

LATVIJAS UNIVERSITĀTE

BAKALaura DARBS

RĪGA 2017

UNIVERSITY OF LATVIA
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH STUDIES

COVERAGE OF BREXIT ON THE GUARDIAN WEBSITE

BREXIT ATSPUGUĻOJUMS "THE GUARDIAN" MĀJASLAPĀ

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RĪGA 2017

ANOTĀCIJA

Lielbritānijas un Ziemeļīrijas Apvienotās Karalistes lēmums sasaukt referendumu par tās turpmāko likteni Eiropas Savienībā, ir piesaistījis pastiprinātu starptautisko uzmanību. Tika radīts jaunvārds, lai apzīmētu AK izstāšanos no ES – *Brexit*. Pētījums tika izstrādāts, lai izvērtētu, kā *Brexit* tika atspoguļots vienā no masu mediju avotiem. Ietekmīgais britu laikraksts *The Guardian* tika izvēlēts kā avots pētījuma korpusam. Empīrisku datu analīze tika balstīta uz R. Vodakas diskursa-vēsturiskās pieejas teorētiskajām atziņām, pievēršoties *The Guardian* vispārējai nostājai pret *Brexit*. Lingvistiskās analīzes metodoloģisko rāmi veido četras diskursa-vēsturiskās pieejas stratēģijas: nosaukšana, apgalvošana, perspektivizācija, rāmējums vai diskursa reprezentācija, un pastiprināšana vai mīkstināšana. Šī pētījuma rezultātā tika secināts, ka *The Guardian* nepārprotami ir Eiropas Savienību atbalstošs laikraksts, kura mērķis bija pārliecināt tā lasītājus balsot, lai paliktu ES. Lai gan laikraksts atzina, ka Eiropas Savienībai nesen bija grūtības vairāku problēmu dēļ, laikraksts aizstāvēja ideju, ka Apvienotā Karaliste būtu stiprāka Eiropas Savienībā. Tāpēc *Brexit* izvēle tika pasniegta kā kaitējoša AK ekonomikai un iedzīvotājiem. Izmantotie līdzekļi katrā no četrām stratēģijām veicināja negatīvu *Brexit* tēla izveidi.

Atslēgvārdi: Brexit, referendums, nosaukšanas stratēģija, apgalvošanas stratēģija, perspektivizācijas stratēģija, pastiprināšanas vai mīkstināšanas stratēģija

ABSTRACT

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland's decision to summon a referendum to decide its future destiny in the European Union has received much attention worldwide. A neologism has been coined to denote a possible scenario where the UK leaves the EU – Brexit. The present research was devised to determine how Brexit was represented in one of mass media sources. *The Guardian*, being an influential British newspaper, was chosen as a source of the research corpus. The discourse-historical approach elaborated by R. Wodak has been selected as a framework for the empirical analysis aimed at identifying the general stance of *The Guardian* towards Brexit. The methodological framework for the linguistic analysis has been established by four discursive strategies: nomination, predication, perspectivization and mitigation and intensification. As a result of the research, it was identified that *The Guardian* is an explicitly pro-European newspaper that aimed at persuading its readers to vote to remain in the EU. Although the newspaper admitted that the EU had been recently struggling with a number of problems, it defended the idea that the UK would be stronger in the EU. Therefore, a Brexit decision was communicated to be damaging to the economy of the UK and its people. The devices of each of four strategies contributed to the creation of a negative image of Brexit.

Keywords: Brexit, referendum, nomination strategy, predication strategy, perspectivization strategy, mitigation and intensification strategy

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INTRODUCTION

Brexit is an unprecedented historical event that affects politics and economy not only of the EU member states, but the world in general. The decisions upon the procedures to leave the EU, that are being discussed and amended currently, might be taken in the future as guidelines for other possible cases; therefore, all the processes happening now and being concerned with Brexit will have a huge impact on the future regulations of the EU. As media plays a significant role in shaping people's attitude towards the subject, it has been decided to study how Brexit is communicated to the audience through newspapers available online. An influential British newspaper with already established target audience and goodwill, *The Guardian*, is studied in the paper.

The discourse-historical approach elaborated by R. Wodak has been selected as a framework for the empirical analysis aimed at identifying the stance of *The Guardian* towards Brexit. The methodological framework for the linguistic analysis has been established by four discursive strategies: nomination, predication, perspectivization, and mitigation and intensification.

Even though Brexit is a considerably new phenomenon, it has been widely discussed since it appeared in the political arena, however, the novelty of this research is secured by its research corpus, as the study is focused on the perception of a possible Brexit vote and on the stance of the newspaper during the last five days before the EU referendum.

The **goal** of the present Bachelor's paper is to determine the image of Brexit as constructed by *the Guardian*.

The research questions of the present paper are:

- 1) What stance does *The Guardian* hold as regards Brexit?
- 2) Which devices are used in each of the four discursive strategies?
- 3) How does each of the strategies contribute to the communication of Brexit?

The following **enabling objectives** have been set:

- 1) to do the secondary research by studying the available information on discourse analysis, on historical approach to discourse analysis and its strategies, on newspapers as a genre and on *The Guardian* as a newspaper chosen to be examined;
- 2) to do the primary research by reading and analysing the research corpus articles, using Wodak and Meyer (2016) proposed strategies;
- 3) to make the relevant conclusions after having outlined, examined and discussed the findings of the empirical research.

Both theoretical and practical methods are applied in this paper. **Theoretical approach** includes the survey of available information on discourse, discourse analysis and discursive strategies. The inclusion of this approach in the paper promotes construction of a firm theoretical basis that is used as a framework when conducting empirical research. This ensures reliability and validity of the received data, as the research follows a certain pattern chosen and described in the theoretical overview, thus eliminating the chance of the inconsistent structure of the research or any random, unexplained and unplanned actions within it. **Practical approach** is employed to undertake the primary study of the research corpus, using Wodak and Meyer's (2016) discursive strategies, to test the proposed theory and to reach the proposed goal.

The paper has three main chapters – the first two deal with the theoretical overview and the third presents the findings of the empirical research. **The first chapter** is subdivided into two subchapters, each of them being focused on a specific topic. The first subchapter gives the overall information about discourse and discourse analysis as a research method. The second subchapter deepens the discussion and introduces a concept of critical discourse analysis that is later accompanied by the framework on historical approach to discourse analysis with the description of its strategies (Wodak and Meyer, 2016). **The second theoretical chapter** concentrates on newspaper articles as a genre and provides a brief background on *The Guardian*. **The third chapter** begins with the outlined methodology where all the procedures undertaken are shown. Then, the findings of the empirical research are presented by showing the created image of Brexit in *The Guardian* and the devices used in the four Wodak and Meyer's (2016) discursive strategies identified in the research corpus.

1 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND ON DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The present chapter provides theoretical information concerning discourse and discourse analysis that is both viewed as a theory and as a research method. In addition, critical discourse analysis and historical approach to discourse analysis are discussed in the chapter. Discursive strategies of historical approach to discourse analysis proposed by Wodak and Meyer (2016) are outlined.

1.1 Setting theoretical grounds for the empirical research: defining Discourse and Discourse analysis

Mills (2004) emphasizes that the word ‘discourse’ is widely used in many areas of science, and as a result, there is no unified explanation of the term (2004:1). The scholar suggests that the ambiguity associated with the term might stem from the interconnectedness of two senses – a more universal and the one applied in theoretical settings (ibid.:1).

Interestingly, Gee (1989) differentiates two kinds of discourse where the produced information, acts, behaviour, communicated principles and a stance being viewed as a whole entity represent the first form of discourse and should be written with a capitalised initial letter, thus, showing the prevailing importance and depth of this version of a term over the second one, which is explained as coherent language pieces bearing certain meaning (1989:6).

Marnette (2005) advocates the French understanding of the term (2005:6-7) where discourse is seen as an exchange of information by language means, taking place between two parties, thus focusing on interpersonal function (Leech and Short, (1981:209) cited in Marnett (2005:7)). Leech and Short (2007) use this definition to contrapose discourse and text by specifying that contrary to complex and broad essence of discourse, ‘text is linguistic communication’ in both oral form or in writing that is considered solely as information presented by visual tools and sounds (2007:168).

Bhatia (2004) understands discourse as the way how language is employed in a number of situations: at work, in formal settings or in a more broad sense, in the society (2004:3).

Jones (2012) outlines three perspectives on discourse, where the first perspective focuses on considering discourse ‘as ‘language above the level of the clause or sentence’ that is known as ‘a formal approach’ (2012:36). The second approach suggested by Jones is ‘functional approach’ within which discourse is seen ‘as ‘language in use’, and the third is called ‘a social approach’ and offers a view on discourse as on an entity integrated in the society (ibid.). Jones suggests that all these three approaches should be taken into

consideration when carrying out the practical analysis (Jones, 2012:38): formal approach is taken when studying the text as a unity, thus it would help to have an overview of the articles selected for the present analysis; functional approach can be used when identifying the attitude towards Brexit and social processes related to it; finally, social approach can help to understand texts in relation to the newspaper's target audience.

Jones (2012) explains why discourse analysis is needed by asserting that a person is involved in it as soon as he or she attempts to understand the message conveyed by the other person, or when a person himself or herself aims to deliver numerous and at the same time complex messages to the addressee (2012:4). Communication becomes more successful if we know how discourse is organized, as it allows us a deeper perception of others around us (ibid.). In addition, using discourse analysis enables us to see how the social groups to which we belong are designed and operate by means of daily transfer of information via speech, in writing or by any other means (ibid.). Hence, discourse analysis is not solely limited to the examination of possible language use opportunities, but it also includes the research of many aspects of human life, for instance, political aspects, the notion of control or human behaviour and emotions (ibid.:4-5).

Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) claim that 'discourse analysis is not just one approach, but a series of interdisciplinary approaches that can be used to explore many different social domains in many different types of studies', they offer an introductory explanation of the term defining it as a given perspective through which the whole world or its part are perceived or from which these are discussed (2002:1).

Continuing the idea of discourse embracing many components and being a complex issue, Paltridge (2006) provides a broad definition of discourse analysis: 'an approach to the analysis of language that looks at patterns of language across texts as well as the social and cultural contexts in which the texts occur' (2006:1). Furthermore, Nunan (1993) specifically highlights the significance of context within 'discourse analysis' (1993:7). Context is a setting causing discourse to emerge as well as incorporating it (ibid:7-8). Nunan splits the concept of context into two kinds – 'linguistic' and 'non-linguistic context' (ibid.:8). 'Linguistic context' is applied to describe the language that either is found around or together with the studied discourse fragment (ibid.). 'Non-linguistic or experiential context' is used to denote the environment where the discourse occurs (ibid.). Gee (2008) draws a parallel between a game of cards and language to explain the role of context (2008:182). The scholar insists on the interplay of a piece of text with other language units, ideas, acts, entities, instruments and items around, resulting in a certain system at a definite time period and within the given spatial circumstances, to be the only possible sense attributing criterion to the text (Gee,

2008:182). Thus, from this statement, it can be derived that without a context a text cannot be understood in its entirety. Moreover, such a system being a definite ‘social action’ has sense merely when being viewed as a part of one or more discourses (Gee, 2008:182). Hymes distinguishes two types of people involved in communication – he denotes them as either ‘addressor’ or ‘addressee’ (Hymes, 1964 referred to in Brown and Yule, 1988:38). Both of the previously mentioned actors have distinct functions: an ‘addressor’ gives information, but an ‘addressee’ absorbs it (Hymes, 1964 referred to in Brown and Yule, 1988:38). Therefore, an ‘addressor’ being defined, allows a researcher to envisage the possibly coming information (Brown and Yule, 1988:38). Hence, bearing in mind the chosen newspaper – *The Guardian*, certain style and manner of reporting can be expected. In addition, being aware of an ‘addressee’ lets a researcher predict the upcoming information more accurately (Hymes, 1964 referred to in Brown and Yule, 1988:38). Moreover, context is anchored with the ‘topic’, it being Brexit for the chosen articles (ibid.). Furthermore, context comprises ‘setting’ that has both spatial and time frames, ‘channel’ meaning the mode of communication, ‘code’ specifying the language and inherent to it local peculiarities as well as style in which the information is presented, ‘message-form’ and ‘event’, the knowledge of which allows to detect the genre (ibid.). Moreover, Hymes offers two more components of context that are ‘key’ or assessment and ‘purpose’ expected by those involved in communication (Hymes, 1964 referred to in Brown and Yule, 1988:39).

Additionally, Traynor (2006) highlights the advantage of discourse analysis stating that it is concentrated on the way the sender of the information, be it a speech or a piece of writing, tries to convince to behave in a definite manner or to introduce himself or herself, or the other person (2006:62-63).

Brown and Yule (1988) claim that ‘the analysis of discourse is, necessarily, the analysis of language in use’ (1988:1). Therefore, discourse analysis is not limited merely to characterization of language without mentioning its role and tasks in interaction between people (ibid.). The scholars add that discourse analysis aims at researching the reasons of language employment (ibid.).

To explain how discourse analysis might be relevant for and assist in news analysis Van Dijk (1983) mentions that news is not considered being a full or partial report on the current events; on the contrary, news is a type of reflecting or rebuilding the world around us, while being governed by social moral principles and certain regulations (1983:28). Furthermore, the process which results in news as an output requires three aspects: a set of established actions involved in the profession and used to work with the sources of information; communication between those employed in the sphere of journalism as well as various interpretations of the

events (Van Dijk, 1983:28). Van Dijk insists that ‘media discourse’ is not to be viewed solely as an end result of procedures needed to acquire this news, but on the contrary, it shall be perceived obligatory as an elaborate process that comprises information, thoughts and standpoints that correspond to current or future target audience of the newspaper, present or awaited data about something happening in the world and the society as environment where the news is created (ibid.). Additionally, the process of news creation should not be regarded as a straightforward reflection on anything occurring in the world no matter whether perceived objective or subjective; however, the news creation should be approached as a kind of discourse management and formation (ibid.).

Elaborating on a theme of news as a part of discourse, Van Dijk (1988) asserts that the choice towards discourse analysis as a tool of studying media sources has been made considerably recently (1988:3). Van Dijk names those involved in a transfer of information by means of news as ‘social actors and group members’ implying by it those employed by media sources and those reading or watching the news (ibid.:18).

Having covered basic information on discourse analysis, it is necessary to move on to critical discourse analysis and later to focus on discursive strategies proposed by Wodak and Meyer (2016).

1.2 Discussing Critical Discourse Analysis and its components

Schiffrin, Tannen and Hamilton (2003) state that ‘Critical discourse analysis’ is a category of ‘discourse analytical research’ which main goal is to examine how written or oral communication expresses, recreates or opposes the overuse of power, supremacy and discriminative treatment within a society or in politics (2003:352). Critical discourse analysis, differing notably from other studies in the field, is supposed to assist in comprehending, revealing and confronting discrimination in the society (ibid.). Van Dijk (1993) agrees with the aforementioned and adds that critical discourse analysis principally concerns aspects of discourse that regard the overuse of control and its consequences in the form of discrimination and lacking justice (1993:252). To add on this point, van Dijk emphasizes the feature that makes critical discourse analysis different from other possible methods in the area: critical discourse analysis is not meant to directly develop certain field, model, approach or ‘discourse theory’; this distinctive feature derives from critical discourse analysis being concentrated on superiority and discrimination (ibid.). Hence, critical discourse analysis is concerned about and encouraged by current problems topical for the society; critical discourse analysis tries to deepen the comprehension of these matters by means of discourse analysis (ibid.).

Moreover, Schiffrin, Tannen and Hamilton claim that critical discourse analysis should not be aligned with other existing methods of investigating discourse (2003:352). On the contrary, critical discourse analysis is supposed to suggest a distinct angle from which to consider derivation of theories, conducting studies and practically using it in the entire relevant area of employment (ibid.). Several preconditions should be met for critical discourse analysis to be seen as valid (ibid.:353). First, critical discourse analysis concentrates mainly on important matters present in a society and in politics but not on the contemporary trends and frameworks (ibid.). Second, a proper primary research that targets examining difficult issues in the society often involves the use of several disciplines (ibid.). Third, critical discourse analysis is not applied to solely outline the features of ‘discourse structures’; in turn, it intends to interpret them as a part of communication in the society and, specifically, within the order how society is organized (ibid.). Last, critical discourse analysis is centred on possible variants of how discourse structures present, approve, validate, recreate and question control and superiority among people (ibid.).

Fairclough and Wodak outline eight core principles of critical discourse analysis: 1) critical discourse analysis deals with problematic issues found in the society; 2) ‘power relations are discursive’; 3) discourse is inherent in social and cultural aspects of human life; 4) discourse is a tool of spreading ideology; 5) discourse should be viewed within historical events; 6) ties between written communication and the general public are kept balanced; 7) ‘discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory’; 8) ‘discourse is a form of social action’ (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997:271-80 referred to in Schiffrin, Tannen and Hamilton, 2003:353).

As critical discourse analysis is not perceived as a definite branch of studies, it lacks a standardised theoretical basis (Schiffrin, Tannen and Hamilton, 2003:353). Critical discourse analysis depends on the subject of analysis and, hence, its genre (ibid.). However, having a set of identified goals of critical discourse analysis and a generally shared view on it, allows scholars or researchers to discover similar schemas that are both based on theory and ideas (ibid.). The majority of critical discourse analysis types are interested in the use of certain discourse elements that manifest control supremacy in the society, regardless of the communication forms and settings (ibid.:353-354).

Schiffrin, Tannen and Hamilton state that exactly ‘power’ is a key concept in critical discourse analysis; in addition, it is even further narrowed down to the control exercised by communities over another, which they call as ‘social power’ (ibid.:354). Then, as a conclusion, ‘social power’ is offered to be regarded as ‘control’ (ibid.). Therefore, groups are considered influential to a certain extent as long as they have some authority over the

behaviour and opinions of outer-group participants (Schiffrin, Tannen and Hamilton, 2003:354-355). This is possible because those advantaged can attain some of the limited amount of benefits that the society appreciates, for instance, might, finances, position in the society, popularity, expertise, data, cultural aspects or contacts and group membership (ibid.:355). There are many kinds of power, each of them having distinct sources that ensure control – the might of army and criminals comes from physical strength, the wealthy people are influential because of the fortune they possess, while family members, teachers and people employed in journalism can be convincing to a certain extent due to their expertise, respected position or data that they have (ibid.). It is specially emphasized that control is rarely unrestricted (ibid.). Hence, ‘groups may more or less control other groups, or only control them in specific situations or social domains’ (ibid.). Furthermore, the groups being governed can either agree with their position or confront it, they can legalize this control or perceive it as normal (ibid.).

Weiss and Wodak (2003) add another essential element for critical discourse analysis that is ‘ideology’, which has a significant role in creating and preserving unfair distribution of power (2003:14). The scholars assert that critical discourse analysis is especially concerned about how ‘language mediates ideology in a variety of social institutions’ (ibid.).

In this subchapter, critical discourse analysis has been reviewed as media is believed to shape society attitudes towards a certain issue. Therefore, to understand how Brexit is presented to the broad public, Fairclough and Wodak’s eight critical discourse analysis principles (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997:271-80 referred to in Schiffrin, Tannen and Hamilton, 2003:353) are taken into consideration while doing the empirical research, especially the first, as Brexit referendum was an issue of a high importance to the British society, and the fourth, as the newspaper is supposed to take a definite stance in the debate.

1.3 Establishing framework for practical analysis: discourse-historical approach and discursive strategies

This subchapter introduces the historical approach to discourse analysis elaborated by Wodak and Meyer (2016). The practical part of the present research is based on the theory outlined below.

Wodak and Meyer (2016) offer ten principles that underlie discourse-historical approach (2016:31). First, conducting research using discourse-historical approach demands the use of many disciplines at every stage of the study, which regards theoretical overview, research plan and procedures, empirical part of the work and its actual applicability (ibid.).

Second, discourse-historical approach is focused on the chosen issue (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:31). Third, the use of different theoretical frameworks and approaches results in reasonable knowledge about the studied object and in its comprehensive description (ibid.). Fourth, in case it promotes a more detailed examination of the studied phenomenon and a better theoretical discussion, this approach presupposes the use of such two methods as ‘fieldwork’ and ‘ethnography’, the latter of which aims at exploring the subject from an insider’s perspective (ibid.:32). Fifth, there is a strong link between theoretical basis of the work and the findings of the research; hence, the parts are interconnected and reflect on each other (ibid.). Thus, three elements are involved in such a study: 1) ‘abductive reasoning’ which includes observation of the information and its indirect connection with the already existing theoretical frameworks that results in ‘explanatory hypotheses’ as an outcome; 2) ‘inductive procedures’ – testing in practice the validity of the proposed hypotheses; 3) ‘deduction’ that is not a compulsory element and is applied if relevant – suggesting a possible result that stems from the knowledge of theory (ibid.). Sixth, the approach targets the examination of various genres, different types of ‘public spaces’, links between separate texts and ties within independent discourses (ibid.). Seventh, this approach implies that texts as well as discourses are seen within historical settings (ibid.). Eighth, research procedures and approaches are selected individually and developed for each new study to be better adapted to the object of the study (ibid.). Ninth, Weick (1947) states that research is generally based on so-called ‘grand theories’; but, the use of ‘middle-range theories’ often gives a chance for certain studies to exceed the results possible with ‘grand theories’ in creating theoretical justification (Weick, 1974 referred to in Wodak and Meyer, 2016:32). Tenth, it is crucial that specialists in the field can access the outcomes of the study and use them, as well as the society is informed about them; consequently, the further employment of the achieved outcomes is vital for discourse-historical approach (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:32).

Wodak and Meyer claim discourse-historical approach to rely on three aspects (2016:32). The primary task is to find a definite message that a chosen discourse conveys or its one or several subjects – Wodak and Meyer use the following terminology to name these concepts – ‘content’ and ‘topic’, respectively (ibid.). This step is followed by the analysis of ‘discursive strategies’ (ibid.). Finally, the approach demands both the study of various kinds of ‘linguistic means’ and ‘linguistic realizations’, the latter ones are perceived as symbols, thus changing their meaning according to a new text and situation (ibid.).

Wodak and Meyer offer five discursive strategies (2017:33); to use these, five questions should be considered (ibid.:32). The first question asks about the possible language means used to speak about people, things, occasions, situations, concepts and to denote how people

act and what is happening at the moment (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:32). The second question aims at identifying how people and the items mentioned in the second question are described (ibid.). The third question concerns the presented evidence in the chosen discourse (ibid.). The fourth question is posed to clarify the stance from which everything is named, described and disputed (ibid.). The last question deals with the manner how the information is provided – whether it is done secretly or not, or whether the information is highlighted or softened (ibid.).

The five strategies proposed by Wodak and Meyer (2016) are: ‘nomination’, ‘predication’, ‘argumentation’, ‘perspectivization’, ‘intensification or mitigation’ (2016:33). Every strategy has its purpose which is attained by using a certain set of language means (ibid.). The aim of nomination is to establish the chosen concept, person or situation in the discourse (ibid.). In this category the following means are used: language that shows belongingness to a group – ‘membership categorization devices’, ‘deictics’, ‘anthroponyms’, ‘metaphors’, ‘metonymies’, ‘synechdoches’ as well as nouns and verbs describing ongoing situations (ibid.). The next strategy offered is ‘predication’ (ibid.). Language means most frequently used in this strategy are meant to describe, for instance, clauses or adjectives (ibid.). Argumentation as a strategy implies confirming or doubting statements, which are seen as true, and commonly accepted as just (ibid.). Wodak and Meyer name solely two means for argumentation – ‘topoi’ and ‘fallacies’ (ibid.). Additionally, perspectivization refers to where the producer of information is found in discourse; whether this person distances from the said or written or not (ibid.). Perspectivization is expressed, for instance, through metaphors or quotes (ibid.). The last is the strategy of intensification or mitigation (ibid.). It uses linguistic means that can either amplify or lessen something, for example, hyperboles and litotes (ibid.).

Wodak and Meyer (2016) designed a template to follow when conducting a discourse-historical analysis (2016:34). The research shall begin with stage when the information concerning the previous studies is gathered and analysed (ibid.). Then, Wodak and Meyer suggest that the information that is to be studied in the research as well as the facts describing context should be attained in a structured and consistent manner (ibid.). The third step involves the process when the received information is evaluated and the part of it that complies with the proposed standards is used for the research; thus, the amount of the information is lessened and it is ready for the chosen type of investigation (ibid.). Further, the research questions are refined and are outlined in a more detailed way, as well as the expectations of the research are drawn - while doing this a researcher relies merely on the results of secondary research and on the information received when familiarizing with the research data (ibid.). As the fifth step, Wodak and Meyer offer a ‘qualitative pilot analysis’

(Wodak and Meyer, 2016:34); this step is omitted in the present empirical research, as, otherwise, it would be much more extensive than required at this stage. The next step is focused on a case study with special attention paid to the details when examining information, where the preference is given to the qualitative approach, even if quantitative method can also be applied (ibid.). The seventh point in Wodak and Meyer's plan presupposes the production of critical assessment that follows the Wodak and Meyer's (2016:25) 'three dimensions of critique'; this stage implies the clarification and description of findings within the given context where the data was found (ibid.). Last, the outcomes of the research should be used in the field, aiming at influencing the society in some way (ibid.). Wodak and Meyer add that this guideline is exemplary, and it is to be implemented to the studies of a kind of doctoral thesis (ibid.).

As referred to in the seventh step above, Wodak and Meyer propose a model for critique that is comprised of three elements: 'text or discourse immanent critique', 'socio-diagnostic critique' and 'prospective critique' (2016:25). The first type of critique that is 'text or discourse immanent critique' seeks to find discrepancies within the discourse and the text (ibid.). The purpose of 'socio-diagnostic critique' can be defined as finding how discourse attempts to influence the society, especially when it is done indirectly (ibid.). 'Prospective critique' is oriented towards future and is meant to positively contribute to the way people communicate (ibid.).

Summarizing, the theory outlined in the present subchapter is used as a framework for the following empirical research. Considering the interest of the paper in the communicated image of Brexit and not in the validity of made claims, which is the essence of argumentation strategy, the research corpus articles are to be examined in terms of four out of five Wodak and Meyer's (2016) strategies: 'nomination', 'predication', 'perspectivization' and 'intensification or mitigation'.

The first theoretical chapter has given an overview of such concepts as discourse, discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis and, finally, it has outlined the schema for further research that is based on discourse-historical approach.

The next chapter discusses newspapers as a genre and provides a brief description of *The Guardian*.

2 NEWSPAPER ARTICLES AS A GENRE

Newspaper articles are the object of the present research. Therefore, this subchapter is dedicated to the discussion of a newspaper article structure and to the creation of the informational background about *The Guardian* that was chosen to be studied. In addition, the concept of a discourse community is introduced as it is important in the discussion of the newspapers' target audiences.

To begin with, the concept of genre should be clarified as the newspaper article structure is presented later. Swales (2008) states that at present the term 'genre' is normally applied to speak about 'a distinctive category of discourse of any type, spoken or written, with or without literary aspirations' (2008:33). Lee (2001), in turn, says a 'genre' to be

a category assigned on the basis of external criteria such as intended audience, purpose, and activity type, that is, it refers to a conventional, culturally recognised grouping of texts based on properties other than lexical or grammatical (co-)occurrence features, which are, instead, the internal (linguistic) criteria forming the basis of *text type* categories (2001:38).

Balegh and Sadegoghli (2016) have researched US newspapers and outlined the structure of a news article (2016:113). According to Balegh and Sadegoghli (2016), a newspaper article has eight elements, five of which are mandatory and three can be included or omitted (2016:113). To begin with, the compulsory elements are: 'Relevant Headline', 'Introduction', 'Statement of the Problem', 'Argumentation' and 'Recommendation' (ibid.:113-114). The non-compulsory elements include a 'Sub-Headline', 'Background Information' and 'Starting with Argument' (ibid.:115). The information reviewed in this paragraph is used to allow a better understanding of articles when first reading them and later analysing.

Khalid and Ahmed (2014) suggest three directions in which a newspaper can affect its readers: it can communicate information, it can call to a discussion or it can amuse (2014:7). However, they claim that a newspaper should avoid using misinterpretation and overdramatization of data as a tool to increase a number of readers (ibid.).

Speaking about the importance of newspapers, Druckman (2005) insists on them being a more plentiful and qualitative source of information regarding politics in comparison with news reports broadcasted on television (2005:463). Newspapers have an advantage over television in terms of the amount of the offered information and because of the opportunity to adapt the speed of perception of the new data, which cannot be done while watching news reports (ibid.:474). In addition, in Entman (1989), media is conventionally seen to have a great impact in determining the issues the society sees as the most vital (McCombs and Shaw,

1972 referred to in Entman, 1989:347). Therefore, Brexit being a considerably significant event in the EU home and external politics, such a mode of communication to the broader audience as newspapers shall be studied.

The online versions of newspapers were chosen for the present research to ensure access to a larger sample of data, as it is possible to search for earlier published articles in an online format. De Waal, Schönbach and Lauf (2005) in their comparison of printed and digital newspapers, distinguish between a 'display medium' which refers to a paper format and a 'research medium' which denotes digital versions of newspapers; the last term implies that online newspapers allow to search for a specific topic and to investigate it in details (De Waal, Schönbach and Lauf, 2005:57). Not only are the newspapers seen as an object of the research in the present paper, but also they are considered as a 'research medium' (ibid.) to find out more information on Brexit and attitude towards it.

Borg (2003) claims that language is not usually a tool to transfer information to the whole world at once; however, it is used to pass information to every person separately from each other or to all of them together (2003:398). Therefore, newspapers also have their specific target audiences and articles, consequently, are written purposefully to appeal to the readers' interests. Hence, the concept of discourse community should be reviewed in relation to the topic of the present paper. Bizzell (1992) defines a 'discourse community' as 'a group of people who share certain language-using practices' (1992:222). According to Swales (1988), a discourse community is created by people with the same 'functional rules' identifying the relevance of the language employed (1988:211).

Moreover, Swales (1988) proposes six features that determine a discourse community (1988:212-213). First, the participants of a discourse community have publicly known aims which they pursue (ibid.:212). Second, there are tools that govern transfer of information among discourse community participants (ibid.). These 'participatory mechanisms' can be numerous: common gatherings, communication via digital appliances, letters or e-mails and many other (ibid.). Third, a discourse community keeps operating because it ensures its members with relevant data and they, in turn, give evaluation of group's activity (ibid.). Fourth, 'discoursal expectations' are both already inherent in a discourse community and in the process of their formation (Swales, 1988:212). 'Discoursal expectations' include the relevance of themes, ways of how discourse components are expressed, the roles and place they have as well as the importance and tasks assigned to texts in a discourse community's maintenance (ibid.). Fifth, being the consequence of the four previous features, a discourse community has a strong tendency to create a set of definite terms that is well-known to all its

members (Swales, 1988:212). Sixth, there is a definite number of discourse community participants that have an appropriate level of knowledge of a subject and discourse (ibid.:213).

The next subchapter introduces the background information on *The Guardian* and provides data on its readers, that is their relevant discourse communities.

2.1 Background information on *The Guardian* and its readers

The first issue of *The Guardian* appeared on 5 May, 1821 (Online 1). *The Guardian* has commenced entering online format since 1995 (ibid.). It is stated that ‘The Guardian Unlimited network of websites was launched as a unified whole in January 1999’ (ibid.). Thus, in two years’ time after that date, that is in March, 2001, was admitted to be ‘the most popular UK newspaper website’, having gained the audience of ‘2.4 million unique users’ (ibid.).

The audience of *The Guardian* printed press is estimated to be 829,000 (Online 2). *The Guardian*’s readers’ profile is considerably diverse, concerning the age structure (ibid.). Although the majority of readers are above the age of 65 (24.2 per cent), the division in age groups is almost equal (ibid.). There are six age groups; apart from the last one, comprising the readers older than 65, the difference between the other five groups does not exceed eight per cent (ibid.). Consequently, it might be concluded that *The Guardian* has gained credit among different generations. In turn, the number of *The Guardian*’s online readers is 1,242,000 (ibid.). The majority of online readers that is 62.5 per cent are older than 35 (ibid.). Regarding the belongingness to a social class, *The Guardian*’s printed press readers are mostly ‘ABC1’ and ‘ABC1C2 adults’; however, the absolute majority of those reading the newspaper online belongs to ‘ABC1 adults’ (ibid.). The data provided by the online source dates back to 3 March, 2017 (ibid.). The coding given to describe *The Guardian*’s audience denote a social class of readers; thus, *The Guardian* readers take positions in administrative, professional and managerial spheres, ranging from lower to higher positions (shown with letters ‘ABC1’); in addition to this, the newspaper’s readers are also skilled manual workers (denoted under ‘C2’) (Online 3). Therefore, it is evident from the previously stated that the newspaper’s readers have, in their majority, higher education.

This chapter has discussed theoretical information on newspapers that is later used when conducting the empirical research. This chapter concludes the theoretical overview given in the paper.

The following chapter opens with the description of methodological procedures and continues with the overall information on Brexit and the presentation of the empirical research findings.

3 ANALYSIS OF *THE GUARDIAN* WEBSITE ARTICLES ON BREXIT USING DISCOURSE-HISTORICAL APPROACH

Present chapter describes the methodology used in the empirical part of the paper, that is it lists the procedures undertaken, discusses the used approaches in the study as well as it defines data reliability and validity; afterwards, the chapter presents the findings of the analysis of 38 *The Guardian* articles.

3.1 Outlining the methodology and procedures used in the present paper

The present empirical research follows a set of procedures:

- Reading and selecting articles from *The Guardian* to constitute the research corpus;
- Using Wodak and Meyer's (2016) five-question framework when identifying discourse-historical approach discursive strategies in the research corpus;
- Identifying linguistic means used in each of four chosen discursive strategies;
- Designing tables and charts to show the quantitative results;
- Answering the research questions;
- Interpreting and explaining the findings;
- Drawing the relevant conclusions.

The empirical analysis is performed by applying linguistic methodologies used in the discourse-historical approach, namely, content analysis and corpus analysis.

Content analysis is 'a systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding' (Berelson, 1952; GAO, 1996; Krippendorff, 1980; and Weber, 1990 referred to in Stemler 2001:1). In the present paper, the articles were studied in terms of the devices used in Wodak and Meyer (2016) discursive strategies, for instance, "metaphors", "nouns" or "verbs", which are identified in the research corpus, then included into the tables (see Appendix 1) and analysed. Then, to conduct corpus analysis, the criteria of topic and time were set, and the research corpus was compiled.

Paltridge (2006) explains "reliability" as 'the consistency of the results obtained' (2006:216). He subdivides this concept into two categories – "internal" and "external reliability". Internal reliability is concerned with the accuracy of information gathering process, its processing, study and explanation of the received findings (ibid.). If the research has been done properly and has been based on certain fixed frameworks, then it means, it can

be repeated by another person, and the obtained findings of both works would be equal (Paltridge, 2006:216). External reliability that was also referred to as ‘replicability’ in Paltridge (2006) deals with the degree of possibility to copy the research, employing the steps of discourse analysis proposed in the initial research, and to bring the identical or close outcomes as in the initial work (ibid.:216-217). The data received in the present paper can be considered reliable as the empirical research is based on the established framework proposed by Wodak and Meyer (2016).

Data validity is said to be the correspondence of the claimed subject of the study to the real topic analysed as well as to the precision and correctness of the statements given by the author of the work (ibid.:217). The data obtained in this paper can be viewed as valid due to the fact that the research has set goal and research questions in the introduction which are met and answered in the paper.

3.2. Description of the findings of the empirical research of the articles taken from *The Guardian* five days before Brexit referendum

The articles taken from *The Guardian* were selected by means of the online electronic engine search to ensure the reliability of the received data and to eliminate the subjectivity risk. The articles were selected through the search engine provided on *The Guardian* website, using two parameters: first, the keyword “Brexit”, and, second, the time frame from May to June 2016. As a result of the preliminary research of the available articles during these two months, a considerably vast research corpus, comprising 159 articles, was set. Then, the next step included the classification of the articles according to the dates they were published. The articles were categorized into ten groups with a time span of five days. The articles reviewed were published from 4 May to 22 June, 2016. After having designed a graph to see the frequency of the posted articles, it was apparent that the interest towards “Brexit” as a topic rose sharply in the last five days before the referendum on the UK membership in the EU (see Appendix 2, Graph 3.1). *The Guardian* devoted 38 articles, which is the highest number during a month, to reflect on Brexit-related issues and to discuss the matter. In addition, the reason why exactly these five days were taken is not only the highest number of the posted texts, but also the fact that this was the last attempt of the newspaper to influence its readers before the referendum date.

The tables with the data received by analysing 38 articles are included in the Appendices (see Appendix 1). The articles were coded with a letter G and a number from 1 to 38. This code can be used to find the link to the article, its title and author in the tables in the

appendices (see Appendix 1). The present research focused on four discursive strategies and the overall image of Brexit created by *The Guardian*.

The total length of the articles studied was 43,516 words. The length of each of the analysed articles varied. The shortest article was of 329 words (G24) and addressed the Nissan company's intention to sue the Leave campaign for using *Nissan* company's logo to influence voters, but the longest was 3840 (G29) and discussed the concept of "Euroscepticism", providing arguments with the historical background on the issue. The average article was counted to be 1,145 words long.

The authors were visible in 8 articles, that is in 21 per cent of the research corpus. This was done to approach the readers more directly (see Appendix 2, Pie Chart 3.1). In these texts the authors were straightforward about their ideas and thoughts and used "I" pronoun, as, for instance, in the article G23: '**I address these words only to my generation and the one that comes below**'. The article discussed the difference in views of younger and older generations, as well as the author claimed that the younger generation should vote to remain in the EU due to the benefits the youth enjoys while the UK is in the EU. Another article, G32, used the pronoun "I" to share personal experience of the author and his concerns: '**Should I apply for Italian citizenship?**' or '**For 35 years I have lived in Italy as a British citizen**'. The other 29 articles or 76 per cent were written without the author intervening in the text by means of using first singular personal pronoun "I" or anyhow identifying himself or herself as the author in the text. Physical invisibility of the author in the text might have been used to make the articles seem more credible and objective, as the reader was given the facts that he or she might study on their own without the intervention of the author's directly persuasive viewpoint. One of the articles, G20, was said to state the view of the newspaper on Brexit, which was indicated by the text on *The Guardian's* website. This article was explicitly pro-European, starting from its title where the newspaper declared its side in the debates – '*The Guardian view on the EU referendum: keep connected and inclusive, not angry and isolated*' – where it directly approved the UK's membership in the EU and gave a negative remark concerning a possible Brexit vote.

The articles reflected various subtopics, and it occurred that several subtopics were combined within one article. The main subtopics related to the broader theme of Brexit and prevailing within the text of every article were detected. Nearly half of the articles or 47 per cent concentrated on the negative consequences of Brexit that the UK or its citizens abroad might face as a result of a leave vote (see Appendix 2, Pie Chart 3.2). Ten per cent or merely 4 articles were mainly dedicated to immigration. Each of the themes - a division in the society as a result of Brexit campaign, discussion of different British newspapers' stances on the

referendum, economic facts and presenting and admitting the problems the EU had - constituted eight per cent to the total number of identified topics. Two articles appeared to discuss the operation of large companies in the UK after Brexit, that is five per cent, and two topics were found only once each: historical data on Euroscepticism and two possible scenarios of the referendum outcomes. As the last topic included both possible situations, it could not be viewed only as the article outlining the drawbacks of Brexit.

The following pages discuss the findings categorized according to each of the four chosen strategies to study. The description begins with the presentation of the image of Brexit, constructed by nomination and predication strategies, proposed by *The Guardian* to its readers.

3.2.1 The stance of The Guardian on the issue of Brexit and the created image of the referendum

The Guardian, having a considerably long history and a certain type of already established audience, is an important British mass media source, meaning that it had certain influence on potential voters before the referendum. Therefore, the study aimed to find out how the newspaper used its influence to shape the views of its readers and to persuade them to make their decisions on the issue. Therefore, this subchapter deals with three main aspects: first, which side the articles take; second, how Brexit is shown by means of nomination strategy, and, third, how Brexit is communicated through predication strategy. The instances found in the other two strategies are discussed later within the corresponding subsections of the empirical part of the paper.

