea and Sheffield could return to the fold.

If the arithmetic of the elections outside London could be Gordon Brown's salvation, it presents David Cameron with a dilemma. He will be keen to demonstrate his party is advancing. Yet to make significant gains the Tories are probably going to have to do better than they have done at any previous round of local elections since 1997.

A handful of councils in the South could fall into Mr Cameron's lap without too much difficulty, including Thurrock, Gosport and Maidstone. But his opportunities to demonstrate progress elsewhere are few and far between. Success in the rare chances he does have, especially North Tyneside and the Vale of Glamorgan, will be vital. At the same time the party runs the risk of potentially embarrassing losses in, for example, Rossendale, Walsall and Coventry.

Nick Clegg, meanwhile, faces the misfortune that, in his first year as Liberal Democrat leader, he has to defend one of his party's best ever local election performances.

The writer is professor of politics at Strathclyde University

Document 55

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Johnson win would leave Met chief looking over his shoulder

Sean O'Neill. The Times. London (UK): Apr 10, 2008. pg. 33

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Boris Johnson signalled his desire yesterday to remove Sir Ian Blair as Metropolitan Police Commissioner if he is elected mayor of London.

Mr Johnson said that he would have to have "a working relationship" with Sir Ian if he won the May 1 election, only because he would not have the power to dismiss him.

He said that the next head of Scotland Yard should either be appointed by the mayor or elected. Mr Johnson also confirmed that he would assume the chairmanship of the Metropolitan Police Authority (MPA) if he wins.

Last year Conservative members of the authority voted in favour of a motion of no-confidence in Sir Ian after the Met's conviction for health and safety breaches in the Jean Charles de Menezes case. Sir Ian survived the leadership crisis - with the backing of the Home Office and Ken Livingstone, the Mayor - but Mr Johnson was one of the leading Tories clamouring for him to step down.

In his crime manifesto, Mr Johnson declared that the leadership of the Met was out of touch, and that he would "get directly involved with the day-to-day scrutiny of the police and get more officers on the streets".

But he refused to say how he would vote if he were the MPA chairman in another confidence motion.

He said: "I'm going to have to have confidence in his leadership of the Met insofar as I can't remove him. I do think they (the Met) need a yank on the steering wheel and that's what I intend to provide."

Sir Ian became Commissioner in February 2005 for an expected five years. Although his leadership has been dogged by controversy, crime in the capital has fallen steadily.

According to official figures, total recorded crime fell by 6.1 per cent in 2007, violent offences were down by 5.3 per cent and homicides fell from 172 in 2006 to 160 in 2007.

Mr Johnson said the commissioner's office should be stripped of its national responsibilities for counter-terrorism and be confined to policing London. He said a separate national counter-terrorism police force should be independent of Scotland Yard.

The Conservative candidate said that tackling crime was the cornerstone of his mayoral campaign. He would establish a crime-mapping website that would allow Londoners to see the exact level of criminal activity where they lived and to raise specific issues with police.

Mr Johnson also pledged to cut crime on the public transport network - removing the right to free travel from teenagers who committed offences on buses and banning consumption of alcohol on Tube trains.

A mayor's fund would provide support to voluntary sector organisations working to combat gang culture.

Mr Johnson said: "You are more likely to be mugged or assaulted in London than you are in New York. There is an epidemic of unreported crime and people feel an increasing sense of detachment from the police. I want to change that."

Credit: Sean O'Neill Crime Editor

Document 56

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Ken's C-charge guarantee

PIPPA CRERAR. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 9, 2008. pg. 9

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Apr 9, 2008

KEN LIVINGSTONE has pledged to stand down as Mayor if he breaks his word on putting up the congestion charge.

He told millions of BBC Newsnight viewers he would not increase the [pounds]8 charge for ordinary cars if re-elected.

By promising to resign over the issue Mr Livingstone has made trust a central issue of his campaign.

There has been concern over his probity ratings after a recent opinion poll showed Londoners considered him the least honest of the main candidates.

"I'll give you this guarantee," Mr Livingstone said during the live television debate against Tory Boris Johnson and Lib-Dem Brian Paddick last night.

"If I break my word and increase the congestion charge for cars below the polluting level, I will resign." Mr Paddick asked: "How do voters know that the promises you make today, when you get back in office, you won't change your mind again?" But the Mayor replied: "I've given an absolute commitment just now. I will not break my word. If I did, I would step down from the job. I would guarantee that ordinary cars stay at [pounds]8. We only want to get the gas-guzzlers off the streets." He brushed off remarks by presenter Jeremy Paxman that in 2003 he had said he could see "no circumstances" in which the C-charge would be increased from [pounds]5 but had put it up two years later.

He also came under pressure for promising to serve only one term as Mayor and then changing his mind.

Mr Paddick attracted the scorn of the "attack dog" presenter when he refused to divulge which of his rivals would get his second preference endorsement.

His decision could determine the outcome of the mayoral race as the Lib- Dem candidate has hundreds of thousands of supporters.

"I think Londoners are between a rock and a hard place looking at these two candidates to my left," he said. "I haven't made my mind up yet, it's a very difficult decision. I think they are bad in different ways." However, Mr

Livingstone said he would "without a moment's hesitation" back Mr Paddick if he hadn't already endorsed Green candidate Sian Berry.

Tory candidate Boris Johnson also came under pressure from Paxman who quizzed him over the costings for his new generation of Routemasters.

Mr Johnson has said it would cost just [pounds]8 million a year to replace bendy buses with the new fleet, figures that have been hotly disputed by Labour.

Last night, he admitted it would cost nearer [pounds]25 million to provide the buses with conductors but refused to be drawn on the cost of building them.

Despite repeated calls of "Give us a figure!" from his mayoral rivals and Paxman he would say only that they would cost "no more and no less" than Mr Livingstone's plans for 500 new hybrid buses.

The Tory MP was criticised by rivals for his lack of experience in running a big organisation. The Mayor's City Hall empire employs around 105,000 people while Mr Paddick was responsible for thousands of officers during his time at the Metropolitan Police.

Mr Johnson hit back: "I have run an extremely effective private sector organisation [as editor of The Spectator magazine] and indeed I'm the only candidate at this election with any experience of holding down costs in the private sector." Teased by Mr Paddick for boasting he had been responsible for 50 people, Mr Johnson said: "Your viewers will be interested in the way the Liberal candidate scorns organisations. They are the backbone of the economy and they are what we should be supporting." Watch Boris and Ken's election videos [@](http://www.standard.co.uk/mayor)

Document 57

Indexing (document details)

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Boris: I'm the Mayor to unite all Londoners; Tory promises his policies will help ethnic minorities

PIPPA CRERAR. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 8, 2008. pg. 8

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Apr 8, 2008

BORIS JOHNSON made a bid for the capital's ethnic minority vote today by promising his policies would help Londoners of all backgrounds.

The Tory candidate said his plans to tackle crime and improve transport and housing would lead to a better quality of life across the city.

He accused Ken Livingstone of dividing rather than uniting communities and said the Mayor did not have an automatic right to black and Asian votes.

Mr Johnson was speaking ahead of an Operation Black Vote campaign event where he joined the Mayor and Lib Dem mayoral candidate Brian Paddick to oppose the BNP. He said: "The Mayor must represent the interests of all communities in London. The major issues such as crime, transport and housing affect all Londoners regardless of the community they belong to.

"No one candidate has the right to assume any community will automatically vote for them every vote must be earned. The current Labour Mayor has run out of ideas and has concentrated on politics of division rather uniting people." However, he faces an uphill struggle to convince some ethnic minority voters that he would be the best candidate to look after their interests.

Mr Johnson has come under fire for describing black people as "piccaninnies" although he has since apologised.

Meanwhile, Mr Livingstone has topped the polls when voters were asked which candidate would best represent ethnic minority communities. The Mayor said that London could not afford "to go into reverse gear" on community relations and had to stop the BNP "in its tracks".

He said the party needed just five per cent of the vote to win a seat on the London Assembly which it would then use to "spread their message of hate".

"Stopping the BNP means every Londoner who opposes racism and bigotry needs to vote on 1 May to make it harder and harder for the far-Right minority to get the five per cent they need. Every additional vote cast makes the BNP's five per cent hurdle harder to reach," he said.

"It's very simple if the anti-racist majority votes, the minority of BNP votes will be marginalised. But if we don't vote, the BNP will get elected to the Assembly." Mr Johnson, who has rejected the endorsement of the BNP for the second choice votes of its supporters, added: "It is the responsibility of all candidates to unite in opposing the BNP." Later, the Mayor joined Labour's deputy leader Harriet Harman in her Peckham constituency in a bid to boost turn-out among black voters. Mr Livingstone's election broadcast was shown for the first time last night featuring him meet- ing Londoners and discussing the huge challenges the city faces.

Today Mr Johnson launches the first of three party election broadcasts and his campaign pledge card. More than 100,000 cards will be distributed in the next three weeks. The election broadcast will air at 6.55pm on BBC London Radio and BBC TV. It will be on ITV at 6.25pm..