The majority that is 25 articles or 66 per cent was tuned negatively towards the idea of Brexit (see Appendix 3, Pie Chart 3.3). Articles claiming arguments in favour of Remain were posted every day from 18 June to 22 June. The majority of the articles issued on 18 June and 21 June were against Brexit (Appendix 3, Graph 3.2.). However, on 19 June the number of articles, persuading the readers not to leave the EU, was equal to the number of articles, which took no definite stance on the referendum. It was identified that all of the articles published on 20 June, these were 12, argued in favour of the Remain campaign; on the contrary, only two of the articles published the following day, 22 June, which was the last day before the referendum, claimed themselves as pro-European. Having considered all the numerical data above, it could be stated that *The Guardian* was strongly supporting the Remain campaign and could be claimed a pro-European newspaper, at least referring to the Brexit referendum, as it defended the notion of a strong union of 28 member states. The following are the

examples to the previously stated. Some of the articles addressed the facts and claims made by the Leave campaign on the issue why to leave the EU with the counterarguments; for instance, the article G1 tried to dissuade the readers that immigration was such a threat to the UK, which was used as one of the main arguments by the Leave campaign. The article used evidence to show that the unemployment, for which immigrants were blamed, was not as severe as it was perceived: *'Despite the influx of foreign nationals from within the EU, many of them helping our booming services industry remain competitive, our unemployment levels are less than half the European average and lower than at any time since before the crisis of 2007-08'*. Moreover, in this example it is evident that the article praised the role of immigrants in the economy of the UK. In addition, the article asserted that *'visa-free access for Turks to Schengen countries won't affect Britain'*, which should be considered as a strong argument against Brexit, as a threat of Turkey entering the EU was among the reasons why the UK wanted to leave the EU, according to the articles. Furthermore, threats, to a various extent, were chosen as another possible way how to persuade *The Guardian* readers. The articles warned that Brexit would lead to dramatic economic consequences such as the devaluation of the pound that, consequently, could damage the country's economy and badly affect its citizens: *'It [Brexit] would have at least one very clear and immediate effect that will touch every household: the value of the pound would decline precipitously'* (G14) or, in George Soros words *'Sterling is almost certain to fall steeply and quickly if leave wins the referendum'*. Then Mr Soros added the anticipated degree of the devaluation severity: *'I would expect this devaluation to be bigger and also more disruptive than the 15% devaluation that occurred in September 1992'* (G18). Moreover, some of the authors directly addressed their readers, using the very last words of their articles in the form of imperatives: *'Vote to remain'* (G20) or *'Vote to stay'* (G23). In addition to this, the author of the article G25 pleaded to the public by begging: *'please don't vote for a Brexit on Thursday'*.

Approximately one-fourth that is 26 per cent or 10 articles were neutral, as they either did not promote any of the campaigns, or they mentioned equal number of arguments both pro and contra, or these arguments were not necessarily of the same amount, but the ones defending Leave were outweighed by the others supporting Remain; thus, it was left to a reader to make their own judgement and decide which side to take in the debate, using the given data. To exemplify, the article G36 was neutral because it was based on the investigation of the misuse of the image of the Queen and the words wrongly attributed to her. Therefore, as the Queen's position towards Brexit was neutral, the article itself could not persuade a reader to vote in any of the ways. In addition, the article G6 did not hold a stance concerning the referendum. The article outlined the situation present at that moment and

highlighted the fact that many people were undecided how to vote. The text included responses to the questions posed by the interviewer. The answers of the respondents, not being anyhow related to politics or any economic institutions, were either uncertain or lacked any solid objective evidence that a reader could use to shape his or her opinion regarding the issue. The articles holding neutral stance were published on 18 June (two texts), on 19 June (three texts), 21 June (one text) and 22 June (four texts). The majority of articles issued on 22 June, the last day to anyhow affect the voters, were neutral.

Finally, the last category regarding *The Guardian's* stance on Brexit comprised merely three articles supporting Brexit; the texts constituted to eight per cent of the whole research corpus. These articles appeared on two days: 18 June (one text) and 22 June (two texts). The author of the article G37 declared herself as *'I'm leave'* and defended her point of view. Additionally, the article G34 opposed the existing idea that Brexit would result in the pound falling and causing economic recession in the UK. The author equipped the text with the arguments that attacked George Soros's claims on the devaluation of the pound and the resulting harsh economic consequences for the UK. On the contrary, the author claimed that the devaluation could contribute to the economy of the UK and help it develop: *'I would have thought a 20% sterling devaluation is exactly the antidote needed in the current circumstances. Yes of course a fall in sterling increases import prices and squeezes household real incomes, but the booming profits companies enjoy from a weaker sterling should generate a virtuous wage price spiral and take us away from the deflationary abyss that awaits all developed economies in the next recession'* (G34).

The image of Brexit was shaped by both nomination and predication strategies. The comments on nomination strategy's category "Discursive construction of Brexit" introduce the discussion of *The Guardian's* attitude towards Brexit.

The nomination strategy describing Brexit was identified in all of 38 studied articles (see Appendix 4, Graph 3.3). This fact approved the relevance of all the researched articles to the topic of Brexit. The category of the nomination strategy that dealt with the description of Brexit was divided into four groups, one of which included metaphors and the other three were formed according to the identified word classes: nouns, verbs and prepositions.

All 38 articles contained 117 nouns where words were counted only once as a unique instance. A third of the words described the British people stance regarding the EU referendum and how they could vote: either to approve or reject a possible Brexit. However, the majority of the words describing a potential decision was belonging to the idea of leaving the EU (see Appendix 4, Pie Chart 3.4). This could affirm the fact that a potential exit of the UK from the EU was seen as a considerable issue and was regarded as a very significant

topic. An idea of the UK leaving the EU was expressed by means of 29 words or phrases, the most frequent of which (15 unique instances) included a notion of “leaving”, for instance, ‘*Leaving the EU*’ (the most frequently used; identified in 8 articles), ‘*A vote to leave*’ (in 6 articles) or ‘*A leave vote*’ (in 6 articles, or ‘*a vote for Leave*’ (in one article) as well as ‘*A vote to quit*’, the noun ‘*Exit*’ (in two articles), from which the concept of ‘Brexit’ had been coined, and a ‘*British exit*’ (in three articles). Then, twenty per cent that is the fifth of all the identified 23 nouns belonged to a concept of a referendum. These nouns might be put into five groups: ‘debate’, ‘referendum’, ‘vote’, ‘campaign’ and ‘choice’. The word referendum appeared in 18 articles and it was the most frequently used word in this group. The following group of nouns by frequency had 16 per cent and identified the date of the referendum. The majority of the instances (8 unique instances) included an indication of a day of a week ‘*Thursday*’ as it was the scheduled day of the referendum, for example, ‘*Thursday’s referendum*’ or ‘*Thursday’s vote*’. The date was also revealed by means of mentioning ‘*23 June*’ five times, for example, ‘*23 June vote*’ or ‘*23 June ballot*’. In addition, the referendum day was also referred to as simply a ‘*polling day*’ or a ‘*referendum day*’. Four identified instances were left not included into the previously mentioned three groups. These were ‘*The final week of the referendum campaign*’, ‘*next Thursday’s date with destiny on 23 June*’ as it included both the indication of the day and the precise date, ‘*Next week’s referendum*’ and ‘*this week’s vote*’. Finally, it should be mentioned that all the nouns described above (68 per cent of all the nouns) were neutral, as they expressed factual information: the date, the notion of the referendum or the side taken in the debate. The other share of the nouns carried emotional meaning and could have been used to persuade a reader to take a particular side in the debate. These nouns (17 per cent) presented Brexit as a negative event. The group describing the negative connotations of Brexit (14 per cent) included the words related to problems, risks and threats posed by a leave vote. The results included 10 unique instances, for example, ‘*dangers*’, ‘*a shock event*’, ‘*isolation/isolationism*’, ‘*serious consequences*’ and ‘*an existential threat [for the EU]*’. The concept of uncertainty that would govern the UK after the Leave vote (four unique instances) belonged to this group as well: ‘*resulting uncertainty*’ and ‘*a period of uncertainty*’.

Moreover, as Brexit was meant to be a way out of the EU that had certain problems outlined by the Leave camp, *The Guardian* authors, being pro-European in their majority, asserted that Brexit was a ‘*cop-out*’ and definitely ‘*not a solution*’. The category implying ‘division’ either caused by the referendum or possibly triggered after the vote to leave included such four examples as ‘*separation*’, ‘*divide*’, ‘*us and them*’ and ‘*division*’ (3 per cent). Furthermore, Brexit was given a high importance in four per cent of the cases: ‘*a hard-fought-for right*’ or a ‘*decisive step*’.

The next category of the “Discursive construction of Brexit” was concentrated on verbs. They appeared in 35 articles to create an idea of Brexit. The verbs were identified and then divided into five groups (see Appendix 4, Pie Chart 3.5). The majority of the verbs found (one-third of all the verbs) was related to the idea of the UK leaving the EU. The notion of Brexit was communicated by six verbs denoting a possible exit of the UK. Five of the verbs were neutral and expressed the idea of the UK parting from the EU: ‘*to leave*’ (used in 23 articles), ‘*to quit*’ (found in three articles), ‘*to vote out*’ (identified in one article), ‘*to go*’ (detected in one article) and ‘*to exit*’ (seen in one article). One of the verbs that was ‘*to turn back on [Europe]*’ was rather emotional and communicated both the action and the negative attitude towards the EU. In this case, the fact of leaving the union was characterized as dishonest as it was compared to a betrayal. The next group of the verbs had 28 per cent and indicated a choice making process: ‘*to decide*’ (4 articles), ‘*to assess*’ (1 article) and ‘*to vote*’ (21 articles). Therefore, it might be concluded that the newspapers either discussed the coming referendum and spoke about the possible outcomes as in ‘*If we **vote** leave [..]*’ (G2) or urged voters to vote in a particular way, for instance, ‘*If you believe in a stronger political union within Europe you **vote** to stay in*’ (G33). It was found that the verbs describing the idea of remaining in the EU – ‘*to remain*’ (11 articles), ‘*to stay in*’ (2 articles) and ‘*to stay*’ (11 articles) - were identified less often (in 26 per cent) than the verbs meaning ‘to leave’. It might have occurred because a possible Brexit was, in the majority of cases, presented as an unwelcomed event, which the authors and the newspaper were afraid of, thus it was hugely discussed. In addition, a possibility of the UK leaving the EU was much more topical than the scenario when the UK remains in the EU when only some negative effects could have been expected upon the pound because of the uncertainty related to the referendum outcome, as according to the articles studied. In addition, only six per cent of the verbs directly expressed a negative attitude towards a possible Brexit: ‘*to harm*’, ‘*to jeopardise*’, ‘*to worry [about Brexit]*’, ‘*to cut yourself off [in case of Brexit]*’ and ‘*to lose [from the referendum]*’ (each of them used once).

The third category of nomination directly related to Brexit was “Metaphors”, which were used in 17 articles. The total number of identified metaphors was 29; later, these metaphors were categorized into 14 groups (see Appendix 4, Graph 3.4), according to the notions they represented. The most frequently identified metaphor was Brexit perceived as a ‘*divorce*’ between the UK and the EU. It occurred in four articles. One of the articles used the opposite notion - ‘*marriage*’ - to speak about the union between the UK and the EU. When Brexit was discussed by *The Guardian* authors, it was also referred to as either a ‘*game*’ (once) or ‘*a gamble*’ (three times) as Brexit was seen as a risky undertaking that would bring

great benefits or, in turn, result in a complete loss of everything. These preconditions resembled gambling circumstances: *'realise that on balance it's not worth the gamble'*, *'gamble'* or *'a complete gamble'*. Moreover, the UK was seen as a living entity in four articles when described in the context of Brexit. First, the metaphor *'if we go'* gave the UK the ability to move, which is inherent in living beings. Second, *'rebellion against the EU'*, where the UK was awarded the possibility to rise in a revolt against someone else, is also typical of a person. Third, the UK and the EU were transformed into *'flatmates'* and said both to be *'more like flatmates who recently haven't been getting along too well'*. This metaphor was used in the context of Brexit being possible because of the existing unsolved problems in the EU that negatively affected the UK. Moreover, Brexit was compared to a parent of all the rebellions and fights: *'the mother of all revolts on Thursday'*, thus, making it seem more dangerous and important. Finally, Brexit was equalled to an earthquake in four articles, for instance, *'Brexit would prompt a seismic shift'*, *'a post-Brexit landscape'* and *'an event as seismic as Britain's departure from the European Union'*. All the previous examples implied significant changes brought by the British exit. One of the metaphors said that, surprisingly, Brexit would not be such a disaster to the UK as it might have been: *'an earthquake that will, curiously, leave the domestic landscape unaltered'*.

It is necessary to point out that eight out of 29 metaphors were explicitly negative regarding Brexit. First, these were three metaphors comparing Brexit to a gamble. Then, Brexit was told to be close to an illness in its ability to spread among nations and cause other countries to consider leaving the EU: *'exit contagion'*. The other metaphor expressed similar idea of an illness, but it was targeted at both the EU referendum and, possibly, implying previous Scottish referendum *'referendum virus [...] infected Britain's constitutional software'*.

The last nomination subgroup described the use of prepositions to denote Brexit. Such prepositions were found in ten out of 38 articles: *'out'* (six articles), *'in'* (five articles), *'inside'* (three articles) and *'outside'* (two articles). The equal number of prepositions with a meaning that the UK is a part of the EU - *'in'* or *'inside'*, and the UK having left the EU - *'out'* and *'outside'*, was identified. The reason for it was the uncertainty of the referendum's outcome.

The predication strategy that aimed at constructing the image of Brexit was used less often than the nomination. Predication strategy in relation to Brexit was identified in 16 articles. Adjectives were the most frequently used devices that characterized Brexit (found in 15 articles). They were followed by clauses category, which aimed at giving additional information (in three articles). Moreover, one verb and two cases of category "additional

information”, which was not included in neither of the previously offered categories of the predication strategy, were identified. The devices used within the predication strategy were divided into six subgroups, according to the attitude they shaped towards Brexit (see Appendix 5, Pie Chart 3.6.). Almost half of these means that was 49 per cent (15 instances) were used to persuade the potential voters that Brexit is not the best decision to take as it was described using the adjectives with negative connotations, for example, ‘*bizarre*’, ‘*dangerous*’ or ‘*something absolutely insane*’. These negative characteristics highlighted by the adjectives were opposed to merely one instance defending Brexit, and saying that it might be not as bad as it was asserted to be: ‘*[not] a completely crazy idea*’. Furthermore, the adjectives from other groups presented Brexit neutrally, communicating it as a possible outcome of the referendum: ‘*looming vote*’, ‘*a possible Brexit*’ and ‘*potential exit*’.

Having researched the means that constructed the image of Brexit, the next subchapters will continue the discussion of the use of four Wodak and Meyer (2016) strategies in the articles.

3.2.2 Nomination strategy

Nomination strategy was the first one to be identified in every of the articles. The part of the strategy that dealt with the description of Brexit as an event has already been presented above. This part of discussion is dedicated to the actors involved in a Brexit vote or in the preparations to the referendum mentioned in the texts and to the construction of a category ‘political issues’ that comprised nouns, metaphors and verbs related to the political matters in the Brexit context.

The category ‘proper names’ included, first, British politicians, for instance, David Cameron and Nigel Farage as well as the politicians from the world arena such as Donald Tusk or Angela Merkel; second, it had the names of influential persons in the field such as George Soros and representatives of different institutions, for instance, Mark Carney, who is the current governor of the Bank of England; third, it included the names of voters, these were ordinary people, for instance Mike and Lindsay. It should be mentioned that because of the death of Jo Cox, who was a Remain campaign supporter, her name appeared in ten articles where the authors or the interviewed mentioned her personality and her murder in relation to the referendum campaigns. Moreover, the names of each side’s supporters were given, for instance, such prominent personalities were mentioned in relation to the Remain campaign – George Osborne, Jeremy Corbyn, Kenneth Clarke, Tony Blair, Michael Heseltine and Nick

Clegg; in turn, the opposite side was defended by such figures as, for example, Nigel Farage, Boris Johnson, Michael Gove, Priti Patel and Matthew Elliott.

Deictics, denoting a person or people, was identified in all 38 articles. It was detected that the division between “*us and them*” was made by means of pronouns used in this category. This might be done to show the perspective from which an argument or an opinion is given, for instance, whether it is a citizen of the UK, who would face the consequences of either vote, or it is a foreigner who tries to persuade a reader, acting in his/her private interests or interests of his/her homeland. Article G1 made a clear distinction between ‘*we*’, ‘*us*’, ‘*I*’, ‘*our*’ and ‘*ourselves*’ meaning the British people or a British author and ‘*they*’ as Europeans or Americans. On the other hand, this could be also used to draw more trust among readers as the article, by using ‘*we*’ that denotes the British people, as if spoke on behalf of the whole country and, thus, was perceived to take into consideration interests and well-being of the whole nation, not particular individuals or foreigners. Moreover, it lessened the distance between the author, the article and its reader, which fostered and increased the article’s influence on a reader.

Generalizing anthroponyms as a category were identified in all 38 articles. Words included in this group classified social actors from the overall, general perspective, when in the context of Brexit, issues referring to, for instance, people, countries, regions, nationalities, campaigns or officials in general. The examples of the use of this device are: ‘*people*’, ‘*the rest of us*’, ‘*everyone*’, ‘*someone else*’ or ‘*no one*’ for the group naming people in general and neutrally, or ‘*Britons*’, ‘*Brits*’, ‘*foreign nationals*’, ‘*Turks*’ or ‘*American entrepreneurs*’ when emphasizing one’s belongingness to a particular country, or ‘*escapees from Syria*’ or ‘*Syrian refugees*’ when speaking about the refugees. This category was used to create social actors without specifying them. Generalizations that increased the scale of the discussed events were created by means of this category; however, generalizing anthroponyms can serve to decrease the credibility of a certain fact, as they do not provide specified information, but result in rather uncertain statements.

Professional anthroponyms – a category that comprised titles of positions, were used for a more detailed picture of a social actor. This category denoted many professions, for example, political such as ‘*MP*’, ‘*PM*’, ‘*first minister of Scotland*’, ‘*finance minister*’, ‘*chancellor of the exchequer*’, ‘*justice secretary*’ or ‘*economy minister*’, or positions in a company as ‘*head of research at FIS*’, ‘*an equipment manager for French railways*’ or ‘*bank worker*’.

Collective concepts category was formed by words that signified a unity, a phenomenon that was seen as a whole, even though it might have consisted of many social actors, such as a

country or an institution. Collective concepts were noted in all of the articles, for instance, collective concepts denoting international institutions such as ‘*IMF*’, ‘*Nato*’, ‘*OECD*’, ‘*The European Central Bank*’ and ‘*World Trade Organization*’. Not only foreign institutions, but also the ones present in the UK were named by means of collective concepts, for example, ‘*the Treasury*’, ‘*Royal Bank of Scotland*’, ‘*the UK government*’, ‘*the British government*’ and ‘*the city council*’. Moreover, many companies appeared in the articles as social actors, such as ‘*Rolls-Royce*’, ‘*BMW*’, ‘*Goldman Sachs*’, ‘*JP Morgan Chase*’ and ‘*Citigroup*’, as well as British newspapers ‘*Daily Mail*’, ‘*The Sun*’ or ‘*The Sunday Times*’. Furthermore, political parties were introduced in the texts through this means, for instance, ‘*Ukip*’ or ‘*Labour party*’. Collective concepts signified countries as well, when a country was understood as a whole entity. Finally, the campaigns both Leave and Remain were communicated by means of this device when referred to as a unified group and as a general concept, for instance, ‘*Vote Leave*’ or ‘*the Stronger in Europe side*’. Collective concepts can be considered a neutral category of devices as it contributed to the creation of Brexit social actors, but did not attach any emotional characteristics to them.

The authors used 24 metaphors in 13 articles (see Appendix 4, Graph 3.5) to describe actors in the Brexit context. The European Union was seen by the authors of five articles as a club. The similarity between the notion of a club and a union of 28 countries is in the necessity to obey the rules of membership, to follow certain procedures to be included in the club and an inherent advantage to use certain benefits available only to the club’s members. In addition, the EU, its member states and the UK were compared to people as they were described as having certain relationships among each other, for instance, being a family in ‘*a family of nations*’ referring to the EU, or simply the EU was claimed to be a ‘*family*’, or the UK and the EU were said to be ‘*neighbours*’. In addition, such metaphors could be aimed at bringing positive associations in the reader’s mind as these metaphors highlighted friendly and even family relationships between the nations. Moreover, the UK was involved in business relationships with the USA, thus the author made a remark that the UK was ‘*a client state of Washington*’. In the article G1, nations were presented as friends, especially this was important in relation to the European countries: ‘*European friends*’ and ‘*our [UK’s] fellow Europeans*’. These metaphors highlighted that, first, the EU and the UK had good relationships, and the UK benefited from the EU and vice versa, and, second, the EU was interested in the UK’s growth and flourishing as a caring friend. This was a considerably significant metaphor as in other articles the pro-Brexit arguments were based on the idea that the EU used the UK, and the UK suffered from such relationships. In addition to what has been outlined in the previous subchapter, where Brexit was said to be a game or a gamble, the

actors here were claimed to be either *losers* or *winners*, thus contributing to the perception of Brexit as a game.

Some actors were referred to not by their full names, but using a part of it, thus, these were examples of metonymy. The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland was referred to as *Britain* (32 articles) or, once, as *England*. The European Union appeared in the discussion as *Europe*, which might be slightly misleading as not all the countries in Europe are members of the EU as well as the word *Europe* in the same articles would mean both the continent and a metonym for the EU. The third metonym, *Brussels* was used in 11 articles, and it meant not the city as taken in the context of the EU referendum, but the institutions of the European Union present there. Moreover, the EU was also referred to as *the union*, *the European project*, barely as *project* and as an *ever closer union*. Furthermore, Washington, London, Berlin and Paris, being capitals, implied the whole governments of their countries rather than solely geographical places. Finally, certain British institutions were named by metonyms, for instance, *Westminster* for the parliament, *Threadneedle Street* instead of the Bank of England, which was also referred to as solely *the Bank*, *the City* meaning the business centre in London, *Downing Street* referring to the Prime Minister and *Buckingham Palace* suggesting the Queen's residence and her administration.

Examples found in 26 articles contributed to the category 'political issues' that included words precisely denoting the political situation and topical problems in the context of the coming referendum on EU membership, for example, *immigration* and *nationalism*. Nationalism was highlighted by a metaphor *the line between Them and Us* and a phrase *a sense of "us and them"*. Immigration was one of the key arguments persuading to support the vote to leave. The authors contributed to this concept with the words *Polish plumber* or a feared *Turkish accession*, and *an influx of workers from the EU*. Although both issues were important, nationalism was said to be present not only because of a planned referendum, but it also was expected to flourish after a Brexit vote when the UK separated from the EU.

3.2.3 Predication strategy

Predication strategy was identified in 36 articles. Its subcategories included 'adjectives', 'participles', 'clauses' and phrases or words giving 'additional information' needed in the context, for instance *those in the UK for more than 10 or even 20 years* when speaking about immigrants and their future in post-Brexit UK. Predication strategy referred to the

actors mentioned in the nomination strategy. Further, four key concepts regarding Brexit will be described: the perception of the EU, the UK, voters and immigrants.

In the majority of cases, 72 per cent or 13 examples (see Appendix 5, Pie Chart 3.7), the EU was presented in a negative light, for instance, many negative features were attributed to the union, and it was said to be *'undemocratic'*, *'unreformable'*, *'dysfunctional'*, *'corrupt'* and *'bureaucratic'*. Although the stance of the newspaper was against Brexit, it clearly affirmed that the EU as an institution had certain problems and hurdles that disrupted its proper operation.

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland was depicted in 64 per cent (or nine examples) positively by attaching to it such adjectives as *'peaceful'*, *'tolerant'* and *'liberal'* meaning, however, that this was the achievement of the EU and the UK might risk losing these qualities by exiting (see Appendix 5, Pie Chart 3.8).

A third of the devices identified, 34 instances, merely described neutral characteristics of voters such as age – *'voters aged 18-24'*, social status – *'a middle-class Brit'*, financial status – *'those millions without jobs or in insecure employment'* and their views – *'those who are unhappy about migration'* (see Appendix 5, Pie Chart 3.9). Slightly more than a third (38 per cent) was dedicated to the stance the voters held on Brexit: in 17 per cent they were said to be undecided by such adjectives as *'undecided'*, *'frustrated'* or *'confused'*; in nine per cent they were believed to choose a leave vote that was expressed by clauses; in six per cent was supposed to prefer to stay in the union; in three per cent their stance was not revealed, but they were claimed to know how to vote; in three per cent the cases showed that Brexit referendum caused a division in the society into two campaigns.

Finally, two topical issues related to the referendum – immigrants and refugees – were given attention in the texts as well (see Appendix 5, Pie Chart 3.10). First, immigrants were perceived as workforce that was cheap, thus affordable for the employers in the UK and demanded due to the skills it had. Second, immigrants, already living in the country for a long time, were referred to as *'those in the UK for more than 10 or even 20 years'*. Third, the texts expressed sympathy to refugees, for instance, by an adjective *'desperate'*. Fourth, the texts mentioned the new immigrants that could come in the future: *'EU migrants wishing to come to the UK'*. Finally, one instance of negative attitude towards immigrants was identified: *'uncontrolled numbers'*. Therefore, it could be stated that immigrants were not considered as a reason why to leave the union. Having understood the stance of the newspaper, it was evident why immigrants were not blamed in the articles for a housing crisis or unemployment in the UK. Immigration was one of the key arguments of the Leave campaign. Thus, the

Remain side that was supported by *The Guardian* did not believe it to be true. Consequently, the newspaper did not expressively attribute negative features to immigrants.

3.2.4 Perspectivization strategy

The analysis of perspectivization strategy can reveal the opinion of the author, which can be detected by the arguments quoted, paraphrased in the indirect speech or anyhow referred to when discussing a particular issue in question. Concerning the research corpus, perspectivization strategy was identified in the majority of the articles that was in 35 out of 38, which meant that a text used some or all of the following devices: ‘indirect speech’, ‘quotations’ and ‘references’. The results uncovered that merely three articles had none of the previously mentioned means: all of these articles expressed opinion. Two of them communicated the view of the authors on Brexit, but the third one was said to convey *The Guardian*’s attitude towards Brexit. Thus, these articles were based on the discussion of arguments and thoughts provided by their authors, thus the objectivity of these texts might be doubted.

The most frequently used device within this strategy was indirect speech that occurred in 29 articles (see Appendix 6, Graph 3.6). The use of quotations was less often, but the writers used them in 24 texts. References were the least used strategy, as they were applied as a means of adding reliability to the stated in less than a third or in 11 of the research corpus articles.

All of the examples of the perspectivization strategy devices were subdivided into two main groups: one group with the found instances denying Brexit and persuading why it should not happen, and the other group supporting Brexit and giving either reasons or mentioning those who believed it was the best solution to the situation. However, in the process of the analysis, two other groups were established because of the arguments not fitting in either of the groups. Three arguments from two articles were inserted into a new category called ‘neutral’ as they simultaneously gave information both supporting and undermining a Brexit vote. In addition, the category called ‘critics of both campaigns’ was designed for one of the texts.

Indirect speech as a category had been subdivided into four subgroups (see Appendix 6, Pie Chart 3.11): “Arguments against Brexit” (70 per cent), “Arguments supporting a Brexit vote” (25 per cent), “Critics of both campaigns” (three per cent) and “Neutral arguments” (two per cent). It was evident from the number of arguments given by means of indirect speech that it was also used to express *the Guardian*’s view on the referendum vote – pro

Remain, as 70 per cent of the indirect speech instances suggested negative attitude towards Brexit. To be more objective, the newspaper included a quarter of arguments that gave reasons why Brexit could be an option; however, they were in minority. Arguments that rejected Brexit were later subdivided into groups, according to the meaning they had (see Appendix 6, Pie Chart 3.12). The majority of arguments identified or 57 per cent were based on negative economic changes that Brexit could cause. To find what exactly was important to voters regarding economic changes, the latter category was analysed more closely and nine issues were identified (see Appendix 6, Pie Chart 3.13). Almost half or 45 per cent of arguments spoke about a threat to economy, mainly of the UK, that Brexit could pose, for instance, *The Mail On Sunday* ‘said that “by any calculation” Britain would be bound to face higher tariffs, turmoil in the financial markets and a period of uncertainty if there was a vote to leave on 23 June’. Another example could be: ‘*But concern about a restored hard border is shared by **the Sinn Féin leader, Martin McGuinness**, who fears that a restoration of borders and customs tariffs would be a disaster for the Northern Ireland economy and could lead to a reversal for the still-incomplete peace process*’. Nearly the fifth (21 per cent) of all the economic arguments claimed that the value of the pound would fall: ‘*In February, **investment bank Goldman Sachs** claimed the value of sterling could fall by up to 20%*’ or ‘*Soros said in a Guardian article there would be a 20% slide in sterling in the event of the UK voting to leave EU and that he did not believe there would be a repeat of the boom that followed the country’s departure from the ERM*’. Moreover, recession in the UK and changes in employment were given nine per cent each: ‘**[IMF officials]** *Under that scenario, the UK would fall into recession in 2017 [..]*’, ‘**HSBC** said in February that almost straightaway it would need to move 1,000 jobs to Paris, where it already has a large operation’ and ‘**[Catherine Barnard, a professor in European Union law at the University of Cambridge]** *She estimates that around 550,000 jobs will be lost by 2020*’. The last five categories that received six per cent and less were: “investments” including information that Brexit would be the reason why foreign companies or banks would reconsider investing money in the UK, mainly due to uncertainty associated with Brexit, changes in “financial markets”, “uncertainty” that would appear after a Brexit vote and effect of such a vote on “pensions”. These arguments were considerably specific and targeted to scare the voters that their financial state could deteriorate in case a Brexit camp won.

The second type of “counter Brexit” arguments was aimed at warning readers or even slightly threatening that the situation would definitely become much worse than the problems associated with the membership in the EU. One of such warnings was suggested by Nicola Sturgeon who said that ‘*if Britain leaves the EU, Scotland will demand a second*

independence referendum to leave the 309-year-old United Kingdom'. Being aware of the fact that Scotland had already have one, made this argument rather topical and influential for the British people as such a referendum could lead to the separation of one of the UK's provinces from the remaining three. Another argument warned that '*You can't divorce and keep the benefits of marriage, say **the remain camp***', implying that the UK might lose some or all of the benefits it enjoyed as a member of the EU. Thus, the Remain camp tried to outline that to attain some of the desired aspects that would be brought by Brexit would mean to reject many advantages that the country already had and might not regain after the vote to leave under new agreements. One of the examples included the words of the minister for economy of France Emmanuel Macron, who stated that '*Britain outside the EU would become "a little country on the world scale [that] would isolate itself ... at Europe's border"*'. This argument could be perceived as a warning or even as a threat that aimed at highlighting the significance of the EU to the UK stability and well-being.

Some authors included quotations to make their articles seem more objective, more reliable and trustworthy. The absolute number of quotations relevant to the theme of Brexit was considered to be 103. Similarly as in the case with indirect speech, the majority of quotations were used to create a negative image of Brexit and persuade readers, not always directly, to choose Remain as their vote (see Appendix 6, Pie Chart 3.14).

Quotes outlining facts, opinions, pleas or any possible reasons why to vote to remain were subdivided into six groups (see Appendix 6, Pie Chart 3.15). Same as in the category "indirect speech", "economic arguments" prevailed among all the other (42 per cent). Thus, it could be concluded that these were seen as more persuasive and significant for the public by *The Guardian*. Almost a fourth or 23 per cent of the quotes was presented in the form of pleas not to choose Brexit in the referendum, for instance, direct asks to voters by Donald Tusk '*I would like to appeal to the British citizens, on behalf – I know that for a fact – of almost all Europeans and European leaders: stay with us*' and '*Without you, not only Europe, but the whole western community will become weaker. Together we will be able to cope with increasingly difficult challenges of the future*'. Additionally, 15 per cent was allocated to quotes that included information about either how the UK benefited from the EU, or what the UK would lose that was granted by the EU in case voters chose to leave: '***Dunn, a board member of Britain Stronger in Europe***, said: "*Our membership of the European Union makes it easier for young people to travel in Europe. Visas in EU countries are not required, and travel is cheaper because of the EU. Airfares are lower because of the single market and roaming charges have recently been reduced because of it, and will be axed altogether next year. Visa applications could be costly and lengthy, and travellers might lose the ability to*

use the European Health Insurance Card, leaving them with higher insurance costs’ or words by Monica Clarke who fled to the UK from the South Africa because of political reasons: *‘The EU has given us absolute stability’*. These arguments might have been targeted at giving *The Guardian* readers the information to process what could vanish if a Brexit vote happened and whether it was worth sacrificing the already inherent advantages of membership in the EU to what was only planned or desired to be achieved.

The quotes related to economy (see Appendix 6, Pie Chart 3.16) mainly dealt with the discussion of general threats posed by a Brexit vote to the UK’s economy, for instance, the International Monetary Fund warned the UK that *‘In the adverse scenario of long negotiations and a default to the trade rules of the World Trade Organisation, GDP plunges by 5.5% by 2019’*. Voters might be rather worried about their personal financial stability; thus, such arguments could be effective in showing Brexit from the negative perspective. A share of 11 per cent was given to the uncertainty brought to the country’s economy in case of a Brexit vote: *‘Brexit would create major uncertainty about Britain’s alternative future trading arrangements, both with the rest of Europe and with important markets like the USA, Canada and China’*. Three other groups, each of them constituted to seven per cent, spoke about the pound devaluation, the decrease in foreign investments coming to the UK and changes in the number of working places provided for the British people. All these three categories proved to be topical already in the previously discussed category “Indirect speech”. Thus, these could be regarded as considerably important to the readers. To summarise, quotations as a means are evidently used to deny the idea of a possible Brexit and to support the Remain campaign. However, similarly as in the “Indirect speech” category, it also had samples supporting Brexit to avoid sounding subjective and extensively imposing a vote pro Remain.

The last category within the perspectivization strategy is called “reference”. The absolute majority or 92 per cent of the references were used by the authors to deny Brexit and any possible benefits from it (see Appendix 6, Pie Chart 3.17). In 55 per cent of the examples or in six cases (see Appendix 6, Pie Chart 3.18), the authors, by means of references, introduced economic arguments supporting the idea that Brexit would result in hurdles for the UK economy, for instance, *‘according to independently reviewed Treasury estimates that suggest house prices would fall by 10%-18% by 2018’* or *‘Ten of the world’s leading economists have issued a warning about the consequences of the UK leaving the EU as the City prepares for the pound to plunge and shares to fall in the event of a Brexit vote in Thursday’s referendum’*. In addition, three cases described request voters not to choose Brexit as an option in the referendum: *‘John Oliver has a message for his homeland: do not leave the European Union’* or *‘The newspaper [the Observer] said voters should not turn their*

backs on the European project in an article headlined: “For an international, liberal and open Britain, we need to be part of the EU”. The last two included references to the world’s leading figures in politics: one reference spoke about the US president Donald Trump’s election campaign as it found similarities to the British referendum debates – ‘*Taking back control*’, like **Trump’s** ‘*Make America great again*’ is a slogan not a strategy’ and a reference to Margaret Thatcher who disapproved the referendums as a tool for managing political state in the country who thought the referendums to be ‘*a device for dictators and demagogues*’. Thus, the last two references to the leader’s in the world scale arena were used to show Brexit from the negative perspective: first, in case of a reference to Donald Trump, Brexit was presented as an option that does not provide any plan how to act further when it becomes a reality and, second, when referring to Margaret Thatcher, who was an incredibly prominent figure in the UK, and, therefore, used in the article to influence the minds of the readers, Brexit referendum was equalled to either a manipulative tool in the hands of authorities or to a useless device that would not bring any desirable changes.

3.2.5 Mitigation and intensification strategy

Both of these two strategies were identified in the studied articles of *The Guardian*. The devices included into the tables were either directly taken from Wodak and Meyer’s (2016:33) theory as, for instance, ‘verbs of saying’ or these were added, for instance, ‘Future Simple’, ‘Conditionals’, ‘Modals’ and ‘Words of likelihood’ - they corresponded to the functions outlined in the theoretical overview. Future Simple instances expressed extreme certainty about the event in the future; conditionals referred to the possibility of Brexit or any events related to it; modals denoted either certainty or an obligation, or described a probable future and uncertainty about the events happening in case of an either vote, and words of likelihood expressed probability. Altogether 11 categories were formed (see Appendix 7, Graph 3.7.). The results were calculated and reflected in two graphs: one gave the number of articles where the strategy was used (see Appendix 7, Graph 3.7), and the other provided the data on the total number of the devices found in all of the analysed articles (see Appendix 7, Graph 3.8).

The majority of all the words identified was categorized into the mitigation strategy; these contributed to 59 per cent (see Appendix 7, Pie Chart 3.19). The reason behind it could be the fact that it was not clear till the referendum results were announced which side would win, as, judging by the stated in the articles, both campaigns tried to persuade their voters as much as possible in many ways, even, judging by the said in the articles, in misleading ways.

Thus, both modals and “would” with a modal meaning expressing mitigation were used to provide the possible consequences of a Brexit vote.

Modals belonging to mitigation were used in 35 out of 38 articles, which constituted to 92 per cent of the research corpus. These were the most frequently identified means in terms of the number of the researched articles where the devices appeared. The least often used were two means, both of which were included in the mitigation strategy: first, words expressing mitigation, such as ‘*so*’ in the phrase ‘*five years or so*’ where it implies uncertainty about the said information or ‘*my guess*’, which stresses the unreliability of the data given; second, ‘verbs of saying’ implying mitigation as, for instance, ‘*to intend*’, ‘*to suggest*’ or ‘*to recommend*’.

When speaking about the absolute number of the devices identified within all of the articles, it should be mentioned that ‘would as a means of modality’ were the most frequently used means by *The Guardian* articles; they occurred 181 times. The uncertainty behind a Brexit vote and what it potentially could bring were the key reasons why to use would with a modal meaning. In the majority of cases, 150 instances that made 83 per cent of all the identified examples, the “would” use referred to Brexit or to possible results of a Brexit vote (see Appendix 7, Pie Chart 3.20), for instance, ‘*Brexit **would** also hit neighbouring EU economies*’ or ‘*Brexit **would** plunge the UK into recession next year*’, or ‘*Brexit **would** create major uncertainty about Britain’s alternative future trading arrangements*’. Moreover, 9 per cent or 16 “would” instances were written in relation to a Remain vote, for example, ‘*it **would** help Europe as a whole*’, noting the significance and necessity of a pro-European decision in the referendum; ‘*country **would** be stronger inside the EU*’ or the opinion of a person not related to politics that was sure in his choice: ‘*was in no doubt that it **would** be best for him and his country*’. Additionally, two cases reflected the possibility of either of the vote options: ‘*what **would** happen in either scenario*’ and ‘*either solution **would** be disastrous for the province*’. Furthermore, two “would” cases referred to the notion of ‘voting’: ‘*how they would vote*’ and ‘*whether they would do so*’.

Mainly “would” with a modal meaning highlighted the damaging consequences of Brexit and a negative attitude towards it (see Appendix 7, Pie Chart 3.21). “Would” serving such a purpose was identified in 102 cases, for example, expressing a general idea of Brexit being a decision with severe side effects: ‘*it **would** be a catastrophic move*’ or ‘*it **would** be a real hole in the European history*’. “Would” with a modal meaning was also used to stress the shock to the economy: ‘*a vote to leave **would** force the pound to slide towards parity with the euro*’ or ‘*Brexit **would** lead to a fall in growth, jobs and investment*’. In addition, Brexit was supposed to be the reason why the border between the Northern Ireland and the Republic of

Ireland could be renewed, and that was thought to have a huge negative impact: ‘*the return of a stronger border between Ireland and Northern Ireland [...] would play into an old narrative*’, ‘*a restoration of borders and customs tariffs would be a disaster for the Northern Ireland economy*’ and ‘*to install physical checkpoints along the border would instantly undermine a hard-won peace*’. Finally, “would” was employed to give the information about possible changes that would be introduced both in the UK and abroad after a Brexit vote: ‘*you would need some kind of visa to work abroad and this would impact on your ability to acquire a job*’, ‘*the carte de séjour would surely be back*’ and ‘*driving licences would change*’, both last examples used in relation to the British people living in France and the changes in their status if the UK left the EU. It was identified that only 13 per cent of “would” examples were aimed at showing the beneficial side of Brexit, for instance, ‘*a depreciation would be good for the economy*’ or ‘*UK immigration rules would apply to any EU migrants*’ suggesting that the UK would have the freedom to fully implement its own laws. Although there were examples of the use of “would” to defend the Leave camp, it was evident that the main purpose of “would” with a modal meaning was to support *The Guardian* stance on Brexit and to build a picture of the UK suffering more from a Brexit vote rather than benefiting from it to eliminate a chance of a leave vote.

Modals both implying mitigation and intensification were used to describe Brexit. Modals that dealt with expressing probability or softening the prediction were found in 146 times that was more than the intensification modals that were identified in 86 cases. Three mitigation modals were noted: ‘*could*’ (78 times), ‘*may*’ (42 times) and ‘*might*’ (27 times). All of these modal verbs were used to express uncertainty and to avoid making statements that could prove to be wrong in the future, for instance, ‘*The EU referendum could lead to the creation of a new nation state*’, ‘*That’s why polls showing the Brexit vote may result in a majority of Britons voting to leave the EU*’ and ‘*a Brexit might look similar to the aftermath of sterling’s ignominious exit from the ERM*’. However, some of the mitigation modals were also used to express general notions or give some ideas tentatively: ‘*Brexiteers might argue*’, ‘*A vote to leave could see*’ or ‘*Whatever we might think of the EU*’.

Modals belonging to intensification strategy mainly were used to support the Remain campaign (26 per cent) and to reveal the drawbacks that would be brought by Brexit (16 per cent) (see Appendix 7, Pie Chart 3.22). Some modals identified the urge for unity in the society and between the EU nations: ‘*people must work together and unite*’, ‘*but we can still get back together*’, ‘*the country should seek unity*’ and ‘*we must reject division and isolation*’. This created both a positive image of the EU as it made the nations be together, and suggested the opposite situation that Brexit would mean isolation and separation from the

continent. Some of the modals highlighted the tough consequences presumably brought by a Brexit vote: *'uncertainty is what we can't cope with'* or *'the overall outcome **cannot be predicted**'*. To make the articles sound more objective and reasonable, some arguments, defending the idea to leave the EU by means of the intensifying modals, were introduced (five per cent): *'we **can** stop sending the £350m we pay Brussels every week'* or *'we **can** create 300,000 jobs'*. In addition, the modals also were used to claim issues considered to be the key reasons why to vote out: *'[...] migration policy [...] **should** be brought back under the control of democratically elected politicians in this country'* and *'we **cannot** play by shared rules'*. Despite the fact that 62 per cent of the intensification modals carried either negative or positive meaning towards Brexit, the share of the modals left was grouped into two categories: the one giving information about the debate before the referendum and the other that included the unclassified modals that contextually were relevant to Brexit discussion. Modals connected to debates were, for instance, *'This referendum **could not** be more different'* and *'British citizens **have to** decide whether they want to remain part of the European Union'*.

Conditionals were included in the mitigation strategy to prove that it was hard to predict the outcome of the referendum, even though there were numerous polls and surveys conducted before the referendum. The results of the analysis received indicated that the majority of conditionals used in reference to Brexit, that was 52 out of 61, speculated on whether a Brexit vote could take place or the UK would still remain in the EU: *'If Brexit occurs'*, *'if Britain leaves the EU'*, *'if the Leave side wins the referendum'*, *'if Britons vote in favor of Brexit'*, *'if Brexit becomes a reality'* or, in contrary, *'if voters reject Brexit'*, *'if it is a Remain vote'*, *'if it stays'* and *'if we do vote to remain'*. The other nine examples were connected to Brexit but had a deeper meaning rather than unpredictability of a coming vote, for instance, *'if the EU is to survive'*, *'if the results are close'* or *'if you're worried about Brexit'*. This divide did not create a negative attitude, as it reflected the overall situation in the society in the UK and the governing uncertainty about the future.

Verbs of saying were investigated in the researched articles. Not all of the identified verbs were included in the categories, as, first, they should have been related contextually to Brexit, that was they introduced arguments pro or contra or any discussions relevant to the debate or campaigns in the text, and, second, they should have either implied tentativeness or strong assertion. The verbs of saying that were classified into the category "intensification" were present more often in the texts, 72 times, than the verbs that were put into the mitigation group, 15 times. The category of mitigation had nine reporting verbs, some of which occurred several times, for instance, *'to suggest'* (five times) that was found in *'Commentators have*

suggested, ‘*opinion polls suggested*’ or ‘*some experts have suggested*’ or ‘*to intend*’ (two times) as in ‘*it [the parliament] intends to preserve*’.

The main reason why the reporting verbs, belonging to the intensification strategy, were included in the text was the communication of a possible threat that was ‘warning’ (see Appendix 7, Pie Chart 3.23). This category that made one-third (36 per cent) of the reporting verbs in the intensification strategy used only one verb ‘to warn’: ‘*[The IMF] has warned of a slowdown in the global economy*’, ‘*Rolls-Royce is typical of major employers that have warned against leaving the EU*’ or ‘*Nicola Sturgeon, is on the stump too, but warning that, if Britain leaves the EU, Scotland will demand a second independence referendum to leave the 309-year-old United Kingdom*’. The next group that contributed to one-fifth of all the verbs was meant to reflect the debates between the two campaigns and to emphasize that there were two sides that tried to persuade each other and voters, and to make their arguments seem more trustworthy. The verb ‘to argue’ was used for this purpose: ‘*The leave campaign argues that the market would not simply vanish – the French would still want Welsh lamb and the Republic of Ireland would still be very keen to sell its beef to the UK*’ or ‘*The remain camp argues that UK farmers enjoy free access to the single market of 500 million customers and that Europe accounts for 73% of Britain’s agrifood exports, worth about £11bn a year*’, or an individual’s remark – ‘*George Osborne has argued that a vote for a Brexit will mean a rise in interest rates from a record low of 0.5%*’. The use of these verbs clearly outlined the atmosphere of the preparation to the referendum, the tension between two opposite camps and them attacking each other with counterarguments. Moreover, approximately one-tenth (11 per cent) were dedicated to making claims, using such verbs as ‘to declare’, ‘to claim’ and ‘to announce’, for example, ‘*The taoiseach claims that although new administrative arrangements would be possible, the psychological effect of a harder border would be hugely damaging after decades of work to promote peace and reconciliation*’, ‘*George Osborne declares house prices will fall by 18% if Britain quits*’ and ‘*Nissan, which wants Britain to remain in the EU, announced on Monday it was issuing legal proceedings to stop Vote Leave from using its name and logo and to “prevent them making any further false statements and misrepresentations concerning Nissan”*’. Furthermore, nine per cent of the verbs carried negative emotional meaning as they criticized or accused someone or something, for instance, ‘*In response to criticism by Vote Leave, which accuses economists of scare-mongering [..]*’, ‘*Each blames an influx of workers*’ and ‘*In an interview with the Observer, Kenneth Clarke, a former Tory chancellor and a strong supporter of remaining inside the EU, criticised both campaigns for making overblown claims*’. This intensified the scale of the fight between the campaigns and also highlighted some of the aspects more specifically, for instance, a

considerably topical issue of immigration, pointing it out by the verb *'to blame'*. Finally, many people were afraid of the outcome of the referendum and the consequences of the either decision; this fear was augmented by the absolute uncertainty about how the referendum would end and what a Brexit vote would bring in reality. This was evident in the articles as well: *'They [Jaguar Land Rover] are deeply worried about being outside of the EU'*, *'I fear for the future of the party now as millions of Labour voters'* and *'I'm afraid the party I've always voted for may end up the real loser'*.

Future Simple was also added to the list of the devices used by intensification strategy. To this group, only those instances that clearly implied certainty and claims were added. The majority or 57 per cent of examples found were used to show the negative attitude towards Brexit, to outline its drawbacks and difficulties it would bring (see Appendix 7, Pie Chart 3.24): *'Foreign holidays will be more expensive'*, *'each household will be £220 a year worse off'* and *'Several banks have said Brexit will force them to rethink their attachment to the UK'*. Compared to the number of instances criticising or disapproving Brexit, only 16 per cent of the identified examples were either in favour or, at least, not against Brexit: *'the (dishonestly) alleged £350m a week that will be saved by leaving the EU'*, *'Remaining in the EU will not magically eliminate the challenges Britain faces in the years to come'* and *'There will be no change for EU citizens already lawfully resident in the UK'*. It was noted that one-fifth of the Future Simple use related to Brexit discussed or referred to political issues: *'Boris Johnson will be given a major portfolio'*, *'a win for Remain will be a boost for Jeremy Corbyn'* and *'Cameron will want to be magnanimous to the losing side'*.

Three of the last four devices left for discussion belonged to the mitigation strategy: 'mitigation', 'words of likelihood' and 'questions'. The function of the category 'Mitigation' was to imply uncertainty or soften statements, for instance, *'whether Britain quits or not'* meaning that it was not yet evident or known, *'more or less'* which also does not add any concrete information, but, in contrary, signals to a reader that the data given may not be absolutely reliable or *'almost certain'* that showed there were doubts around the said or any other scenarios that could happen. Moreover, devices from the group 'words of likelihood' served a similar function as a 'mitigation' means, but their purpose was a bit more specific, as 'words of likelihood' expressed the degree to which something may happen, for instance, using such words as *'likely/unlikely'*, *'perhaps'*, *'probably'* or *'certainly'*.

"Intensification" as a category denoted all the devices used to increase the influence of the information given and to affect a reader to a larger degree, for instance, *'dreadful murder of Jo Cox'*, *'splendid isolation'* and *'imaginary Lebensraum'*. Finally, the last category used was 'questions' that were in the majority of cases posed by an author to draw the attention of

readers and to avoid making concrete statements, but rather to pose a question which would bring discussions among interested readers. All of the questions apart one were posed by the author or authors of the text in the body of discussion of a matter. However, one of the articles used a question to open the text and begin the argumentation: *'It is a question the English used to ask about their subject peoples: are they ready for self-government?'*

To conclude, it was evident from the texts that mitigation strategy was used to outline the possible consequences or other related facts to Brexit; the intensification strategy was mainly used to influence readers and to make certain facts and statements seem more important and even dramatic.

This chapter described the results received in the course of the empirical research. The chapter included discussion of the *the Guardian's* stance on the UK's referendum on the EU membership and a possible Brexit vote. Moreover, the chapter outlined the analysis of the research corpus using Wodak and Meyer (2016) four discourse-historical approach strategies: nomination, predication, perspectivization and mitigation and intensification. The following chapter comprises conclusions derived from both the theoretical and practical parts of the present research as well as it mentions the limitations faced while conducting the research and it suggests the recommendations for the further studies.

CONCLUSIONS

The paper provided **the theoretical overview** for the subject under investigation that was given in the first two chapters of the paper. The theoretical part contributed to the empirical research by establishing the theoretical basis for the work. The chapters discussed such concepts as discourse, discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis and historical discourse approach, as well as it spoke about newspapers and a brief outlook of *The Guardian*.

The **practical part** of the present paper concentrated on the analysis of 38 *The Guardian* articles taken from the newspaper's website. The articles were posted during the last five days before the British referendum on the country's membership in the EU. The paper aimed at studying the image of Brexit designed by *The Guardian* and at identifying how both the referendum on the EU membership and a possible Brexit vote were communicated to the public. Wodak and Meyer's (2016) four discursive strategies of discourse historical approach – nomination, predication, perspectivization and mitigation and intensification – were used as a framework for the present research.

The **goal** of the Bachelor paper was attained as *The Guardian* website articles that reflected Brexit discussion were examined by means of Wodak and Meyer (2016) four discursive strategies, and the attitude of the newspaper concerning Brexit was clarified: *The Guardian* is a newspaper with a strong opposition to the idea of Brexit, and, during the debate, the newspaper attempted to convince its readers to vote to remain in the EU. In addition, the newspaper designed the negative image of Brexit, warning that a vote to leave could bring negative consequences to the British economy and that the people of the UK could lose all of the benefits provided by the EU.

The **enabling objectives** were attained: the theory has been researched and an overview of the relevant sources was made, the practical analysis of the research corpus has been conducted and the conclusions, given below in this chapter, were drawn.

Three **research questions** posed in the introduction of the present paper were answered.

First, *The Guardian* was against Brexit. Thus, it urged its readers, who were potential voters with a right and might to decide the future of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in the European Union, to vote to remain.

Second, each of four strategies had a set of devices used in the research corpus articles. The nomination strategy included seven categories of discursive construction of social actors: 'proper names', 'deictics', 'generalizing anthroponyms', 'professional anthroponyms', 'collective concepts', 'metonymy' and 'metaphors'. Discursive construction of Brexit and

political matters was designed by means of nouns, verbs, prepositions and metaphors. The predication strategy was presented by four means such as ‘adjectives’, ‘participles’, ‘clauses’ and a newly set up category called ‘additional information’. The perspectivization strategy was analysed in terms of three devices: quotations, indirect speech and references. Finally, the mitigation and intensification strategy had the largest number of devices used. The mitigation category was based on words of likelihood, words of mitigation, modals of mitigation, conditionals, would as a means of modality, verbs of saying used for mitigation and questions. The intensification strategy compiled words of intensification, modals of intensification, verbs of saying expressing intensification and Future Simple.

Third, devices belonging to each of four studied strategies contributed to the perception of Brexit by *The Guardian*'s readers. Nomination strategy established the basis by creating Brexit as an actor and proving that all the articles were relevant to the topic, as discursive construction of Brexit was identified in all the articles of the research corpus. Predication strategy started shaping the attitude towards Brexit by attaching to it mostly negative attributes. The perspectivization strategy clearly outlined the stance of the paper by using mainly arguments of the Remain campaign supporters. Lastly, the mitigation and intensification strategy highlighted the uncertainty around the referendum outcome and the UK's future after Brexit as well as it was used to dramatize certain aspects in the articles and to lessen the authors' responsibility for the claims made.

The most apparent conclusions of the present paper are:

1) the nomination strategy proved that all the studied articles corresponded to the topic of Brexit. In addition, the EU was clearly shown as a unity by metaphors, being compared to a club, a boat or a building; however, Brexit was attributed negative features of gambling in the used metaphors. Thus, the strategy in total shaped a negative attitude towards a Brexit vote;

2) the predication strategy highlighted the EU as an institution having severe problems; the UK was described positively, but it was stressed to be the gains of the EU membership. Consequently, the articles urged voters to remain to keep the UK as it was. Moreover, immigration, being one of the core arguments of the Leave campaign, was presented in a positive light, but refugees were treated with sympathy. This could be the clear evidence of the strategy helping to tune the paper positively towards the Remain decision;

3) the perspectivization strategy was extensively against Brexit. Therefore, it can be claimed that the articles were written from the perspective of Remain supporters. The main means of persuading readers to stay in the EU was the use of economic arguments that showed the possible damages caused by Brexit to the British economy and its citizens;

4) the mitigation and intensification strategy was used to communicate the feared uncertainty about the referendum outcome and about Brexit consequences. It was done mainly by the use of epistemic would, mitigation words, mitigation reporting verbs and conditionals. Furthermore, this strategy contributed to the creation of a negative perception of Brexit by means of epistemic would that described possible drawbacks of a vote to leave. Finally, reporting verbs expressed threats that the situation could worsen after Brexit, as well as they reflected on a tense fight between the campaigns.

In conclusion, *The Guardian*, being pro-European and using various means of persuading its readers to vote to remain could have affected a considerably small share of a possible electorate as its total number of readers, both of printed press and online (as stated in the theoretical overview, chapter 2), was slightly more than two millions, considering the fact that the size of electorate was 46,500,001, according to the Electoral Commission (Online 4).

The **limitations** of the present Bachelor paper included the unavailability of the list of the total number of articles provided by *The Guardian*, as the online newspaper platform did not provide an access to the archive of all the posted articles. Thus, an electronic search engine was used, which might have resulted in certain inaccuracies within the selection unknown to the researcher.

Two **recommendations** for the further research on the topic of Brexit using Wodak and Meyer (2016) framework could be proposed. First, it is advisable to concentrate the study on argumentation strategy that was omitted in the present research paper and to research the use of “topoi” that are included in the devices identified within this strategy (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:33). The reason behind this is the insufficient discussion in Wodak and Meyer (2016) of the concept of topoi and Žagar’s (2010) claim that Wodak ‘relies mostly on simplified, unreflected use of topoi as found in everyday use, thus neglecting much more productive, theoretical elaborations of the concept’ (2010:3). Therefore, it is necessary to investigate the role of topoi within the discourse historical approach and especially in the articles devoted to Brexit. Second, another study could focus on comparing the attitude towards the Brexit referendum by two British newspapers, having different stances on the issue, for instance, these could be the *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian*.

THESES

- 1) Historical discourse approach strategies are used to critically assess a text and to evaluate the attitude towards the discussed topic.
- 2) Nomination strategy is used to establish social actors relevant to the topic and to design an image of a discussed issue.
- 3) Predication strategy is used to shape the attitude towards the issue, by adding certain positive or negative features to the social actors or events constructed in the nomination strategy.
- 4) Perspectivization strategy allows understanding whose opinion is supported by the articles and how a reader is manipulated. It is done by means of a ratio between “pro” and “contra” arguments expressed by quotations, indirect speech instances and references and their theme and strength.
- 5) Intensification strategy means are used to dramatize and to attribute more importance and weight to certain aspects and arguments, which also contribute to the strategy of persuasion of readers.
- 6) Mitigation strategy is applied to soften the statements about post-Brexit situation and to avoid bearing responsibility if claims appear invalid.
- 7) Mitigation strategy devices contribute to the motion of uncertainty associated with a discussed subject.
- 8) Despite the newspaper holding a particular chosen stance on an issue, its authors introduce counter arguments to the newspaper’s stance to avoid the articles sounding subjective; however, arguments “pro” the chosen view dominate to insure that the stance of the newspaper is communicated to the reader and is not misunderstood.
- 9) Brexit referendum was a historically important event that was intensively discussed in *The Guardian*. The newspaper provided factual, neutral information, as one of its goals was to communicate the news, and it also shaped attitude towards Brexit, as it took its “pro” Remain stance in the political debate.
- 10) *The Guardian* used various arguments to support the newspaper’s opinion as well as they operated with a number of linguistic means used to make the articles more persuasive and credible, as the target audience of *The Guardian* were potential voters, who were supposed to decide the future relationships of the UK and the EU.

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APPENDIX 1 TABLES WITH RESULTS FROM THE EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

<p>Article G1 Author: Peter Westmacott Title: American friends fear UK voters may back Brexit for all the wrong reasons Date: 18 June, 2016 Link: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/18/eu-referendum-brexit-sir-peter-westmacott-ambassador-us Number of words: 764</p>	
<p>Topics: immigration, fears of other countries that the UK leaves Structure: no subtitles Comments: it is an opinion article; the author uses „I”. Stance on Brexit: completely against Brexit. The article outlines the fears of the foreigners associated with Brexit, and states that the threats of migration (refugees and Turks) are not so dramatic as everyone says:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) ‘start work in earnest on 24 June with our fellow Europeans on an urgent programme to get the EU back on the rails’ (the author’s opinion) 2) ‘Despite the influx of foreign nationals from within the EU, many of them helping our booming services industry remain competitive, our unemployment levels are less than half the European average and lower than at any time since before the crisis of 2007-08.’ 3) ‘And visa-free access for Turks to Schengen countries won’t affect Britain.’ 	
STRATEGY - ‘NOMINATION’	
‘Discursive construction of social actors’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
Jo Cox/Jo, Donald Trump/Trump, Vladimir Putin, Bill Gates	Proper names
I, we [the British], us [the British], they [American friends], ourselves [the British], our [the British], they [Europeans], she [Jo Cox]	Deictics
UK voters, Britons, people, [the author’s] friends abroad, the rest of us, Syrian refugees, foreign nationals, Turks, member state, Brits, the western world, American entrepreneurs, foreign investors, continental Europeans, others [other non-EU countries]	generalizing anthroponyms
the former ambassador to the US, MP,	professional anthroponyms
Turkey, the UK	collective concepts
Britain, Brussels, Europe	metonymy
American friends, European friends, our [the UK’s] friends abroad, our [UK’s] fellow Europeans	metaphors
Discursive construction of Brexit	
the EU referendum, Thursday’s referendum, referendum, a vote for Brexit, cop-out, not a solution, voting to leave	nouns
to leave, assess [the risks]	verbs
if we go [if the country leaves] realise that on balance it’s not worth the gamble	metaphors
Political issues: immigration, visa-free access for Turks, membership criteria, Eurozone crisis, migration, Brussels bureaucracy,	
Eurozone contagion, inside the tent [in the EU]	metaphors
STRATEGY - ‘PREDICATION’	
Discursive description of social actors	
[American friends] horrified, [we] noisy Brits,	adjectives
a handful of the Syrian refugees fleeing for their lives	participle

foreign nationals from within the EU, many of them helping our booming services industry remain competitive	
Discursive construction of Brexit	
an issue of huge importance to the future of the United Kingdom an opportunity for name-calling and point-scoring	
dangerous	adjectives
In Thursday's referendum, which is far more important for the future of our country than any general election	clauses
Political matters: an overpaid and overstuffed Brussels bureaucracy	
STRATEGY – ‘PERSPECTIVIZATION’	
Against Brexit: “Taking back control”, like Trump’s “Make America great again” is a slogan not a strategy.	reference
Against Brexit: [Americans] worry that we Britons may be about to vote to leave the European Union for reasons which have little to do with the real pros and cons and on the basis of arguments which are either irrelevant or misrepresented. European friends in particular remind us how often [...] people vote in referendums with little regard for the actual question on the ballot paper. Our friends abroad [...] cannot understand why we Brits are seriously considering voluntarily downgrading our international influence and jeopardising our economic recovery Bill Gates is only the latest in a long line of foreign investors to have warned that Britain will be a much less attractive place to invest if we go [other countries] they also think that [...] the UK helps keep Europe democratic, stable, like-minded and respectful of the rule of law	Indirect speech
STRATEGY ‘INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION’	
	mitigation
horrific killing [Jo Cox] not have died entirely in vain [American friends] worry that's still years away approval of every single member state voluntarily downgrading our international influence and jeopardising our economic recovery [Americans and Europeans] fear Whether or not we think this referendum was necessary we need to think [...] about what is at stake .	intensification
perhaps	words of likelihood
UK voters may back Brexit we Britons may be about to vote to leave a vote for Brexit could generate irresistible pressure for referendums to be held in other countries Europe could then be on a slippery slope	modals (mitigation)
We should calmly assess the risks of voting to leave	modals (intensification)
Turkey joining the EU would [affect the UK], of course	“would” with a modal meaning
So are we perhaps worrying too much? [refers to refugees crisis and Turkey joining EU as the reasons to leave]	question
[Bill Gates] have warned, [continental Europeans] fear, argues [the former ambassador to the US]	verbs of saying (intensification)

<p>Article G2 Author: Katie Allen Title: IMF says Brexit would trigger UK recession Date: 18 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/jun/18/imf-says-brexit-would-trigger-uk-recession-eu-referendum Number of words: 789</p>	
<p>Topics: negative financial consequences suggested by the IMF for the UK and the world economy if the UK leaves the EU Structure: no subtitles Comments: the author is not present in the article. Stance on Brexit: the majority of the arguments are against Brexit; however, there is an opinion of a leave camp, as well as the author is not personally involved in the article.</p>	
STRATEGY - ‘NOMINATION’	
‘Discursive construction of social actors’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
Matthew Elliott, Jo Cox, Christine Lagarde/Lagarde	Proper names
we [the British people], they [IMF’s experts], their [UK voters referred to by the IMF director], they [IMF’s directors]	Deictics
leave campaigners, IMF officials, one official, reporters, IMF’s experts, British policymakers, UK voters, fund’s directors/directors, policymakers, Europeans	generalizing anthroponyms
chief executive of Vote Leave, Labour MP, the IMF’s managing director	professional anthroponyms
IMF, leave camp, Vote Leave, the UK, Norway, the EU, Ireland, Malta, Cyprus, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Belgium, the Bank of England, World Trade Organisation	collective concepts
Britain, fund [IMF], Brussels, the union [the EU]	metonymy
Discursive construction of Brexit	
Leaving the EU, referendum, resulting uncertainty, vote, next week’s referendum, the main risk to Britain’s economy, choice, a vote to leave	nouns
left, vote, remain	verbs
Political issues: the UK’s democratic process, rise in economic nationalism, inequality	
STRATEGY - ‘PREDICATION’	
Discursive description of Brexit	
closely fought vote, a possible Brexit	adjectives
Political matters: rise in economic nationalism that threatened the union, the inequality that made some Europeans “feel left behind”	clauses
worrying rise in economic nationalism	adjectives
STRATEGY – ‘PERSPECTIVIZATION’	
ProBrexit: leave campaigners who have already said the fund should not interfere in the UK’s democratic process. Against Brexit: [IMF]: Leaving the EU would hit British living standards, stoke inflation and wipe up to 5.5% off GDP The IMF used its annual report on the British economy to say Brexit would plunge the UK into recession next year and that it could see no economic advantage in leaving the EU. [IMF] it added that a leave vote would tie the UK up in trade negotiations that could drag on for years. [IMF] The resulting uncertainty would hit spending and financial markets, it	Indirect speech

<p>said [..] [IMF officials] Under that scenario, the UK would fall into recession in 2017 [..] In the near term, the main risk to Britain’s economy was next week’s referendum, the fund’s directors said. [the IMF] Brexit would also hit neighbouring EU economies, <u>though the impact would be smaller than in the UK</u> [..]. [the IMF] modelled a less favourable outlook, in which GDP would fall more steeply Lagarde warned of a worrying rise in economic nationalism that threatened the union and urged policymakers to do more to reduce the inequality that made some Europeans “feel left behind”. the Bank of England’s warning on Thursday that leaving the EU would risk pushing the pound sharply lower and sending shockwaves through the global economy.</p>	
<p>ProBrexit: Matthew Elliott, chief executive of Vote Leave said: “The IMF has chosen to ignore the positive benefits of leaving the EU and instead focused only on the supposed negatives. If we vote leave, we can create 300,000 jobs by doing trade deals with fast growing economies across the globe. We can stop sending the £350m we pay Brussels every week. That is why it is safer to vote leave.” Against Brexit: [IMF] “In the adverse scenario of long negotiations and a default to the trade rules of the World Trade Organisation, GDP plunges by 5.5% by 2019,” it said. [one official]: “The implication would be negative growth in 2017”. [The IMF] has warned of a slowdown in the global economy [the IMF directors]: “While recognising that this choice is for UK voters to make and that their decisions will reflect both economic and non-economic factors, directors agreed that the net economic effects of leaving the EU would likely be negative and substantial” [the IMF directors] “In the event of a vote to leave, directors recommended that policies be geared toward <u>supporting stability and reducing uncertainty.</u>”</p>	<p>Quotations</p>
<p>Against Brexit: an impassioned plea from the IMF’s managing director Christine Lagarde [..] for Britain to remain in the EU</p>	<p>reference</p>
<p>STRATEGY ‘INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION’</p>	
<p>no economic advantage in leaving the EU an angry response from leave campaigners The leave camp has also attacked it is safer to vote leave warnings an impassioned plea</p>	<p>intensification</p>
<p>would likely be</p>	<p>words of likelihood</p>
<p>it could see no economic advantage in leaving the EU Brexit could spark a stock market crash and a steep fall in house prices trade negotiations that could drag on for years monetary tightening may need to be initiated</p>	<p>modals (mitigation)</p>
<p>the fund should not interfere we can create 300,000 jobs [if the UK leaves] we can stop sending the £350m we pay Brussels every week [if the UK leaves] monetary and fiscal policies should be eased</p>	<p>modals (intensification)</p>

Brexit would plunge the UK into recession next year a leave vote would tie the UK up in trade negotiations The resulting uncertainty would hit spending and financial markets output would fall compared with where it would be under continued EU membership the UK would fall into recession in 2017 The implication would be negative growth in 2017 growth would be expected to recover in late 2016 the degree to which the UK's poor productivity growth would recover the net economic effects of leaving the EU would likely be negative and substantial Brexit would also hit neighbouring EU economies the impact would be smaller Ireland, Malta, Cyprus, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Belgium would likely be most affected the Bank of England's warning on Thursday that leaving the EU would risk pushing the pound sharply lower	"would" with a modal meaning
If we vote leave, we can [..]	conditionals
[directors] recommended	verbs of saying (mitigation)
[the IMF] has warned/urged, Lagarde warned	verbs of saying (intensification)

<p>Article G3 Author: Phillip Inman Title: What would British business be like after Brexit? Date: 18 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/jun/18/british-business-after-brexit Number of words: 1890</p> <p>Topics: negative consequences of the UK leaving th EU. Structure: eight sections with subtitles: 'Sterling', 'Trade', 'The City', 'Employment', 'Property and asset prices', 'Multinationals', 'EU funding' and 'Agriculture'. Comments: the article has arguments from both Brexit sides, but it is evidet that it supports Remain camp. Stance on Brexit: the author does not express his opinion directly, but the article outlines strong arguments against Brexit, while giving less and not so persuading facts that could back Brexit.</p>	
STRATEGY - 'NOMINATION'	
'Discursive construction of social actors' (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
George Osborne/Osborne, Ian Harnett, Michael Gove/Gove, Nigel Farage, Patrick Minford/Minford, Johnson, Morgan Stanley, Jamie Dimon, Crispin Odey, Sir Michael Hintze, Angus Armstrong, Warren East	Proper names
they [experts], we [the Guardian], he [Ian Harnett], them [domestic and Irish beef farmers], they [many firms], them [EU citizens], we [Rolls-Royce]	Deictics
experts, business groups, analysts, economic forecasters, forecasters, many, businesses, consumers/the consumer, food manufacturers, few, exporters, Brexit campaigners, South American farmers, domestic and Irish beef farmers, the UK's competitors, domestic businesses, Remain campaigners, industries, member states, big banks, insurers, the hedge fund, private equity businesses, workforce, firms outside the eurozone, firms, hedgies, migrants, UK nationals, farmers, cafe owners, poorer EU nationals, first-time buyers, EU citizens, negative-equity property owners, buyers, US rivals, multinationals, staff, customers, plastics and steel suppliers, body parts specialists, high-grade consultancies, some economists, industry, suppliers, pharmaceuticals companies, ministers, eastern Europeans	generalizing anthroponyms

the chief investment strategist, a former chief European strategist, the boss of US bank JP Morgan, director of macroeconomics at the National Institute of Economic and Social Research, chief executive	professional anthroponyms
the European Union/the EU, the UK, Remain camp, each household, Leave camp, the European Central Bank, the UK government, the Bank of England, Rolls-Royce/aero engine maker, the Ricardo Group, Toyota, BMW, Vauxhall	collective concepts
Britain, Westminster [the UK parliament], Brussels, chancellor [Chancellor of the Exchequer], Europe, Threadneedle Street [the Bank of England], The Bank [the Bank of England]	metonymy
losers	metaphors
Discursive construction of Brexit	
a vote to quit, a Leave vote, leaving the EU, dangers, exit, vote, a period of uncertainty [after Brexit], remaining in the EU	nouns
quit, vote, leave, harm, jeopardise [car industries' survival]	verbs
Brexit would prompt a seismic shift, a post-Brexit landscape	metaphors
Political issues: immigration	
to win an arm-wrestle with Brussels over trade	metaphor
negotiate, limit [immigration]	verbs
STRATEGY - 'PREDICATION'	
Discursive description of social actors	
independent UK government, a post-Brexit government	adjectives
industries protected by high tariffs Businesses relying heavily on migrants But the industry, being entirely foreign-owned	participle
Ian Harnett [...] who is a former chief European strategist at the investment bank UBS eastern Europeans are the ones who wade through the mud to bring in the harvest.	clauses
the UK, the world's fifth-largest economy	additional information
Political matters: unlimited immigration [from the EU], negotiations	
STRATEGY - 'PERSPECTIVIZATION'	
ProBrexit: George Osborne argues that life after Brexit would be characterised by market turmoil and a shock to the government's finances that will force ministers to impose even more austerity. This "open markets" policy without reciprocal agreements is too generous to the UK's competitors, say Remain campaigners , and would wipe out the domestic businesses shielded by tariffs. Johnson and Gove have also argued that tariffs to access the EU's single market would be low following negotiations because member states would not want to lose access to the UK, the world's fifth-largest economy. US investment bank Morgan Stanley says the Leave camp would be likely to win an arm-wrestle with Brussels over trade, at least in relation to cars Not after Brexit, according to independently reviewed Treasury estimates that suggest house prices would fall by 10%-18% by 2018. some economists believe it is one of the major industries [car industry] that could survive Brexit unscathed many argue that an independent UK government would only need to spend a few million pounds to keep the sector solvent. But Minford says it [open market] would let businesses spread their wings. [reply to the negative argument of Remain campaigners]	Indirect speech

<p>Against Brexit: Ian Harnett, the chief investment strategist at Absolute Strategy Research, [...] believes the dangers of leaving the EU are even greater than many imagine. The Remain camp, using a conservative 12% decline in sterling as their measure, calculate each household will be £220 a year worse off as the buying power of a weaker pound increases the cost of foreign goods. Several banks have said Brexit will force them to rethink their attachment to the UK and review investment decisions. HSBC said in February that almost straightaway it would need to move 1,000 jobs to Paris, where it already has a large operation. Jamie Dimon, the boss of US bank JP Morgan, [...] said Brexit could mean the UK operation losing a quarter of its 16,000-strong workforce. Rolls-Royce is typical of major employers that have warned against leaving the EU. [Rolls-Royce] told employees that Brexit would put its planned £65m testing plant at risk and hand US rivals a competitive advantage. [Rolls-Royce] chief executive Warren East said: “ If Brexit occurs, there will almost inevitably be a period of uncertainty, and uncertainty is what we can’t cope with.” More than three-quarters of firms believe Brexit would harm business, a survey by the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders found. Toyota, BMW and Vauxhall have all backed remaining in the EU, as have Nissan, Audi and Land Rover maker Tata [...] environmentalists are sceptical that there will be any extra cash for green schemes, following speeches by Brexit campaigners about the need to unshackle farmers from overbearing environmental regulations.</p> <p>Partially neutral: [US investment bank this year report]: “Europe has as much, if not more, to lose than to gain from its access to the rich and large UK market, with over €30bn in annual export sales, and potentially €3bn-€4bn in UK earnings.” [stating that the EU is indifferent to Brexit]</p>	
<p>Against Brexit: “Those likely to be most affected by leaving the EU would be in the service sectors that trade with the EU and sectors that benefit from the free movement of labour,” says Angus Armstrong, director of macroeconomics at the National Institute of Economic and Social Research</p>	Quotations
<p>Against Brexit: According to one forecast, the pound will sink by up to 30% [...] according to independently reviewed Treasury estimates that suggest house prices would fall by 10%-18% by 2018</p>	references
STRATEGY ‘INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION’	
<p>anecdotal evidence [that many firms have prepared to move some or all of their business to Hong Kong or Singapore] It is a shot in the dark whatever the outcome</p>	mitigation
<p>immediately after the vote Brexit will force them [banks] only if wages increase This sounds dramatic There would still be there will almost inevitably be Hundreds of schemes are in operation to prevent from pouring excessive nitrogen on to their fields and flooding rivers with slug-killing pellets that</p>	intensification

wash off the land	
likely, certainly , those likely to be most affected, would probably move	words of likelihood
there could be barriers to trade Brexit could mean the UK operation losing a quarter of its 16,000-strong workforce Businesses [...] could switch to The Bank could tackle higher inflation some economists believe it is one of the major industries that could survive Brexit unscathed Brexit could jeopardise their survival a post-Brexit government might decide these farmers [...] could withstand a little austerity	modals (mitigation)
uncertainty is what we can't cope with	modals (intensification)
what effect they think a Leave vote would have on the economic landscape A vote to quit the European Union would have many consequences for the UK that would mean accepting free movement of labour the best advice for the chancellor would be Minford says trade would quickly accelerate These would be abolished it would let businesses spread their wings He would offset damage to industries member states would not want to lose access to the UK the Leave camp would be likely to win an arm-wrestle with Brussels over trade it would need to move 1,000 jobs to Paris [in case of Brexit] Those likely to be most affected by leaving the EU would be financial services, tourism and car manufacturing would be major losers Brexit would prompt a seismic shift There would still be a shortage of homes higher interest rates that would quickly create thousands of negative-equity property owners Banks would suddenly have a huge increase in bad loans when mortgages would simultaneously have become more expensive these companies would probably move facilities to other centres in the EU an independent UK government would only need to spend	"would" with a modal meaning
For businesses and consumers, that means the recent trend for fuel prices to tick higher will accelerate. [against Brexit] Foreign holidays will be more expensive. [against Brexit] Britain's reliance on imported food will also increase costs for food manufacturers and the consumer [against Brexit] calculate each household will be £220 a year worse off [against Brexit] it will make exports cheaper Several banks have said Brexit will force them to rethink their attachment to the UK They also thrive in volatile markets; Brexit will certainly bring those Ministers will also have greater difficulty persuading farmers EU funding for environmental subsidies will need also to be replaced	Future Simple
A bigger jolt to the City could follow if If Brexit occurs	conditionals
George Osborne argues, Ian Harnett believes, Michael Gove and Nigel Farage have rejected, Johnson and Gove have also argued, hedge funds argue, they [hedgies] believe, Rolls-Royce [...] have warned against Audi and Land Rover maker Tata [...] arguing	verbs of saying (intensification)

<p>Article G4 Author: Michael White Title: What is Brexit and why does it matter? The EU referendum guide for Americans Date: 18 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/18/eu-referendum-brexit-explainer-for-americans Number of words: 2338</p>	
<p>Topics: historical background on the EU membership and the UK's intention to leave in 1975, the idea that Brexit will not harm the elite, but it will considerably affect the rest and the uncertainty and complexity of Brexit and referendum and their consequences. Structure: the article has three subdivisions under the titles: 'The History', 'The players', 'The choice'. Comments: the author is not involved in the text, he does not associate himself with the British people, and he does not take certain side in the debate. Stance on Brexit: although the article does not directly claim the opinion, it is clear that it tries to tentatively move its readers towards Remain.</p>	
<p>STRATEGY - 'NOMINATION'</p>	
<p>'Discursive construction of social actors' (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)</p>	<p>Devices</p>
<p>Michael White, Tip O'Neill, Marine Le Pen, Trump/Candidate Trump, Jo Cox, Margaret Thatcher/Mrs Thatcher, Harold Wilson/Wilson, David Cameron/Cameron, Angela Merkel's/Germany's Merkel, Jeremy Corbyn, Bernie Sanders, Nicola Sturgeon, George Osborne, Vladimir Putin, Boris Johnson/Johnson, Michael Gove</p>	<p>Proper names</p>
<p>us [Europeans], your [refers to the Brits], their/we/our [the Brits], they [EU states], she [Merkel], he [Cameron], they [the Europeans], he [Boris Johnson]</p>	<p>Deictics</p>
<p>British visitors, fellow citizens of the European Union, opponents, immigrants, social isolationists, blue-water buccaneers, Portuguese teenagers, blue-collar workers in the American Rust Belt, hedge fund managers, questioners, people, police officer, his [police officer's] wife, British voters, citizens, voters, political elites, politicians, dictators, demagogues, Conservative British politicians, European partners, pro-EU Liberal Democrats, coalition partners, Lib Dems, war refugees, economic migrants from Africa and the Middle East, German families, escapees from Syria, Britons, workers, workforce, Spaniards, Italians, French professionals, entrepreneurs, the French, other EU countries, newcomers, member states, Cameron's allies, all the main British parties, Celtic nationalists, business allies, western societies, hedge fund managers, gamblers, everyone, Brexiteers, experts, economists, university researchers, public health officials, cabinet members, men, women, Australians, Brazilians, Brits, rich men, the poor, the French police, young men, no one</p>	<p>generalizing anthroponyms</p>
<p>MP, prime minister/PM, the Conservative prime minister, German chancellor, first minister of Scotland, first minister of Scotland, finance minister, chancellor of the exchequer, justice secretary</p>	<p>professional anthroponyms</p>
<p>the campaign to leave, courts and commissions in Brussels, Europe, European Union, Swiss, the [UK] government, Eurosceptic right wing, coalition, Labour, cabinet, Leave, Remain</p>	<p>collective concepts</p>
<p>the continent [Europe], Britain, the union [the EU], Brussels, Eton [the university], Oxford [the university], London, Paris</p>	<p>metonymy</p>
<p>demons [„pre-globalised jobs for life, plus resentment of immigrants and of rules imposed by “unelected” courts and commissions in Brussels”] neighbours [the EU to the UK], the club [the EU of 1975] EU magnet states</p>	<p>metaphors</p>
<p>Discursive construction of Brexit</p>	
<p>23 June vote, referendum, 23 June ballot, campaign for Brexit, British exit,</p>	<p>nouns</p>