Document 58

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Boris's lead is the real thing

Anonymous. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 8, 2008. pg. 46

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Apr 8, 2008

YouGov's polls have shown a fairly consistent lead for Boris Johnson in next month's mayoral election, whereas other polls have been one-offs (7 April).

Given YouGov's conspicuous success at predicting previous results, this is not to be taken lightly. Moreover, most polling companies are now engaging in some form of internet polling, the method used exclusively by YouGov.

Criticisms of YouGov for ignoring ethnic minorities are slightly spurious.

All polling companies have difficulties in generating representative samples of ethnic minority voters. While Labour still tends to perform better among such groups overall, minority voters do not vote in unison, with emerging and clear evidence of differentiation in party support between different ethnic groups.

We are three weeks away from the election and given the apparent volatility of second preferences, there are indications that a lot can change. As Tony Travers says, Livingstone is an excellent political campaigner. That said, it is quite telling that YouGov has found one in five Labour-leaning voters are prepared to vote for Johnson.

It is also worth remembering that in 2004, there were signs Labour was faltering in London. Not only did the Conservatives gain more GLA seats than Labour, other Right-wing parties also performed well (UKIP gaining seats, the BNP just missing out). If London is moving to the Right, it is not an entirely new trend.

Justin Fisher, Professor of Political Science, Brunel University.

I'M NOT sure you can trust the polls for the London elections. Ordinary Londoners are underwhelmed by a campaign dominated by personal smears between the two "main" candidates. The nearest thing to animation I have seen in friends and colleagues outside the political bubble was a text from a senior publisher: "Don't know who 2 vote 4 mayor have been Ken supporter but have gone off him & Boris seems 2 b idiot!" Ken Livingstone won last time even though more than 80 per cent of eligible voters did not choose him as their first or second preference. YouGov polling showing that small parties will get only six per cent of the Assembly vote does not reflect the disillusionment with the major parties and reinforces my feeling that its polling is wide of the mark.

When I stood in 2000, I experienced a similar mood and predicted a one-inthree turnout. I was ridiculed for what turned out to be an accurate prediction.

This time it could be worse.

Damian Hockney, lead candidate, One London Party.

BORIS JOHNSON recently missed two high-profile opportunities to be quizzed on his mayoral platform: BBC Radio 4's Any Questions and Time Out's hustings.

Is his campaign manager Lynton Crosby more worried that he will put his foot in it again, or that his lack of depth will be exposed? If Boris wants to lead London, he first needs to demonstrate under scrutiny that he is fully conversant with the issues facing the capital.

Paul McLean-Thorne, N2

Document 59

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Boris is 13 points ahead in mayor race; & but Ken team says poll method is 'flawed'

PIPPA CRERAR. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 7, 2008. pg. 6

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BORIS JOHNSON has a 13-point lead over Ken Livingstone in the latest Evening Standard YouGov poll, published today.

He is up two points on last week's rating to 49 points, with the Mayor down one point to 36, the poll of more than 1,000 Londoners showed.

But the Mayor's campaign said it was launching an official complaint against YouGov, accusing the poll firm of using "flawed methodology".

A spokeswoman claimed YouGov was "misleading the public" and failing to take into account London's ethnic minority population.

The Tory candidate's lead, the biggest yet, suggests he is on course to become the next Mayor of London but has raised fears in his camp that complacency could set in among his supporters, leading to some not turning out.

Aides stressed there is still "a very long way to go" and every vote counts.

Tory insiders claimed their own internal polling put the two main candidates much closer proving nothing could be taken for granted.

In today's poll, Lib-Dem Brian Paddick remained static on 10 per cent and Green Sian Berry on two per cent.

However, once second choice votes are allocated, the Tory candidate leads 56 to 44, which is no change from last week, suggesting Mr Livingstone has won back some second preference support, in particular from Lib-Dem voters.

The poll was mostly carried out before revelations on Thursday night and Friday that Mr Livingstone had fathered three secret children and Mr Johnson had taken cannabis and cocaine.

A spokeswoman for Mr Johnson said: "We hope Boris Johnson's message of change in London on the issues that matter such as fighting crime and antisocial behaviour are getting through to Londoners. However there is still a very long way to go. We think it will go to the wire and every vote will count." His lead puts him in a tricky position as voters can stay away from the ballot box if they do not think their vote will matter. Mr Livingstone's team would also prefer to see a relatively small gap as it would convince activists to continue to work as hard as possible - rather than just giving up.

However, the poll suggests many Londoners feel it is time for a change at City Hall. YouGov questioned a representative sample of 1003 Londoners online between 2 and 4 April. A total of 13 per cent did not yet know who they would support, four points down from the last poll, suggesting many voters are beginning to make up their minds.

Mr Livingstone's vote, according to YouGov, has fallen from 44 per cent in January to 39 per cent in February. It remained static at 37 per cent in March and has today dropped to 36 per cent.

Mr Johnson's lead has crept up from 40 per cent to 44 per cent, then 49 per cent, dropping to 47 per cent last week and back up to 49 per cent today, while Mr Paddick, who launched his manifesto today, went up from eight to 12 per cent but has remained at 10 per cent since. Last week an ICM/Guardian poll showed the race was neck-and-neck with Mr Johnson just a point in the lead, although he was eight per cent ahead among those respondents who said they were absolutely certain to vote.

But questions over the accuracy of the polling are now at the heart of the campaign. A spokeswoman for the Livingstone team said it was now to complain to the Market Research Society, the self-regulatory body for polling firms.

"You Gov's polls are misleading the public and we have therefore decided to make a formal complaint about their basic flaws to the Market Research Society of Great Britain," she said.

YouGov president Peter Kellner said the company would vigorously defend itself if there was a complaint. The firm's polls have predicted the results of a string of elections correctly.

In 2005, it carried out nine polls before the general election, which all predicted the outcome to within one point of the actual result. In 2004, there was a discrepancy between YouGov's online surveys for the Evening Standard and the only published telephone poll, in that case Populus for The Times.

On election day, the Mayor's firstround support, and his final margin of victory, were exactly as the firm reported in its final poll for the Standard among all those giving a voting intention - the same basis as today's 13 point lead for Boris Johnson..

Document 60

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Poll puts Johnson 2% ahead in London mayoral race

FRANK MILLAR. Irish Times. Dublin: Apr 4, 2008. pg. 15

(Copyright (c) 2008 The Irish Times)

BRITAIN: CONSERVATIVE CHALLENGER Boris Johnson has received a reality check from an ICM poll giving him a tight lead of just two points over Ken Livingstone in the London mayoral election.

Mr Johnson's wafer-thin advantage pointing to an increasingly keen contest and a likely knife-edged outcome, contrasts sharply with earlier findings by YouGov, whose online survey earlier this week gave the Conservative candidate a full 10-point lead.

However, YouGov's Peter Kellner said that, if anything, he had expected ICM's telephone poll of 1,002 London voters to be more favourable to Mr Livingstone - and experts were forced to accept that, either way, Mr Johnson is still the front-runner within shouting distance of pulling off a spectacular victory on May 1st.

Mayor Livingstone said that as the election drew closer, Londoners were beginning to concentrate on issues that would affect their lives, like transport, crime, community relations, housing, the environment and the ability to practically run the capital. "That's where I'm picking up support and Boris Johnson is losing ground," he said.

Mr Kellner said sampling fluctuations could explain the differences in the two polls this week and maintained that telephone polls (such as ICM's) had "a pro-Livingstone bias". With all polls subject to margins of error, Mr Kellner ventured: "Perhaps reality lies between the two. Suppose the true state of the race is Johnson 45 per cent, Livingstone 39 per cent. Both ICM's and YouGov's figures vary from this by two-to-three points - and the margin of error on both our

polls is three-to-four points. In short, our differences could be explained by sampling fluctuation."

Some evidence of Mr Livingstone's fluctuating popularity with voters lies in the finding that Mr Johnson is slightly ahead in terms of the second preferences of voters using the alternative vote system.

Yesterday's poll for the Guardian showed Mr Johnson the first choice of 42 per cent of voters, against 41 per cent for Mr Livingstone, then pushing that to a two point lead, 51 per cent to 49 per cent, once second preferences were allocated.

Four years ago the Conservative candidate Steve Norris was the first preference of just 29 per cent of voters in the capital, while Mr Livingstone won more first and second preference votes than any other candidate. This time, according to ICM, 43 per cent of Liberal Democrat voters say they will give Mr Johnson their second preference, with only 30 per cent going to Mr Livingstone. Lib Dem candidate Brian Paddick is trailing on 10 per cent support.

The good news for Mr Livingstone remains that majorities of London voters think he is the man most likely to meet their needs and do something about the environment. The bad news is that more Londoners (41 per cent to 37 per cent) think Mr Johnson will maintain "the highest standards of public office", and (this time by 38 per cent to 28 per cent) that Mr Johnson is more honest than Mr Livingstone.

Document 61

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Boris says sorry over 'blacks have lower IQs' article in the Spectator; MAYORAL ELECTIONS 29 DAYS TO GO

PAUL WAUGH. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 2, 2008. pg. 6

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Apr 2, 2008

BORIS JOHNSON apologised again over race issues today after he was accused of condoning an article that claimed black people have a lower IQ.