23 June, In/Out referendum on Europe, next Thursday's date with destiny on 23 June, Remain, referendum campaign, Vote Leave campaign, Leave EU	
remain, leave, stay in,	verbs
referendum virus [...] infected Britain's constitutional software, gamble, to keep Britain on board [in the EU]	metaphors
Political issues:	
the perfect storm of economic crisis, migration and nationalism, seismic shift [change] towards nationalism and populism But wary Britons felt they had already seen this movie [situation with refugees in the EU], "Polish plumber", playing the immigration card	metaphor
rising Euro-scepticism, Project Fear	nouns
STRATEGY - 'PREDICATION'	
Discursive description of social actors	
anxious fellow citizens of the European Union "unelected" courts and commissions in Brussels jobless Portuguese teenagers unemployed blue-collar workers a popular British MP [Jo Cox] 28-nation European Union frustrated voters most respectable politicians his [David Cameron's] irreconcilable Eurosceptic right wing piously internationalist Lib Dems wary Britons stable, open market ballast [the UK] young Cameron, 12 years her junior the formidable Nicola Sturgeon his [David Cameron's] unpopular finance minister charisma-lite cabinet sensible people insouciant Brexiteers desperate young men	adjectives
French professionals and entrepreneurs escaping bureaucracy and leftwing taxes at home	participle
opponents who want to stay in political elites who are judged to have let them down [hedge fund managers and gamblers] people whose own lives will not be much damaged if a win for Brexit delivers the recession and worse that Cameron predicts the poor but angry, who have the most to lose	clauses
Jeremy Corbyn, a Bernie Sanders without the gravitas or drive David Cameron, Eton and Oxford-educated child of upper-middle-class privilege Boris Johnson, tousle-headed blond Tory MP and former mayor of London	additional information
Discursive description of Brexit	
a rapid campaign, less reputable sidekick [Leave EU], sour/despiriting [campaign]	adjectives
STRATEGY - 'PERSPECTIVIZATION'	
ProBrexit: Britain will boom, says Leave.	Indirect speech
Against Brexit: Nicola Sturgeon , is on the stump too, but warning that, if Britain leaves the EU, Scotland will demand a second independence referendum to leave the	

<p>309-year-old <i>United Kingdom</i>. [the author] people whose own lives will not be much damaged <u>if a win for Brexit delivers the recession and worse that Cameron predicts</u>. Experts in every field from City giants and economists to university researchers and public health officials, are overwhelmingly for Remain. Barack Obama said it as clearly as he decently can [Britain will boom, says Leave] Quite the reverse, warns Remain</p>	
<p>Against Brexit: [citizens of the European Union]: “Your referendum, it will be OK, yes?” [citizens of the European Union]: “Why are you doing this to us?” The visitor [from the UK] to Greece or rural France tries to tell questioners: “It’s bit like Syriza or Golden Dawn,” [...] Or “it’s a bit like your Marine Le Pen or America’s Trump. A lot of people are angry. Some have much to be cross about.” “Don’t leave us alone with the French,” they say [Germany]</p>	Quotations
<p>Against Brexit: Margaret Thatcher [...] calling referendums “a device for dictators and demagogues”?</p>	references
STRATEGY ‘INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION’	
<p>a device to make it slightly easier for member states to keep Brussels regulation away</p>	mitigation
<p>senseless/dreadful murder of Jo Cox they [the UK] are fed up he finally promised Cameron almost certainly assumed Cameron [...] assumed that the pro-EU Liberal Democrats [...] would still be around to veto [...] flood of scary official predictions are overwhelmingly for Remain</p>	intensification
<p>But he seems to have sensed, probably rightly</p>	words of likelihood
<p>British voters may be about to “do it” How could that happen in a country</p>	modals (mitigation)
<p>[they are fed up and] <i>can</i> show it</p>	modals (intensification)
<p>Cameron [...] assumed that the pro-EU Liberal Democrats [...] would still be around to veto [...] sterling would never be required to join the eurozone how much money would be freed up by the return of Britain’s £8bn a year contribution to EU funds</p>	“would” with a modal meaning
<p>Does that sound familiar? [the author] And what about that aggressively nationalistic and authoritarian government recently elected in Poland, what does that mean for EU unity? [the author] How could that happen in a country whose most charismatic modern leader, Margaret Thatcher, endorsed the view of most respectable politicians with memories of inter-war fascism, calling referendums “a device for dictators and demagogues”? [the author] But who needs experts in a populist era? [the author] Will the Europeans punish London for its desertion, or does the EU need British markets too much to dare, as insouciant Brexiteers insist? [the author] Will Britain have to leave the single market for goods and services in favour of a looser Canadian-style free trade deal rather than the Norwegian EU treaty, one of several offered by Leave campaigners who do not seem to share a map? [the author] What about Nato and other already fragile international institutions ? Or the</p>	question

City of London's envied status? What about that unruly refugee camp at Calais where the French police help keep desperate young men from getting to Britain through the Channel Tunnel in smugglers' lorries? Will Paris still cooperate or wash its hands of Britain and its lax work and benefit rules? [the author] just enough to let voices be heard asking: "Is this who we are, is this our future, can't we rise above all this?" [the author]	
if Britain leaves the EU, Scotland will demand a second independence referendum what will happen if Britain votes for Brexit	conditionals
he [David Cameron] finally promised, Osborne warned, warns Remain, Nicola Sturgeon [...] warning	verbs of saying (intensification)

<p>Article G5 Author: Patrick Collinson Title: I like the EU, but I'm voting out Date: 18 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/money/blog/2016/jun/18/eu-vote-brexite-working-people-rents-wages Number of words: 756</p>	
<p>Topics: high rents and low wages, unemployment within the British people because of the Eastern European migrants. Structure: no subtitles Comments: the author uses „I” pronoun. Stance on Brexit: the author claims he supports the idea to leave (he gives arguments pro Brexit) „And I'm voting out” and „I'm around 60% out, 40% in”, but says that most probably it will not happen „If we do vote to remain (which I think is the most likely outcome)” and adds „There is much to like about the EU” and „But we can still get back together”.</p>	
STRATEGY - 'NOMINATION'	
'Discursive construction of social actors' (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
Fergus Wilson, George Osborne, Le Pen, Yvette Cooper, Jeremy Corbyn	Proper names
us/we [the British people], I/my [the author], they [companies]	Deictics
someone else, bus companies, each, companies, workers, people in low-income groups, eastern European migrants, young people, the left, the right, Europeans, big corporates, working people, politicians, so many others	generalizing anthroponyms
painter/decorator, driver, care-home cleaner	professional anthroponyms
the EU, Austria	collective concepts
Britain, Brussels	metonymy
Discursive construction of Brexit	
in	pronouns
a shock event, uncertainty	nouns
vote out, quit, remain	verbs
game, rebellion against the EU, divorce, marriage [the UK in the EU] [the UK and the EU] We're more like flatmates who recently haven't been getting along too well	metaphors
Political issues:	
an influx of workers from the EU, migration	nouns
STRATEGY - 'PREDICATION'	
Discursive description of social actors	
someone else [...] willing to work for less	participle
a painter/decorator who has not been able to raise his wages for 15 years	clauses

a driver who arrived from Turkey 18 years ago Young people struggling with ludicrous rents	
STRATEGY – ‘PERSPECTIVIZATION’	
	deictics
ProBrexit: George Osborne declares house prices will fall by 18% if Britain quits. [George Osborne] He is saying membership of the EU keeps prices and rents much higher than they would otherwise be. Young people struggling with ludicrous rents, take note. [the author persuades a reader] so many Europeans think Brussels panders to the interests of big corporates rather than working people Jeremy Corbyn has declared himself <u>only 75% “in”</u>	Indirect speech
Against Brexit: You can’t divorce and keep the benefits of marriage, say the remain camp .	
STRATEGY ‘INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION’	
But whether Britain quits or not	mitigation
ludicrous rents, if only, If we do vote to remain	intensification
the most likely outcome	words of likelihood
If only more politicians could be similarly nuanced If the risk is that wages may stabilise in places, if the risk is that rents may fall	modals (mitigation)
it can do so easily they can’t find people willing to work for £10 an hour or less the left should seek to understand You can’t divorce and keep the benefits of marriage But we can still get back together	modals (intensification)
He is saying membership of the EU keeps prices and rents much higher than they would otherwise be	“would” with a modal meaning
[I’m voting out] Why? [When companies launch recruitment drives in eastern Europe they blame skills shortages in Britain] Really?	question
If Britain leaves as a consequence, Brussels should not seek to punish them If we do vote to remain (which I think is the most likely outcome)	conditionals
each blames [an influx of workers], companies [...] blame, George Osborne declares, Jeremy Corbyn has declared himself only 75% “in”	verbs of saying (intensification)

<p>Article G6 Authors: Toby Helm and Daniel Boffey Title: EU referendum voters unconvinced by scare tactics: ‘I just want to do what’s right’ Date: 18 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/18/eu-referendum-voters-scare-leave-remain Number of words: 1771</p>
<p>Topics: The text highlights the fact that the British people are uncertain how to vote because of the ambiguous and contradicting information received during the campaigns. Structure: the article has no subtitles. Comments: the article includes polls results; the author is not present in the article. Stance on Brexit: the article does not communicate any stance, as it just gives the outline of the current situation, stating that people are unsure how to vote. The text included interviews with ordinary people waiting in a queue to enter the football venue. In addition, the article gives the</p>

statistical data gathered from polls.	
STRATEGY - 'NOMINATION'	
'Discursive construction of social actors' (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
Paul, Mike, Nigel Farage/Farage, Paul/Mike, David Brocklehurst, David Cameron/Cameron, George Osborne, Alistair Darling, Gordon Brown, Alan Johnson, Jim Henderson, Paul Brannen, Ciara McCrory, Ian Farrimond, Lindsay, David Phillips, Corbyn, Boris Johnson, Kenneth Clarke/Clarke, Jo Cox/Cox, Thomas Mair, Nick Forbes	Proper names
I/ him/me/he/his/she/my/her [people in the queue], they [the Japanese/people in the queue], we/us/our [the British people]	Deictics
EU referendum voters, residents of Tyneside, many of those waiting, hundreds of Geordies, man, friends, all, one, another, mates, both sides [of Brexit campaigners], the Japanese, group of friends, MPs, the British people, UK voters, Labour voters, Conservatives, senior Labour figures, Labour people, remain supporter, grandchildren, family, many, the Polish people, others, working class, people, everyone, political leaders, electorate, politicians, leading figures, the population, remain and leave camps, no one, opponents, traitors	generalizing anthroponyms
engineers, housebuilder, chancellor, former home secretary, Labour MEP, healthcare adviser, taxi driver, missionaries, farmer, former Tory chancellor	professional anthroponyms
leave, remain, crowd, this country, Labour, the city council, the leave camp, the Treasury, Bank of England, parliament	collective concepts
England [a football team], Wales [a football team], Britain	metonymy
dad, wife, suspect	nouns giving additional information
Discursive construction of Brexit	
in or out, out, inside, in	prepositions
a dead heat, leave, remain, the big decision, this Thursday's EU referendum, referendum, for Remain, campaigning, the biggest issue, debate, „scare stories”, referendum campaign, the leave side	nouns
to vote, to stay, to leave	verbs
a complete gamble	metaphors
Political issues:	
immigration, immigrants, anti-immigrant arguments, politics, anti-immigrant noises	nouns
their cause might win on that ticket [ticket=migrants]	metaphors
STRATEGY - 'PREDICATION'	
Discursive description of social actors	
the gathering crowd, a young man, Labour-run [the city council], undecided [voters], a genuinely interested/ sensible/ intelligent electorate, leading/ respectable politicians, confused/angry [population]	adjectives
a young man who claimed he was called Paul but who his mates insisted was Mike Nigel Farage was a “good bloke” who spoke sense senior Labour figures, who fanned out across the country Ian Farrimond and his wife, Lindsay, who are missionaries 58% who say the reverse Cox – who was strongly in favour of remaining in the EU and had praised the way in which immigration had enriched the country people in the leave campaign who would never have dreamt of raising anti-immigrant arguments	clauses
Discursive construction of Brexit	
bizzare	adjectives

STRATEGY – ‘PERSPECTIVIZATION’	
<p>Against Brexit: [people from the queue] Ian Farrimond and his wife, Lindsay, who are missionaries, said there was no question that the country would be stronger inside the EU.</p>	Indirect speech
<p>Against Brexit: [a man from the queue] David Brocklehurst, a housebuilder [...] ‘am for staying in. There will be a shock to the economy if we leave. Our jobs would be at stake. There would be less houses built.’ [a man from the queue] “It may be exaggerated, what they say about a shock. But it worries me. There will be a negative effect.” [a woman from the queue] Lindsay [..]: “I just have a strong gut feeling we are safer and better off in. But I don’t have any confidence about the result. It really terrifies me”. [a man from the queue] David Phillips, a farmer from near Hexham, said [..]: “I am not sure yet, but I think probably we have to play along with this [the EU]. The working class has made up its mind to vote to leave, but I think we may be better staying in. I just want to do what is best for the country.”</p> <p>Pro Brexit: [a man from the queue] Paul/Mike said [..]: “I have an eye on the pros and cons. [...] I’m voting for out.” [a man from the queue] Jim Henderson, a retired watermark engineer, said he would take his lead from his grandchildren. And what did his grandchildren think? “They are all for out,” he said with a broad smile. [a woman from the queue] Ciara McCrory, a 19-year-old healthcare adviser [...] “My dad is a taxi driver. He says there would be more work if it weren’t for immigration and all the Polish people. So I will vote to leave.” the suspect charged with Cox’s murder, Thomas Mair, was asked to give his name in court on Saturday he said “death to traitors, freedom for Britain”.</p>	Quotations
STRATEGY ‘INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION’	
I am not sure yet, but I think probably, slightly uncertain, my guess	mitigation
overwhelmingly, bruising campaigning, a city divided, a country split down the middle, really terrifies, dreadful news, utterly inappropriate, strongly in favour, to campaign aggressively, serious trouble	intensification
It may be exaggerated, we may be better staying in	modals (mitigation)
they should vote	modals (intensification)
There will be a shock to the economy if we leave if there is not a 60% remain vote in Newcastle, we are in serious trouble If votes in the referendum were to follow party loyalties, Newcastle would be overwhelmingly for Remain, and if this were reflected in other Labour strongholds, David Cameron would be home and dry.	conditionals
how they would vote whether they would do so was in no doubt that it would be best for him and his country Our jobs would be at stake There would be less houses built he would take his lead from his grandchildren the country would be stronger inside the EU who would never have dreamt of raising anti-immigrant arguments	“would” with a modal meaning
But was it working? [the author]	question

And what did his grandchildren think? [the author] Paul/Mike: „The Japanese will still want to buy from us whether we are in or out won't they? ”	
The Japanese will still want to buy from us There will be a negative effect but it will still be decisive for many will affect the result muted campaigning [...] will make it more difficult [...] to	Future Simple

<p>Article G7 Author: Daniel Boffey and Toby Helm Date: 18 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/18/politicians-eu-membership-blair-clegg-brexite-referendum Number of words: 756</p> <p>Topics: the division of the society caused by Brexit campaign. Structure: the text has no subtitles Comments: the authors do not express their opinions directly Stance on Brexit: the first half of the article supports Remain, but the second is about Leave. The article reflects on the divided society because of Brexit.</p>	
STRATEGY - 'NOMINATION'	
'Discursive construction of social actors' (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
Tony Blair, Michael Heseltine/ Lord Heseltine, Nick Clegg, Jo Cox, Doreen Lawrence, Stephen, Caroline Lucas, Sir Brendan Barber, Shami Chakrabarti, Sir Richard Lambert, Craig Bennett, Nigel Farage, Emmanuel Macron/ Macron, Gisela Stuart/Stuart, Jo Cox	Proper names
they [politicians], our/we [the British people], their/them [people], I /me/she[Stuart]	Deictics
Senior politicians, voters, people, figures from public life, communities, children, signatories, Leave campaigners, society, refugees, all, politicians, constituents	generalizing anthroponyms
former deputy prime minister, Labour MP, MP, former leader of the Green party, former TUC general secretary; former director of Liberty, former CBI director general, chief executive, economy minister	professional anthroponyms
country, the UK, the world	collective concepts
Britain	metonymy
cook [leader]	metaphors
mother, teenager	nouns
Discursive construction of Brexit	
referendum, division, isolation/isolationism, blame, “us and them”, a vote for Leave, referendum day, a hard-fought-for right	nouns
to stay, vote	verbs
'Guernseyfication'	metaphors
Political matters: democracy, extremism, debate	
STRATEGY - 'PREDICATION'	
Discursive description of social actors	
a dangerously divided society, desperate refugees, peaceful/ tolerant/compassionate [Britain], a little country [Britain]	adjectives
those who take an opposing view	clauses
STRATEGY – 'PERSPECTIVIZATION'	

<p>ProBrexit: Labour MP and Leave campaigner Gisela Stuart said a vote for Leave was not about dividing people but renewing the country’s democracy.</p> <p>Against Brexit: Tony Blair and two former deputy prime ministers, Lord Heseltine and Nick Clegg, have launched a late plea to voters to reject “division, isolationism and blame” and vote on Thursday to stay in the EU. [...] the country is living in “worrying times” in which people must work together and unite, not pull each other apart. [...]the country should seek unity, not division, remaining “a democracy where disagreements do not degenerate into incivility and where debate is not used to divide our communities”. [...]“We have a chance as a country to reject division, isolationism and blame. To choose co-operation. <u>For the future of our children</u>, that is a chance we must take.”</p> <p>“It should be driven by a desire to bring people together when it would be easier to tear them apart. A wish to build bridges rather than erect walls. A fundamental belief in the principle that we are stronger together than we are apart. This is the kind of Britain we all want to live in. Peaceful, tolerant, compassionate.” [the cross party group]</p> <p>France’s economy minister Emmanuel Macron said that Britain outside the EU would become “a little country on the world scale [that] would isolate itself ... at Europe’s border”.</p>	<p>Indirect speech</p>
<p>ProBrexit: Stuart, MP for Birmingham Edgbaston, adds: “For me, the underlying question is clear: are the people able to choose the governments that make their laws and to throw them out when they fail? I believe leaving the EU is the way to safeguard this precious right. At the same time, I respect those who take an opposing view.</p> <p>Against Brexit: Macron told <i>Le Monde</i>: “Leaving the EU would mean the ‘Guernseyfication’ of the UK.”</p>	<p>Quotations</p>
<p>STRATEGY ‘INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION’</p>	
<p>‘Guernseyfication’ of the UK, a hard-fought-for right, scrupulous, hate-filled language, precious right, desperate refugees, „worrying times”</p>	<p>intensification</p>
<p>people must work together and unite a chance we must take Politicians and voters must reflect on the hate-filled language we must take care we must be wary of retreating to the blandness and consensus ‘We must reject division and isolation’ the country should seek unity, It should be driven by a desire to this should not lead to the closing down of genuine debate should be the default way to hold a political discussion This referendum could not be more different</p>	<p>modals (intensification)</p>
<p>it would be easier to tear them apart, Britain outside the EU would become, would isolate itself, leaving the EU would mean</p>	<p>“would” with a modal meaning</p>
<p>„For me, the underlying question is clear: are the people able to choose the governments that make their laws and to throw them out when they fail?”</p>	<p>question</p>

(Stuart)	
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Article G8
 Author: Fintan O'Toole
 Title: Brexit is being driven by English nationalism. And it will end in self-rule
 Date: 19 June
 Link: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/18/england-eu-referendum-brexit>
 Number of words: 1197

Topics: the division of the UK after Brexit and the creation of an independent state of England.
Structure: no subtitles
Comments: the author is from the Republic of Ireland; the author does not directly state his opinion by using “I” pronoun, but he has built the text so, that it has one certain idea – the UK might be divided by Brexit. Moreover, the author does not discuss any economical issues, and he does not discuss any views of Leave or Remain campaigners. Concerning perspectivization strategy, the article is mainly based on historical facts that back the author’s opinion.
Stance on Brexit: although the author accepts the aspiration of the British people to leave the EU and be independent, he argues that the UK has no plan for further actions, that it has not much experience of being alone as a country and that it needs to be a part of something global so that its culture can flourish. In addition, the author clearly creates an image of the UK tearing apart in case of Brexit; therefore, the vision of the UK being divided into separate states implies the negative consequences of Brexit.

STRATEGY - ‘NOMINATION’

‘Discursive construction of social actors’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
the author mention these names when speaking about historical events: Adolf Hitler, Athelstan, Cnut the Dane, James VI, James I, the Beatles, Shakespeare, the Smiths, Zadie Smith, the Brontës, Dizzee Rascal, John Ball, the Levellers, Mary Wollstonecraft, Tom Paine, Johnny Rotten	Proper names
they [‘subject peoples’], you [the reader], we [readers in general], they/we/our [the English people], my [the author]	Deictics
the English, majority, anyone else, English nationalists, other countries, set of public school and Oxbridge Tories, Brexiters, elite, immigrants, Brussels bureaucrats, English kings	generalizing anthroponyms
the Leave side, England, Scotland, the European Union, Northern Ireland, the UK, nation [of the UK]	collective concepts
a Britain	metonymy
Discursive construction of Brexit	
EU referendum, an English nationalist movement, referendum, Brexit campaign, decisive step, leaving the EU	nouns
win [the referendum]	verbs
an earthquake [Brexit]: ‘an earthquake that will, curiously, leave the domestic landscape unaltered’	metaphors
Political issues:	
Nationalism, Englishness, a resurgence of Welsh nationalism, accidental independence [of England]	nouns
the line between Them and Us [nationalism]	metaphors

STRATEGY - ‘PREDICATION’

Discursive description of social actors	
a standalone/ an independent England an unwanted appendage of a shrunken Britain [Northern Ireland]	adjectives
the UK melting around it	participle

STRATEGY – ‘PERSPECTIVIZATION’

Against Brexit: As Johnny Rotten (a typically English child of immigrants) put it: “There is no future in England’s dreaming.”	Quotations
STRATEGY ‘INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION’	
[a national independence] it has scarcely even discussed it will almost certainly Hardly anyone is even talking about England scary business of being (to borrow a term from Irish nationalism) “ourselves alone” The English nationalism that underlies Brexit has, at best But the handover of elite power [...] will surely be the most underwhelming in history <i>imaginary Lebensraum [the UK with less immigrants]</i>	intensification
the new England might govern itself <i>The EU referendum could lead to the creation of a new nation state</i>	modals (mitigation)
But it is now one that has to be asked about the English themselves English nationalists can quite reasonably point out that you ought to be talking about it [about independence]	modals (intensification)
perhaps without winning Wales either the main political entity most likely to emerge from Brexit	words of likelihood
If the Leave side wins the referendum, it will almost certainly be without a majority in either Scotland or Northern Ireland and perhaps without winning Wales either	conditionals
It is a question the English used to ask about their subject peoples: are they ready for self-government? [the authors; the questions opens the text] But when did England really stand alone? [the author] Is there a shared narrative of the English past that functions even as a useful collective invention? [the author]	question
After Brexit, an independent England will emerge by default The Brexiters imagine an earthquake that will , curiously, leave the domestic landscape unaltered the actual outcome of Brexit will be an even closer embrace of unfettered neoliberalism the (dishonestly) alleged £350m a week that will be saved by leaving the EU	Future Simple

<p>Article G9 Author: Suzanne McGee Title: Why US financial markets may not be immune to Brexit's ripple effects Date: 19 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/money/us-money-blog/2016/jun/19/brexit-us-stock-market-investors-companies Number of words: 1092</p>
<p>Topics: effect of Brexit on the USA and its economics; a possible economic hurdles in the economy of the UK and the EU, if Brexit causes similar referendums in the EU. Structure: the text has no subtitles Comments: the author is from the USA, and he writes from the perspective of the US markets and people. The author does not discuss political or economic consequences of Brexit for the UK, and, thus, does not mention the inner state of the country before Brexit. The author is not present in the article. Stance on Brexit: as the author reviews Brexit consequences from the US citizens and companies perspective, it does not give a definite opinion on how to vote for the UK citizens. The article can be considered neutral apart from one argument that both EU and UK financial markets will be negatively affected.</p>

STRATEGY - 'NOMINATION'	
'Discursive construction of social actors' (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
Jo Cox, Laurence Wormald	Proper names
they/their [British citizens], ourselves/our/we/us [the US citizens], you [the reader], we [people, in general]	Deictics
US investors, US companies, British citizens, hedge funds, large investors, Britons, some, suspect, anti-immigrant protesters, anti-EU parties, US companies, banks, voters	generalizing anthroponyms
head of research at FIS, banking analysts	professional anthroponyms
the European Union/the EU, far-right group, the UK, parliament/Britain's parliament, JP Morgan Chase/Goldman Sachs/Citigroup [US banks], JP Morgan's equity strategy team	collective concepts
Britain	metonymy
Discursive construction of Brexit	
the vote, Brexit vote, 23 June, a "yes" vote, heated debate, opportunity [to the USA], heated political debate, pro-Brexit vote	nouns
remain, leave, reject/approve [Brexit], vote	verbs
"exit contagion" [Brexit seen as an illness], an event as seismic as Britain's departure from the European Union	metaphors
Political matters: immigration	
STRATEGY - 'PREDICATION'	
Discursive description of social actors	
a suspect who may have shouted "Britain first!" Many Britons who say they will vote in favor of Brexit	clauses
Discursive description of Brexit	
looming vote	adjectives
STRATEGY – 'PERSPECTIVIZATION'	
Laurence Wormald, head of research at FIS , a financial technology company, has run a "stress test", or a hypothetical scenario analysis, and calculated that if Britons vote in favor of Brexit, the S&P 500 would fall 5% and banking stocks would fall 8%, while volatility in the broader stock market would soar 40%. Little wonder that the [US] banks have been putting forth some of the most dire warnings of what would happen following a pro-Brexit vote, with Goldman Sachs, at one point, arguing that the British pound could crash in value by as much as 20%.	Indirect speech
STRATEGY 'INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION'	
The tragic killing of British parliamentarian Jo Cox	intensification
a suspect who may have shouted "Britain first!" But in the US, investors should take advantage of this opportunity [...] to contemplate what may be the short – and longer-term impact of a pro-Brexit vote [...] the British pound could crash in value by you might want to take a look at your portfolio the resulting lull in the heated debate may yet cause some to reconsider their votes Many Britons [...] may end up doing so more out of a desire to curb immigration than any other factor the British pound could crash in value That's why polls showing the Brexit vote may result in a majority of Britons voting to leave the EU	modals (mitigation)

<p>British citizens have to decide whether they want to remain part of the European Union</p> <p>But in the US, investors should take advantage of this opportunity [Brexit] we can't really anticipate how they'll respond to Brexit</p> <p>an event as seismic as Britain's departure from the European Union simply can't be compared to trying to predict, say, a company's next quarterly earnings</p>	<p>modals (intensification)</p>
<p>[..] whatever happens to the Standard & Poor's 500 stock index on 23 June</p> <p>[..] probably will pale in comparison to either the sigh of relief or the ripples of panic that will flow through Europe's financial markets</p>	<p>words of likelihood</p>
<p>[in case of „exit contagion"] That would send British stocks down 20%, European stocks down 15%, and US stocks down 10%; volatility in British and European markets would double, and in the US market it would soar 60%. That would make the stock market a very, very uncomfortable place to be for the remainder of the year.</p> <p>[Brexit] this would be yet another financial headwind for big banks such as JP Morgan Chase, Goldman Sachs and Citigroup, which would see their revenues slump (in response to the Brexit turmoil and the transition) and their costs climb as they have to relocate and lay off personnel.</p> <p>Little wonder that the banks have been putting forth some of the most dire warnings of what would happen following a pro-Brexit vote</p> <p>Britain's parliament would have to develop and pass the necessary legislation</p>	<p>“would” with a modal meaning</p>
<p>investors in the United States are finally waking up to the fact that the outcome of that Brexit vote will actually have an impact on already-struggling financial markets at home</p> <p>[..] either the sigh of relief or the ripples of panic that will flow through Europe's financial markets</p> <p>hedge funds and other large investors will respond equally rapidly</p> <p>The Brexit-related market volatility relates to what investors think will happen in the future</p> <p>Britain's parliament would have to develop and pass the necessary legislation, and that will at least take time.</p>	<p>Future Simple</p>
<p>If such a Brexit vote prompts other anti-EU parties in other countries to renegotiate their relationship with the European Union, that would create what FIS refers to as “exit contagion”.</p> <p>But if Britain leaves the EU</p> <p>If you're very worried about Brexit</p> <p>Alternatively, these are companies whose stocks might be poised for a rebound if voters reject Brexit</p> <p>if Britons vote in favor of Brexit, the S&P 500 would fall 5% and banking stocks would fall 8%, while volatility in the broader stock market would soar 40%.</p>	<p>Conditionals</p>

<p>Article G10</p> <p>Author: not mentioned</p> <p>Title: Mail on Sunday backs remain as major papers declare sides in EU referendum</p> <p>Date: 19 June</p> <p>Link: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/19/mail-on-sunday-backs-remain-as-major-papers-declare-sides-in-eu-referendum</p> <p>Number of words: 577</p>
<p>Topics: the article gives various newspapers' stance on Brexit</p> <p>Structure: the text has no subtitles</p> <p>Comments: the author is not present in the article.</p> <p>Stance on Brexit: the article does not hold a particular stance as it outlines the attitude towards</p>

Leave or Remain expressed by other UK newspapers.	
STRATEGY - 'NOMINATION'	
'Discursive construction of social actors' (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
George Osborne	Proper names
we/our/us [the British people], they [leave campaign]	Deictics
Brexit campaigners, voters, the nations of Europe, electorate	generalizing anthroponyms
the chancellor	professional anthroponyms
Daily Mail, Daily Mail stablemate, Observer, Sunday editions of Times and Telegraph, The Mail On Sunday, the UK, the leave campaign, the Observer, the EU/political and economic union, The Sunday Times, Nato, the leave campaign, Remain	collective concepts
Britain, the European project [the EU], Europe, Brussels	metonymy
[The Sunday Times'] weekday sibling [The Mail On Sunday]	metaphors
Discursive construction of Brexit	
remain, EU referendum campaign, 23 June, a vote to leave, the remain case, a vote for Brexit, leaving the EU, remaining in the EU	nouns
stay in, support/back [Brexit], leave, divorce	verbs
STRATEGY - 'PREDICATION'	
Discursive description of social actors	
'single-minded leaders' of leave international, liberal and open Britain	adjectives
STRATEGY - 'PERSPECTIVIZATION'	
<p>ProBrexit: [The Sunday Times] [...] the paper called for a "looser, more flexible" association with the EU. It said that while better diplomacy might have rendered the referendum unnecessary, now that the question was being put to the electorate, voting to leave was the best way to stop increasing political and economic union.</p> <p>Against Brexit: [The Mail On Sunday] In a two-page editorial, the paper said that "by any calculation" Britain would be bound to face higher tariffs, turmoil in the financial markets and a period of uncertainty if there was a vote to leave on 23 June. [The Mail On Sunday] It accused Brexit campaigners of peddling a "dangerous illusion".</p>	Indirect speech
<p>ProBrexit: [The Sunday Times] Criticising the EU's economic recovery since the recession, and its impact on British sovereignty and security, the paper said: "In the event of Brexit, Brussels may pursue a 'global security strategy', perhaps including an EU army without a UK veto." [The Sunday Times] "We must keep out. It is Nato that guarantees our security." The Sunday Telegraph came out in favour of Brexit in its editorial. "On balance ... we believe the leave campaign has articulated an ambitious vision for Britain as an independent nation, once again free to make its own decisions. Remain, by contrast, has resorted to grim pessimism." [The Sunday Telegraph] The newspaper accused the chancellor, George Osborne, of making "unconscionable threats" over pensions and "dire predictions" on trade agreements that, with other issues, amount to an "unremitting tide of gloom".</p>	Quotations

<p>[The Sunday Telegraph] Declaring that the EU “belongs to the past”, it said: “Leaving the EU does not mean leaving Europe. A vote for Brexit on Thursday will not change our geography.”</p> <p>Against Brexit: The Mail On Sunday has come out in favour of the remain case in the EU referendum campaign, warning it is “not the time to risk the peace and prosperity” of the UK.</p> <p>[The Mail On Sunday] “So eager are they for a divorce that they are prepared to sacrifice a large chunk of our income, and trade down on living conditions, in order to walk out into a rose-tinted future of ‘freedom’. Though it is interesting that they have been careful to make no such a declaration.”</p> <p>[The Observer] Affirming that the paper has “always been proud of its internationalist, liberal worldview”, it said: “Despite its many flaws, this paper believes the EU has, without question, been a force for good.”</p>	
<p>Against Brexit: [The Observer] The newspaper said voters should not turn their backs on the European project in an article headlined: “For an international, liberal and open Britain, we need to be part of the EU.”</p>	reference
STRATEGY ‘INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION’	
<p>increasingly tough reality of a competitive world splendid isolation the EU has, without question, been a force for good</p>	intensification
<p>better diplomacy might have rendered the referendum unnecessary In the event of Brexit, Brussels may pursue [..]</p>	modals (mitigation)
<p>our deepest desires must somehow be moderated to suit the increasingly tough reality voters should not turn their backs on the European project We must keep out</p>	modals (intensification)
<p>perhaps including an EU army without a UK veto</p>	words of likelihood
<p>The Mail On Sunday has come out in favour of the remain case in the EU referendum campaign, warning The newspaper accused the chancellor, George Osborne^o declaring [..], it said criticising [..] said</p>	verbs of saying (intensification)
<p>A vote for Brexit on Thursday will not change our geography Remaining in the EU will not magically eliminate the challenges Britain faces in the years to come</p>	Future Simple
<p>But if we choose to do so [to remain], it will keep Britain [..]</p>	Conditionals

<p>Article G11 Authors: Anushka Asthana and Jill Treanor Title: Nobel prize-winning economists warn of long-term damage after Brexit Date: 19 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/19/eu-referendum-nobel-prize-winning-economists-warn-of-long-term-brexite-damage Number of words: 966</p>
<p>Topics: negative consequences of Brexit faced by banks and brokers, and influence of Brexit vote on financial markets. Structure: the text has no subtitles Comments: the author does not express his point of view towards Brexit. Stance on Brexit: a half of the article gives arguments against Brexit, and the other half is neutrally tuned towards Brexit as it states about the influence of the referendum, regardless of its</p>

result.	
STRATEGY - 'NOMINATION'	
'Discursive construction of social actors' (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
Jasper Lawler, Christopher Pissarides/Pissarides, Charles Stanley, Mark Carney	Proper names
they [10 Nobel-prize winning economists], their [customers], they [brokers], we [stockbrokers], you [the British people], them [investors]	Deictics
voters, dealers, investors, some City sources, others, out campaigners, banks, senior bankers, customers, firms, brokers, clients, some economists, JP Morgan analysts, analysts at Jefferies, analysts at Bernstein , banks	generalizing anthroponyms
economists, market analyst, stockbroker, analysts, governor of the Bank of England	professional anthroponyms
Vote Leave, Lloyds Banking Group, Royal Bank of Scotland, JP Morgan Chase, Citi, rate-setting monetary policy committee, Bank of England/BoE, the ECB, Barclays, Lloyds Banking Group, Royal Bank of Scotland	collective concepts
the City, Britain, the Bank [the Bank of England]	metonymy
Discursive construction of Brexit	
remaining in the EU, leaving the EU, Brexit vote, Thursday's referendum, a vote for Brexit, a period of uncertainty, the vote, 23 June,	nouns
STRATEGY - 'PREDICATION'	
Discursive description of social actors	
Nobel-prize winning economists, two bailed-out banks	adjectives
10 Nobel-prize winning economists, who have all been made professor laureates for research stretching from the early 1970s up until last year Professor Christopher Pissarides, who is based at the London School of Economics	clauses
those of you wishing to trade shares during such market conditions	participle
STRATEGY – 'PERSPECTIVIZATION'	
Against Brexit: Some City sources are warning that trading could “gap down” – or open sharply lower – in the event of a vote for Brexit. [Professor Christopher Pissarides] Pissarides said that forecasting was difficult, and economists might disagree or get it wrong, but in this case they were overwhelmingly in favour of remaining.	Indirect speech
Against Brexit: [10 Nobel-prize winning economists]: “Brexit would create major uncertainty about Britain’s alternative future trading arrangements, both with the rest of Europe and with important markets like the USA, Canada and China,” they write. [10 Nobel-prize winning economists]: “And these effects, though one-off, would persist for many years. Thus the economic arguments are clearly in favour of remaining in the EU” [...]. [Professor Christopher Pissarides]: “Britain will not thrive outside the EU,” he added. “The biggest negative impact will be felt over the next five years, but it will persist through the lack of investment and the weaker bargaining position that Britain will have in future negotiations.”	Quotations
Against Brexit: Ten of the world’s leading economists have issued a warning about the consequences of the UK leaving the EU as the City prepares for the pound to plunge and shares to fall in the event of a Brexit vote in Thursday’s referendum.	Reference

STRATEGY 'INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION'	
a last-ditch attempt to persuade voters, overwhelmingly in favour	intensification
the result could having a calming influence after a period of uncertainty sterling could slide from its current levels of around \$1.42 to \$1.20 and reach parity with the euro economists might disagree or get it wrong higher than expected volumes might mean Foreign exchange rates could also witness fluctuations Charles Stanley said, warning that order sizes may be reduced and it could take longer to answer phones Some economists, argue interest rates could be cut [..] rates could be cut by a quarter of a percentage point as soon as next month's meeting of the rate-setting monetary policy committee. Another quarter point cut could take place in August. which could [investors] expose them to losses once the result comes in we could see sharp moves in prices and heightened volatility in the hours following the announcement both the BoE and ECB could cut interest rates Lloyds Banking Group and Royal Bank of Scotland – could take a hit of 35% and 25% respectively Some City sources are warning that trading could "gap down" – or open sharply lower – in the event of a vote for Brexit we anticipate that we may experience higher volumes and more market volatility than usual on the 23 June	modals (mitigation)
the immediate impact is likely to be felt Some economists, argue interest rates could be cut, possibly to zero from their record low of 0.5% the MPC likely would interpret a weaker currency	words of likelihood
Brexit would create major uncertainty about Britain's alternative future trading arrangements And these effects, though one-off, would persist for many years the MPC likely would interpret a weaker currency as reflecting weaker growth expectations provided it is accompanied by weakness in other UK asset markets Falls of that magnitude would impede any chances of cutting the government's stake in both the banks.	"would" with a modal meaning
some City sources are warning , he [Professor Christopher Pissarides] also warned, Vote Leave accuses, brokers are also warning , Charles Stanley said, warning [..] Some economists, argue [..]	verbs of saying (intensification)
The biggest negative impact will be felt over the next five years, but it will persist through the lack of investment and the weaker bargaining position that Britain will have in future negotiations	Future Simple

Article G12

Author: Daniel Boffey

Title: EU referendum: what comes next if Britain votes in or out?