The Tory mayoral candidate came under fire from Ken Livingstone and a leading black lawyer over pieces published in the Spectator magazine when he was editor.

In one, columnist Taki wrote that "Orientals ... have larger brains and higher IQ scores. Blacks are at the other pole." In another, he described black American basketball players as having "arms hanging below their knees and tongues sticking out".

When asked today if he had condoned the articles, unearthed by black newspaper

New Nation, Mr Johnson told the Standard: "I am sorry for what was previously written as it does not reflect what is in my heart.

"Ken Livingstone has nothing positive to say about the future of London, or the wave of criminal violence that has cost the lives of 11 young people killed on our streets this year, or yet another strike on our Tube which will disrupt millions of commuters next week, so he has again resorted to negative personal attacks." But the Mayor seized on the articles as further proof of Mr Johnson's lack of commitment to a racially diverse city like London.

Mr Livingstone, who appeared alongside Martin Luther King's son yesterday to commemorate the 40th anniversary of his assassination, said: "Such statements are completely unacceptable

and Boris Johnson as editor of the Spectator should never have let them appear. It shows that Boris Johnson has no adequate understanding of what it means to lead a great multicultural and multi-ethnic city.

"Taki is basically an unpleasant racist-bigot. You just don't give anyone like that a job. If you're happy for that sort of crap to come out in a magazine you're editing, you can't really claim to be fit to represent the most culturally and racially diverse city on earth." The Tory candidate has apologised for articles he had written in which he referred to black children as "piccaninnies" and to the "watermelon smiles" of Africans greeting foreign visitors.

Mr Johnson insisted he "loathed and despised" racism and said his words, written more than five years ago, had been taken out of context. Aides suspect that the Livingstone camp will use the race claims in a desperate last bid to hold on to office.

He told New Nation last week that he had been on holiday when an article in the Spectator claimed that Caribbeans were "multiplying like flies".

Barrister Courtenay Griffiths, QC, said: 'It is surprising that a columnist in the UK could be displaying such Neanderthal attitudes, and you have to call into question Boris Johnson's judgment as editor of the Spectator.'

Document 62

Indexing (document details)

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I'll steal Boris ideas, admits rattled Ken; Mayor pledges to freeze C-charge for four years in Standard debate

PIPPA CRERAR, PAUL WAUGH. Evening Standard. London (UK): Apr 1, 2008. pg. 8

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Apr 1, 2008

KEN LIVINGSTONE has admitted stealing Boris Johnson's key policies in an attempt to revive his faltering re-election campaign.

The Mayor said he would copy the Tory's pledge to force youths who misbehave on buses and are stripped of free travel to carry out community service to get it back. He said he had already borrowed the idea of free bus travel for injured armed forces veterans.

Speaking at a debate between the three leading candidates, he said: "I'm stealing your policies.

What sort of idiot, when they hear a good idea, wouldn't take it on board?" Under "Payback London" proposed by Mr Johnson, children stripped of the free travel privileges for the under-16s could earn it back by completing community service such as removing graffiti or cleaning up fly-tipping. Mr Livingstone has already admitted that he stole his main new policy idea a [pounds]25 congestion charge for gas guzzlers from the Green Party candidate Sian Berry He revealed this month: "When I saw Sian come up with the plan, I thought, 'I'll steal that'." Mr Livingstone pledged not to increase the congestion charge over the next four years, after the [pounds]25 gas guzzler charge comes in this autumn.

"If I'm elected, the [pounds]25 charge will come in, the courts permitting, this October, but that will be the only increase in the next four years," he said.

The policy-grab admission came as he issued a heartfelt plea to Londoners to give him the time to finish off the job, saying: "The best is yet to come." A YouGov poll for the Standard yesterday

put him 10 points behind Mr Johnson on first preference votes and 12 points adrift in a second round. Mr Johnson, who is leading in the polls, has been pushing the message that it is time for a change at City Hall.

And the Mayor, who has been damaged by allegations that he is past his sell-by date, offered the first public sign that he has accepted he may not win the election.

He told the Evening Standard/ITV London Tonight debate at Cadogan Hall: "This is not a tired administration, it's an administration with its best yet to come, and a London with its best to come." However, the Mayor then gave a valedictory sounding address, raising for the first time the possibility he may not be re-elected. "Whether I win this election or not, the thing that will matter most to me on that Friday is that the BNP haven't won a platform at City Hall for their venom and their hatred and intolerance," he said.

Mr Livingstone urged voters to "judge me on what we've done" after a string of policies from providing more police to bringing in the congestion charge.

But Mr Johnson said: "If you're going to have a congestion charge and you're going to drive

EDITORIAL COMMENT: PAGE 1 people through London, then at the very least you owe them a congestion free-er zone. At the moment they're paying more but getting more congestion in the zone." Liberal Democrat Brian Paddick attacked Mr Livingstone for his failure to negotiate with the train operating companies to allow Oyster cards on their services.

"I think if he had a less confrontational approach with people generally, then we'd probably get a lot more co-operation," he said.

The Mayor replied: "I couldn't have been less confrontational with the train operating companies&They've put this off and off and off.

They're a private company and I can't tell WH Smith how to run their business." Mr Johnson and Mr Paddick, both of whom said they would publish details of mayoral advisers on the internet, criticised the Mayor for a lack of transparency at City Hall.

But the Tory was heckled from the floor after he promised an open recruitment process but then failed to say who he already had lined up.

Mr Livingstone came under yet more pressure to declare his campaign donations, which go via the Labour party, even though the Electoral Commission ruled he had not had broken any rules.

He said: "Boris has chosen to personally fundraise.

I think that's a big mistake ... I don't want to know who gives to my campaign because when I take a decision, I don't want to think it will be influenced in any way." The Mayor wound up the debate with a warning of the rising threat from the BNP, which could win a seat on the London Assembly if it takes more than five per cent of the vote.

"Our success is based on the diversity of this city. Resisting intolerance and bigotry is key.

Nothing would be more damaging than to wake up on 2 May and discover the BNP has been elected to City Hall," he said.

"So whether you vote for any of us three or for Sian Berry, vote for the legitimate candidates who want this city to be a tolerant and open one.

The more people that vote, the more difficult for the BNP."

@ Go to www.standard.co.uk/mayor for links to highlights from the Evening Standard/ITV London Tonight debate

Document 63

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Boris stays ahead in the race for City Hall; MAYORAL ELECTIONS 31 DAYS TO GO

PIPPA CRERAR. Evening Standard. London (UK): Mar 31, 2008. pg. 8

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Mar 31, 2008

BORIS JOHNSON has maintained a significant lead over Ken Livingstone in the race to be mayor, an Evening Standard poll reveals today.

The latest survey puts the Tory candidate 10 points ahead, suggesting many Londoners continue to feel it is time for change.

It comes as David Cameron weighed into the mayoral battle today with strong support for his party's candidate. The Tory leader was joining a Johnson campaign rally for the first time as the battle for City Hall entered its final stages.

"I was delighted when Boris decided to run for Mayor because I knew he'd do a brilliant job, not just as a candidate but as exactly the kind of leader that London needs," Mr Cameron told the Standard. "He's a proper Conservative practical, open-minded and keen to get things done." The Tory leader insisted Mr Johnson has a "properly thought through" plan for the city despite Labour claims.

Gordon Brown publicly endorsed Ken Livingstone 10 days ago but there have been reports the Prime Minister does not have high expectations of winning.

However, Mr Johnson's lead has narrowed slightly, a sign that Mr Livingstone's relentless focus on the Tory's competence is beginning to have an impact.

The YouGov poll for the Standard has Mr Johnson two points down from a fortnight ago on 47 per cent, the Mayor remaining static on 37 per cent, Liberal Democrat Brian Paddick on 10 per cent and Green Sian Berry on two per cent.

After allocating second preference votes, the Tory candidate leads the Mayor on 56 per cent to 44 per cent. Mr Livingstone appeared to have been damaged by allegations of cronyism and corruption at City Hall but in the last two weeks has launched a fightback.

He has regained some momentum by unveiling his plans for the environment and housing in the capital.

Meanwhile, Mr Johnson has been pursuing his "below-the-radar" campaign in outer London where he stands his best chance of maximising the Tory vote.

The result comes ahead of an Evening Standard debate tonight where the main candidates will come face to face on the key issues of the campaign.

YouGov questioned a representative sample of 1,051 Londoners online between 20 and 25 March. A total of 17 per cent said they did not yet know who they would support, the same as in the last poll, suggesting there was still all to play for.

Mr Livingstone's vote, according to YouGov, has fallen from 44 per cent in January to 39 per cent in February and has remained static at 37 per cent since.

Mr Johnson's lead has crept up from 40 per cent to 44 per cent then 49 per cent, dropping to 47 per cent today, while Mr Paddick went up from eight to 12 per cent but is now down to 10 per cent.

The poll shows Mr Livingstone would get more of the Liberal Democrat's second preference votes than Mr Johnson.

The Mayor also has a three per cent lead over the Tory, 29 per cent to 26 per cent, when Londoners were asked who they would want in charge in the event of a terrorist attack.

In response to the findings, a spokeswoman for Mr Johnson said: "The only poll that matters is 1 May.

From now until polling day, we will continue to communicate to voters Boris Johnson's plans to make our streets and communities safer, our transport system more efficient, our roads less congested and the need to defend our green spaces and his determination to deliver value for money." A spokeswoman for the Livingstone campaign admitted for the first time it would be "close" but claimed YouGov's findings were "wrong".

"This is obviously going to be a close election, but this YouGov poll is clearly wrong," she said. She claimed YouGov's internet methods were "at variance" with conventional polling which showed stronger support for Mr Livingstone..

Boris still has 10-point lead in race for City Hall; MAYORAL ELECTIONS 31 DAYS TO GO

PIPPA CRERAR. Evening Standard. London (UK): Mar 31, 2008. pg. 8

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Mar 31, 2008

BORIS JOHNSON has maintained a significant lead over Ken Livingstone in the race to be mayor, an Evening Standard poll in association with ITV London Tonight reveals today.

The latest YouGov survey puts the Tory candidate 10 points ahead, suggesting many Londoners continue to feel it is time for change.

It comes as David Cameron joined his candidate on the campaign trail for the first time today. The Tory leader hailed Mr Johnson as a "proper Conservative" with a practical mind as he attacked Mr Livingstone for "arrogance".

He said of the Mayor: "There appears to be very little focus at City Hall on the issues that really matter to London.

"He's completely lost touch with the people who once supported him. He's now effectively the Labour government's representative in London and you get the same arrogance and intolerance of criticism you associate with Gordon Brown." Mr Cameron added that Mr Johnson had a "properly thought through" plan for the capital despite claims from the Mayor's campaign. The pair reiterated Mr Johnson's focus on cutting violent crime with Mr Cameron saying fear of attack was the biggest factor undermining quality of life in the capital.

Despite an overall 25 per cent drop in crime over the past five years, Mr Johnson said: "If you talk to people about their real experiences and look at the reality of what's happening in London it would be irresponsible not to take a stand." Gordon Brown has also publicly endorsed Mr Livingstone but there have been reports the Prime Minister does not think victory is likely. However, Mr Johnson's lead has narrowed slightly, a sign that Mr Livingstone's relentless focus on the Tory's competence is beginning to have an impact.

The YouGov poll for the Standard has Mr Johnson two points down from a fortnight ago on 47 per cent, the Mayor remaining static on 37 per cent, Lib- Dem Brian Paddick on 10 per cent and Green Sian Berry on two per cent.

After allocating second preference votes, the Tory candidate leads the Mayor on 56 per cent to 44 per cent. Mr

Livingstone has regained some momentum with plans for the environment and housing after allegations of corruption and cronyism.

Mr Johnson has also been pursuing his "below the radar" campaign in outer London where he stands his best chance of maximising the Tory vote.

The survey comes before an Evening Standard debate tonight where the main candidates will come face to face on the key issues of the campaign.

YouGov questioned a representative sample of 1,051 Londoners online between 20 and 25 March. A total of 17 per cent said they did know who to support, the same as in the last poll, suggesting there was still all to play for.

Mr Livingstone's vote, according to YouGov, has fallen from 44 per cent in January to 39 per cent in February and has remained static at 37 per cent since.

Mr Johnson's lead has crept up from 40 per cent to 44 per cent then 49 per cent, dropping to 47 per cent today, while Mr Paddick went up from eight to 12 per cent but is now down to 10 per cent.

In response to the findings, a spokeswoman for Mr Johnson said: "The only poll that matters is 1 May." The Tory candidate has also refused to reveal his senior team if he is elected but hinted he would recruit senior corporate figures.

A spokeswoman for the Livingstone campaign admitted for the first time it would be "close" but claimed YouGov's findings were "wrong".

She argued the Mayor polled stronger in polls that do not use YouGov's method.

Home Secretary Jacqui Smith was today accused by Mr Johnson of "propaganda" for Ken Livingstone. Government newspaper adverts today promote "community policing", a central policy of the Mayor. Whitehall rules ban publicity that appears to promote one political party during an election..

Document 65

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Boris's record speaks for itself

Anonymous. New Nation. London: Mar 31, 2008. , Iss. 581; pg. 10, 1 pgs

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LAST WEEK Boris Johnson said he was away when an article was published in a magazine he edited wrote Caribbeans were 'multiplying like flies'. We now reveal four other articles that are as racist. It's not just the Tory candidate's judgement that is in question? it is his heart. Voters can draw their own conclusions.

Document 66

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Comment & Debate: Boris the buffoon is dead. Stand by for Boris the mayor: London is ready for a change from Ken and the floppy-haired one has it in him to do the job. With the right people around him

Max Hastings. The Observer. London (UK): Mar 30, 2008. pg. 35

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There is an old Cold War story about a Western visitor who asked a Muscovite what he thought of Brezhnev. The Russian looked warily about him, then led the visitor away down the street, on through miles of suburbs. Finally, reaching the countryside, he stopped behind a tree and whispered in the Westerner's ear: 'Actually, I don't mind him.'

Where I live, the same precautions would be necessary before saying anything polite about Ken Livingstone. The saloon-bar indictment is familiar: IRA. . . Chavez. . . loony left. . . waste. . . cronyism. . . bendy buses. . . kicking the middle class. If everything west London says about the capital's mayor were true, his re-election on May Day would relegate the revival of Lazarus to amateur status.

I must confess to a sneaking respect - not liking, never that - for Livingstone, which dates back to the night 27 years ago, when, as an Evening Standard reporter, I doorstepped the new leader of the Greater London Council at his north London pad and was invited in to meet his newts.

That he was far left was never in doubt. Much of what he did at the old GLC, and some of what he has done as mayor, provided precious little return to London's taxpayers. But nobody could accuse Livingstone of being a party tool, a Downing Street lackey.

Those of us who want to decentralise Britain and revive local government should acknowledge Ken as part of the price. Whatever else he is, he has always been his own man. The election victory which made him mayor in 2000, having defied Blair to stand, was a good outcome for democracy.

Though a loner with few friends in the Commons, he is a sinuous and skilful politician. Few men better understand how to manipulate ministers. The rulers of Britain's northern cities are awed by his achievements in screwing cash out of the Treasury, notably pounds 10bn for east London regeneration in advance of the Olympics. Tony Blair was obliged to accept this blackest sheep back into the Labour fold after the mayor ran rings around him, not least by making a success of traffic congestion charging.

I cannot mimic the Muscovite and say that I don't mind Livingstone. Having been on the opposite side of London controversies (except congestion charges and Underground finance) for almost 30 years, I mind him very much. But, in assessing the titanic contest between himself and that blond Tory - you know, whatshisname, the one on telly - it seems essential to acknowledge why Ken still has a following.

I first met whatshisname, aka Boris Johnson, when I spoke at the Oxford Union as Daily Telegraph editor while he was its president. I remember feeling cross, that the evening seemed a benefit match for the presidential ego. No, let us be frank: I realised that this callow white lump in formal evening dress was a lot better at playing an audience than I was. A while later, Boris joined the Telegraph. Following a spell as a leader writer, he became our EU correspondent. Over the next few years, he developed the persona which has become famous today, a facade resembling that of PG Wodehouse's Gussie Finknottle, allied to wit, charm, brilliance and startling flashes of instability.

I was the one who had to field the audiotape, dispatched to us anonymously, of Boris conducting a telephone conversation with his old Bullingdon Club chum Darius Guppy, behind bars following an imperfectly executed fraud. Guppy invited Boris to help him locate an inconvenient witness. On tape, our EU correspondent did not say yes, but neither did he say no. Its sender demanded: what was I, as his editor, going to do about this ?

We summoned Boris to London. An interrogation took place, in which he evoked all his self-parodying skills as a waffler. Words stumbled forth: loyalty... never intended... old friend... took no action... misunderstanding. None of us seriously supposed that Boris was a prospective assassin's fingerman. We dispatched him back to Brussels with a rebuke. Matthew Norman teased him for years in the Guardian about his masquerade as the Jackal.

When Boris first revealed political ambitions, I strove to deter him. I said that he could become one of the star journalists of his generation. As he had no money, why sacrifice a great career to fool about in Parliament? I shared the view of more important people, that indiscipline made him ill-suited to office. Yet his passion for politics was incurable. Not long after I left the Telegraph, he became MP for Henley. The rest has been headlines all the way.

Boris seemed indifferent to whether he achieved celebrity through quiz show prowess or marital infidelities. He once taunted me in print for cowardice, because I had rejected invitations

to appear on Have I Got News for You . I suggested in the Telegraph letters column that his own mania for publicity threatened to turn him into a latterday Rector of Stiffkey, who earned undying fame for his sexual dalliances in the 1930s, but was eventually eaten by a lion.