Date: 19 June

Link: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/18/eu-referendum-britain-in-out>

Number of words: 811

Topics: The article clearly presents two possible scenarios based on referendum results: either Britain leaves the EU or stays in it. 'If Britain votes Remain' includes the further actions of David Cameron, as well as the text says about possible changes in the political structure (which politicians will be in charge of what). The second part under the title 'If Britain votes Leave' mentions David Cameron's probable resignation and discusses UK's new relationships with the

EU, as well as mentions the consequences Brexit would have on Labour party. Structure: the article is divided into two parts: ‘If Britain votes Leave’ and ‘If Britain votes Remain’. Comments: The author distances himself from the text and does not express his viewpoint. Stance on Brexit: the article is absolutely neutral referring the stance on Brexit. It outlines two possible outcomes of the referendum.	
STRATEGY - ‘NOMINATION’	
‘Discursive construction of social actors’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
David Cameron/Cameron, Jeremy Corbyn, Boris Jonson, Michael Gove, Priti Patel, George Osborne, Vernon Bogdanor/Bogdanor, President de Gaulle	Proper names
he/him/his [David Cameron], their [Norwegians]	Deictics
both sides of the debate, senior Vote Leave campaigners, opposition parties, Brexiters, the UK, the EU, voters, country, British people, some, Norwegians, successful candidate	generalizing anthroponyms
senior Conservative MP, deputy prime minister, former London mayor, cabinet minister, professor of government, prime minister, party leader, shadow cabinet minister, MP	professional anthroponyms
Britain, cabinet, party, Labour, Tory, Callaghan government, government, parliament, pro-EU majority in the present House of Commons, Ukip, Conservative party	collective concepts
Downing Street insiders, leader, Commons, the Lords, friend [Michael Gove to David Cameron] , Britain	metonymy
Discursive construction of Brexit	
in or out	prepositions
separation, leave, a loss of a referendum vote, vote of no confidence in a leader, debate	nouns
Political issues: political landscape, reforms, issue of Trident, summer recess, policy, party conference, losing side, a major portfolio, campaign, a set around the cabinet table, vote in favour, a win, talks, the article 50 procedure, negotiations, trading arrangements, deal, national ratification, member state, Remain campaign, referendum, general election, Council of Minister, European parliament	
STRATEGY - ‘PREDICATION’	
Discursive description of social actors	
Cameron will want to be magnanimous to the losing side	adjectives
[candidate] someone who supported Brexit [Jeremy Corbyn] who some have critiicised for [..]	clauses
Discursive description of Brexit	
damaging to Labour in England and Wales	adjectives
Political matters: reschape, badly split [Labour], is divided [Labour]	
STRATEGY – ‘PERSPECTIVIZATION’	
Against Brexit: While it is unlikely that the Labour party’s membership would support a coup, one shadow cabinet minister said a vote in favour of Brexit could prove to be as damaging to Labour in England and Wales as the Scottish referendum was to the party north of the border.	Indirect speech
STRATEGY ‘INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION’	
„genuinely hurt”, with the Tory membership overwhelmingly in favour of leaving the EU	intensification
more or less	mitigation
he may say,	modals

Michael Glove could be made which [elections] may take several months, there may be pressure for the new leader, and prime minister, to call a general election what should be modified what should be repealed Brexiter might argue a vote to leave might put pressure on Jeremy Corbyn a vote in favour of Brexit could prove to be	(mitigation)
this need not and should not happen, parliament must decide, it [agreement] must be passed	modals (intensification)
David Cameron is likely to speak, he is also likely to call a vote, the expected cabinet reshuffle is likely to come, Cameron is likely to stay on in [..], the successful candidate is likely to be someone, and millions of voters [...] will go elsewhere, maybe to Ukip, maybe to a new-look Conservative party it is unlikely to mark the end of the former London mayor's ambitions it is unlikely to that [...]	words of likelihood
A vote in favour of staying in the EU would boost George Osborne's hopes, the UK would then negotiate , that would require national ratification, Labour party's membership would support a coup It would mark the moment leave would reshape the political landscape	"would" with a modal meaning
David Cameron confessed	verbs of saying (intensification)
he intends, believe, has been rumoured, it [parliament] intends to preserve	verbs of saying (mitigation)
Cameron will want to be magnanimous to the losing side Boris Johnson will be given a major portfolio the onus will be on him to show he has listened to the British people Priti Patel will also take a seat around the cabinet table a win for Remain will be a boost for Jeremy Corbyn and millions of voters [...] will go elsewhere	Future Simple
if the results are close	Conditionals

<p>Article G13 Authors: Toby Helm and Daniel Boffey Title: EU referendum splits Britain down the middle as contest resumes Date: 19 June Link: June - https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/18/eu-referendum-britain-voting-campaign-jo-cox Number of words: 846</p>	
<p>Topics: The text discusses the division in the society between those supporting Brexit and those opposing it; in addition, the text speaks about Jo Cox. Structure: the article has no subtitles. Comments: the authors do not identify themselves in the text. Stance on Brexit: the article does not choose side in Brexit referendum; it mainly criticizes both campaigns and provides statistical data about the current division of voters' preferences concerning Leave or Remain.</p>	
STRATEGY - 'NOMINATION'	
'Discursive construction of social actors' (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
Jo Cox/ Cox/ Jo, Anthony Wells, Kenneth Clarke/ Clarke, David Cameron, Boris Johnson, Michael Gove, Nigel Farage, Tony Blair, Michael Heseltine,	Proper names

Nick Clegg, , Lucy Powell	
their/they/we/us/our [the British people], he/his [Kenneth Clarke], her [Jo Cox]	Deictics
the British people, both sides, people, the undecided, Remain supporters, Leave voters, the undecideds, the electorate, Tory colleagues, leaders, the British public, Leave campaigners, British society, opponents, Labour politicians, MPs, staff, women, each and every one of us	generalizing anthroponyms
the Labour MP, director of YouGov’s political and social research team, a former Tory chancellor, former Labour prime minister, former deputy prime ministers, the shadow education secretary	professional anthroponyms
two rival camps, Remain, Leave, the Remain camp, the Leave and Remain camps, Conservative, Liberal Democrat, the country, Scotland Yard,	collective concepts
teams [two Brexit opponent teams], Britain	metonymy
Discursive construction of Brexit	
a dead heat, voting, campaign, EU referendum campaign, referendum day, campaigning, movement, the final week of the referendum campaign, battle, the Remain campaign	nouns
decide their European future, to vote, to stay	verbs
Political issues: immigration, anti-immigration feeling, a sense of “us and them”, immigration issues	nouns
STRATEGY - ‘PREDICATION’	
Discursive description of social actors	
those who stated a clear preference, the 10% who have not made up their minds Kenneth Clarke, [...] a strong supporter of remaining inside the EU Cox, a strong supporter of the EU who had praised the way in which immigration had enriched British society those who knew her Michael Heseltine, Conservative, and Nick Clegg, Liberal Democrat [...] who call on the British public to reject “division, isolationism and blame” by voting to stay in the EU.	clauses
Discursive description of Brexit	
tumultuous, bitter, sober [all three refer to the campaign], tense, dramatic	adjectives
to persuade, to capture the votes	verbs
STRATEGY – ‘PERSPECTIVIZATION’	
Critics of both campaigns: In an interview with the <i>Observer</i> , Kenneth Clarke, a former Tory chancellor and a strong supporter of remaining inside the EU , criticised both campaigns for making overblown claims, which he said had left much of the electorate “angry and confused”. Clarke said a referendum on such a complex and important matter should never have been called and that the result was more uncertain than the Scottish referendum in 2014 had ever been. The outcome was now “in the lap of the gods”. [Kenneth Clarke] Taking aim at the Remain camp, led by David Cameron, Clarke said it had “dramatised” Treasury reports which suggested Brexit would have serious negative effects on the economy. [Kenneth Clarke] But he was far more damning of the Leave camp, headed by his Tory colleagues Boris Johnson and Michael Gove, which he said had echoed the “bigotry and prejudice” of Nigel Farage. Its leaders, he suggested, had voiced opinions that he felt they did not truly hold, particularly on immigration. Against Brexit: In a letter to this newspaper on Sunday, former Labour prime minister Tony Blair , and former deputy prime ministers Michael Heseltine , Conservative,	Indirect speech

and Nick Clegg , Liberal Democrat, head a list of prominent figures in public life who call on the British public to reject “division, isolationism and blame” by voting to stay in the EU. They say that Nigel Farage and other Leave campaigners have tried to divide the country and foster anti-immigrant feeling by promoting a sense of “us and them”. Cox, a strong supporter of the EU who had praised the way in which immigration had enriched British society [...].	
Critics of both campaigns: Clarke added: “People have not been impressed by the campaigning. They do feel they don’t know enough about it. And they are slightly uncertain as to which way to vote.”	Quotations
STRATEGY ‘INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION’	
tragic death, they were certain, would definitely not, they would not waver, overblown claims, “in the lap of the gods” [metaphor]	intensification
a referendum [...] should never have been called, we must make sure that her memory is served not by [...].we must make sure that a little bit of Jo lives on	modals (intensification)
they would definitely not switch sides, Brexit would have serious negative effects on the economy	“would” with a modal meaning
there will be speculation, will make it harder	Future Simple
criticised	verbs of saying (intensification)

<p>Article G14 Author: George Soros Title: The Brexit crash will make all of you poorer – be warned Date: 20 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/20/brexit-crash-pound-living-standards-george-soros Number of words: 949</p>	
<p>Topics: The article discusses the devaluation of the pound after Brexit and outlines the negative consequence the vote to Leave will bring. Structure: the article has no subtitles. Comments: The author directly expresses his opinion and addresses the readers. Stance on Brexit: the author and the articles are absolutely against Brexit.</p>	
STRATEGY - ‘NOMINATION’	
‘Discursive construction of social actors’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
David Cameron, Mark Carney, Harold Wilson	Proper names
my/me/I [the author], your [the British people], their [the British people], they [the British people, speculative forces]	Deictics
speculators, others, financial analysts, British voters, too many, every household, voters, hedge fund investors, nobody, Brexiters, British households, British banks, British businesses, workers, the British people, financial speculators, some people, people	generalizing anthroponyms
the governor of the Bank of England	professional anthroponyms
the Treasury, the Bank of England, the International Monetary Fund/IMF, the leave campaign, the British media, the Institute for Fiscal Studies, the British government, the government, the UK	collective concepts
Britain	metonymy
winners, the Gnomes of Zurich	metaphors
Discursive construction of Brexit	
the referendum debate, a vote to leave, remain, referendum result, a Brexit	nouns

vote, Brexit devaluation, two-year period of uncertainty, serious consequences	
to worry [about Brexit], divorce	verbs
Discursive construction of politics	
negotiates	verbs
STRATEGY - 'PREDICATION'	
Discursive description of social actors	
ordinary people	adjectives
based on my six decades of experience in financial markets [the author]	clauses
STRATEGY – 'PERSPECTIVIZATION'	
Brexiteers seem to recognise that a sharp devaluation would be almost inevitable after Brexit, but argue that this would be healthy, despite the big losses of purchasing power for British households.	Indirect speech
Against Brexit: [the author] In fact Britain is more dependent than at any time in history on inflows of foreign capital. As the governor of the Bank of England Mark Carney said, Britain “depends on the kindness of strangers”.	Quotations
STRATEGY 'INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION'	
the only winners, would decline precipitously, an immediate and dramatic impact, famously declared, the pound will plummet , grossly underestimating, the very real consequences, a sharp devaluation, almost inevitable, I was even praised, damagingly high interest rates	intensification
five years or so , almost certain, monetary policy can do	mitigation
possibly more, as is likely, is unlikely	words of likelihood
A vote to leave could see	modals (mitigation)
It would have at least one very clear and immediate effect, would decline precipitously, It would also have an immediate and dramatic impact on[..],I would expect, the pound would fall, would be between, nobody in Britain would want, a sharp devaluation would be almost inevitable, that this would be healthy, I was even praised, a large devaluation would be much less benign, the Bank of England would not cut interest rates, trading conditions would be too uncertain, the devaluation this time would be, A vote for Brexit would make, what the consequences of leaving the EU would	“would” with a modal meaning
If sterling fell to this level, then ironically one pound would be worth about one euro For if a fall in house prices and loss of jobs causes a recession after Brexit, as is likely, there will be [..] if there is a vote to leave	conditionals
will touch every household	Future Simple
declared	verbs of saying (intensification)
don't think	verbs of saying (mitigation)

Article G15

Author: Paul Mason

Title: Brexit is a fake revolt – working-class culture is being hijacked to help the elite

Date: 20 June

Link: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/20/brexit-fake-revolt-eu-working-class-culture-hijacked-help-elite>

Number of words: 1161	
Topics: Brexit as a (fake) revolt, migration, elite versus working people.	
Structure: the article has no subtitles.	
Comments: the author clearly states his opinion, by using „I” pronoun.	
Stance on Brexit: the author expresses his strong stance on why it is right to remain in the EU; the author does not use any quotations of relevant politicians or authorities; the article gives solely his opinion.	
STRATEGY - ‘NOMINATION’	
‘Discursive construction of social actors’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
Princess Diana [mentioned], Nigel Farage, Neil Hamilton, Boris Johnson, Michael Gove, Sir James Dyson, Iain Duncan Smith, Cameron, Thatcher	Proper names
I [the author], we [the author and other students], they/their [people], you [the reader], their/they [working people], they [Nigel Farage, Neil Hamilton, Boris Johnson, Michael Gove], he [Iain Duncan Smith], they [Tory Brexit camp], they/them [Labour party]	Deictics
monarchic elite, people, elite, the rich and powerful, working people, party, salariat, employers, grownup kids, Labour politicians, migrants, workforce, working class, workers, Brexiters, British workforce, nobody, elite politicians, refugees, rightwing Tories, enemies, nationalist parties, the Greens, underclass	generalizing anthroponyms
the Sun, the Daily Mail, Ukip, the Tory right, leave, Tory Brexit camp, the leave camp, Labour government, Labour party	collective concepts
Discursive construction of Brexit	
<i>Leaving the EU</i> , Brexit referendum, leaving, Brexit movement, Thursday, Brexit campaign, revolt, control	nouns
to vote, negotiate [the terms of Brexit]	verbs
the mother of all revolts on Thursday	metaphors
Political issues:	
migration	nouns
STRATEGY - ‘PREDICATION’	
Discursive description of social actors	
the entire cruel monarchic elite, neoliberal elite metropolitan, liberal, university-educated salariat working-class/ low-skilled people fragmented, dislocated, politically distant, weak [working class] leading Brexiters unskilled workers	adjectives
the very people flag-waving for the leave camp now left-led Labour party, combined with the progressive nationalist parties and the Greens	participle
the party that is supposed to be defending working people	clauses
Discursive description of Brexit	
fake revolt	adjectives
STRATEGY – ‘PERSPECTIVIZATION’	
Against Brexit: [Tory Brexit camp from the perspective of the author] What they actually promised is to to cut wages and scrap the laws that protect people at work.	Indirect speech
STRATEGY ‘INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION’	
Most likely it will be you and maybe a few fruit farms and meat-packing operations in East Anglia shut down	words of likelihood

What is the most likely outcome?	
they should have done this sooner They can't [the leave camp] Their grownup kids cannot afford to buy a home the party that is supposed to be defending working people just cannot find the language or the offer to separate a fake revolt from a real one free movement should be filtered through strong UK measures	modals (intensification)
I want to have one last go at convincing you that leaving now, under these conditions, would be a disaster.	"would" with a modal meaning
But a Brexit led by Ukip and the Tory right will not make any of these things better: it will make them worse. The same newspapers running fake stories about refugees now will run fake stories about the Labour party to stop it winning the next election In the past week, Labour's frontbench has signalled, loud and clear, that they will take measures to stop the creation of low-paid jobs that only migrants can do; and they will take the issue of free movement into a big renegotiation with the EU as soon as possible.	Future Simple
if leave wins, Cameron will fall and then there will be a Labour government There will be no dilemmas in the newsrooms of the Times and Telegraph if that happens	conditionals
What is the most likely outcome? [the author] But guess who will be doing them? [the author] Ask Ukip; ask Boris Johnson: will Brexit guarantee a rise in wages, a cap on rents, a fall in NHS waiting times or class sizes? [the author]	question

<p>Article G16 Authors: Hilary Osborne, Patrick Collinson, Rupert Jones and Jill Treanor Title: EU referendum: issues savers and homeowners need to consider Date: 20 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/jun/20/eu-referendum-issues-savers-investors-homeowners-consider-brexite Number of words: 1115</p>	
<p>Topics: the article speaks about the effect Brexit will have on the pound value and on the financial state of the UK citizens, including their pensions and prices on real estate. Structure: the article is divided into nine sections which are introduced by and titled with the questions: 'What would a leave vote mean for interest rates and my mortgage?', 'Should I buy my travel money now?', 'Will cash machines operate if there is a vote for Brexit?', 'Will my savings be safe?', 'Will my plans to buy or sell a house be in trouble?', 'I own a property abroad. Should I prepare to sell it?', 'What should small business owners do?', 'Should I sell any shares I own?' and 'Should I consider cashing in my pension?' Comments: the authors are not present in the article Stance on Brexit: the article does not explicitly take a side in the referendum as it simply answers the posed questions; however, by providing certain arguments as the answers, it can persuade the reader to vote Remain (as some of the answers to the posed questions are calming the reader that Brexit will not have such a dramatic immediate effect, but some of the arguments show the inconveniences and problems that the British will face after Brexit).</p>	
STRATEGY - 'NOMINATION'	
'Discursive construction of social actors' (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
George Osborne, Ray Boulger, Tom McPhail	Proper names
you [the British person], they [British borrowers]	Deictics
savers, homeowners, economists, investors, market watchers, economists at JP Morgan, holidaymakers, anyone, authorities, customers, banks, buyers, sellers, homebuyers, experts, British borrowers, non-EU nationals, some, small business owners , shopkeepers, businesses, no one, day traders, big	generalizing anthroponyms

investment groups, Leave campaigners	
mortgage broker, chancellor, pension expert	professional anthroponyms
the Bank of England/the bank, Goldman Sachs [investment bank], the UK, European countries	collective concepts
the City, Britain, the union [the EU]	metonymy
Discursive construction of Brexit	
A vote to leave, the referendum on 23 June, a vote for Brexit, a leave vote, a remain vote, an exit vote	nouns
vote	verbs
STRATEGY - 'PREDICATION'	
Discursive description of social actors	
hyper-speculative day traders	adjectives
holidaymakers heading to Spain and other eurozone countries Businesses relying on exports or imports	participle
overseas homeowners whose holiday property is in an EU country those whose pension pots are invested in the stock market	clauses
STRATEGY – 'PERSPECTIVIZATION'	
ProBrexit: However, some market watchers believe interest rates will fall because the Bank of England will be forced to stimulate the economy in the event of a leave vote. Economists at JP Morgan forecast borrowing costs could fall to zero by August if there is a vote to leave. [For those whose pension pots are invested in the stock market, the chancellor has warned that Brexit could wipe £32,000 off the average pensioner's wealth.] Leave campaigners say such warnings are wrong. Against Brexit: George Osborne has argued that a vote for a Brexit will mean a rise in interest rates from a record low of 0.5%. In February, investment bank Goldman Sachs claimed the value of sterling could fall by up to 20%. Zoopla, the property website , has warned that Brexit would reverse the gains in house prices made over the past five years, citing Treasury research . For those whose pension pots are invested in the stock market, the chancellor has warned that Brexit could wipe £32,000 off the average pensioner's wealth. economists warning Brexit could cause the pound tumble and interest rates to rise	Indirect speech
Against Brexit: A vote to leave the European Union in the referendum on 23 June could cause the pound to plunge and interest rates to rise, according to some economists	references
STRATEGY 'INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION'	
The Bank of England is likely to enter the market to provide liquidity there are likely to be gains and losses	words of likelihood
Brexit could cause the pound tumble and interest rates to rise A vote to leave the European Union in the referendum on 23 June could cause the pound to plunge and interest rates to rise borrowing costs could fall to zero a remain vote should not necessarily lead to a sharp increase in mortgage	modals (mitigation)

<p>rates</p> <p>A vote to leave could cause the pound to plummet</p> <p>holidaymakers heading to Spain and other eurozone countries might find the pound has less spending power than it did last summer</p> <p>that could mean upwards pressure on prices resumes</p> <p>British borrowers may find it harder to get a mortgage abroad</p> <p>could just as easily lurch backwards again</p> <p>you may want to sell</p> <p>But over the longer term that may look silly</p> <p>Brexit could wipe £32,000 off the average pensioner's wealth</p>	
<p>Here are some of the issues that savers, homeowners and investors should consider before voting</p> <p>any sudden need for cash should be reduced</p> <p>homebuyers should look to the longer term</p> <p>Businesses relying on exports or imports should not be impacted immediately</p>	<p>modals (intensification)</p>
<p>What would a leave vote mean for interest rates and my mortgage?</p> <p>A range of organisations have predicted a Brexit vote would lead to a fall in property prices</p> <p>immediately cashing in a pension pot would be a rash and unnecessary move</p>	<p>“would” with a modal meaning</p>
<p>Bank of England will be forced to stimulate the economy</p> <p>Currency movements will be the biggest concern for overseas homeowners</p> <p>shopkeepers will be able to function as usual</p>	<p>Future Simple</p>
<p>if there is a vote to leave</p> <p>Will cash machines operate if there is a vote for Brexit</p> <p>If it is a Remain vote, there could be a “relief rally”</p>	<p>conditionals</p>
<p>Economists at JP Morgan forecast</p> <p>some experts have suggested</p> <p>No one [...] recommends this</p>	<p>verbs of saying (mitigation)</p>
<p>economists warning</p> <p>George Osborne has argued</p> <p>Zoopla, the property website, has warned</p> <p>the chancellor has warned</p>	<p>verbs of saying (intensification)</p>

<p>Article G17</p> <p>Author: Hilary Osborne</p> <p>Title: Potential Brexit vote sees mortgage rates drop</p> <p>Date: 20 June</p> <p>Link: https://www.theguardian.com/money/2016/jun/20/brexit-vote-mortgage-rates-drop-investors-government-bonds</p> <p>Number of words: 530</p> <p>Topics: mortgage rates, possible changes in mortgages due to Brexit.</p> <p>Structure: the article has no subtitles.</p> <p>Comments: the author is not present in the text.</p> <p>Stance on Brexit: the article does not take side; however, it provides some arguments that can indirectly persuade to choose Remain.</p>	
<p>STRATEGY - ‘NOMINATION’</p>	
<p>‘Discursive construction of social actors’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)</p>	<p>Devices</p>
<p>Ray Boulger/Boulger, Andy Knee/Knee</p>	<p>Proper names</p>
<p>we [the British people], they [existing borrowers], we [Andy Knee and his company], your [one's], he [Ray Boulger]</p>	<p>Deictics</p>
<p>Investors, lenders, owner-occupiers, buy-to-let investors, lenders, consumers, mortgage borrowers, commentators, borrowers</p>	<p>generalizing anthroponyms</p>
<p>senior technical manager at mortgage broker John Charcol, chief executive of</p>	<p>professional</p>

LMS	anthroponyms
Nationwide, the Guardian, Moneyfacts, the UK, the EU, remain, the Bank of England	collective concepts
Discursive construction of Brexit	
Thursday's referendum, a Brexit vote	nouns
vote, leave, stay	verbs
STRATEGY - 'PREDICATION'	
Discursive description of social actors	
existing/savvy borrowers	adjectives
Discursive description Brexit	
a possible Brexit	adjectives
STRATEGY – 'PERSPECTIVIZATION'	
Against Brexit: Ray Boulger, senior technical manager at mortgage broker John Charcol , said the fall in yields was the prime driver behind lower mortgage rates, and a clear sign of what would happen following a Brexit vote. the chancellor has warned that mortgage borrowers will be hit by a Brexit vote if the Bank of England has to act to defend sterling. Commentators have suggested that a plunge in the currency will force the Bank to raise base rate, and in turn mortgage rates will rise.	Indirect speech
STRATEGY 'INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION'	
there is probably some merit in holding off from fixing your mortgage	words of likelihood
the UK may vote to leave the EU	modals (mitigation)
a plunge in the currency will force the Bank to raise base rate, and in turn mortgage rates will rise.	Future Simple
opinion polls suggested Commentators have suggested	verbs of saying (mitigation)
the chancellor has warned	verbs of saying (intensification)

<p>Article G18 Authors: Larry Elliott and Jill Treanor Title: George Soros: EU exit risks 'black Friday' Date: 20 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/jun/20/brexit-would-trigger-sterling-fall-worse-than-black-wednesday Number of words: 1182</p>	
<p>Topics: the text gives George Soros's opinion about possible devaluation of sterling, and George Soros compares the intention of the UK to leave the EU with the UK's departure from ERM in 1992; however, he believes that the Leave vote from the EU would bring less benefits and more challenges to the UK than a similar move in 1992. Structure: the article has no subtitles Comments: the authors are not present in the text; the text is based on George Soros's stance. Stance on Brexit: the article holds a view that a Brexit vote would hurt the UK's economy and the pound value would drop. Although the article opposes some of the arguments in favour of remain, the text begins and ends with strong opinions that Brexit would bring damage.</p>	
STRATEGY - 'NOMINATION'	
'Discursive construction of social actors' (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
George Soros/Soros, Michael Gove/Gove, Enda Kenny/Kenny, Jeremy	Proper names

Corbyn, Len McCluskey, Jo Cox/Cox, Nigel Farage	
he/I [George Soros], he [Len McCluskey], they [Labour supporters], we [the British people], they [Labour supporters]	Deictics
speculators, voters, exporters, British banks, nobody, too many, every household, ordinary people, others, Labour supporters, working people, the banking companies, property companies, remain supporters, half of Britain, speculators/the Gnomes of Zurich, British voters, some people	generalizing anthroponyms
the justice secretary and leading leave campaigner, the taoiseach of Ireland, the Ukip leader, prime minister, economists	professional anthroponyms
the UK, the EU, leave, the Bank of England, remain camp, remain campaign, British government	collective concepts
Britain	metonymy
Currency speculator [George Soros]	additional information
Discursive construction of Brexit	
inside	prepositions
vote, on Thursday, a vote to leave the EU, referendum, a remain vote, a leave vote, a vote for Brexit	nouns
leave, win [the referendum], remain	verbs
Political issues: immigration	
STRATEGY - 'PREDICATION'	
Discursive description of social actors	
speculators who had bet on the UK leaving the EU	clauses
STRATEGY – 'PERSPECTIVIZATION'	
<p>ProBrexit: economists at JP Morgan are among those forecasting a cut to zero in August from the historic low of 0.5%. Gove said the EU model was a “sinking ship” which Britain could unshackle itself from, and “send Europe in a better, more progressive direction”.</p> <p>Against Brexit: George Soros [...] said that a Brexit vote would spark a “black Friday” for the UK, but the devaluation of sterling would bring none of the benefits to the economy that it enjoyed after it dropped out of the ERM on 16 September 1992 – Black Wednesday. [George Soros] He said that, as in 1992, there would be big financial gains for speculators who had bet on the UK leaving the EU but that such an outcome would leave “most voters considerably poorer”. Soros said that unlike after Black Wednesday, there was little scope for a cut in interest rates, the UK was running a much larger current account deficit, and exporters would be unable to exploit the benefits of a cheaper pound due to the uncertainty caused by a vote to leave the EU. “Sterling is almost certain to fall steeply and quickly if leave wins the referendum,” Soros said. “I would expect this devaluation to be bigger and also more disruptive than the 15% devaluation that occurred in September 1992 [...]” “A vote to leave could see the week end with a black Friday and serious consequences for ordinary people,” Soros said. Kenny warned of a psychological effect, saying the reappearance of the old border after decades of work to promote peace and reconciliation “would be a step backwards and present an opportunity for others, with malign agendas, to exploit”. But economists at Pantheon Macroeconomics expect sterling to plunge if there is a vote for Brexit.</p>	Indirect speech

<p>[..] Samuel Tombs at Pantheon said, warning the market was underestimating how far sterling could fall. Tombs warned that capital outflows could be “gargantuan”.</p>	
<p>ProBrexit: [Len McCluskey]: “In the last 10 years, there has been a gigantic experiment at the expense of ordinary workers. Countries with vast historical differences in wage rates and living standards have been brought together in a common labour market,” he said. “The result has been sustained pressure on living standards, a systematic attempt to hold down wages and to cut the costs of social provision for working people.” Michael Gove against George Soros’s stated: “George Soros is an advocate of the single currency, an advocate of European integration,” he told BBC Radio 4’s Today programme. “If economic forecasters were as reliable as doctors or airline pilots then we’d all be billionaires. When we reflect on what George Soros is saying we also need to remember he has got things wrong in the past.” Against Brexit: „[...] If Britain leaves the EU it will have at least one very clear and immediate effect that will touch every household: the value of the pound would decline precipitously. A vote to leave the EU would also have an immediate and dramatic impact on financial markets, investment, prices and jobs,” Soros added. Enda Kenny, the taoiseach of Ireland, appealed to Britain to vote to remain inside the EU, warning that the return of a stronger border between Ireland and Northern Ireland required by a Brexit vote would play into an old narrative – “one of division, isolation and difference”. „A vote for Brexit will make some people very rich – but most voters considerably poorer,” Soros said. “If Britain opts for Brexit – as it well could, given the latest neck-and-neck opinion polls – sterling likely will plunge,” Samuel Tombs at Pantheon said [..].</p>	<p>Quotations</p>
STRATEGY ‘INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION’	
	mitigation
<p>Sterling is almost certain to fall a gigantic experiment at the expense of ordinary workers outflows could be “gargantuan”</p>	intensification
<p>sterling likely will plunge</p>	words of likelihood
<p>little the Bank of England could do in the event that Brexit led to a recession there may well be a remain vote, there may well be a leave vote If Britain opts for Brexit – as it well could outflows could be “gargantuan”.</p>	modals (mitigation)
<p>we should get back control of our borders and do it sensibly</p>	modals (intensification)
<p>devaluation would mean more disruption than when UK dropped out of ERM in 1992 a vote on Thursday for Britain to leave the EU would trigger a bigger and more damaging fall for sterling A vote to leave would force the pound to slide towards parity with the euro a method of joining the euro that nobody in Britain would want the value of the pound would decline A vote to leave the EU would also have an immediate and dramatic impact on [..] the return of a stronger border between Ireland and Northern Ireland [..]</p>	“would” with a modal meaning

would play into an old narrative whether Labour supporters would turn out for remain	
A vote for Brexit will make some people very rich – but most voters considerably poorer	Future Simple
Currency speculator warns Two days before the polls close a series of high-profile figures warned about the risks of a vote to leave Enda Kenny, the taoiseach of Ireland, appealed to Britain to vote to remain Enda Kenny [...] warning Kenny warned Nigel Farage [...] accused remain supporters Samuel Tombs at Pantheon said, warning Tombs warned that capital outflows could be “gargantuan”	verbs of saying (intensification)

<p>Article G19 Author: Emma Sheppard Title: Leave or remain? The impact Brexit would have on UK jobs Date: 20 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/careers/2016/jun/20/leave-or-remain-the-impact-brexit-would-have-on-uk-jobs Number of words: 899</p>	
<p>Topics: unemployment caused by a Leave vote in the Brexit referendum; trade between the UK and the EU. Structure: the article has four subdivisions: ‘We can expect a rise in unemployment, at least in the short term’, ‘There are a number of options post-Brexit, but none seem perfect’, ‘It’s difficult to predict the real effect on businesses before new agreements are in place’ and ‘There will be a longer-term impact on the economy, but catastrophe is unlikely’ Comments: the author is not present in the article Stance on Brexit: the article says that in the long term the consequences of Brexit will disappear and the UK’s economy will grow; on the other hand, the article believes that Brexit effects on the UK economy are much bigger than the desired benefits from it. Therefore, it can be concluded that the article sees Brexit as unnecessary.</p>	
STRATEGY - ‘NOMINATION’	
‘Discursive construction of social actors’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
Catherine Barnard/Barnard, Steve Coulter/Coulter, Mike Hill, Anthony Robinson, Diego Zuluaga/Zuluaga, Catherine Mann, Angus Armstrong	Proper names
we [the Guardian], they [campaigners], she [Catherine Barnard], we [the British people], us/we [the whole country, the UK], he [Diego Zuluaga], they [the UK from the perspective of OECD], he [Zuluaga]	Deictics
some, school leavers, graduates, employers, people, EU migrants, the poorest workers and consumers, experts, companies, businesses, workforce, multinational companies, many, migrants	generalizing anthroponyms
a professor in European Union law, chief executive, financial services research fellow, chief economist, head of the economics department for the OECD, director of macroeconomics	professional anthroponyms
the UK, the EU	collective concepts
Britain	metonymy
Discursive construction of Brexit	
a leave vote, the EU referendum, the referendum, idea	nouns
vote, leave	verbs
Political issues: immigration, free movement of people	
STRATEGY - ‘PREDICATION’	

Discursive description of social actors	
educated/talented workforce	adjectives
EU migrants wishing to come to the UK	participle
those who do export to the EU	clauses
Discursive description of Brexit	
[not] a completely crazy idea	adjectives
STRATEGY – ‘PERSPECTIVIZATION’	
<p>Against Brexit: [Catherine Barnard, a professor in European Union law at the University of Cambridge] She estimates that around 550,000 jobs will be lost by 2020. There will also be repercussions beyond those businesses that export, says Robinson – foreign investment is likely to slow.</p> <p>Neutral: Experts have identified a number of industries that would lose out if Brexit went ahead – particularly financial services and the automotive industry – but some sectors will find that life improves.</p>	Indirect speech
<p>ProBrexit: [Catherine Barnard] she adds: “A trade deal would be possible and UK immigration rules would apply to any EU migrants wishing to come to the UK.” Catherine Mann, chief economist and head of the economics department for the OECD, says: “If they wish to trade in the EU they will continue to have to comply with EU safety standards and EU competition law in just the same way as US and Chinese companies have to comply.” But Zuluaga says the “likelihood of economic catastrophe as a result of changing trading arrangements is very small,” adding: “The UK will do well either way over the long term because it has got a very resilient and dynamic economy and a large talented workforce.”</p> <p>Against Brexit: Catherine Barnard, a professor in European Union law at the University of Cambridge says: “Since we project that Brexit would lead to a decline in economic activity, we naturally expect that Brexit would lead to job loss too.” Steve Coulter, who teaches political economy at the European Institute of the London School of Economics, agrees: “Brexit would lead to a fall in growth, jobs and investment in almost all scenarios.” Mike Hill, chief executive of Prospects and the Higher Education Careers Service Unit, says: “Planned recruitment for next year’s cohort is still on schedule, but if we vote to leave, there will be a hiatus, which will see recruitment plans either shelved, or numbers to be recruited reduced. Uncertainty delays recruitment and a recession kills it.” Anthony Robinson, principal campaigns and communications adviser at the Confederation of British Industry (CBI), says that becoming one of the European Economic Area (EEA) states comes with its own challenges: “[It] would enable us to remain in the single market, but we would have no influence over the rules, we would still have to pay [a financial contribution] and accept free movement of people. It’s hard to see this as a valid option given the arguments for leaving revolve around immigration, cost and sovereignty.”</p> <p>“To 2030, the real issue is that GDP is lower by a range from 2.7%–7.7%, and living standards will have deteriorated on account of productivity</p>	Quotations

<p>slowdown and weak investment and lower capital stock,” Mann says.</p> <p>However, he [Zuluaga] does believe that a tightened migration policy will make a dent on the country’s potential to grow: “[Migrants] contribute to the tune of an annual £20bn [double the UK’s net EU contribution] to the public finances. They are young and of working age so help to support our benefits and pensions system.”</p> <p>Angus Armstrong, director of macroeconomics for the National Institute of Economic and Social Research, says: “For some people, the opportunity to have greater say on making one’s own rules and perhaps fewer migrants may mean that the likely economic consequences are simply a price worth paying.”</p>	
STRATEGY ‘INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION’	
in almost all scenarios	intensification
Perhaps we will look to history for inspiration foreign investment is likely to slow it is the economy that is likely to feel repercussions the likely economic consequences	words of likelihood
There may be increases in export duty the opportunity to have greater say on making one’s own rules and perhaps fewer migrants may mean that the likely economic consequences are simply a price worth paying a Brexit might not be a completely crazy idea	modals (mitigation)
Brexit would lead to a decline in economic activity Brexit would lead to job loss too Brexit would lead to a fall in growth, jobs and investment A trade deal would be possible UK immigration rules would apply to any EU migrants	“would” with a modal meaning
For those who do export to the EU, little will change in terms of regulations There will also be repercussions beyond those businesses that export	Future Simple
but if we vote to leave If the EU is not the area on which economic decisions depend, then a Brexit might not be a completely crazy idea If Brexit becomes a reality	conditionals
suggests Diego Zuluaga	verbs of saying (mitigation)

<p>Article G20 Author: not mentioned Title: The Guardian view on the EU referendum: keep connected and inclusive, not angry and isolated Date: 20 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/20/the-guardian-view-on-the-eu-referendum-keep-connected-and-inclusive-not-angry-and-isolated Number of words: 1581</p> <p>Topics: the UK is stronger inside the EU, not out of it; Brexit would definitely harm the UK economy; Brexit can provoke the next Scottish referendum and risk stability in relationship with the Republic of Ireland. Structure: the text has two subtitles: ‘Head and heart’ and ‘Fantasy island’. Comments: the article is said to express <i>the Guardian’s</i> view on Brexit. Stance on Brexit: the article holds a strong view that the UK must stay in the EU; it ends with the words: ‘Vote to remain’.</p>
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STRATEGY - 'NOMINATION'	
'Discursive construction of social actors' (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
Sir Philip Green, Fred Goodwin, Nigel Farage, David Cameron, Jo Cox	Proper names
our/we/us/our [the British people], they [ruthless plutocrats, rightwing Tories], their [working-class leave voters], him [David Cameron]	Deictics
others, all of us [the British people], the leading political lights of leave, Turks, people, countries, nation, the poor, many, millions of citizens, immigrants, political victors, rightwing Tories, plutocrats, the rich, Brexiter, elderly voters, pensioners, workers, refugees, elite, working-class leave voters, too many, young people, Scottish nationalists, European neighbours, voters, no one	generalizing anthroponyms
British prime minister, MP	professional anthroponyms
country, the UK, leave, the leave side, Europe, the EU, UK government, country	collective concepts
Britain, Europe [the EU]	metonymy
a family of nations [the EU], the club [the EU] outside the EU knocking on the door pleading to be heard rather than inside the room sorting things out [the EU seen as a building]	metaphors
Discursive construction of Brexit	
vote, remain, referendum, campaign, polling day, Thursday, decision, Thursday's vote	nouns
cutting yourself off [leaving the EU], vote, remain	verbs
bolt the door [to leave the EU], a turn-in-the-road issue for Britain and Europe	metaphors
Political issues:	
Turkish accession, immigration	nouns
STRATEGY - 'PREDICATION'	
Discursive description of social actors	
[People] bruised and angry, ruthless plutocrats, a more buccaneering Britain, facile Brexiter committed, principled [Jo Cox]	adjectives
all of us who already live on these islands the club that represents the most advanced form of cross-border cooperation that the world has ever seen millions of citizens whose wages have been stuck for many years, whose job security has been hollowed out, and whose hopes of a fair deal are being undermined plutocrats who want freedom to reorder Britain and make money as they choose elderly voters who simply want nothing more to change Those who vote to leave as a protest against the elite Those who have not yet made up their mind in this campaign voters who were already disaffected	clauses
Discursive description of Brexit	
a divisive campaign, the wise vote [for remain], this week's fateful referendum, [to reach a] sound decision	adjectives
campaign that has been nasty, brutish and seemingly endless	clauses
STRATEGY - 'PERSPECTIVIZATION'	
The article expresses the stance of the newspaper on brexit; it does not use any quotations.	
STRATEGY 'INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION'	
	mitigation

<p>the world has ever seen mendacious £350m a week [a future about which all of us are] inescapably uncertain the violent death [of Jo Cox]</p>	intensification
<p>the dark forces that could so easily become emboldened by [..]</p>	modals (mitigation)
<p>we cannot play by shared rules That[..] is why Britain should vote to remain in the club it must be admitted that the EU is part of an international economic order Those who have not yet made up their mind in this campaign should ask themselves this [..] an imaginary past of which too many in this country cannot let go Instead we should be putting our shoulders to the task of building a democratic, devolved, multicultural Britain with a fair deal for all</p>	modals (intensification)
<p>there is no crisis in Europe which is so serious that it would be better for the British prime minister to be outside the EU knocking on the door pleading to be heard rather than inside the room sorting things out. A leave victory would not solve the problems that cause such anger. On the contrary, it would make most of them worse. The only argument about the immediate economic effects of Brexit is the depth of the hit that the economy would take, not whether it would take a hit at all. The political victors would not be those who wish to rebuild politics. They would be rightwing Tories, and ruthless plutocrats Human rights, equality, health and safety, and aid to refugees would be out of the window There would be no “taking back control” for most working-class leave voters</p>	“would” with a modal meaning
<p>it is not and never will be a United States of Europe</p>	Future Simple
<p>if Britain votes to leave, these victors would want to maintain or extend protections for pensioners or workers If it goes in favour of leave it will hand Britain’s young people a country that most of them do not intend to vote for.</p>	conditionals
<p>The leading political lights of leave have claimed</p>	verbs of saying (intensification)
<p>Who do we think we are, and who do we want to be? Are we so different from others that we cannot play by shared rules? Are we one member in a family of nations, or a country that prefers to keep itself to itself and bolt the door? [the article] With all the differences and the diversity among all of us who already live on these islands, how are we all going to get along? [the article] Those who have not yet made up their mind in this campaign should ask themselves this: do you want to live in a Britain in the image of Nigel Farage? Yes or no? [the article] Is that fair? [the article] Is that responsible? [the article] Is that worth it? [the article]</p>	questions

<p>Article G21 Author: Antony Beevor Title: Brexit would make Britain the world’s most hated nation Date: 20 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/20/brexit-make-britain-worlds-most-hated-nation Number of words: 1295</p>
<p>Topics: the article gives information on the historical background on the EU, the situation after</p>

the second World War and on the key figures behind it. The article states that the reason why EU has struggles is the idea of a commonly shared currency.

Structure: the article has no subtitles.

Comments: the author uses pronoun „I” to say that „I doubt if any utopian plan has survived contact with the unpredictable reality of event”. Almost the whole text [825 words roughly] speaks about the history beyond the creation of the EU; however, the last paragraph is used to persuade the reader to vote Remain by: “Whatever we might think of the EU – whether we love it or loathe it – one thing is certain. If Britain pulls out and thus provokes or accelerates its disintegration, we will instantly achieve most-hated nation status, not just in Europe but far beyond”.

Stance on Brexit: the article supports Remain.

STRATEGY - ‘NOMINATION’	
‘Discursive construction of social actors’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
Donald Tusk, Napoleon, Hitler, Jean Monnet/Monnet, Charles de Gaulle/De Gaulle’s, Winston Churchill, Marshal Philippe Pétain, Franklin D Roosevelt/Roosevelt	Proper names
we/out [the EU], he [Donald Tusk], we [the British people], he [Jean Monnet]	Deictics
ordinary people, the citizens of Europe, the forerunners of the EU, people, Brexiters, defenders of the EU, few, the left, the right, the centre	generalizing anthroponyms
cognac merchants,	professional anthroponyms
France, British government, the EU	collective concepts
the European project/project [the EU], Europe [the EU], Brussels, Britain, ever closer union [the EU]	metonymy
Discursive construction of Brexit	
an existential threat [for the EU], debate	nouns
STRATEGY - ‘PREDICATION’	
Discursive description of social actors	
[Jean Monnet] an extraordinarily important Frenchman who neither went to university nor was ever elected to public office	clauses
STRATEGY – ‘PERSPECTIVIZATION’	
Pro Brexit: Brexit, as Tusk rightly warns, could be the last straw after such a fraught period.	Indirect speech
STRATEGY ‘INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION’	
one thing is certain	intensification
That raises the interesting question of whether any ideology – of the left, the right or, in this case, the centre – could ever achieve its founding purpose. Whatever we might think of the EU It could well turn into the worst example in history	modals (mitigation)
Tusk acknowledges, it never can	modals (intensification)
If Britain pulls out and thus provokes or accelerates its disintegration, we will instantly achieve most-hated nation status, not just in Europe but far beyond.	conditionals
Why is the European project facing an existential threat this week? [the author] So why this current existential threat to the EU project? [the author]	questions

<p>Author: Patrick Wintour Title: Irish PM Enda Kenny issues border warning over Brexit Date: 20 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/20/irish-pm-enda-kenny-border-warning-brexit-eu-referendum Number of words: 849</p>	
<p>Topics: the article speaks about threats to relationship between the Republic of Ireland and the UK after Brexit. In addition, it highlights the positive role the EU played in the life of the UK. Structure: the article has no subtitles. Comments: the author is not identifiable in the article. Stance on Brexit: the article is against Brexit.</p>	
<p>STRATEGY - ‘NOMINATION’</p>	
<p>‘Discursive construction of social actors’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)</p>	<p>Devices</p>
<p>Enda Kenny/Kenny, Donald Tusk/Tusk, Viktor Orbán, Theresa Villiers, Martin McGuinness</p>	<p>Proper names</p>
<p>he/my [Enda Kenny], I [Donald Tusk], us [Europeans], you [the British people], we [the Europeans and the British people]</p>	<p>Deictics</p>
<p>others, governments, businesses, consumers, anyone, people, UK visitors, EU leaders, British voters, Europeans, western community, EU diplomats, the Catholic community, younger Irish voters, older Irish voters</p>	<p>generalizing anthroponyms</p>
<p>Taoiseach, the Irish prime minister, the president of the European council, Hungary’s prime minister, the Northern Ireland secretary</p>	<p>professional anthroponyms</p>
<p>the EU/the 28-member bloc/the European Union, Europe, Hungary, the remain vote, the UK, the Irish government, the UK government, the Irish community</p>	<p>collective concepts</p>
<p>Discursive construction of Brexit</p>	
<p>a UK vote to leave EU</p>	<p>nouns</p>
<p>vote, remain</p>	<p>verbs</p>
<p>outside</p>	<p>pronouns</p>
<p>Political issues: independence in Scotland, a referendum in Northern Ireland on reunification with the south</p>	
<p>STRATEGY - ‘PREDICATION’</p>	
<p>Discursive description of social actors</p>	
<p>anyone seeking to travel between north and south the Irish and UK governments working together for peace</p>	<p>participle</p>
<p>STRATEGY – ‘PERSPECTIVIZATION’</p>	
<p>For Brexit: Theresa Villiers, the Northern Ireland secretary and a prominent Brexit advocate, has said there would be no need for border controls with Ireland if the UK leaves the EU, citing the “common travel area” that has existed between the two countries since 1923.</p> <p>Against Brexit: The EU would have to construct a new boundary between Northern Ireland and Ireland if the UK votes for Brexit, symbolising a return to “division, isolation and difference,” the Irish prime minister has said. Enda Kenny says a vote to leave would result in a harder border running from Derry to Dundalk, which would “present an opportunity for others with malign agendas to exploit”. But concern about a restored hard border is shared by the Sinn Féin leader, Martin McGuinness, who fears that a restoration of borders and customs tariffs would be a disaster for the Northern Ireland economy and could lead</p>	<p>Indirect speech</p>

<p>to a reversal for the still-incomplete peace process. [Sinn Féin] The party has also warned that Brexit would lead to stronger calls for independence in Scotland, as well as calls for a referendum in Northern Ireland on reunification with the south. the Sinn Féin leader, Martin McGuinness, who fears that a restoration of borders and customs tariffs would be a disaster for the Northern Ireland economy and could lead to a reversal for the still-incomplete peace process. Kenny argues that the EU’s role in the underpinning of peace has been vital but often underestimated.</p>	
<p>Against Brexit: “There is no version of this development [Brexit] that would avoid extra costs to governments, businesses, consumers and anyone seeking to travel between north and south,” Kenny writes in an article for the Guardian. [Enda Kenny]: “My fear is that it would play into an old narrative – one of division, isolation and difference,” he writes. “Many thousands of UK visitors to Ireland in recent years know that the border between both parts of Ireland is barely visible. There is a seamless flow of people crossing.” Tusk said: “I would like to appeal to the British citizens, on behalf – I know that for a fact – of almost all Europeans and European leaders: stay with us. [Tusk]: “Without you, not only Europe, but the whole western community will become weaker. Together we will be able to cope with increasingly difficult challenges of the future.” Hungary’s prime minister, Viktor Orbán [...] telling the UK: “The decision is yours, but I would like you to know that Hungary is proud to stand with you as a member of the European Union.” [Enda Kenny] “Our common membership of the EU provided an important backdrop to the Irish and UK governments working together to secure peace in Northern Ireland,” he writes. [Enda Kenny] “But often underestimated was the international support for the process, not least that of the European Union. The EU has directly provided much-needed funding to Northern Ireland – almost €3bn in the six years to 2020 – helping the Northern Ireland economy and supporting new sustainable jobs.”</p>	<p>Quotations</p>
<p>STRATEGY ‘INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION’</p>	
<p>hugely damaging</p>	<p>intensification</p>
<p>Fearful that their interventions could prove counterproductive [...] a restoration of borders and customs tariffs [...] could lead to a reversal for the still-incomplete peace process disillusionment with politics may dampen turnout</p>	<p>modals (mitigation)</p>
<p>It should not be discounted lightly</p>	<p>modals (intensification)</p>
<p>a UK vote to leave EU would play into old narrative of division, isolation and difference [...] a vote to leave would result in a harder border running from Derry to Dundalk, which would “present an opportunity for others with malign agendas to exploit”. There is no version of this development [Brexit] that would avoid extra costs to [...] [...] new administrative arrangements would be possible, the psychological effect of a harder border would be hugely damaging [...] [...] it would play into an old narrative [...] [...] dire warnings about the harsh terms the UK would face outside the single market [...] a restoration of borders and customs tariffs would be a disaster for the Northern Ireland economy [...]</p>	<p>“would” with a modal meaning</p>

[..] the whole western community will become weaker. Together we will be able to cope with increasingly difficult challenges of the future [..]	Future Simple
Ireland if the UK votes for Brexit if the UK leaves the EU	conditionals
taoiseach claims [EU diplomats] they have been warned The party has also warned Kenny argues	verbs of saying (intensification)

<p>Article G23 Author: Rhiannon Lucy Cosslett Title: Britain's young people will suffer most from an EU divorce Date: 20 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/20/britain-young-people-eu-older-generation-brexit-vote Number of words: 1012</p>	
<p>Topics: Brexit referendum from the perspective of a younger generation versus the view on the issue from the perspective of the older generation. Structure: the article has no subtitles Comments: the author uses „I” pronoun; the article is taken from the „Opinion” section. Stance on Brexit: the author expresses a strong view that for the younger generation it is better that the UK is a part of the EU. The last words of the article are: ‘Vote to stay’.</p>	
STRATEGY - ‘NOMINATION’	
‘Discursive construction of social actors’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
Boris Johnson, Michael Gove	Proper names
us/we/our [younger generation], I/ my [the author], they [18- to 24-year-olds], they [older generation]	Deictics
older generation, older people, young people, younger people, politicians, 65-year-olds, members of the old EU, voters, peers [of Sweden] in the UK, [young] generation, 18- to 24-year-olds, 50- to 64-year-olds, landlords, bosses, foreigners, middle-aged, grandparents’ generation, immigrants, future children, UK nationals	generalizing anthroponyms
Europe	collective concepts
Discursive construction of Brexit	
EU referendum debate, referendum on the 23 June, EU debate, remain, referendum, leave, exiting the EU	nouns
vote, stay	verbs
divorce	metaphors
out	prepositions
Political issues: migration, housing crisis, immigration, freedom of movement	
STRATEGY - ‘PREDICATION’	
Discursive description of social actors	
Those aged 18-24, voters aged 18-24, those aged 65 and over the best-travelled generation	participle
those who run our universities those who pull the strings financially and politically	clauses
Discursive description of Brexit	
middle-aged [debate]	adjectives

STRATEGY – ‘PERSPECTIVIZATION’	
The article has no references or quotations of relevant politicians or authorities.	
Against brexit: [..] people in their 70s, 80s and 90s, who remember the horrors of the second world war and, reflecting on the last 70 years of peace on our continent, thank the EU for helping it be so.	Indirect speech
STRATEGY ‘INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION’	
Those aged 18-24 are almost half as likely to vote There are likely to be other serious economic consequences hitting us at the same time	words of likelihood
gives us a glimpse of how we could be	modals (mitigation)
<i>but the outcome will affect us the most</i> migration will naturally have an impact on the number of available homes Exiting the EU will not change the fact that the government is not building enough homes for us Brexit won’t change that that it’s the children who will suffer most	Future Simple
And however we vote, it is important that we do so, because how else can we expect politicians to serve in our interests? [the author] Are we going to let them remove from us yet another privilege from which they have benefitted, as they did with free education and affordable housing? [the author] Exiting the EU will not change the fact that the government is not building enough homes for us: do you really trust Boris Johnson and Michael Gove to do this? [the author]	questions

<p>Article G24 Author: Simon Goodley Title: Nissan to sue Vote Leave campaign over EU referendum flyer Date: 20 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/jun/20/nissan-vote-leave-campaign-eu-referendum-flyer Number of words: 329</p>	
<p>Topics: Nissan’s intention to sue the Vote Leave campaign as they used Nissan’s logo in the Leave campaign leaflets Structure: the article has no subtitles Comments: the author is not present in the article Stance on Brexit: the article indirectly supports the idea that the UK should remain in the EU by mentioning that the Leave campaign uses false data to persuade the voters, and by mentioning quotations of Unilever and Nissan that, indirectly, say that the UK should remain in the EU.</p>	
STRATEGY - ‘NOMINATION’	
‘Discursive construction of social actors’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
Carlos Ghosn, Paul Polman, Sir Andrew Dilnot	Proper names
them [Leave campaign], our/us/we [Nissan], I [Paul Polman]	Deictics
voters, employers, the British people	generalizing anthroponyms
Nissan’s chairman and chief executive, chief executive, chair of the UK Statistics Authority	professional anthroponyms
Vote Leave campaign, Nissan/Japanese carmaker, the UK, Unilever, lead Brexit campaign, Vote Leave	collective concepts

Europe, Britain	metonymy
Discursive construction of Brexit	
Thursday's referendum, the referendum	nouns
back [Brexit], decide, vote, leave	verbs
STRATEGY - 'PREDICATION'	
Discursive description of social actors	
major employers	adjectives
Nissan, which wants Britain to remain in the EU	clauses
STRATEGY – 'PERSPECTIVIZATION'	
ProBrexit: Unilever has said it will not scale back its UK operations if Britain votes to leave the EU [..]	Indirect speech
Against Brexit: In February, Carlos Ghosn, Nissan's chairman and chief executive , said: "Our preference as a business is, of course, that the UK stays within Europe – it makes the most sense for jobs, trade and costs. For us, a position of stability is more positive than a collection of unknowns.	
Against Brexit: [..] the chief executive [Unilever], Paul Polman , added: "I personally think it would be very good if Britain could stay." Sir Andrew Dilnot, chair of the UK Statistics Authority , said he was disappointed the lead Brexit campaign was continuing to make this claim, adding that it was "misleading and undermines trust in official statistics". [false claims made by the Leave camp]	Quotations
STRATEGY 'INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION'	
I personally think	mitigation
it would be very good if Britain could stay	modals (mitigation)
what would happen in either scenario it would be very good if Britain could stay	"would" with a modal meaning
we will not speculate on the outcome	Future Simple
Nissan announced	verbs of saying (intensification)

<p>Article G25 Author: Jana Kasperkevic Title: John Oliver on Brexit: 'Britain would be absolutely crazy to leave' the EU Date: 20 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2016/jun/20/john-oliver-brexit-britain-crazy-to-leave-european-union Number of words: 670</p> <p>Topics: Brexit is not a solution to migration; the EU has its problems, but it is still better for the UK to be in it rather than to vote out. Structure: the article has no subtitles. Comments: the author is not present in the article. The article uses words with emotional connotations. Stance on Brexit: the article clearly is against Brexit. It concentrates on John Oliver view that Brexit is 'something absolutely insane' and mentions his words: 'please don't vote for a Brexit on Thursday.'</p>
STRATEGY - 'NOMINATION'

'Discursive construction of social actors' (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
John Oliver/Oliver, Jo Cox	Proper names
his/I [John Oliver], their [British politicians], they [Ukip], we [the British people]	Deictics
British politicians, experts, EU citizens, non-EU citizens, people	generalizing anthroponyms
comedian	professional anthroponyms
the EU, the UK/homeland, Ukip [UK Independence Party], Brexit camp	collective concepts
Britain	metonymy
Discursive construction of Brexit	
this Thursday, referendum, British exit, Brexit vote, leaving the EU "Bratus quo", "conscious unBroupling" [John Oliver]	nouns
decide, leave, remain	verbs
STRATEGY - 'PREDICATION'	
Discursive description of social actors	
complicated, bureaucratic, ambitious, overbearing, inspirational, consistently irritating institution [the EU] not perfect, large, confounding, relentless bureaucratic [the EU]	adjectives
Discursive description of Brexit	
something absolutely insane [about Brexit]	adjective
STRATEGY – 'PERSPECTIVIZATION'	
The article does not provide any arguments proposed by the relevant politicians.	
Against Brexit: [...] experts at the Bank of England, International Monetary Fund and PricewaterhouseCoopers , all of whom said leaving European Union would have a negative effect on the UK's GDP.	Indirect speech
ProBrexit: "Ukip [UK Independence Party] argued that a Brexit would enable the UK to significantly reduce immigration, preventing both EU citizens from taking British jobs and non-EU citizens from sneaking in to commit terror attacks. And they have not been subtle in their campaign," said Oliver . Against Brexit: "Here is how I feel about the EU: it is a complicated, bureaucratic, ambitious, overbearing, inspirational and consistently irritating institution, and Britain would be absolutely crazy to leave it especially because, if it stays, it can reap all the benefits while still being a total dick about everything," Oliver said on Sunday night's show. "And that is the British way." "The EU is not perfect: it's large, confounding, and relentless bureaucratic. Think of it like Gerard Depardieu: it's an unwieldy European body that's a source of great bewilderment. But Britain leaving it would be a huge destabilizing decision, so we would expect the Brexit camp to have some pretty solid arguments. Unfortunately, many of them are bullshit," said Oliver . "To recap: immigration policy may not change, hysteria over regulation is a red herring, the cost of membership is reasonable, and the economic benefits of staying appear to outweigh the cost, and yet, polls suggest my homeland is on the edge of doing something absolutely insane," explained Oliver . "To the people of the UK, I say this: if you need your hatred of the EU itch scratched, I understand, but please don't vote for a Brexit on Thursday. I	Quotations

have a better solution.” [Oliver]	
Against Brexit: John Oliver has a message for his homeland: do not leave the European Union.	references
STRATEGY ‘INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION’	
Britain would be absolutely crazy to leave it [Oliver] ‘many of them [Leave camp’s arguments] are bullshit’	intensification
what could happen if the UK does decide to leave his homeland might still have to agree to some of the EU’s regulations immigration policy may not change	modals (mitigation)
Britain would be absolutely crazy to leave it Leaving the EU would not exactly result in the UK having a complete control of its borders	“would” with a modal meaning
what could happen <u>if the UK does decide to leave if it stays</u> , it can reap all the benefits	conditionals
Ukip [UK Independence Party] argued	verbs of saying (intensification)
Oliver suggested	verbs of saying (mitigation)

<p>Article G26 Author: Kathryn Gaw Title: Northern Ireland’s greatest fear from a Brexit is the return to conflict Date: 21 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/21/northern-ireland-fear-brexit-conflict-good-friday-agreement-eu Number of words: 736</p>	
<p>Topics: Brexit consequences for the Northern Ireland; threats of unrest in the province. Structure: the article has no subtitles. Comments: the author does not appear in the text. Stance on Brexit: the text is against Brexit: ‘Great Britain may be able to weather a Brexit, but Northern Ireland simply cannot’.</p>	
STRATEGY - ‘NOMINATION’	
‘Discursive construction of social actors’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
David Cameron, Theresa May, Arlene Foster, Theresa Villiers	Proper names
-	Deictics
communities, population, many Northern Irish people, paramilitaries, Northern Irish voters, residents of Northern Ireland, the Northern Irish people, a million people	generalizing anthroponyms
first minister, the Northern Ireland secretary,	professional anthroponyms
leave, remain, Northern Ireland/the province, the Republic of Ireland, the EU, DUP, Sinn Fein, Great Britain, the EU	collective concepts
Britain	metonymy
Discursive construction of Brexit	
challenge, referendum debates, a Brexit vote, on 23 June, a leave vote, vote, Thursday	nouns
vote, leave, remain, weather [Brexit]	verbs
the leave bandwagon	metaphors
Political issues: immigration, border controls, terrorism, border restrictions	
STRATEGY - ‘PREDICATION’	

Discursive description of social actors	
a population still recovering from decades of division	participle
many Northern Irish people who witnessed years of violence in border towns such as Newry, Omagh and Derry	clauses
Discursive description of Brexit	
toughest challenge	
STRATEGY – ‘PERSPECTIVIZATION’	
Against Brexit: Last week David Cameron confirmed that border controls would be necessary – either as a hard border between Northern Ireland and the Republic, or by way of checks at exit points between Northern Ireland and Great Britain. Either solution would be disastrous for the province.	Indirect speech
STRATEGY ‘INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION’	
it [peace] would be instantly jeopardised a hard-won peace impact [would be] catastrophic aggressively campaigning for a leave vote	intensification
border controls are likely to become a priority Perhaps this is why the latest polls show [...] Northern Irish votes are unlikely to make much of a difference	words of likelihood
a Brexit could be its toughest challenge to date they may lead to a resurgence of dissident activity This vote could change everything Great Britain may be able to weather a Brexit	modals (mitigation)
Northern Ireland simply cannot	modals (intensification)
Either solution would be disastrous for the province. To install physical checkpoints along the border would instantly undermine a hard-won peace, and the psychological impact alone would be catastrophic how a post-Brexit Northern Ireland would work	“would” with a modal meaning
A return of those barricaded towers and armed checkpoints will stir up emotional memories for many Northern Irish people Northern Irish voters will vote remain on 23 June the Northern Irish people will ultimately have very little say in the result the future of Northern Ireland will essentially be decided by people who don’t live there.	Future Simple
David Cameron confirmed	verbs of saying (intensification)
As polls suggest	verbs of saying (mitigation)

<p>Article G27 Author: Jane Martinson Title: Daily Mail backs Brexit in EU referendum Date: 21 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/jun/21/daily-mail-backs-brexit-on-eve-referendum Number of words: 906</p> <p>Topics: the division between <i>the Daily Mail</i> and <i>the Mail on Sunday</i> in the view on Brexit; the difference in attitude to Brexit that holds a newspaper and its owner; the ration of newspapers that support Leave and that support Remain (according to the article, it is 80:20 respectively). Structure: the article has no subtitles. Comments: the author is not present in the article; the article does not give any arguments pro</p>

or contra Brexit as it reflects on the situation whether the press support Leave or Remain and which newspapers take which side. Stance on Brexit: the article has no stance on Brexit as it simply outline the views on the referendum that different British newspapers hold.	
STRATEGY - 'NOMINATION'	
'Discursive construction of social actors' (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
Paul Dacre/Dacre, Lord Rothermere/Rothermere, Rupert Murdoch/Murdoch, Geordie Greig/Greig, Dominic Wring, Anthony Hilton	Proper names
his [Paul Dacre], them [people], I [Antony Hilton, Rupert Murdoch]	Deictics
the country's most powerful media owners, the readers of the Times, papers, British newspapers, daily readers, researchers, the newspapers, readers, researchers	generalizing anthroponyms
editor-in-chief, editor, the prime minister, a professor of political communication, columnist	professional anthroponyms
the Daily Mail, the Mail on Sunday, the Mail, the Sun, the Mail, the Sunday Express, the public, the EU, the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, The Telegraph, the Express, the Sun, the Star, the Financial Times, the Guardian, the i, the Daily Mirror, the Centre for Research in Communication and Culture, campaigns, the Brexit campaign, Leave	collective concepts
Europe, Brussels, Downing Street	metonymy
sister [about <i>the Daily Mail</i> in relation to <i>the Mail on Sunday</i>]	metaphors
Discursive construction of Brexit	
a vote to remain in, the referendum on EU membership, battle, remain, EU referendum, the Brexit case, debate	nouns
back [Brexit]	verbs
media owners are happy to have a horse in both races [Brexit seen as a race/competition], the two-way race	metaphors
Political issues: anti-immigration stories, immigration	
STRATEGY - 'PREDICATION'	
Discursive description of social actors	
long-serving editor-in-chief the neutral or pro-remain papers	adjectives
STRATEGY – 'PERSPECTIVIZATION'	
The article does not cite the relevant politicians or authorities' views and arguments on Brexit.	
ProBrexit: British newspapers have been overwhelmingly in favour of Brexit	references
STRATEGY 'INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION'	
surprisingly uninformed about the EU a barrage of news British newspapers have been overwhelmingly in favour of Brexit	intensification
The tone of the two papers' coverage over recent weeks could not have been more different	modals (mitigation)

Article G28
 Authors: Jennifer Rankin, Angelique Chrisafis, Kit Gillet, Philip Oltermann and Helena Smith
 Title: How Europeans see a vote for Brexit
 Date: 21 June
 Link: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/21/eu-referendum-how-europeans-see-the-brexit-vote>

Number of words: 2431	
<p>Topics: the article gives views of people concerning Brexit from five different countries: Belgium, France, Germany, Greece and Romania.</p> <p>Structure: the article is divided into four sections: ‘View from Brussels’, ‘View from Paris’, ‘View from Berlin’, ‘View from Athens’ and ‘View from Bucharest’.</p> <p>Comments: the author is not present in the text. The text includes opinions of politicians and ordinary people.</p> <p>Stance on Brexit: the article in its entirety is against Brexit. Some of the countries hold stronger view against it, some milder. Germany, for instance, is absolutely and explicitly against Brexit and mentions the arguments that show the post-Brexit situation to be very unattractive to the UK.</p>	
STRATEGY - ‘NOMINATION’	
‘Discursive construction of social actors’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
Thierry Meeùs/Meeùs, Gregor, Ben Kabba, Vladimir Putin, General de Gaulle, Sylvie Goulard, David Cameron/Mr Cameron, Hitler, Michael Gove, Yannick Dupuis, Oliver Moldenhauer, Katarina Barley, Alexander Gauland/Gauland, Pavlos Kannelopoulos, Kleanthis Papazoglou, Georgios Kyrtos, Andreas Andreadis, Adrian Moraru, Klaus Iohannis, Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, Mihai Cismaru, Ioana Loliceru	Proper names
I [Gregor], we [the EU member states and the UK in general], they/you [the UK], they [French ministers], they [Mr Cameron and the UK government], I/she [Sylvie Goulard], his [Mr Cameron], you [a reader/a person in general], we [all of us], he [Yannick Dupuis], Alain Poupaux, they [people in the UK], we [Germany], us/we [Greece], they/we [politicians in Greece], I [Georgios Kyrtos], we [Romanians], he [Klaus Iohannis], she [Alina Mungiu-Pippidi], I [Mihai Cismaru]	Deictics
the Brits, British people, European countries, visitors, countries, government officials, one Belgian official, French people, ministers, people, millions of Muslims, the British, British migrants, anyone, parliamentarians, one senior Social Democrat, British MPs, peoples, Germany’s Eurosceptic right, the English, Athens’ pro-European political elite, politicians, Brexiters, Greeks, Britons, everyone, Greek MEPs and business leaders, the French, the Germans, nation, Romanians, someone, others, Romanian workers, some, the middle class	generalizing anthroponyms
director, French centrist MEP, an equipment manager for French railways, political activist, general secretary of the Social Democratic party, the deputy chairman of Alternative für Deutschland, factory worker, professor of political science, deputy director of the Institute for Public Policy, Romania’s president, political scientist, EU funds consultant, bank worker	professional anthroponyms
the European Union/the EU/the 28-member bloc /ever-closer union, the UK, country, France, the government [of the UK], Turkey, anti-immigration party [Alternative für Deutschland], Italy, Spain, Germany, leave camp,	collective concepts
Britain, Europe, the European project [the EU], Brussels	metonymy
family [the EU], boat [the EU], the European club [the EU]	metaphors
Discursive construction of Brexit	
referendum, the British debate about the EU, referendum on 23 June, debate, risk, EU debate, British exit, Britain’s referendum, UK’s referendum	nouns
vote, leave, stay, lose [from the referendum], remain	verbs
inside, in, out	participles
Political issues:	
the UK already has one foot outside Europe: you kept the pound, you’re not in Schengen	metaphor
the British “cherry-picking” a personalised menu from the EU treaties	
the freedom of movement	nouns

STRATEGY - 'PREDICATION'	
Discursive description of social actors	
so-called union [the EU], a middle-class Brit	adjectives
people trying to sell Europe in the UK British migrants living in Berlin	participle
Sylvie Goulard, a French centrist MEP who has just published a book the people who died in the second world war someone who comes from Romania	clauses
Discursive description of Brexit	
a huge risk, potential exit	adjectives
STRATEGY – 'PERSPECTIVIZATION'	
<p>ProBrexit: [Sylvie Goulard]: ‘[...]The same is true of Michael Gove saying millions of Muslims would come to the UK tomorrow if Turkey joined the EU’. “They’ll do very well if they vote leave,” said Kleanthis Papazoglou, an unemployed factory worker. “Every day Europe is becoming a little bit more fascistic. The euro has failed. Much better, each to their own.” [Mihai Cismaru, a 37-year-old EU funds consultant]: “The middle class in Britain doesn’t feel the plus value. As a Romanian, before entering the EU we had to have visas to travel to many places in Europe, now we don’t, but as a Brit it was still very simple before the EU. When you see Britain, France, Germany supporting the EU budget you can understand”.</p> <p>Against Brexit: [Gregor, a 31-year-old project manager from Antwerp] “I think [Brexit] would be a bad thing because it gives a signal to other countries that [the EU] cannot handle a difficult period.” One Belgian official [..]: “If there were a Brexit it would play into the hands of [Vladimir] Putin.” [political activist Oliver Moldenhauer] “[...] Britain should stay because it would help Europe as a whole.” [political activist Oliver Moldenhauer] “Why are people [...] so willing to take such a huge risk? It seems you only have things to lose from this referendum.” [Alexander Gauland, the deputy chairman of Alternative für Deutschland]: „Britain helps to shape the EU in the way we imagine it: a Europe of cooperating fatherlands [...]. That is why I would plead for Britain to remain in the European Union.” “It would be a catastrophic move,” said Andreas Andreadis, the country’s tourism chief. “Great Britain counters the influence of Germany in the EU. It is a balancing force. If it leaves, it will definitely lead to further integration of a much smaller number of countries around Germany, which will mean the rest will become totally peripheral and even irrelevant to the European dream.” Georgios Kyrtos, who sits on a working group set up by the centre-right European People’s party (EPP) to analyse poll dynamics and data before the vote, said MEPs [...] “What I do know, and fear, is that in the event of leave winning there will be a move to integrate further and Greece will never be able to keep up,” [...] “The Germans and the French will take steps to make up for the loss of the UK and will impose criteria that’ll be so tough Greece won’t be able to follow. It can, after all, barely keep apace now.” “I would be sad if the UK left the EU, but maybe it would mean some Romanians coming home. I think it would weaken the EU, though,” said Ioana Loliceru, a bank worker.</p>	Quotations

STRATEGY 'INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION'	
The only winner, genuine shock	intensification
maybe it would mean some Romanians coming home	words of likelihood
[..] it could be cast out of Europe in one very literal way Brexit might cost the UK its place in Mini-Europe, a Brussels theme park, where European landmarks, including the Eiffel Tower, the Acropolis and Mount Vesuvius, are recreated in painstaking miniatures [Britain] could not stay in the park We might not have as much power as America and Russia the point where the UK might leave genuine shock that the UK could choose to leave the EU British vote to leave could trigger a wave of similar secession movements across the continent It would not be wise for Germany to leave the EU, because we could quickly slip into ill-advised isolation. it could have for Greece's battle	modals (mitigation)
[the EU] cannot handle a difficult period we should stick together and support each other We should respect the people who died in the second world war Britain should stay because We can't have a scenario where one country gets all the advantages out of the EU but doesn't shoulder any responsibilities You can't have free movement of goods while opting out of free movement of peoples Britons should give Brussels a run for its money	modals (intensification)
[[Britain] could not stay in the park and] that would be a real problem The Brits would be missed It would be a real hole in the European history [Brexit] would be a bad thing The only winner would be Russia's president fearing it would be counterproductive [interference in the UK's decision from abroad] ^o it would help Europe as a whole It's an illusion that things would continue as they were before Negotiations would start at zero That is why I would plead for Britain to remain in the European Union It would not be wise for Germany to leave the EU the 28-member bloc would not be the same without the UK It would be a catastrophic move maybe it would mean some Romanians coming home I think it would weaken the EU	"would" with a modal meaning
questions will weigh heavily in Paris about the very nature of the European project [after the EU referendum in the UK] [Brexit] it will destroy the idea of an ever-closer union	Future Simple
If Britain votes to leave the European Union, it could be cast out of Europe in one very literal way. If Brexit happens if they vote leave If it leaves	conditionals
I admire [Sylvie Goulard]	verbs of saying (intensification)
I really don't know [Klaus Iohannis] suggested	verbs of saying (mitigation)

<p>Article G29 Author: Geoffrey Wheatcroft Title: Europhobia: a very British problem Date: 21 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/21/brexit-eurocepticism-history Number of words: 3840</p>	
<p>Topics: the article states that referendum promise made by Cameron was a mistake; historical background on the development of the UK since the Romans came to the isles; the article then outline the history of Euroscepticism; Structure: the article has no subtitles. The majority of text, that is about 2700 words, is dedicated to the historical background, not topical Brexit issues. Comments: the article supports its ideas with historical evidence and facts; the author is not present in the article. Stance on Brexit: the article supports Remain vote, saying that although the EU has problems, there should be sound Euroscepticism and by mentioning several times the danger and uselessness of referendums.</p>	
<p>STRATEGY - 'NOMINATION'</p>	
<p>'Discursive construction of social actors' (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)</p>	<p>Devices</p>
<p>Clement Attlee/Attlee/ Lord Attlee, Winston Churchill/Churchill, Hitler, Margaret Thatcher/Thatcher, David Cameron/Cameron, Harold Wilson, John Harris, Robert Tombs, Charles de Gaulle, Karl Deutsch/Deutsch, Lord Beaverbrook, Duke of Wellington, Sir Nicholas Soames, John of Gaunt</p>	<p>Proper names</p>
<p>our/we/us/their [the British people], his/he [Clement Attlee], she [Margaret Thatcher], he [Harold Wilson], his [David Cameron], he [Winston Churchill], they [Europhobes],</p>	<p>Deictics</p>
<p>the British electorate, Tories, elites, Celtic nationalists, English Europhobes, one, the British, neighbours [of the UK], English football fans, European countries, any honest remainder, the wrong people, tens of millions of young people, Europhobes, American politicians, the English, Americans</p>	<p>generalizing anthroponyms</p>
<p>prime minister, prime minister of a Labour government, the Cambridge historian, author, scholar</p>	<p>professional anthroponyms</p>
<p>the EU/the European project, parliament, Europe, England, the Commonwealth</p>	<p>collective concepts</p>
<p>Britain, England, Washington, London, Brussels, Berlin</p>	<p>metonymy</p>
<p>England as a client state of Washington</p>	<p>metaphors</p>
<p>Discursive construction of Brexit</p>	
<p>This week's vote, referendum, this week's vote, working-class revolt</p>	<p>nouns</p>
<p>stay, vote</p>	<p>verbs</p>
<p>out</p>	<p>prepositions</p>
<p>Plotical issues: nazism, fascism, migrant crisis, immigration, Euroscepticism, "European problem", Anglo-British nationalism, European integration and centralism</p>	<p>nouns</p>
<p>STRATEGY - 'PREDICATION'</p>	
<p>Discursive description of social actors</p>	
<p>[The EU] dysfunctional, corrupt</p>	<p>adjectives</p>
<p>Discursive description of Brexit</p>	
<p>squalid campaign</p>	<p>adjectives</p>
<p>Political matters: crude racism, humble patriotism</p>	<p>adjectives</p>
<p>STRATEGY - 'PERSPECTIVIZATION'</p>	
<p>Against Brexit: 'Could not consent to the introduction into our national life of a device so alien to all our traditions as the referendum,' Clement Attlee said. "The late Lord Attlee was right when he said that the referendum was a</p>	<p>Quotations</p>

device of dictators and demagogues,” said Margaret Thatcher at that time. “The paramount case for being in,” she said, is “the political case for peace and security.” Her language has been reiterated this year by Cameron and George Osborne , with less success. [Margaret Thatcher]	
STRATEGY ‘INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION’	
a desperate need to find our national identity panicky promise to hold a referendum on the EU an epic miscalculation [Brexit referendum promise] unarguably an enormous mistake [single currency in the EU] tens of millions of young people in southern Europe are now paying an awful price	intensification
yearning for a maybe imaginary lost age Or maybe John of Gaunt had it right	words of likelihood
I could not consent to the introduction into our national life of a device so alien to all our traditions as the referendum coarse Germanophobia could still be found Plenty of those reading this may tend to view “Europe” in a benevolent light demanding such reform is what could be called the true Eurosceptic position	modals (mitigation)
David Cameron must be kicking himself for not thinking of Attlee’s reply before he gave his panicky promise to hold a referendum on the EU any honest remainder must admit that we should remain in the EU	modals (intensification)
If the EU is to survive	conditionals
When did it begin, this idea of England, and our “European problem” along with it? [author] [..] but can one imagine a famous German composer of our day – say Wolfgang Rihm – as a revered guest of the royal family, as Felix Mendelssohn was of Victoria and Albert? [author] [..] must we at last cease to be a great country? [author]	questions
Churchill suggested	verbs of saying (mitigation)

Article G30 Author: not mentioned Title: Brexit could cause £1bn drop in Jaguar Land Rover profit by 2020 Date: 21 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/jun/21/brexit-could-cause-1bn-drop-jaguar-land-rover-profit-sources-say Number of words: 1008	
Topics: the future operations of Jaguar Land Rover after a Brexit vote and its stance on the referendum. Structure: the article has no subtitles. Comments: the author is not present in the article. Stance on Brexit: the article is against Brexit.	
STRATEGY - ‘NOMINATION’	
‘Discursive construction of social actors’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
David Rea, Ralph Speth	Proper names
we/they/our [JLR]	Deictics
Britons, businesses, employees, Leave campaigners, British drivers, politicians, executives, European policymakers, automakers, mass manufacturers, workers	generalizing anthroponyms

chief economist, JLR spokesman, CEO	professional anthroponyms
Jaguar Land Rover/JLR/firm, the EU/the world's biggest trading bloc/the bloc, Europe, Tata Motors, Ford	collective concepts
Britain,	metonymy
Discursive construction of Brexit	
Thursday's referendum, Thursday's vote, departure, referendum, a vote for Brexit, vote to leave	nouns
leave, vote, quit, remain	verbs
outside	prepositions
STRATEGY - 'PREDICATION'	
Discursive description of social actors	
rapidly-expanding firm [Jaguar Land Rover]	adjectives
JLR, which is owned by India's Tata Motors	clauses
STRATEGY – 'PERSPECTIVIZATION'	
the mentioned 'sources' in the text are not defined; therefore, the reader might not see them as credible enough.	
Against Brexit: The rapidly-expanding firm, which traces its history back to 1922 and is headquartered in Coventry has also looked into opening a European office were Britain to quit the bloc, both sources said. [..] carmaker Ford (F.N), which only builds engines in Britain, said it could face tariffs of 2.7% on engine exports and import tariffs of up to 10% on incoming vehicles, according to a copy of a letter sent to employees on Monday seen by Reuters. JLR , which built nearly one in three of Britain's 1.6 million cars last year, [...] and has joined the rest of the overwhelmingly foreign-owned car industry in calling on Britons to remain in the bloc. CEO Ralph Speth , who has consistently spoken out in favour of continued EU membership, wrote to workers on Monday warning of the possible consequences of a Brexit on the firm.	Indirect speech
ProBrexit: A spokesman at the firm said: "Jaguar Land Rover is a British company and our headquarters will remain in the UK." Against Brexit: [CEO Ralph Speth]: "It is inevitable that we would face increasing and higher tariffs, making our products less competitive in Europe," he said in a copy of the letter seen by Reuters.	Quotations
Against Brexit: Jaguar Land Rover, Britain's biggest carmaker, estimates its annual profit could be cut by £1bn by the end of the decade if Britain leaves the European Union, according to two sources familiar with the company's thinking.	references
STRATEGY 'INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION'	
possible consequences any potential UK departure from the EU possible consequences of a Brexit	mitigation
its annual profit could be cut by £1bn a hit to profit could impact the company's ability to fund further expansion the factory, which could become vital for JLR's European businesses JLR could open an office in Brussels	modals (mitigation)
Britain should be able to negotiate a tariff-less trade with France and Germany	modals (intensification)

A hit to JLR would be a big blow to Britain’s resurgent car industry Having an office close to Brussels would allow them to maintain influence post any deal	“would” with a modal meaning
our headquarters will remain in the UK	Future Simple
if Britain leaves the European Union if Britons vote to leave if a vote for Brexit brought new trade tariffs if Britain were to leave the EU	conditionals
JLR [...] confirmed Leave campaigners argue They are deeply worried about	verbs of saying (intensification)

<p>Article G31 Author: Jon Henley Title: Lost in France: the Britons facing Brexit limbo Date: 22 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/22/expats-french-rural-idyll-fear-brexit-end-dream-living-eu-referendum Number of words: 1438</p> <p>Topics: the British migrants leaving in Eymet, France and their worries what could happen in case the UK votes Leave. Structure: the article has no subtitles. Comments: the author is not present in the text. The article includes interviews with Eymet’s inhabitants. Stance on Brexit: the article is against Brexit.</p>	
STRATEGY - ‘NOMINATION’	
‘Discursive construction of social actors’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
Robert Johnson/Johnson, Jenny, Andrew Hill, Rupert Bache/Bache, Mathilde, Adrian Cattermole, Patrick Diemert, Marie-José Chaussende/Chaussende, Christine Fèvre, Terrie Simpson/Simpson, Boris/Johnson, Brian Slaney/ Slaney, Louise Little/Little, Damian Berry, Monica Clarke/Clarke, Hedley Bennett/Bennett, Tony Delvalle/Delvalle	Proper names
his [Robert Johnson], we/they/us [the British people], I/he [Andrew Hill], he/his/I [Rupert Bache], she [Mathilde], you [a person, in general], he/him [Boris Johnson], I/she [Louise Little], he [Damian Berry], she/her [Monica Clarke]	Deictics
the Britons, British migrants, Francophile Brits, many, others, children, small businesses, all, retirees, people, neighbouring countries, men, Brits, Europeans, some, expats, immigrants, customers, few, anyone, anyone, the French, British visitors, residents, clients, British contingent, British guests, house-hunting couples, people, one Conservative politician, clientele, British shopkeepers, political refugee, Eymet’s British population	generalizing anthroponyms
retired management trainer, retired civil servant, bookkeeper, politician, PM, British independent financial adviser, French taxman, English hairdresser, English optician	professional anthroponyms
the European Union, the UK, the leave camp	collective concepts
Britain, Europe	metonymy
Discursive construction of Brexit	
referendum, a Brexit vote	nouns
leave, turn back on [Europe]	verbs
a leap in the dark	metaphors
STRATEGY - ‘PREDICATION’	