Boris's critics, who include many Tories over 40, dismiss him as a buffoon. Yet it was an inspiration to make him candidate for London. The mayoral election is a personality contest. No other Conservative, and certainly no Lib Dem, could beat Ken. Johnson may well succeed. He has made himself beloved, especially by the new generation. Old Britain perceives refusal to be entirely serious as a vice. Young Britain, and especially young London, deems it a virtue. The speeches, interviews, columns, even bonkings of Boris seem little somethings absent-mindedly whisked up as he goes along.

He sometimes overplays this hand, sounding lazy and incoherent. But he has not done so since the London contest begun. Thus far, his team has its candidate well in hand. He is leaping ahead in the polls. Despite manic self-absorption, he is a really nice guy. He conveys a vulnerability which, allied to his gift for laughter, does much to explain his appeal to girls. He has seized the mantle which Ken has worn for so long. Boris is now the outsider, anti-Establishment man, new broom, fresh face on the block. His rival is old, tired, badly damaged by allegations of cronyism, most notably and credibly advanced by the Evening Standard

The charges look like sticking and, if so, they deserve to hurt. Livingstone has made no personal fortune out of running London. But his style of governance has been corrupted by long, unchallenged possession of power. Under pressure, he often sounds shamelessly nasty.

Ken has done some good things for London, but there is no sign that he will come up with new ones if he is re-elected. Boris's regime, by contrast, could be strikingly innovative. He would probably run the city as a chairman rather than as a chief executive. But David Cameron knows it is vital to his party's national interests that, if his man wins London, he should make a swift success. Cameron cannot allow a victorious Boris to lapse back into clowning. The Labour party would have a field day. Gordon Brown could wave contemptuously towards the capital, saying: 'Here is Tory rule in action.' If, however, Boris's London is seen to change, and to work, the electoral pay-off for the Tories could be huge.

Tony Travers of the London School of Economics, my favourite guru on all matters relating to the capital, suggests that Boris as mayor should model himself on his New York counterpart. Michael Bloomberg plays the gentleman charmer, embraces his foes, builds consensus, eschews confrontation. New Yorkers like his style. London's current mayor prefers trench warfare. For eight years, Ken has identified enemies with less discrimination than Vladimir Putin and heaped bile on critics. We seem overdue for Mayor Nice Guy.

If Boris wins, he will need some hard men in the team he parachutes into City Hall, above all to sort out the disastrous consequences of the private finance initiatives that Gordon Brown, as Chancellor, forced on London's transport system. The mayor's share of responsibility for the Olympics may yet bring more pain than glory. The hugely expensive issue of Crossrail remains unresolved. There is a big job to be done, confronting Bob Crow and the tube unions.

As mayor, Johnson would need to overcome his yearning to make everybody like him, a fatal handicap to success in doing the hard things necessary to run anything. Tories are aware that, if he wins, he will face a difficult transition. Many, even most, mayoral staff appointments have been politicised during Livingstone's eight years of office. But the Tory candidate has it in him to become a London hero, if he can avoid impaling himself on his own extravagances and we should add, given the record, his willy.

Since he entered the race, he has grown, becoming visibly more serious. He could make the capital's mayoralty sparkle. There is no realistic AN Other in this race. It is between old Ken and young Boris. London deserves the chance to see what the challenger can achieve.

Max Hastings is a former editor of the Daily Telegraph and London Evening Standard

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Livingstone took secret campaign donation of Pounds 20,000 from rail union

Sam Coates. The Times. London (UK): Mar 28, 2008. pg. 36

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Ken Livingstone's previous campaign to be re-elected as Mayor of London was financed by a Pounds 20,000 donation from the train drivers' union Aslef that does not appear in the Electoral Commission register, The Times can reveal.

Electoral Commission rules say it must be registered as a donation to Mr Livingstone if it "specifies that it is for the benefit of a particular candidate".

The Aslef accounts reveal that in 2003 the union made a Pounds 20,000 donation to "Mayor of London Electoral Campaign" - yet nothing appears by Mr Livingstone's name on the Electoral Commission website. The revelation has prompted further questions about how Mr Livingstone is able to raise money without having to make donors public by asserting the money goes to the central party coffers.

The Conservatives say that Aslef has made commuters' lives a misery through industrial action.

A Labour Party spokesman said that the mayoral campaign was run by the London Labour Party which was why it did not appear in the Electoral Commission register, and that the Electoral Commission had approved the arrangement as far back as 2004. The spokesman said: "The Labour Party is pleased that the Electoral Commission has today made clear that there has been no breach of party-funding rules by the London Labour Party or Ken Livingstone in respect of donations to the London election campaign."

There was further confusion last night because the Pounds 20,000 Aslef donation does not appear to have been put on the party's national register either, although the union gave 13 separate donations totalling Pounds 53,914.

The Labour Party denies that any donations have not been declared properly.

Greg Hands, Conservative MP for Hammersmith and Fulham, said: "It is outrageous that London voters do not know who is funding Ken Livingstone's expensive campaign for re-election. The whole point of these rules is to allow transparency - yet Livingstone hasn't declared a single donation given to him since 2000.

"The Pounds 20,000 Aslef donation wasn't even declared by the Labour Party, which shows that their arrangements for reporting donations made to Ken Livingstone are utterly flawed. In the public interest, he should release details of his donations right now."

The Electoral Commission confirmed that it had forced Mr Livingstone to take down a form soliciting donations which asked for cheques to be written to the "Ken Livingstone campaign".

Outlining his plans on London's environment, Boris Johnson, Mr Livingstone's Conservative rival, said yesterday that householders should be paid to recycle waste and pledged the planting of 10,000 trees at roadsides.

His proposals were ridiculed by Mr Livingstone, who accused his Tory opponent of "lacking any credible policies" to tackle climate change and being a member of the George Bush club of politicians who had failed to support the Kyoto pact on climate change.

Mr Johnson, saying that he wanted to make London the greenest city in the world, invoked a recycling scheme in US towns and cities whereby people are paid for the weight of material they recycle. By working with London boroughs, he said, recycling schemes could be organised so that residents were rewarded helping to achieve reductions in landfill waste.

In his mini-manifesto on the environment Mr Johnson, MP for Henley, emphasised the need for clean, green open spaces and pledged to spend Pounds 6 million on improvements. He promised to work to stop developers concreting over gardens with blocks of flats and mini-estates, and to protect the green belt.

Document 68

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Ken in the clear over donors; (1) Mayor does not have to declare gifts but must change website(2) MAYORAL ELECTIONS 35 DAYS TO GO

PAUL WAUGH, PIPPA CRERAR. Evening Standard. London (UK): Mar 27, 2008. pg. 8

Full Text (535 words)

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Mar 27, 2008

KEN LIVINGSTONE has been cleared of breaking the law over donations to his re-election campaign but rapped over the knuckles for how his website raises cash.

The Electoral Commission has ruled there is no evidence the Mayor acted illegally in failing to declare hundreds of pounds in gifts, the Standard has learned.

Tory MP Greg Hands had alleged that Mr Livingstone had breached the law requiring individual donations to be listed publicly.

The Commission has decided that the Political Parties, Elections and Referen-dums Act 2000 has not been broken because all of the money was given to the Labour Party in London as a whole rather than to Mr Livingstone directly.

But the watchdog ordered the wording of the Mayors website be changed to avoid giving the impression that gifts would be handed directly to him.

Having met the Labour party and Ken Livingstones election agent, we are sat-ified that there is currently no evidence of a breach, a spokesman said.

However, we advised the party to change its fundraising terminology to reflect money raised would be used by the party to fund its London election cam-paign and avoid any misunderstanding. They have agreed to do this.

Hammersmith and Fulham MP Mr Hands had complained after it emerged this month that the Mayors website urged people to make cheques payable to the Ken Livingstone campaign rather than the Labour Party. The campaign web-site was today changed with all refer-ences to cheques to the campaign deleted.

Boris Johnson has declared all his indi-vidual donations over Pounds 1,000, but neither Mr Livingstone nor Brian Paddick have done so because they say all cash goes to their parties. Mr Hands said: Its out-rageous that the people of London cannot see who funds Mr Livingstones campaign. In the past he has been funded by a mixture of controversial property developers and Tube unions. Livingstone may have been let off by the Commission this time but he must realise there is a legitimate public interest in know-ing who is funding him.

Responding to the Commissions decision, Mr Johnson said: One thing is clear the Mayor continues to hide details of property developers who donate to his campaign. In the spirit of openness and transparency he must release details of donations as I have done. A Labour spokesman said: The Labour Party is pleased the Electoral Commission has today made clear there has been no breach of party funding rules by the London Labour Party or Ken Livingstone in respect of dona-tions to the London election campaign. Last night, at a business hustings featuring all four main mayoral candidates, Mr Livingstone said he had no wish to schmooze big business to raise money for his campaign.

He said he would rather not know whether developers had donated as it might create dif-ficulties in planning decisions.