Discursive description of social actors	
thriving small businesses	adjectives
a retired management trainer who moved to the area from Wiltshire five years ago Rupert Bache, who has lived in France for 27 years His wife, whose family came originally from the Savoie in eastern France Simpson, who worked for Boddington's brewery before she moved to Eymet 14 years ago	clauses
Discursive description of Brexit	
a referendum that could result in Britain leaving the European Union	clauses
STRATEGY – ‘PERSPECTIVIZATION’	
The article has no references to the relevant politicians views	
Against Brexit: [..] retired civil servant Andrew Hill [..] ,, [..] People not getting that Brexit will be like a leap in the dark, backwards.” [Monica Clarke, a political refugee from the South Africa, and her husband, Hedley Bennett]: “The EU has given us absolute stability,” Bennett says. “And we celebrate different cultures in Britain,” adds Clarke. “What are we even thinking of, turning our backs on Europe?”	Quotations
STRATEGY ‘INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION’	
It's outrageous [what Boris Johnson says]	intensification
And perhaps , Mathilde feels, Britain would not be on the brink of voting leave	words of likelihood
a referendum that could result in Britain leaving the European Union A Brexit vote, for all its unwelcome consequences for some of her customers, might be “the kick Europe needs” The formalities may multiply what an actual Brexit might entail Brexit might at least make Eymet's British population understand	modals (mitigation)
I can't see the French chucking us out	modals (intensification)
the <i>carte de séjour</i> would surely be back; driving licences would change	“would” with a modal meaning
Brexit will be like a leap in the dark but anything that raises a barrier to British visitors and residents in the Dordogne [..] will not be welcome in Eymet	Future Simple
if we leave if Brexit happens if the British money left	conditionals

<p>Article G32 Author: Tim Parks Title: Brexit or not, is it time for me to become an Italian? Date: 22 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/22/brexit-or-not-time-to-become-italian Number of words: 786</p> <p>Topics: the article outlines the problems the EU has, it says about a possible problems the UK citizens living in the EU might face after Brexit, and the ones the EU citizens living in the UK can encounter; finally, the article says about the EU as a tool in preventing wars within Europe; and in the end the author says that the UK will be free to act on its own if it leaves. The article concludes that the UK citizens are about to make an important decision.</p> <p>Structure: the article has no subtitles.</p>

Comments: the author uses „I” pronoun and directly expresses his opinion.	
Stance on Brexit: the article does not take one particular stance. It is neutral.	
STRATEGY - ‘NOMINATION’	
‘Discursive construction of social actors’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
	Proper names
I/me/my [author], we/our [the British people living in the EU 27 member states], us [the British people], them/theirs [Europeans]	Deictics
UK citizens, Britons, member states, EU citizens, Britons, one, interested parties, electorate, American partners, migrants, sides [of Brexit], people, EU countries, cultures, Europeans	generalizing anthroponyms
the EU/union, country	collective concepts
Britain,	metonymy
neighbours [Europeans]	metaphors
Discursive construction of Brexit	
the EU referendum, divide, decision	nouns
leave, stay	verbs
in, out	prepositions
STRATEGY - ‘PREDICATION’	
Discursive description of social actors	
the 1.26 million UK citizens living in the EU’s other 27 member states 3 million or so EU citizens living in the UK	participle
those who had been unwise to join in the first place	clauses
STRATEGY – ‘PERSPECTIVIZATION’	
The article expresses the opinion of the author, without mentioning other persons’ words.	
STRATEGY ‘INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION’	
huge problems with the organisation [of the EU] interminable red tape, its wastefulness , its crazy agricultural policy [EU] decision-making is painfully slow the fatal words	intensification
it’s time perhaps I prepared to speak the fatal words	words of likelihood
where it [the EU] might be heading it might be wise to have the big European powers routinely subjected to a little of our influence	modals (mitigation)
we will have to start filing for right-to-stay papers the overall outcome cannot be predicted [of Brexit] we have to live with them [Europeans]	modals (intensification)
with Brexit the country would be free to make a mess of things on its own	“would” with a modal meaning
Germany will be even more dominant; Britain will cease to have any influence on the direction of a conglomerate of nations whose goodwill is crucial for British prosperity.	Future Simple
Should I apply for Italian citizenship? [the author] the EU’s uncertain status – is it a superstate or a free trade area? [the author]	questions
if Britain leaves the EU if Britain leaves	conditionals

<p>Article G33 Authors: Steven Morris, Henry McDonald, Severin Carrell and Lisa O'Carroll Title: Betting the farm on Brexit? Farmers divided on EU referendum Date: 22 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/22/farmers-divided-on-eu-referendum-brexit-agriculture Number of words: 2163</p>	
<p>Topics: significance of the EU subsidies to the agriculture; by leaving the EU subsidies from the EU will be terminated, and this could pose difficulties to the majority of farmers; restrictions on farmers posed by the EU and their losses. Structure: the article has three subsections: 'Northern Ireland', 'England' and 'Scotland'. Comments: the author is not present in the article. Stance on Brexit: the article mentions arguments on both sides; it provides the reader with opinions of both those who know how to vote and the undecided. The article does not suggest directly and strongly. It might be considered neutral.</p>	
STRATEGY - 'NOMINATION'	
'Discursive construction of social actors' (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
Abi Reader/Reader, David Cameron, Boris Johnson, Phil Hogan, Boris Johnson, Andrew RT Davies/Davies, Jonathan, the McKennas, Laurence McKenna, Barry Read/Read, Lance Forman/Forman, Alastair Brooks/Brooks, Robin Tuke/Tuke, Alison, Heather Anderson	Proper names
her/she/I [Abi Reader], we/our [the British people], he/his/him/I [Andrew RT Davies], you [a person, in general], his/I [Laurence McKenna], their/we [the McKennas], we [people], he/I [Barry Read], he [Lance Forman], he/his/I [Robin Tuke], she/her [Heather Anderson]	Deictics
counterparts, EU officials, politicians, civil servants, people, the French, Germans, companies, island nation, farmers/UK farmers/British farmers, customers, British taxpayers, conservative governments, families, big businesses, multi-nationals, migrant workers, countries	generalizing anthroponyms
the Irish EU commissioner for agriculture, full-time farmers, prime minister, sheep farmer, agricultural contractor, smoked salmon producer	professional anthroponyms
the Welsh government, Müller, bloc/the EU/the EU bloc, remain camp, leave campaign, the Republic of Ireland, Turkey, the commission [in Brussels], UK government	collective concepts
Europe, Britain, Brussels	metonymy
club [the EU]	metaphors
Discursive construction of Brexit	
referendum debate, EU referendum debate, 23 June	nouns
leave, vote, stay	verbs
to become captains of our own ships again [to leave the EU]	metaphors
Political issues: free movement of goods, services, capital; the project fear campaign, Euroscepticism, a lack of democracy [in Brussels]	nouns
STRATEGY - 'PREDICATION'	
Discursive description of social actors	
undecided farmers	adjectives
families spanning either side of the border	participle
the French and Germans who stand up for agriculture, who understand how important food production is Among those who want out is the head of the Welsh Tories Andrew RT Davies, who runs a mixed farm Alastair Brooks, who grows strawberries in Kent and sells them to Tesco Robin Tuke, who runs a prize-winning Aberdeen Angus farm and direct sales business with his wife	clauses

STRATEGY – ‘PERSPECTIVIZATION’	
<p>ProBrexit: The leave campaign argues that the market would not simply vanish – the French would still want Welsh lamb and the Republic of Ireland would still be very keen to sell its beef to the UK. It adds that the subsidy cash for UK farmers comes from British taxpayers in the first place [...] [...] Boris Johnson said last week that he could “100% guarantee” that their subsidies would continue or rise after Brexit.</p> <p>Against Brexit: Brooks believes freedom of movement will probably continue but says the need to agree new trade agreements with EU bloc will set Britain back 40 years.</p>	Indirect speech
<p>ProBrexit: [Andrew RT Davies, the head of the Welsh Tories]: “There needs to be a radical change rather than stick with what we’ve put up with as the norm” [Andrew RT Davies, the head of the Welsh Tories]: “I fail to see why that market will disappear. That’s part of the project fear campaign. People trade, the world trades. We are an island nation. We have traded from time immemorial. I think it’s a fallacy to say that Europe will turn its back on the fifth biggest economy in the world.” [Andrew RT Davies, the head of the Welsh Tories]: “People need to be a bit braver rather than grabbing for this comfort blanket, which actually hasn’t been particularly comfortable for years. Britain is a great nation state that can stand on its own two feet.”</p> <p>Against Brexit: [Alastair Brooks, who grows strawberries in Kent and sells them to Tesco] “It will take years and years to negotiate.” [new trade agreements]</p>	Quotations
STRATEGY ‘INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION’	
<p>That ban put us under savage pressure a typical crazy EU decision the one-size-fits-all mentality of Brussels “ridiculous” regulations imposed by Brussels the UK government’s “ludicrous” habit of over-complicating simple EU directives.</p>	intensification
<p>and perhaps abandon their 45 acres altogether freedom of movement will probably continue</p>	words of likelihood
<p>Things could get worse [[...] if the EU expands] which may have contributed to the party in Wales slipping to third place in the recent assembly elections Could we survive without EU subsidies and support? No. I don’t think we could be guaranteed one of the motivations of big businesses in supporting the remain campaign may be the grants they receive from Europe. countries which might find it easier to fall out</p>	modals (mitigation)
<p>But the issue is, or really ought to be farming ought to survive financially on its own</p>	modals (intensification)
<p>The leave campaign argues that the market would not simply vanish – the French would still want Welsh lamb and the Republic of Ireland would still be very keen to sell its beef to the UK. This[...] would lead to the creation of a European defence force, a foreign service, a European tax regime Our farm would be unsustainable the UK Treasury would fill the gap the roads would be closed and that border posts would go up we would want to be part of it</p>	“would” with a modal meaning

If we leave the EU If Britain votes to leave the EU If the UK leaves the EU	conditionals
The remain camp argues The leave campaign argues He [Andrew RT Davies] argues	verbs of saying (intensification)
I don't think	verbs of saying (mitigation)

<p>Article G34 Author: Larry Elliott Title: George Soros wrong on Brexit and UK economy, says City economist Date: 22 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/jun/22/george-soros-wrong-on-brexit-uk-economy-city-economist-erm-devaluation-sterling Number of words: 631</p>	
<p>Topics: two views on the fall of the value of the pound: George Soros warns it would cause damage to the UK's economy, but Albert Edwards sees there a possibility for the UK's economy to recover and flourish. Structure: the article has no subtitles. Comments: the author is not present in the article. Stance on Brexit: the article gives two opinions on the situation the pound value drop will cause. The article is more pro Brexit.</p>	
STRATEGY - 'NOMINATION'	
'Discursive construction of social actors' (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
Albert Edwards/Edwards, George Soros/Soros/Mr Soros, George Osborne, Shinzo Abe	Proper names
he/his [Soros], us [the UK], his [Shinzo Abe], he [Albert Edwards]	Deictics
bank's clients, central banks, governments, one, companies	generalizing anthroponyms
global strategist, former speculator, Japan's prime minister	professional anthroponyms
the UK, Société Générale, the IMF, OECD, Bank of England, UK Treasury	collective concepts
Britain	metonymy
Discursive construction of Brexit	
a Brexit vote, the referendum on Thursday, vote, a vote to leave	nouns
stay, leave	verbs
STRATEGY - 'PREDICATION'	
-	
STRATEGY - 'PERSPECTIVIZATION'	
<p>ProBrexit: Albert Edwards, global strategist at Société Générale, said in a research note to the bank's clients that a reduction in the value of the currency would be as beneficial as it was during the period after Black Wednesday in September 1992 [..]. [Albert Edwards]: "The IMF, OECD, Bank of England and UK Treasury have all warned of the likelihood of UK recession in the event of Brexit. That is indeed possible but it must be said that all of these institutions have been extremely poor at forecasting even one year ahead, let alone forecasting recessions or a crisis. If they are right, and they might well be, it would be a first."</p>	Indirect speech

<p>Against Brexit: Soros said in a Guardian article there would be a 20% slide in sterling in the event of the UK voting to leave EU and that he did not believe there would be a repeat of the boom that followed the country's departure from the ERM.</p>	
<p>ProBrexit: [Albert Edwards, global strategist at Société Générale]: "After this much-feared event, the UK economy actually recovered strongly and unemployment fell sharply. In a current environment where central banks and governments have failed to generate a strong enough economic recovery to normalise interest rates amid persistent deflationary pressures, one would have thought a substantial decline in one's currency would be welcomed for that is one way to inject a modicum of inflation back into the economic system." Edwards said: "I would have thought a 20% sterling devaluation is exactly the antidote needed in the current circumstances. Yes of course a fall in sterling increases import prices and squeezes household real incomes, but the booming profits companies enjoy from a weaker sterling should generate a virtuous wage price spiral and take us away from the deflationary abyss that awaits all developed economies in the next recession." [Edwards] "Hence I would be much more positive about the immediate post-Brexit economic outlook than Mr Soros."</p>	Quotations
<p>Against Brexit: George Soros's prediction that a Brexit vote will lead to a damaging 20% fall in the value of the pound</p>	references
STRATEGY 'INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION'	
<p>all of these institutions have been extremely poor at forecasting even one year ahead</p>	intensification
<p>the pound could fall whatever the outcome of the referendum on Thursday a Brexit might look similar to the aftermath of sterling's ignominious exit from the ERM they might well be</p>	modals (mitigation)
<p>the booming profits [...] should generate a virtuous wage price spiral and take us away from the deflationary abyss that awaits all developed economies in the next recession. it must be said that</p>	modals (intensification)
<p>a depreciation would be good for the economy one would have thought a substantial decline in one's currency would be welcomed I would be much more positive</p>	"would" with a modal meaning
<p>The IMF, OECD, Bank of England and UK Treasury have all warned</p>	verbs of saying (intensification)

<p>Article G35 Author: Henry Saker-Clark Title: From jobs to travel and study: how would Brexit affect young Britons? Date: 22 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/22/jobs-travel-study-how-brexit-would-affect-young-britons-eu-referendum Number of words: 1365</p>
<p>Topics: the opportunity of the UK students to study in the EU after a Brexit vote. Structure: the article has seven subsections: 'Will young people still be able to get jobs in Europe?', 'How will it affect young people wanting to study at universities in Europe?', 'Would Brexit make it easier for young people to find jobs in the UK?', 'Wouldn't the drop in</p>

immigration make it easier for young people to find work?', 'How will Brexit affect young people's ability to travel in Europe?', 'Would leaving the EU make it easier for young people to get on the housing ladder?' and 'What would be the economic impact of Brexit on young people?' Comments: the author is not present in the article. Stance on Brexit: the article is against Brexit as it may make the UK students' studies abroad more difficult.	
STRATEGY - 'NOMINATION'	
'Discursive construction of social actors' (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
Megan Dunn/Dunn, Sorana Vieru/Vieru, Christian Odendahl, John Springford, Jason Naylor, Chris Grayling , Darren Mason, George Osborne, Amelia Heathman	Proper names
they [young Britons], you/your [a person], we/our [the British people], she [Sorana Vieru], we/our [the UK], their [young people], they [economists], their [employers], they [immigrants], I [Jason Naylor], he [Darren Mason], her/she/I [Amelia Heathman]	Deictics
generation, young Britons, young people , citizens, organisations, graduates, British students, EU students, international financial organisations, researchers, economists, the young, the low-skilled, UK graduate employers/employers, HR managers, senior executives, UK companies, EU graduates, British graduates, tradesmen, apprentices, Remain campaigners, immigrants, society, migrants, businesses, some, supporters, housebuilders	generalizing anthroponyms
NUS president, vice president of the NUS	professional anthroponyms
the EU	collective concepts
Europe [the EU], Britain	metonymy
Discursive construction of Brexit	
on Thursday, the referendum, leaving the EU, a move to leave the EU, a vote to remain in the EU, the referendum, debate	nouns
vote, leave	verbs
Political issues: freedom of movement, immigration	
STRATEGY - 'PREDICATION'	
Discursive description of social actors	
businesses wanting to set up and develop in the UK many young people supporting remain	participle
a generation who have never known a time outside the EU	clauses
STRATEGY - 'PERSPECTIVIZATION'	
ProBrexit: Chris Grayling, leader of the House of Commons , told supporters last month that leaving the EU would mean young people in the UK could get on the housing ladder more easily, due to the limits on immigration that could be introduced. He said that rising house prices were partly caused by increased migration, and that young people should consider the "practical consequences" of a vote to remain in the EU. Against Brexit: Sorana Vieru, a vice president of the NUS , thinks that leaving the EU would limit the job opportunities of young people in the UK. Remain campaigners repeatedly make the point that immigrants put in more to the economy in terms of taxes than they take out.	Indirect speech
ProBrexit: Jason Naylor, 19 [..]: "I personally don't really want to live or work in	Quotations

<p>Europe but travelling for holidays is extremely important for most people and it would be great to always have the option to live or work there too. I think that Brexit would leave our ability to travel, live or work in Europe in the balance.”</p> <p>Against Brexit: [Megan Dunn, the outgoing NUS president]: “[..] If we were to leave, it’s unlikely we would be able to work on the same terms. It’s possible you would need some kind of visa to work abroad and this would impact on your ability to acquire a job.” [Sorana Vieru, a vice president of the NUS]: “Restricting freedom of movement means finding a job abroad becomes much harder for young people.” [Sorana Vieru, a vice president of the NUS]: “I think we can safely assume that if we’re not part of the EU, we’ll be paying international student rates in Europe if those institutions charge them.” [Sorana Vieru, a vice president of the NUS]: “Immigration into the UK is positive, it boosts the economy and it makes our society richer and more diverse [..] Also, not all migrants come into the UK to do graduate-level jobs, they fill roles right across the jobs market. Leaving the EU is likely to have an impact on businesses wanting to set up and develop in the UK, and that is what will have an impact on the graduate jobs market, not immigration.” Dunn, a board member of Britain Stronger in Europe, said: “Our membership of the European Union makes it easier for young people to travel in Europe. Visas in EU countries are not required, and travel is cheaper because of the EU. Airfares are lower because of the single market and roaming charges have recently been reduced because of it, and will be axed altogether next year. Visa applications could be costly and lengthy, and travellers might lose the ability to use the European Health Insurance Card, leaving them with higher insurance costs.” Amelia Heathman, 23 [..] said: “[..] I think that the news this week has shown that the sterling is stronger in the EU.” [Amelia Heathman]: “I’ve read a lot about how much EU funding has had a positive impact on markets, businesses and industries and I’m concerned about the effect Brexit will have on this, on potentially shrinking industries, meaning there will be less jobs for young people.”</p>	
STRATEGY ‘INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION’	
<p>it’s unlikely we would be able to work on the same terms It’s possible you would need some kind of visa this number is likely to dwindle it is young people who are most likely to suffer they were likely to lower [..] they would be likely to increase recruitment Leaving the EU is likely to have an impact on businesses Housebuilders would likely slow investment while uncertainty persisted.</p>	<p>words of likelihood</p>
<p>the referendum result could have a huge impact on their lives although students could still study outside the EU it may be harder to get visas and fees may be more expensive young people might also find that Brexit changes their student experience This argument might make sense on a local level the rising number of tradesmen may have depressed wages Visa applications could be costly and lengthy, and travellers might lose the ability to use the European Health Insurance Card [..] [..] credit conditions could tighten [..] he admits it could make housing more affordable</p>	<p>modals (mitigation)</p>

It may lower prices	
young people should consider the “practical consequences” of a vote to remain in the EU	modals (intensification)
you would need some kind of visa to work abroad and this would impact on your ability to acquire a job leaving the EU would limit the job opportunities of young people in the UK Much would depend on the economic impact and whether a move to leave the EU would [...] trigger an economic reversal in the UK. But on a national level, a drop in immigration would not necessarily help young people looking for work it would be great to always have the option to live or work there too. I think that Brexit would leave our ability to travel, live or work in Europe in the balance Housebuilders would likely slow investment [...] George Osborne’s threat of an emergency budget would take further steam out of the economy.	“would” with a modal meaning
that is what will have an impact on the graduate jobs market, not immigration the effect Brexit will have on this there will be less jobs for young people	Future Simple
If we were to leave if Britain voted to leave if we’re not part of the EU if Britain left the EU	conditionals
international financial organisations have warned Darren Mason [...] is worried about	verbs of saying (intensification)
Researchers at the Centre for European Reform (CER) note	verbs of saying (mitigation)
But how would all that change if Britain voted to leave the European Union on Thursday? [the author]	questions

<p>Article G36 Author: Roy Greenslade Title: The Sun dares to use the Queen again in Brexit front page Date: 22 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/jun/22/the-sun-queen-brexit-front-page Number of words: 466</p>	
<p>Topics: the article is about The Sun’s headline that assured that the Queen has chosen to support the Leave campaign. Structure: the article has no subtitles. Comments: the author is not present in the text. Stance on Brexit: the article is neutral, as it disapproves the fact that the Queen supports either of the sides; however, the article mentions that the Queen is Eurosceptic.</p>	
STRATEGY - ‘NOMINATION’	
‘Discursive construction of social actors’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
Robert Lacey/Lacey, Prince Andrew, Princess Anne, Tony Gallagher/Gallagher, Sir Alan Moses	Proper names
he/I [Robert Lacey], she [the Queen], us [the British people], he [Tony Gallagher], we [The Sun]	Deictics
close friends and family [of the Queen], dinner guests, two of her [the Queens’] children,	generalizing anthroponyms
royal biographer, The Sun’s editor	professional anthroponyms
The Sun, the leave campaign	collective concepts

monarch/queen, Europe, Britain, Buckingham Palace	metonymy
Discursive construction of Brexit	
the EU referendum, debate, referendum debate	nouns
stay, leave	verbs
STRATEGY - 'PREDICATION'	
Discursive description of social actors	-
STRATEGY - 'PERSPECTIVIZATION'	
ProBrexit: The Sun quotes Lacey as saying: "The Queen has no vote but she's definitely Eurosceptic. [...] But from what I've heard, she's been very careful to be scrupulously neutral." In further comments, made to the Sun, he [Lacey] described the Queen as "a very thoughtful Eurosceptic" but said she had "been playing it with a straight bat".	Quotations
STRATEGY 'INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION'	
scrupulously neutral	intensification
whether or not Britain should stay in the European Union	modals (intensification)
He claimed that Tony Gallagher [...] arguing that [...]	verbs of saying (intensification)

<p>Article G37 Author: Dreda Say Mitchell Title: Of course Ukip plays the race card. But I'm still voting for Brexit Date: 22 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/22/remain-may-win-eu-referendum-but-labour-party-loser Number of words: 729</p> <p>Topics: the Leave camp and migration. Structure: the article has no subtitles. Comments: the article directly expresses the opinion by using "I" pronoun. The article is from the section 'Opinion'. Stance on Brexit: the article is proBrexit, and the author writes 'I'm leave'.</p>	
STRATEGY - 'NOMINATION'	
'Discursive construction of social actors' (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
Baroness Warsi/Sayeeda Warsi/Lady Warsi, Nigel Farage/Farage, Dennis Skinner	Proper names
she/I/her [Baroness Warsi], them [decent people that vote Leave], us [the British people], I/me/my [the author], you [a person in general], them [working-class people], we [the UK]	Deictics
people, Labour MPs, migrants, politicians, some opposition to the EU, one, many, voters, bureaucrats, friends [of the author], working-class people, others, communities, Labour voters, racists, xenophobes	generalizing anthroponyms
MP	professional anthroponyms
remain camp/remain, Ukip, leave campaign, parliament, public, the EU, the UK, leave, Labour party	collective concepts
Europe	metonymy
Discursive construction of Brexit	
referendum campaign, debate, a migrant-bashing fest [the debate],	nouns

referendum, Thursday	
leave, vote, decide, go	verbs
leave is a kind of blasphemy against the true religion	metaphors
Political issues: migration policy, migration, democracy	nouns
STRATEGY - 'PREDICATION'	
Discursive description of social actors	
decent people, a black lefty [the author], brave Labour MPs, democratically elected politicians [the EU] undemocratic, unreformable liberal, middle-class friends	adjectives
those of us voting to leave the EU	participle
decent people who want to leave Europe those who are unhappy about migration those who have benefited from this model/those who haven't those millions without jobs or in insecure employment those doing well telling those who aren't	clauses
STRATEGY – 'PERSPECTIVIZATION'	
The article has no quotations of the relevant politicians or authorities.	
STRATEGY 'INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION'	
Small wonder perhaps that	words of likelihood
Many may agree with that model Remain may win on Thursday the party I've always voted for may end up the real loser	modals (mitigation)
[..] migration policy [..] should be brought back under the control of democratically elected politicians in this country such support should be disowned by any respectable political movement one is really arguing that their local hospital should be shortstaffed to get migration levels down [..] these battles can be won a social, political and economic model that can't be changed	modals (intensification)
if we leave if we go	conditionals
Where's she been for the last few years? [the author] how can a black lefty be on the same side of the argument as Farage? And my response has always been the same? [the author] Do you believe in liberal democracy or not? Who holds power and who doesn't? [the author]	questions
I refused one is really arguing I fear for the future of the party now I'm afraid	verbs of saying (intensification)

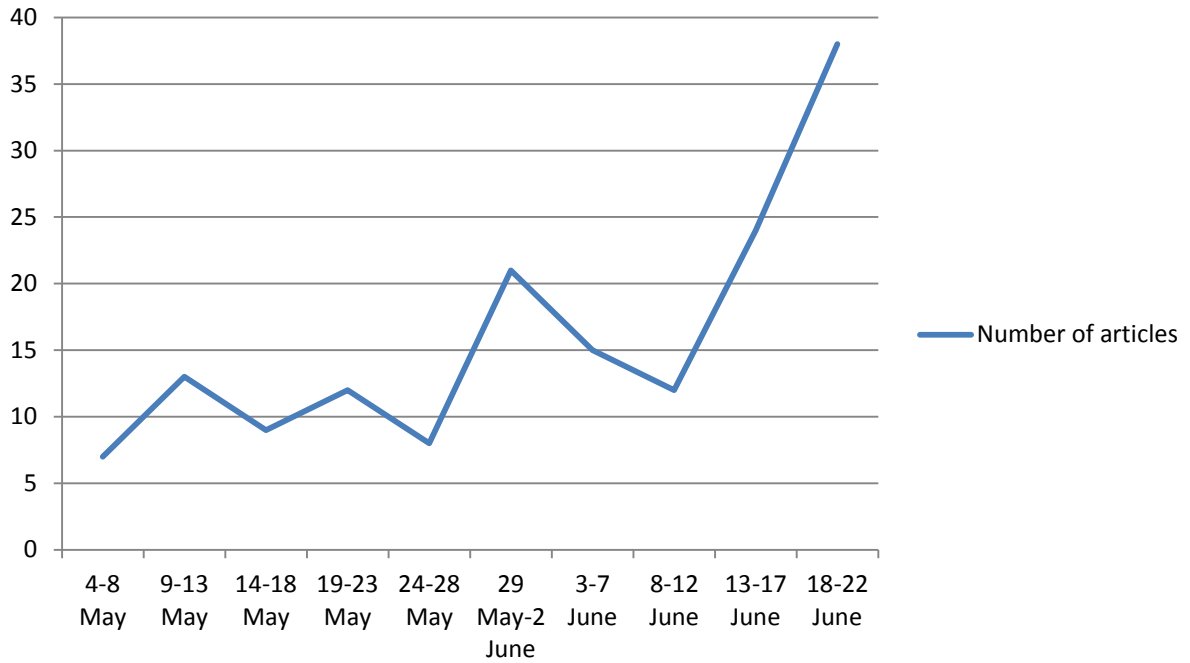
<p>Article G38 Author: Lisa O'Carroll Title: Would Europeans be free to stay in the UK after Brexit? Date: 22 June Link: https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/jun/22/will-europeans-be-free-to-stay-in-the-uk-after-brexit Number of words: 892</p> <p>Topics: the article speaks about the possible changes in the documents needed for the EU nationals to stay and work in the UK.</p>

Structure: the article is divided into three parts: ‘Claim’, ‘The reality’ and ‘Verdict’.	
Comments: the author is not present in the text.	
Stance on Brexit: the article is neutral, as the majority of it is concerned with the rights of the EU nationals living in the UK after Brexit.	
STRATEGY - ‘NOMINATION’	
‘Discursive construction of social actors’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:42)	Devices
Sionaidh Douglas-Scott/Douglas-Scott, Jane Golding/Golding, Nick Rollason/Rollason	Proper names
they/you [EU citizens], you [a country], us [the British people], she [Douglas-Scott], he [Nick Rollason]	Deictics
EU nationals, immigration lawyers, non-British EU citizens, Britons, retirees, EU citizens, British citizens, Brexiters, states, individuals, courts, everyone, EU immigrants, people, employer, new applicants, current residents, visa applicants, visa holders, numbers [people coming in the UK], non-British citizens	generalizing anthroponyms
lawyers, professor of law, expert in European law	professional anthroponyms
leave campaign/campaign/Vote Leave/group/the leave, remain side, the Stronger in Europe side, France	collective concepts
Britain. Europe	metonymy
club	metaphors
Discursive construction of Brexit	
a leave vote, the Brexit campaign, exit	nouns
leave, exit	verbs
Political issues: immigration	nouns
STRATEGY - ‘PREDICATION’	
Discursive description of social actors	
current EU citizens, potential employer leading lawyers would-be immigrants uncontrolled numbers	adjectives
British citizens living elsewhere in Europe EU citizens living in the UK	participle
the club that gives you those rights non-British citizens who had the right to live and work in the UK	clauses
those in the UK for more than 10 or even 20 years	additional information
STRATEGY – ‘PERSPECTIVIZATION’	
ProBrexit: “There will be no change for EU citizens already lawfully resident in the UK [...] These EU citizens will automatically be granted indefinite leave to remain in the UK and will be treated no less favourably than they are at present,” says Vote Leave on its official website.	quotations
Against Brexit: “All current EU citizens here would lose their automatic right to come and work in the UK. This means that living and working in the UK would be significantly more difficult after a leave vote for EU citizens, and is likely to involve restrictions and barriers in the form of permits, visas or other costs and bureaucracy,” says the Stronger in Europe side.	
Against Brexit: Leading lawyers say the leave claims are “not based in fact” and the status quo is unlikely to continue, given that immigration is so central to the leave	indirect speech

campaign.	
STRATEGY ‘INTENSIFICATION OR MITIGATION’	
is likely to involve restrictions and barriers the status quo is unlikely to continue Acquired rights are likely to relate to the right to [..]	words of likelihood
this could be applied to new applicants or even current residents applying for permanent leave to remain in the UK after Brexit could also be a challenge	modals (mitigation)
EU citizens concerned about their rights in the UK should look at applying for a registration document	modals (intensification)
If you leave the EU	conditionals
There will be no change for EU citizens already lawfully resident in the UK These EU citizens will automatically be granted indefinite leave to remain in the UK and will be treated no less favourably than they are at present [..] the Vienna convention will protect the rights of both EU citizens in the UK and British citizens living elsewhere in Europe. The rights of EU immigrants will not change overnight people will need new documentary evidence of their right to remain [..] it won't be enough just to show your passport They will want proof	Future Simple
EU nationals already in Britain would be able to stay any new immigration system would not affect the estimated 3 million non-British EU citizens already in the country this would also apply to the 2 million Britons estimated to be living in Europe All current EU citizens here would lose their automatic right to come and work in the UK. This means that living and working in the UK would be significantly more difficult after a leave vote for EU citizens [..] The wider claim made by Brexiters that the Vienna convention on the law of treaties would guarantee the continuance of rights acquired by living in a country that belongs to the EU [..] The convention [..] would have to be interpreted by the courts [..] So what would that mean for British in France? Granting permission for EU nationals to stay would have to be supported in law The rights of EU citizens living in the UK [..] would be part of the negotiation with Europe [..] It is almost certain that non-British citizens who had the right to live and work in the UK would need documentation to prove their rights beyond an exit.	“would” with a modal meaning
The leave campaign insists	verbs of saying (intensification)

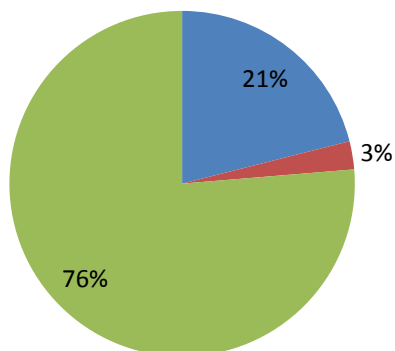
APPENDIX 2 THE RESEARCH CORPUS

Graph 3.1. The Guardian articles issued from 4 May, 2016 to 22 June, 2016 on Brexit

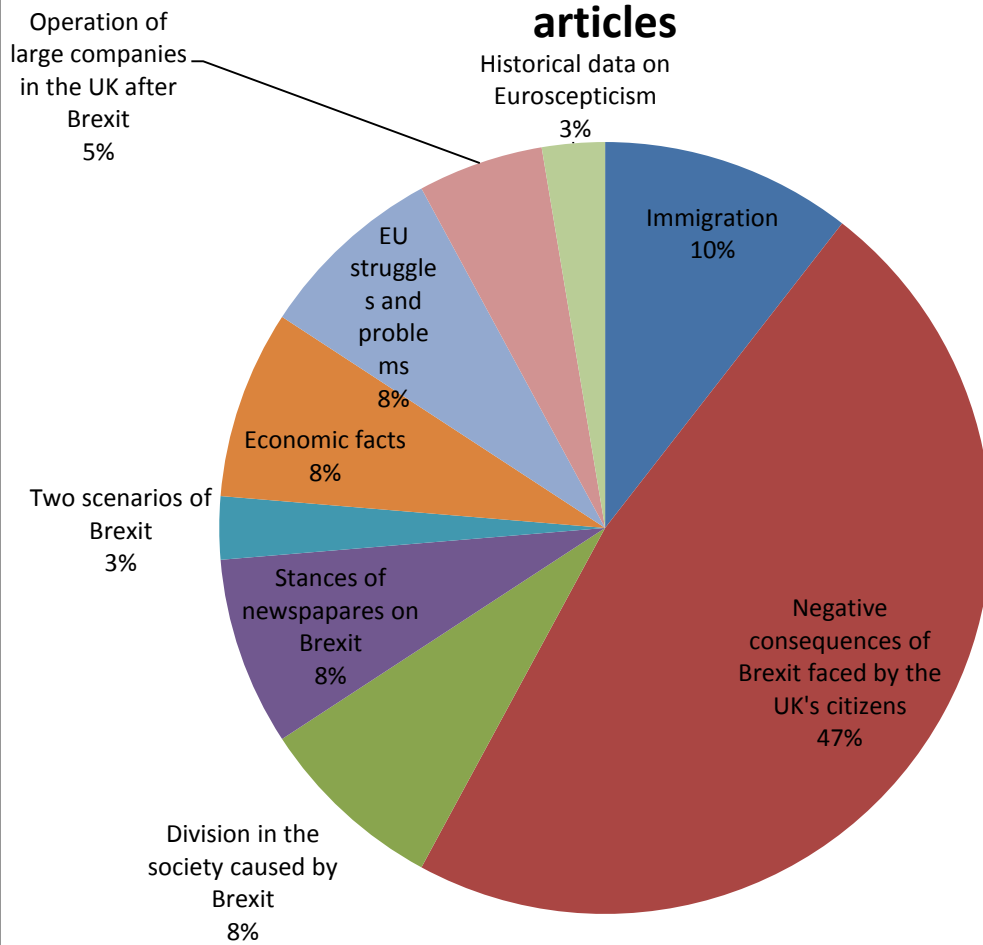


Pie Chart 3.1. Opinion

- Articles expressing author opinions (I pronoun)
- Articles said to express The Guardian view on Brexit
- Articles where that author is not identifiable in the text