A senior mayoral aide added: The idea you can influence a planning application worth hundreds of millions of pounds with a Pounds 5,000 donation is absolutely ridiculous. ANDREW GILLIGAN: PAGE 13 "

Document 69

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Johnson ready to take on the tube workers: Mayoral candidate wants to negotiate no-strike deal: Executives approached in search for transport chief

Matthew Taylor, Dan Milmo. The Guardian. London (UK): Mar 27, 2008. pg. 13

(Copyright, Guardian Newspapers Limited, Mar 27, 2008)

The Tory candidate for mayor of London, Boris Johnson, has set himself on a collision course with tube workers in the capital after holding a series of secret talks to find a transport chief to take on the RMT union.

The Henley MP, who was ahead in the latest opinion poll, says he wants to negotiate a no-strike agreement with the union if he wins on May 1, claiming it has had its "thumb around the windpipe of London commuters" for years.

Yesterday a spokeswoman for Johnson confirmed he was holding private talks with senior executives, although she said no job offers had been made.

The RMT dismissed the no-strike plan, and said it would publish results of a strike ballot among tube engineering staff later today which could trigger a polling day walkout on May 1.

"Boris Johnson is living in cloud cuckoo land if he believes this kind of approach could ever work," said a spokesman. "The RMT does not sign no-strike deals and would never give up its right to strike. More working time is lost in Britain through injuries sustained as a result of poor employers than through industrial action."

The outcome of the London mayoral election is expected to shape the political landscape across the UK in the run-up to the next general election.

According to the latest opinion poll Johnson has opened a 12% lead over incumbent Ken Livingstone, although most analysts still believe the race is too close to call.

Steve Norris, the Conservative candidate in the previous two mayoral elections, who has been tipped as a possible member of any future Johnson administration, said yesterday he had been working closely with the campaign for the past six months but maintained he had not been offered a job yet. "I would be extremely pleased to be part of Team Boris but there has been no job offer," he said.

It is understood that if he wins Johnson is considering a replacement for Peter Hendy, commissioner of Transport for London, and a new TfL chairman - a position held by Livingstone.

Both roles are crucial to running the capital's buses and tubes. Christopher Garnett, former boss of the failed GNER rail franchise, was considered but he is now thought to be out of the running. Nicola Shaw, head of FirstGroup's bus operations and Jay Walder, a partner at McKinsey and a former TfL executive, are among names being mooted.

Since Johnson went ahead in the polls David Cameron and senior shadow cabinet ministers have taken a closer interest in his campaign.

Earlier this month Johnson was accused of incompetence after an independent transport analyst uncovered a pounds 100m hole in Tory plans for London buses, and it is thought Central Office wants to avoid any future mishaps.

A senior Conservative figure told the Guardian that Cameron "will not allow" Johnson to damage the party with a gaffe-prone tenure as mayor. He said experienced figures would be drafted in to guide him and rein in his undisciplined streak if he won.

Last night Tony Travers, director of the Greater London Group at the LSE, said he expected Johnson to act as a "chairman of the board" if the Tories win, with a team of deputies underneath him to counter repeated accusations that he is inexperienced.

"If they [the Tories] really are going to bring in a union-busting transport leader he or she is going to have to be very tough," added Travers.

Tube strikes cost the UK economy around pounds 50m per year.

guardian.co.uk/politics/london

Document 70

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Boris: I'll ditch newspaper to plant 10,000 trees; MAYORAL ELECTIONS 36 DAYS TO GO

PAUL WAUGH. Evening Standard. London (UK): Mar 26, 2008. pg. 8

Copyright Associated Newspapers Ltd. Mar 26, 2008

BORIS JOHNSON today pledged to plant 10,000 street trees in London by scrapping Ken Livingstones Pounds 1 million a year newspaper The Londoner.

The Tory mayoral candidate said that ditching what he calls Kens pro-paganda sheet would save enough money to fund new saplings across the city during his first term.

Working in partnership with envi-ronmental charities, Mr Johnson said that the street trees would be brought to areas that need them most.

On average his scheme will plant 250 trees in each area, and all 40 areas will have trees planted by the end of the four-year mayoral term in 2012.

Mr Johnson unveiled his policy proposal, which will be part of his environment manifesto published tomorrow, at a tree-planting ceremony in Redbridge. In the last few years a third of boroughs have seen a decline in the number of street trees the Mayor has done nothing to reverse this trend, he said.

Trees give the capital its identity as one of the worlds greenest cities. But these trees are not distributed equally around the capital. Many London streets, particularly in deprived areas, have no street trees at all. Why should those streets with more expensive houses get trees when others dont?

Tree planting may appear to be a small gesture but will actually improve the lives of thousands of Londoners. It is time we had a new approach in London. I am the man to bring about that change.

But Mr Livingstone's campaign claimed an extra 400,000 trees had been planted across London including on street and in parks since 2004. The Mayor has pledged to plant a further 600,000 trees by 2012 by working with charities and boroughs. A spokesman described Mr Johnson's plan as incredibly ambitious.

The Back Boris campaign says that trees offer health benefits because they provide shade, cooling and moisture, and their leaves trap some elements of road pollution, benefiting asthmatics.

A tree-lined street has only 10-15 per cent of the dust of a street without trees, as well as being 6-10C cooler.

They absorb some traffic noise, as well as providing habitats for local wildlife. Street trees also mitigate the effects of global warming by absorbing carbon dioxide and producing oxygen, cooling streets that are suffering from the heat island effect, and by soaking up rainwater from flash floods. Urban trees can confer economic benefits as well, the Tories say. They point to estate agents' claims that the presence of trees in an urban area correlates with higher property values, perhaps as much as five to 15 per cent higher.

Appendix 2

Application of the approach to linguistic negation to examples of data

Example 1 – establishing and deviating from background norms

[context: This example is taken from Harper Lee's (1960) *To Kill a Mockingbird*. The first person narrator, Scout Finch, is describing one of her neighbours, the Radleys.]

They did not go to church, Maycomb's principle recreation, but worshipped at home.

To Kill a Mockingbird, Lee 1960:10

Through the use of negation and the contrastive *but*, an explicit contrast is set up in this example between going to church (and engaging in *Maycomb's principle recreation*) and worshipping at home, *not X but Y*. The oppositional structure creates an equivalence (Jeffries 2010a) between *not X* and *Y*; here, then, not going to church does not mean that the Radleys engage in some other activity, but that the alternative to churchgoing is staying at home.

Pragmatic presupposition – There is no co-textual reference to churchgoing and thus the utterance projects an expectation that the Radleys go to church and join in the recreational activities with other residents of the town. By noting that the Radleys deviate from this projected expectation, it has the effect of introducing that expectation to the background information on Maycomb.

Linguistic form – prototypical negator, *not*, in a main clause which takes scope over *go to church*. This has the effect of reversing the polarity of the sentence and what it would imply if the Radleys were to go to church.

Implicature – This example flouts the maxims of relation, quantity and manner. It implies that the Radleys are reclusive, isolated and different from the residents of Maycomb.

Example 2 – taking scope over quantifiable features

[context: The Guardian newspaper writer, Polly Toynbee, evaluates the coverage of the 2008 London Mayoral Election in the Evening Standard. She attacks it for having an ‘anti-Ken [Livingstone]’ bias.]

This is no newspaper, it's a Tory campaign sheet more virulent than any previous one I can remember.

The Guardian 29th April 2008 –Appendix 1, document 10

This example, again, takes an oppositional structure, *is no X, it's aY*, contrasting *newspaper* and *Tory campaign sheet*. Here the use of **no** indicates that it is the quantifiable elements of *X* that are being contrasted with *Y*. This constructs a mutually exclusive relationship between being a newspaper and a being a Tory campaign sheet.

Pragmatic presupposition – The utterance pragmatically presupposes that the Evening Standard has the qualities associated with a newspaper; unbiased, objective and reports the news. This draws on general contextual knowledge that the Evening Standard is classified as a newspaper. However, the negator takes scope over the qualities of being a newspaper, rather than its classification. These qualities are, in part, implied by its opposite – *a Tory campaign sheet*.

Linguistic form – The use of the quantifier *no* indicates that the negator takes scope over quantifiable characteristics of a newspaper rather than its classification, and can be paraphrased as *the Evening Standard lacks the qualities associated with being a newspaper*. As the negator takes scope over gradable features it would imply a meaning of *less than* in relation to the implicature that would result from the Evening Standard having those qualities. However, negation tends to give rise to complementary rather than gradable readings (Jeffries 2010b),

which results in a complementary rather than gradable reversal of the implied meaning of the positive in this example.

These quantifiable characteristics could include the following notions; newspapers are objective rather than subjective, unbiased rather than biased, and report news rather than editorialise. Such characteristics are available as part of the background expectations of a newspaper, but also activated as part of the opposition with *Tory campaign sheet*. The characteristics of a campaign sheet could be seen to be that it would be a subjective account from the point of view of the party it supported, biased to that opinion, and editorialising rather than factual reporting. Although these are gradable qualities, and the characteristics noted constitute the opposing ends of a scale, newspapers are widely accepted as displaying some political bias one way or the other. As such, the writer's choice of negation presents an idealised version of what constitutes a newspaper in order to create a wider contrast between what the Evening Standard is and what is presupposed to be.

Implicature – This example flouts the maxims of quality, manner and relation;

Quality – The Evening Standard can be classified as a newspaper and the assertion that it is *no newspaper* requires the reader to search for the reason for ostensibly flouting the maxim.

Manner – the utterance is more ambiguous than it need be, particularly in the form of the negator.

Relation – The question of whether or not the Evening Standard is a newspaper is not ostensibly the topic of the article, but the nature of its reporting.

In this example, the implicature of not having the qualities of a newspaper are made explicit in the oppositional structure where *not X* is equated with *Y*. The implicature then, is that *the Evening standard is biased and supports the Conservative party rather than presenting unbiased news reports.*

Example 3 – Absent entities

[context: These are the opening comments to an article in The Glasgow Herald on Boris Johnson's campaign during the 2008 London Mayoral election.]

THERE was no spinning bow tie, no baggy polka-dot pants or big red nose as the Conservative candidate for London mayor fixed the partisan audience with a stern, cowlike stare.

The Glasgow Herald 28th April 2008. Appendix 1, document 15

In this example, the writer opens his article by evoking the possibility of Boris Johnson appearing before his audience as a clown-like figure and the absence of particular entities indicate his departure from this projected background norm.

Pragmatic Presupposition – The utterance projects an expectation that Johnson would appear before his audience in the guise of a clown. Here, the use of objects associated with a clown, spinning bow tie, baggy polka-dot pants and red nose are being used metaphorically to evoke the wider contextual instantiation of Johnson as a clown-like figure or buffoon. So, here the expected positive that is being deviated from is that Johnson is a clown-like figure.

Linguistic form – prototypical form of negator which takes scope over the noun phrases, *spinning bow ties*, *baggy polka-dot pants* and *big red nose*. Here, **no** functions as a quantifier and indicates the absence of any of the entities listed. The implied meaning of the presence of these entities is straightforwardly reversed in the same way as the negator, **not**.

Implicature – In this example, the maxims of relevance, quantity and manner are flouted.

Relevance – As these are the opening lines to an article which is about the London mayoral election, the non-appearance of items associated with clowns would appear irrelevant to the article. However, given the wider context of the media's representation of Johnson as a

clown-like figure, the reader is likely to recover the implicature that these items are being used metaphorically and generates the implicature that Johnson is deviating from the expectation to behave like a clown.

Quantity – The reader has no reason to expect a politician to appear at a political meeting dressed as a clown and the utterance therefore contains more information than is strictly necessary.

Manner – the use of negation makes the utterance more indirect than it need be.

The implicature is then, that whilst there is a background expectation that Johnson is a clown-like figure, on this specific occasion, his behaviour was more like a politician than a clown.

Example 4 – Negation as denial

[context: This appeared as the headline for SKY News Online’s coverage of Alastair Campbell’s appearance before the Chilcot Iraq war Inquiry.]

Campbell: I did not Sex Up Iraq War Dossier

The focus in this example is the role of negation as denial. Here, the reporter quotes Campbell’s denial, which is made explicit as such in the body of the article – ‘Tony Blair’s former spin doctor has denied he sexed up a crucial dossier ahead of the war in Iraq’. This draws on information which was part of the background knowledge to the utterance.

Pragmatic presupposition– ideal reader/hearer is projected as expecting/believing that Campbell did sex up the war dossier. This possibility was widely reported in the media at the time⁴⁴. So, although the use of negation pragmatically presupposes the expectation, it draws on expectations that were, at the time, firmly established in the background to the utterance⁴⁵.

Linguistic form – Prototypical form of negator which reverses the polarity of the sentence I Sexed Up the Iraq War Dossier, which constitutes the pragmatically presupposed expected positive.

⁴⁴ The phrase *Sexed Up*, used in relation to the dossier compiled by the then Labour government, was coined by Andrew Gilligan. He made the accusation that the document had been constructed to make the situation with Iraq sound more dangerous than it was. ‘One man watching with a particularly keen eye was former BBC journalist Andrew Gilligan. [He had accused Tony Blair's government of "sexing up"](http://www.channel4.com/news/articles/politics/domestic_politics/alastair%2Bcampbell%2Bversus%2BAndrew%2Bgilligan/3498447.html) the September 2002 report into Iraq’s weapons of mass destruction” (http://www.channel4.com/news/articles/politics/domestic_politics/alastair%2Bcampbell%2Bversus%2BAndrew%2Bgilligan/3498447.html - accessed February 2012).

⁴⁵ An equivalent historical example can be seen in US President Nixon’s now infamous assertion ‘I am not a crook’.

Implicature - Here the choice of what to negate does not generate an implicature, though it's function as denial does. As a denial (made explicit in the body of the article) the negation implies that those who accused Campbell of 'sexing up' the document were wrong⁴⁶.

⁴⁶ This analysis only takes into account the role of negation in the potential for generating implicatures – the use of *Sexed Up* could be viewed as a flout of the maxim of manner to imply a negative attitude towards Campbell's (denied) activities.

Example 5 – variation in presupposition

[context: This is a transcript of a TV advert for the Aviva financial group.]

I am not a customer reference number.

I'm not a target market.

Always remember whose money it is.

Take me seriously.

Don't clutter your language with corporate jargon.

Don't treat me like an idiot.

Don't call me by my stage name.

Remember me.

Just recognise me.

This is not business as usual.

This is a company being built around you. This is Aviva.

This discussion focusses on the underlined portion of the above example. The use of negative imperatives here produces a different kind of pragmatically presupposed expected positive (see section 7.2 above). Negative imperatives pragmatically presuppose an expectation that a particular course of action (present or future) is assumed, by the addressee to be viable/appropriate. It therefore assigns the possibility of particular behaviours to the addressee.

Pragmatic presupposition – the addressee currently does or intends to clutter their language with corporate jargon, treat the speaker like an idiot and call the speaker by their stage name.

The wider context for this example is that several speakers appear in an advert for Aviva, each making one point addressed, not to the hearer of the advert, but to some generic non-specific company. The line *Don't treat me like an idiot* was spoken by Claudia Schiffer, a supermodel, so

the context may also draw on a background expectation that beautiful women who make a living from their looks are stereotyped as lacking in intelligence.

Linguistic form – although the form of negator is prototypical, its form as an imperative gives rise to a distinct form of expectation.

Implicature – As noted above, the implicature generated by a negative imperative is related to what is implied by doing that which is prohibited. Treating the speaker as an idiot or calling them by their stage name would be to behave in a way that is not approved of by the speaker. The choice of what is prohibited in this context (an advert for a financial institution) implies that if the addressee treats the speaker in this way, it would in fact be disrespectful. The prohibitions in this example then, generate the implicature that the not treating the speaker like an idiot goes some way to treating them with respect.

Within the wider context of the advert, the implicature is such that Aviva are indicating their difference from the behaviours that are being attributed to some other generic, unspecified financial institution. Since negative imperatives indicate that the prohibited behaviour is unfavourable to the speaker, Aviva's defeat of the expectation that they are like other businesses reverses the implied meaning of behaving like those other businesses, that is they will treat the customers as individuals, rather than stereotypes, and consequently, with respect.

Example 6 – embedded negation

[context: This example is taken from Hilary Clinton’s appearance before the US confirmation hearing in 2009 in which she talks about the conditions for women in Afghanistan. She notes that young girls have been attacked on their way home from school by Taliban sympathisers.]

(7.25) They [the Taliban] want to maintain an attitude that keeps women unhealthy, unfed, uneducated.

This example is concerned with the way in which negation can operate at word, as well as sentence level and embedded within a relative clause. Here the morphological negator, *un-*, negates gradable adjectives at a sub-clausal level, rather than propositions at clausal level..

Pragmatic presupposition – women are expected to be healthy, educated and fed. The pragmatic presupposition of an expectation attributes these qualities as the norm for women. The same propositional content could have been conveyed by sick/ill, hungry and ignorant⁴⁷; the use of negation, however, makes the positive, expected states, explicitly available for comparison with the actual, implied states. This has significant ideological potential which will be addressed further in 6.4 and in Chapter 8. It is also worth noting the use of the logical presupposition trigger here, *keeps*, which presupposes that women are in fact, lacking in health, food and education.

Linguistic form – morphological negation of adjectives. The embedding of negation at word and relative clause level backgrounds it syntactically against the foreground of the assertion. Whilst educated and healthy are gradable adjectives, fed is complementary. Although the negation of healthy and educated could result in a less than meaning, as noted with example () the combination of gradable qualities and negation tends to result in a complementary reading, indicating an opposition between two ends of scale rather than some point in between.

⁴⁷ Ignorant is, of course, another form of negation – lacking in knowledge. Uneducated does not have a canonical semantic opposite in the way that healthy and fed do.

Implicature – The maxims of manner and quantity are flouted in this utterance.

Manner – the same content could have been conveyed by sick, hungry and ignorant, the use of a negated form of their opposite is more complex than is strictly necessary.

Quantity – Since the same propositions are possible in a positive form, evoking the possibility of *healthy*, *fed* and *educated* is more informative than necessary.

The selection of healthy, fed and educated has the effect of establishing these as a background norm and the deviation from this implies that Afghani women are in a worse position than women in the other parts of the world, particularly the West. Within the context of the utterance as a whole, where the negation is embedded, the implicature is that the Taliban exert power over these women by denying them access to what is considered the norm in other parts of the world.

Example 7- Focussing on the positive

[context: This extract is taken from the an article published the day before the 2008 London mayoral election. It is a comparison of the main candidates, Boris Johnson and Ken Livingstone, but criticises Livingstone's time in office and campaign. The congestion charge was introduced by Livingstone during his first term as mayor.]

(26) The congestion charge, a bold initiative, has become steadily less effective in tackling the paralysis of London's roads: traffic speeds are now almost back to pre-charge levels.

The Evening Standard 30/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 2

In this final example, the use of the quasi-positive inherent negator, **almost**, lends the assertion a positive pragmatic force. It generally occurs with quantifiable properties, in this case, *pre-charge levels*. So, although it has the same semantic content as **not**, it provides a means of mitigating the negation by meaning *just less than*. The actual absence therefore, is backgrounded in favour of the possibility of presence.

Pragmatic presupposition – traffic speeds are back to pre-charge levels. This presupposition is not part of the co-text, and for anybody not driving in London, it is unlikely to be a part of their general background knowledge. It therefore creates the expectation at the same time as mitigating it.

Linguistic form- The use of almost, whilst propositionally indicating **not**, realises a metaphorical distance between is and is not and thus modifies the implicature generated by a meaning of *just less than* rather than *opposite to*.

Implicature – if it is the case that the traffic levels are back to what they were before measures were taken to improve them, by introducing the congestion charge, then the implication would be that the congestion charge has failed in its goal. If the assertion was that traffic levels were not back at pre-charge levels, this would indicate a reversal of what would be implied if they were; it would generate the implicature that the congestion charge was successful. However, since almost has the pragmatic force of a positive and indicates just less than rather than opposite to, the implied meaning of the positive is modified by a meaning of *less than*, producing an implicature that the congestion charge is not as successful intended.

Appendix 3

Repeated instances of 'lack', 'lacking' and 'lacked' in relation Boris Johnson in press coverage of 2008 London mayoral election (appendix 1)

It conceals two things: a blinding lack of attention to detail, and (though this might seem to sit ill with the first point) a ruthless ambition.

The Daily Telegraph 30/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 6

Although a new YouGov/Evening Standard poll gave the Tory candidate a healthy lead this week, it also confirmed that many electors have doubts. Some 42 per cent believe he lacks the seriousness required to make an effective mayor.

The Evening Standard 29/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 8

"The very nature of the Tory campaign itself testifies to his lack of competence to do the job of Mayor of London."

The Evening Standard 24/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 24

Livingstone's track record of leadership and competence is without doubt an essential weapon against Johnson's lack of experience and breathtaking inability to master a brief.

The Guardian 24/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 25

But today's revelation is sure to be seized on by opponents as proof of his lack of competence.

The Evening Standard 23/04/2008 – Appendix 1 document 26

His private life and perceived lack of seriousness

The Evening Standard 23/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 27

Today Mr Livingstone continued the attack by criticising Mr Johnson's lack of proposals for the Tube.

The Evening Standard 22/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 31

And while he seems to have found a persona that combines his innate showbiz with an ability to inspire confidence on serious issues, he still lacks the sharpness for which Ken is justly renowned.

The Evening Standard 18/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 36

Does he lack the killer instinct that is so vital at this level, or has his metamorphosis produced a man whose ideas of statesmanship include a notion that you don't stoop to the level of your opponent?

The Evening Standard 18/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 36

And Johnson himself clearly recognised the need to tackle suggestions that he lacked the seriousness and administrative experience to be mayor, remarking amid a series of walkabouts in south-west London that he had to 'legitimate Londoners' desire to vote for me'.

The Observer 13/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 47

The Tory MP was criticised by rivals for his lack of experience in running a big organisation.

The Evening Standard 09/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 56

Is his campaign manager Lynton Crosby more worried that he will put his foot in it again, or that his lack of depth will be exposed?

The Evening Standard 08/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 58

But the Mayor seized on the articles as further proof of Mr Johnson's lack of commitment to a racially diverse city like London.

The Evening Standard 02/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 61

His proposals were ridiculed by Mr Livingstone, who accused his Tory opponent of "lacking any credible policies" to tackle climate change and being a member of the George Bush club of politicians who had failed to support the Kyoto pact on climate change.

The Times 28/03/2008 – Appendix 1, document 67

Repeated absences in press coverage of 2008 London mayoral election (appendix 1)

Serious/serious
ness

“He is simply not a serious candidate.”
The Evening Standard 22/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 30

Many voters still *don't consider Mr Johnson a "serious" candidate* for mayor.
Irish Times 30/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 5

Boris *isn't serious* enough to run London, says Miliband
The Evening Standard 16/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 41

David Miliband...warned voters that Boris Johnson *was not serious* enough to run the capital.
The Evening Standard 16/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 41

...targeting Londoner's worries that Mr Johnson *is not a serious candidate*.
The Evening Standard 29/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 8

...he attempted to lay to rest any perception that he *is not a serious candidate*. The Evening Standard 14/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 44

34percent of Londoners agreed that Mr Johnson *was not serious* enough to be mayor.
The Evening Standard 14/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 44

Although a new YouGov/Evening Standard poll gave the Tory candidate a healthy lead this week, it also confirmed that many electors have doubts. Some 42 per cent believe *he lacks the seriousness* required to make an effective mayor.
The Evening Standard 29/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 8

His private life and perceived *lack of seriousness* (sub-heading).

The Evening Standard 23/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 27)

And Johnson himself clearly recognised the need to tackle suggestions that *he lacked the seriousness* and administrative experience to be mayor, remarking amid a series of walkabouts in south-west London that he had to 'legitimate Londoners' desire to vote for me'

	The observer 13/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 47
Competence	<p>"The very nature of the Tory campaign itself testifies to his lack of competence to do the job of Mayor of London." The Evening Standard 24/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 24</p> <p>But today's revelation is sure to be seized on by opponents as proof of his lack of competence. The Evening Standard 23/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 26</p> <p>The Tory candidate has faced regular charges of incompetence. The Evening Standard 15/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 42</p> <p>Earlier this month Johnson was accused of incompetence. The Evening Standard 15/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 69</p>
commitment	<p>When Londoners vote on Thursday, surely it's a no-brainer? Here is an effete and frivolous Tory only doing it for fun and fame. Never known for passionate commitment to anything but himself, his strongly rightwing views are contemptuously ignorant of all social policies: we know this from his writings. The Guardian 29/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 10</p> <p>Mrs Lawrence told her audience that London's "culture of openness, tolerance and mutual respect is one of the most important things at stake in this mayoral election". She went on to insist that Boris Johnson, Mr Livingstone's Conservative rival, would never have had the "commitment" shown by Mr Livingstone to support the creation of the mentoring and education centre set up in her late son's name. Financial Times 26/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 19</p> <p>Boris Johnson has no serious experience or track record of managing substantial budgets or any previous commitment to this city. London is doing very well right now, but New York, Frankfurt, Mumbai and other cities are looking all the time at how to exploit any advantage and are looking at every issue. The Evening Standard 18/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 37</p> <p>But the Mayor seized on the articles as further proof of Mr Johnson's lack of commitment to a racially diverse city like London.</p>

	The Evening Standard 02/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 61
experience	<p data-bbox="475 306 1453 405">Livingstone's track record of leadership and competence is without doubt an essential weapon against Johnson's lack of experience and breathtaking inability to master a brief.</p> <p data-bbox="783 409 1469 441">The Guardian 24/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 25</p> <p data-bbox="475 510 1465 645">And Johnson himself clearly recognised the need to tackle suggestions that he lacked the seriousness and administrative experience to be mayor, remarking amid a series of walkabouts in south-west London that he had to 'legitimate Londoners' desire to vote for me'.</p> <p data-bbox="783 649 1469 680">The Observer 13/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 47</p> <p data-bbox="475 790 1461 925">The Tory MP was criticised by rivals for his lack of experience in running a big organisation. The Mayor's City Hall empire employs around 105,000 people while Mr Paddick was responsible for thousands of officers during his time at the Metropolitan Police.</p> <p data-bbox="676 929 1469 960">The Evening Standard 09/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 56</p> <p data-bbox="475 1070 1453 1238">Boris Johnson has no serious experience or track record of managing substantial budgets or any previous commitment to this city. London is doing very well right now, but New York, Frankfurt, Mumbai and other cities are looking all the time at how to exploit any advantage and are looking at every issue.</p> <p data-bbox="676 1243 1469 1274">The Evening Standard 18/04/2008 – Appendix 1, document 37</p> <p data-bbox="475 1384 1453 1518">Last night Tony Travers, director of the Greater London Group at the LSE, said he expected Johnson to act as a "chairman of the board" if the Tories win, with a team of deputies underneath him to counter repeated accusations that he is inexperienced.</p> <p data-bbox="783 1523 1469 1554">The Guardian 27/03/2008 – Appendix 1, document 69</p>