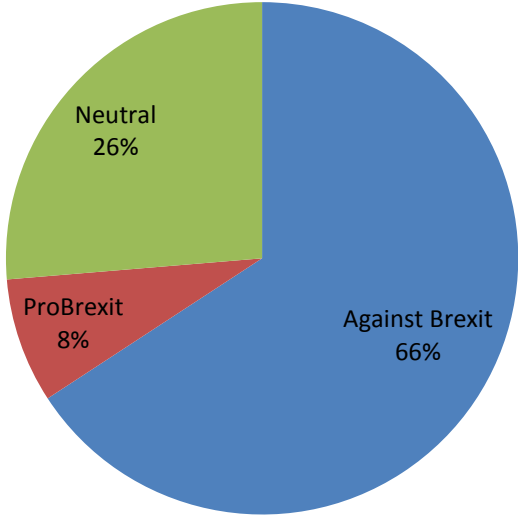


Pie Chart 3.2. Prevailing subtopics in the articles

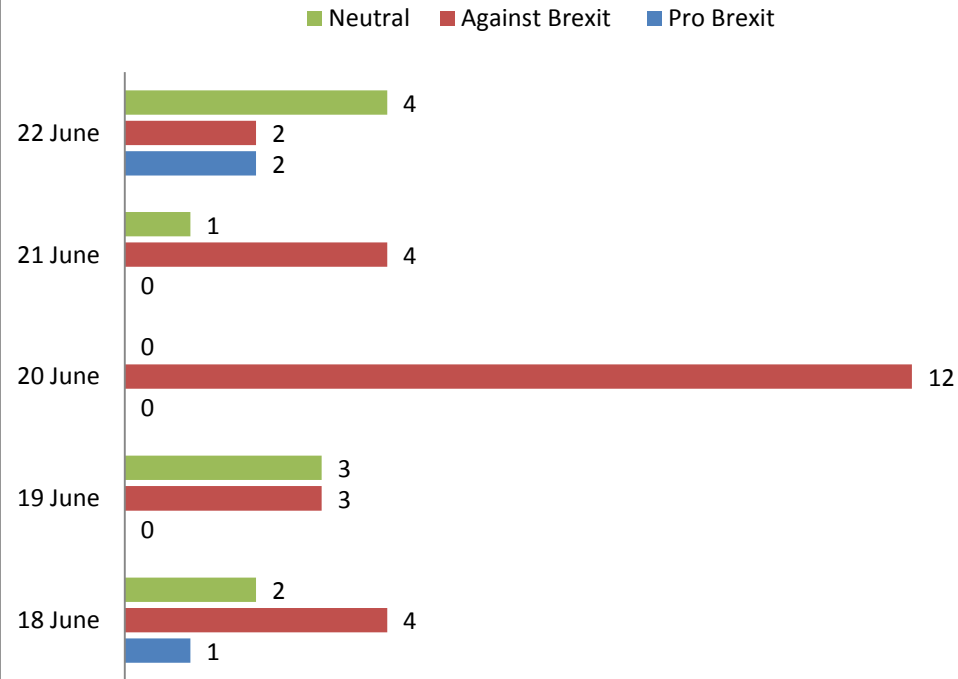


APPENDIX 3 THE IMAGE OF BREXIT

Pie Chart 3.3. Stance on Brexit by articles

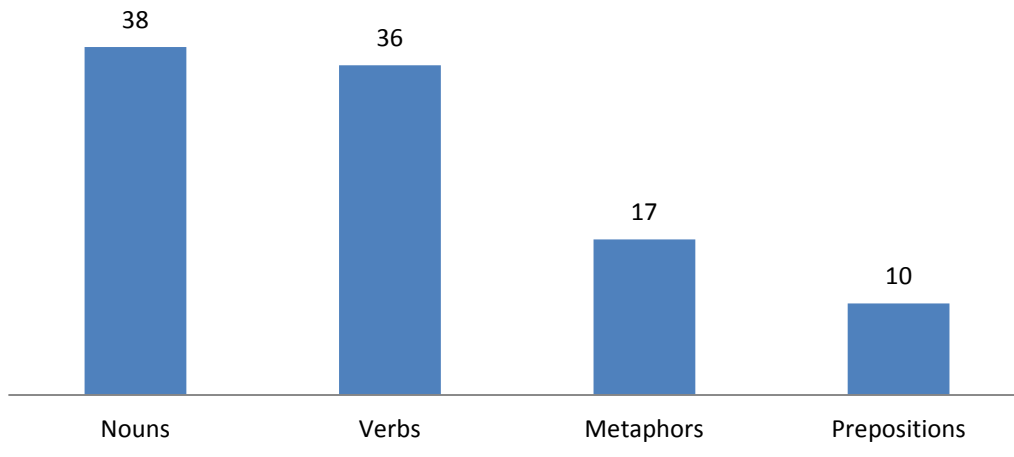


Graph 3.2. Stance of articles according to the dates they were published

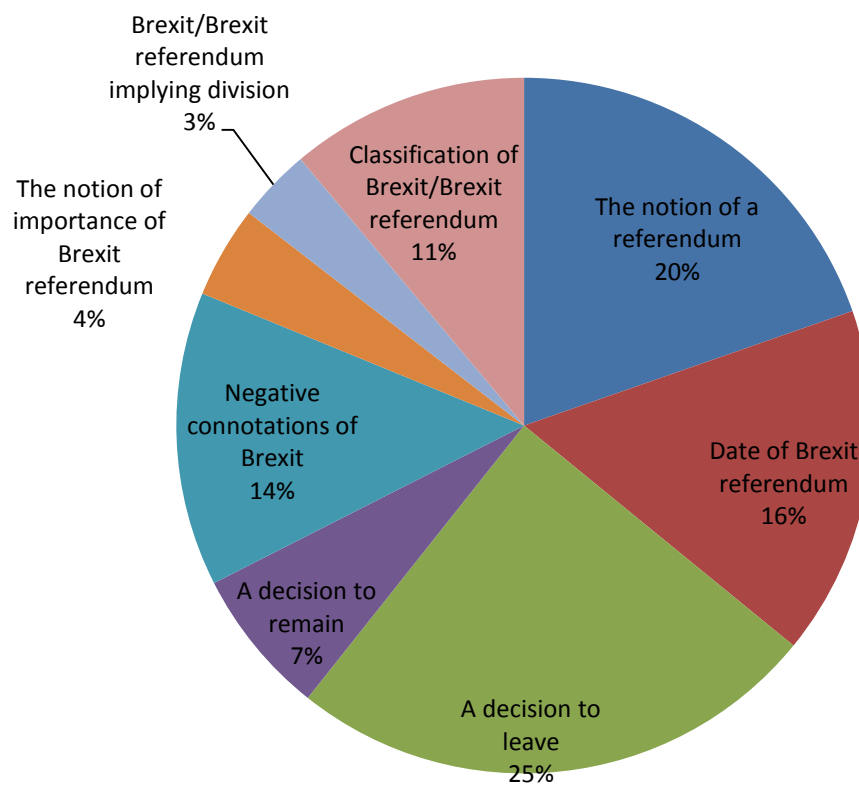


APPENDIX 4 NOMINATION STRATEGY

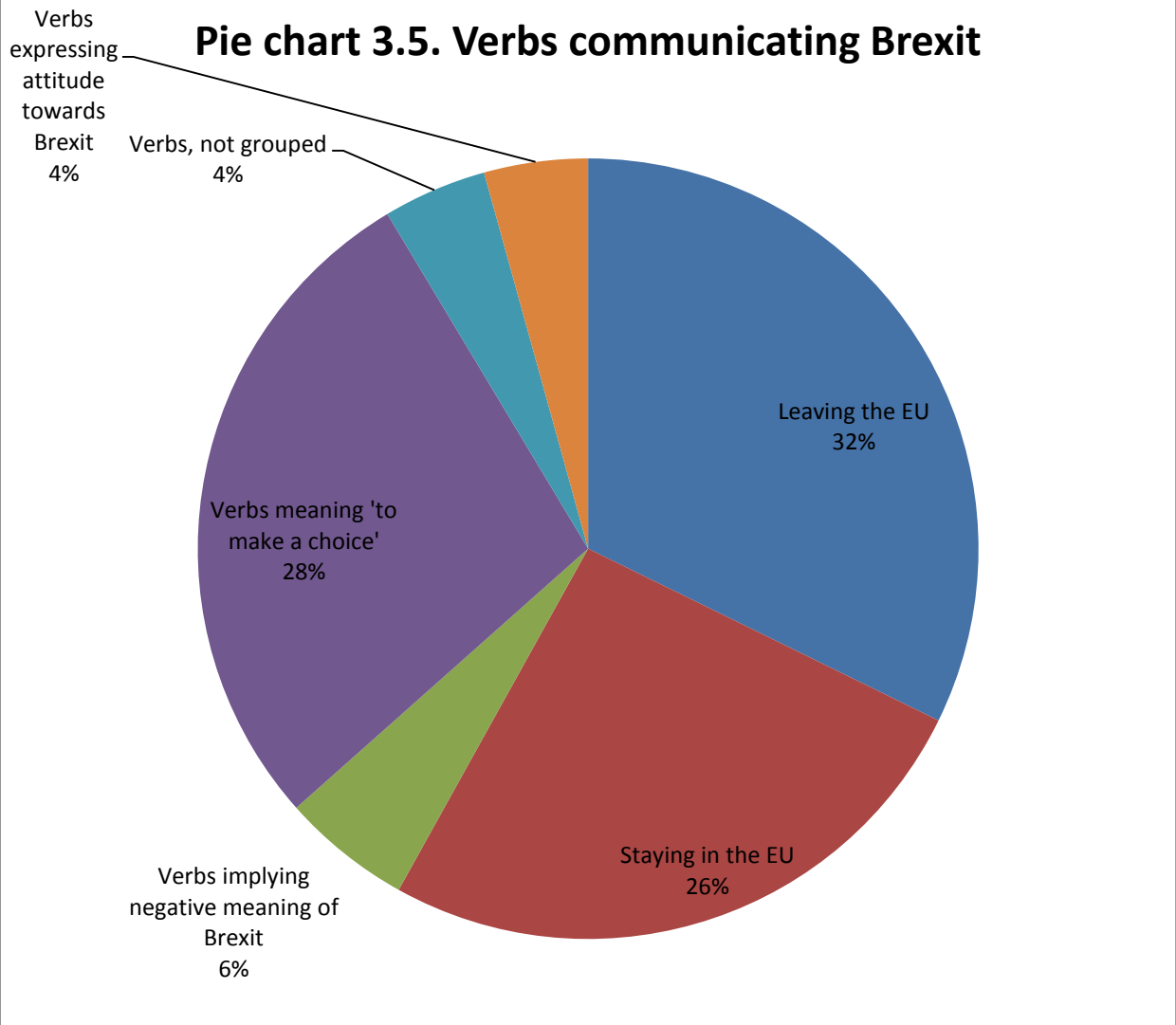
Graph 3.3. Nomination Strategy. Image of Brexit. Number of articles where the devices were used



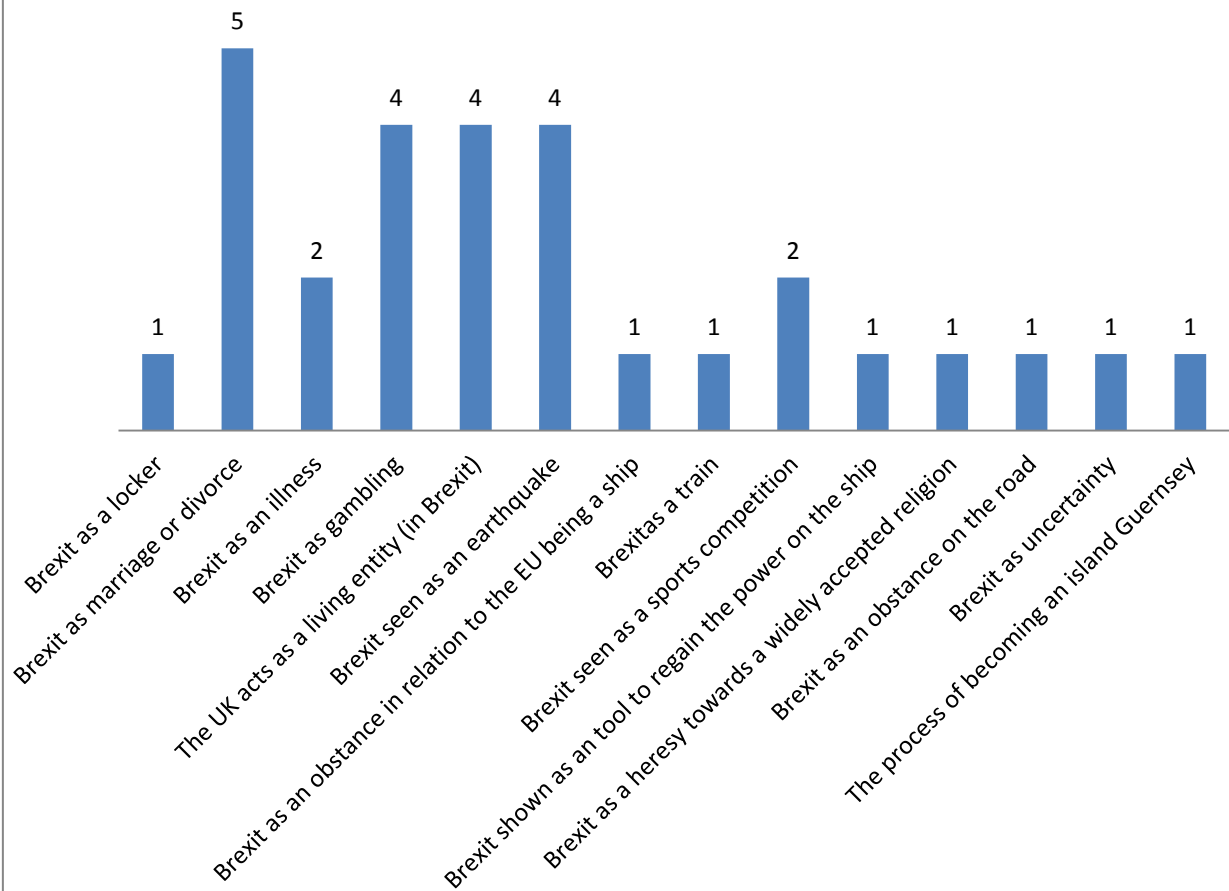
Pie Chart 3.4. Nouns constructing the image of Brexit.



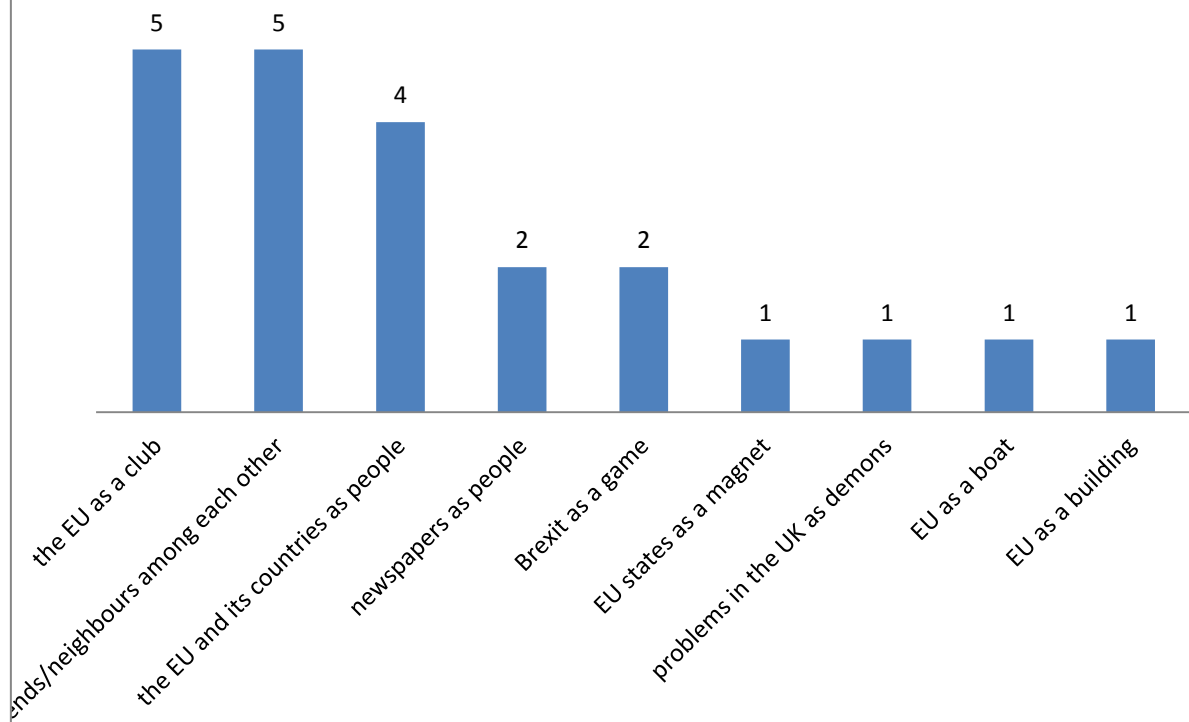
Pie chart 3.5. Verbs communicating Brexit



Graph 3.4. Brexit metaphors

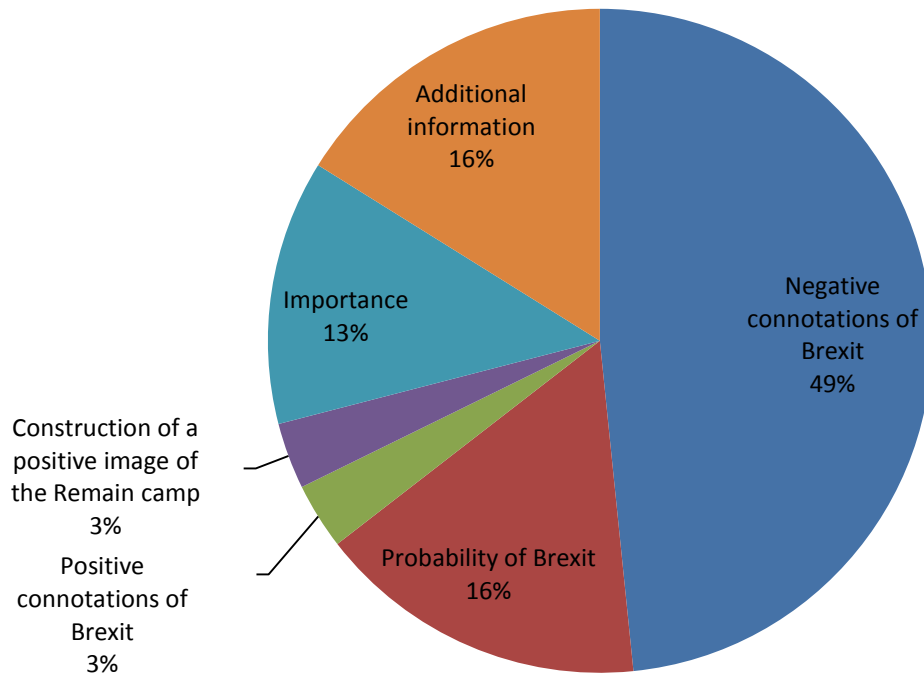


Graph 3.5. Metaphors. Nomination strategy.

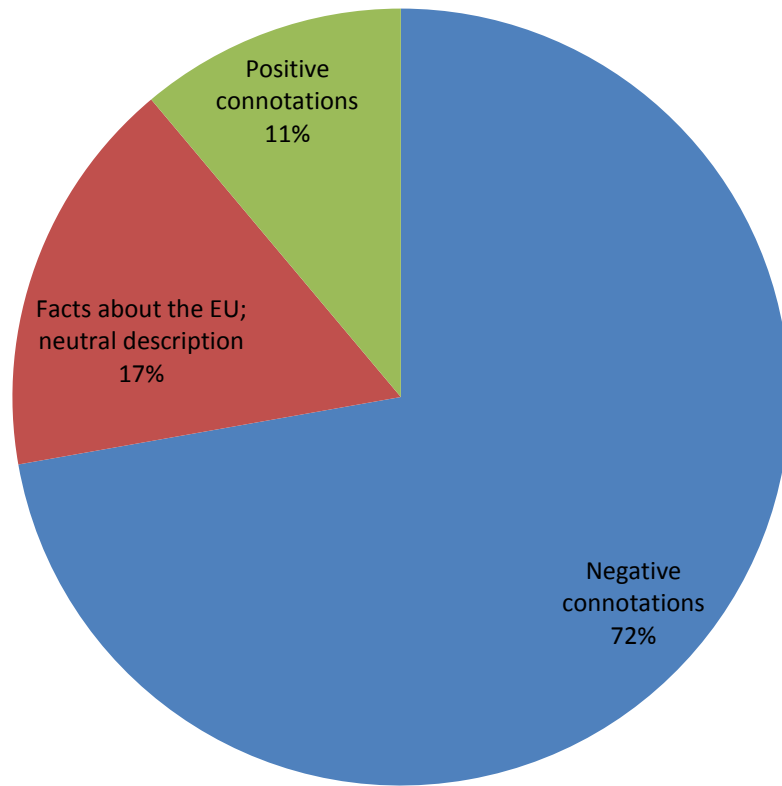


APPENDIX 5 PREDICATION STRATEGY

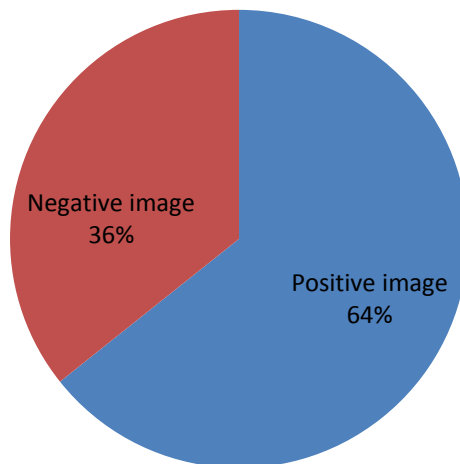
Pie Chart 3.6. Brexit image constructed by means of a predication strategy.



Pie Chart 3.7. The EU. Predication strategy



Pie Chart 3.8. The UK. Predication

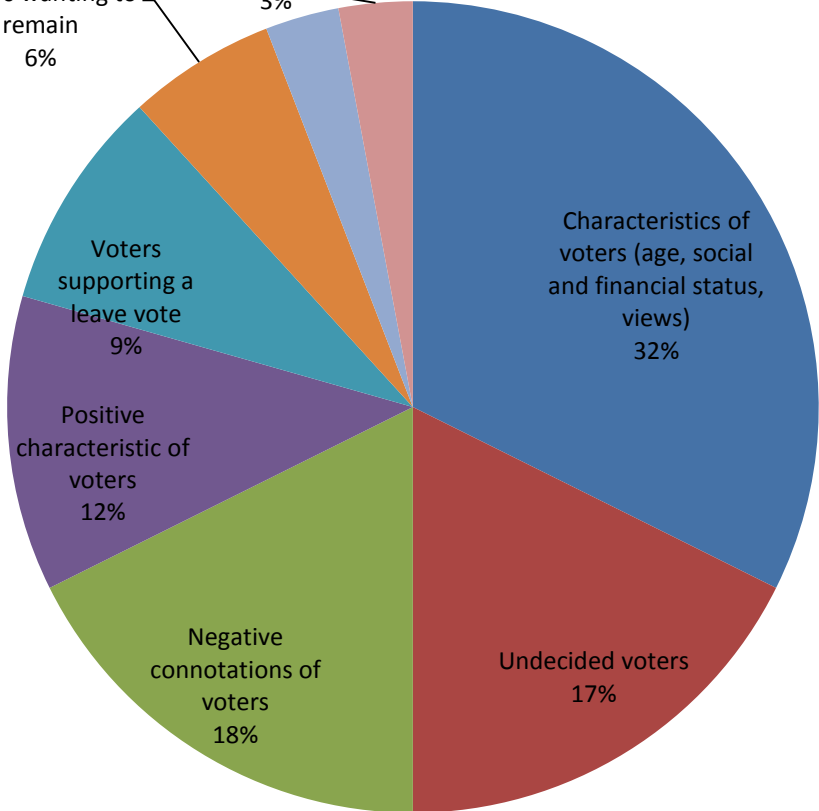


Pie Chart 3.9. Voters. Predication strategy

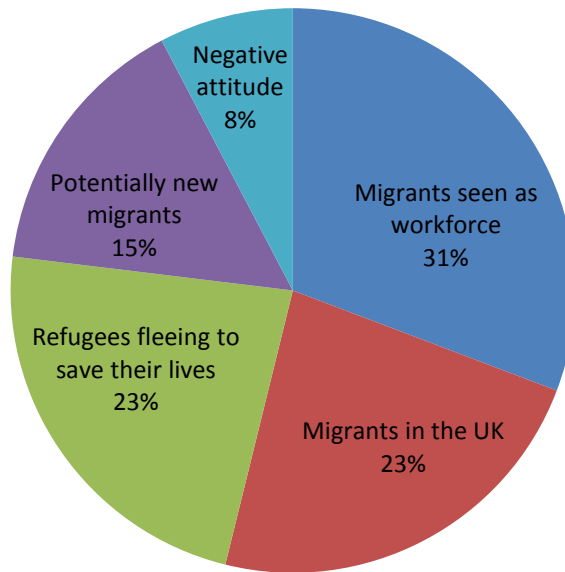
Division among voters 3%

Voters wanting to remain 6%

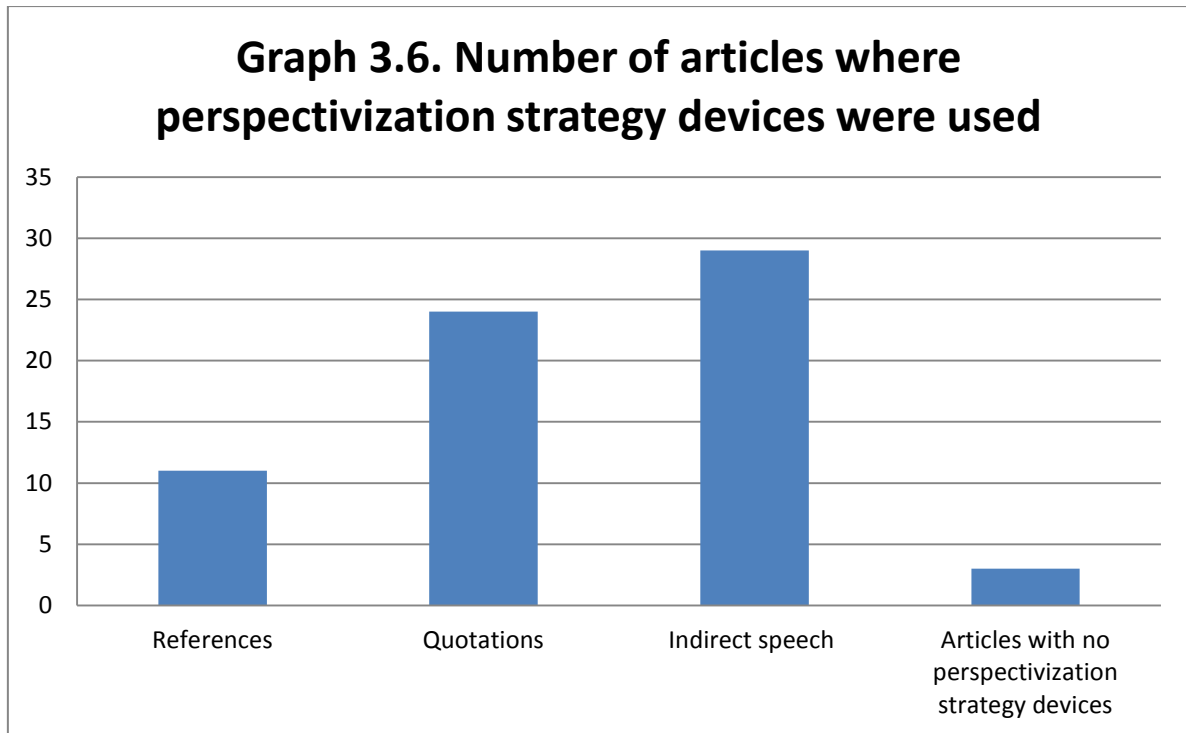
Determined voters 3%



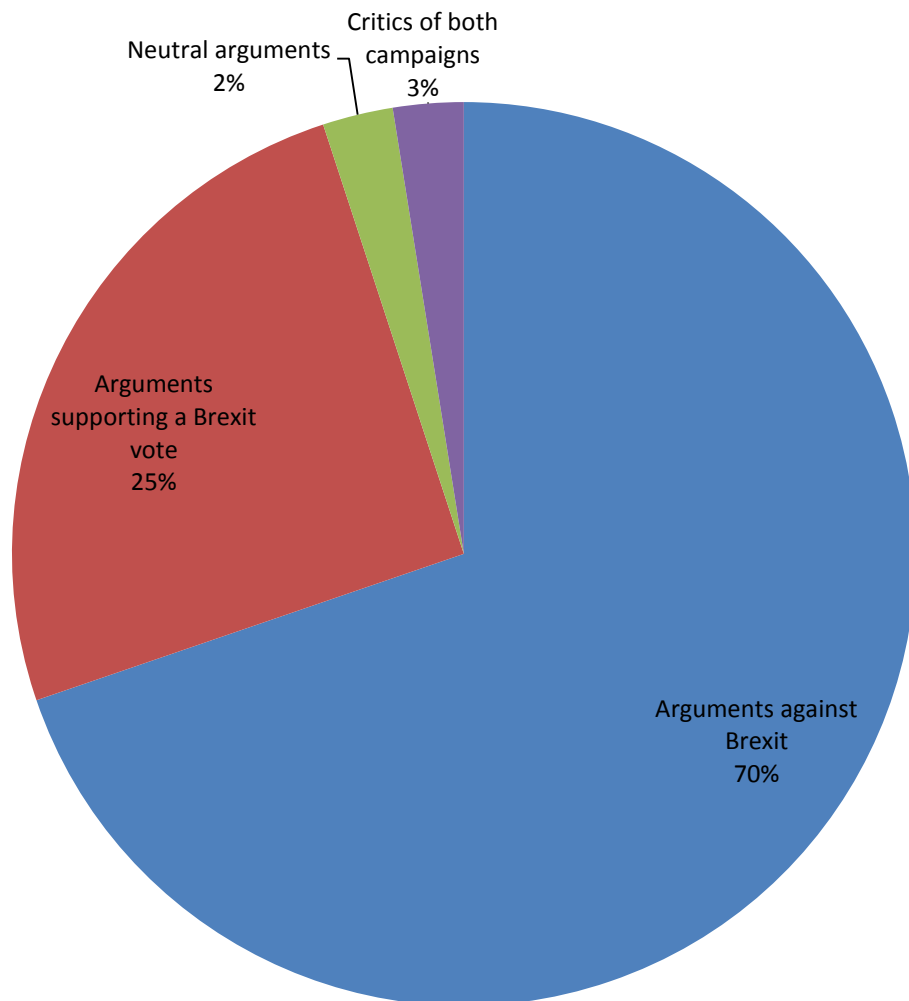
**Pie Chart 3.10. Immigrants/refugees.
Predication strategy**



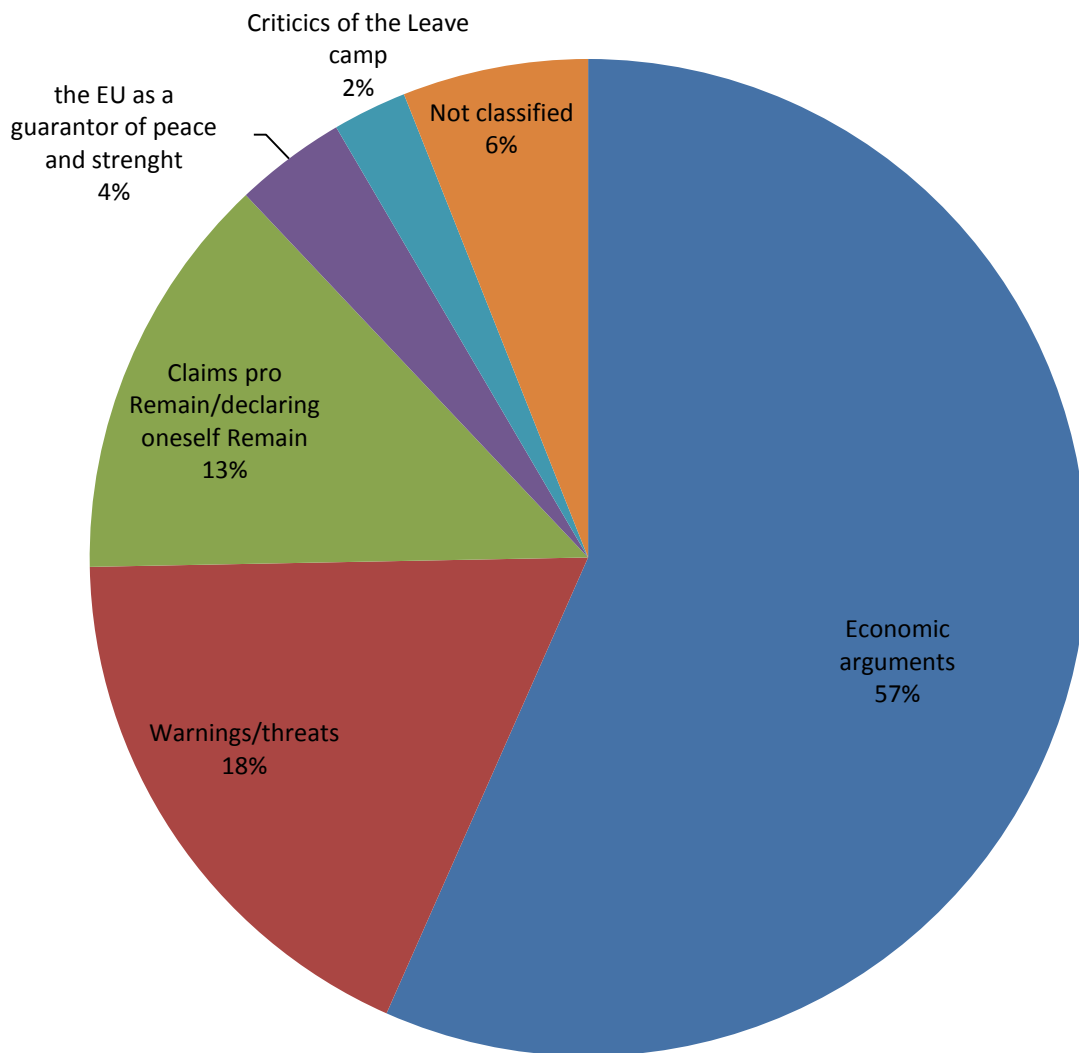
APPENDIX 6 PERSPECTIVIZATION STRATEGY



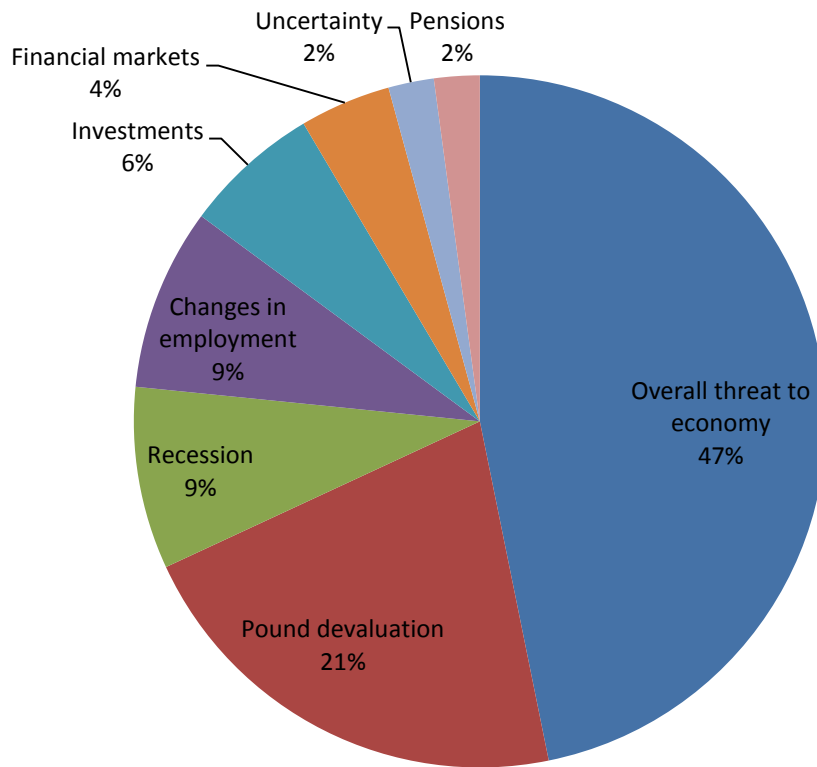
Pie Chart 3.11. Types of arguments. Indirect Speech. Perspectivization strategy



Pie Chart 3.12. Types of arguments against Brexit. Indirect speech.

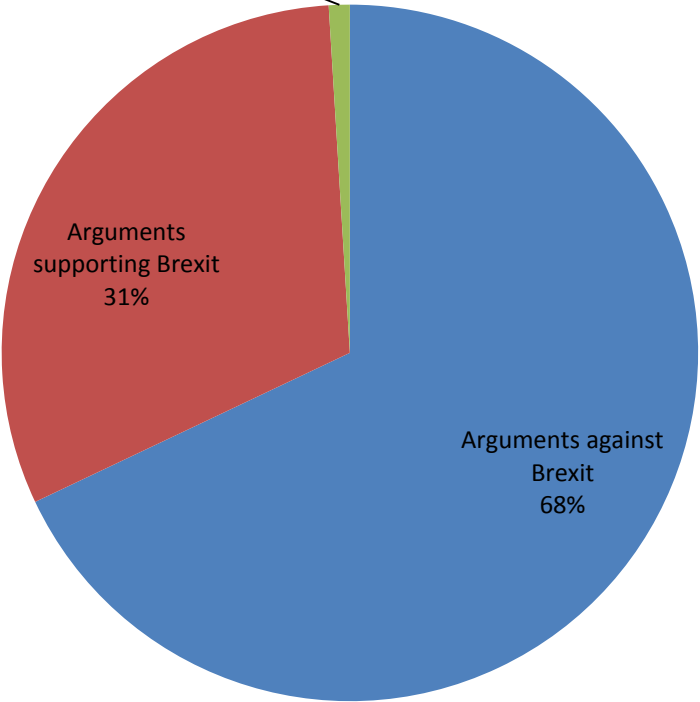


**Pie Chart 3.13. Types of economic arguments.
Indirect speech. Perspectivization strategy.**



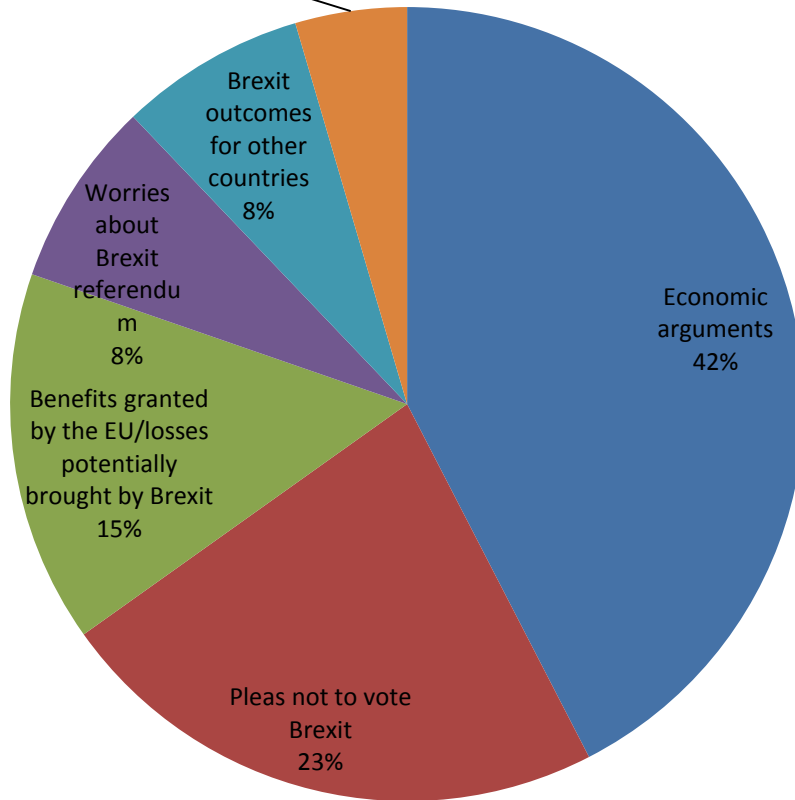
**Pie Chart 3.14. Types of quotes.
Perspectivization strategy**

Critics of both
campaigns
1%

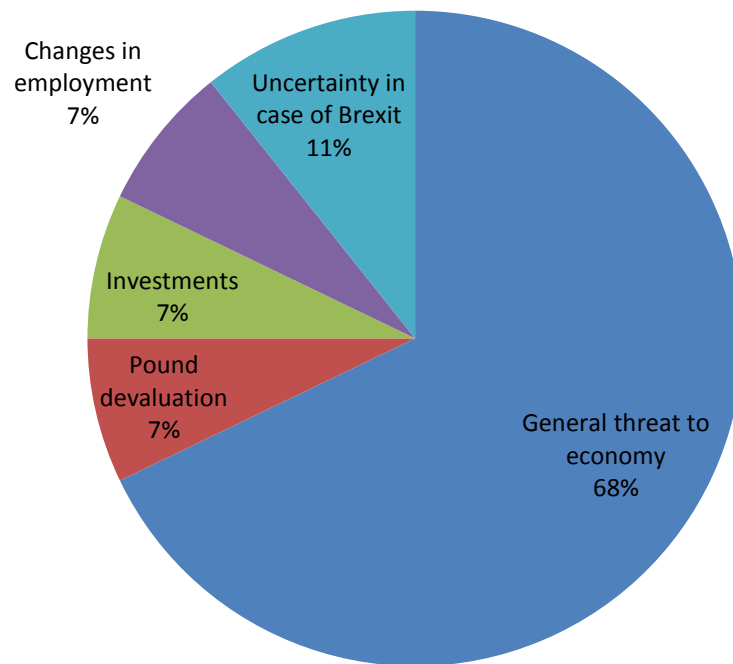


Pie Chart 3.15. Types of quotes giving information against Brexit.
Perspectivization

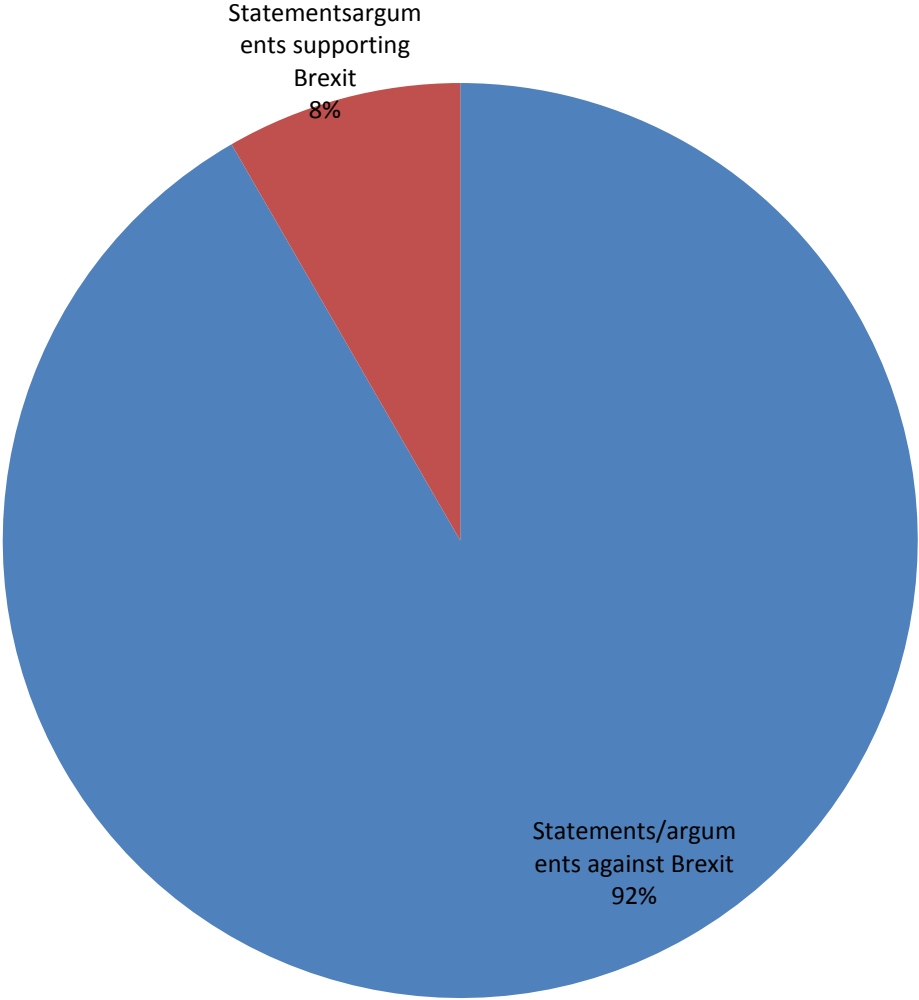
Citations of famous politicians used against Brexit
4%



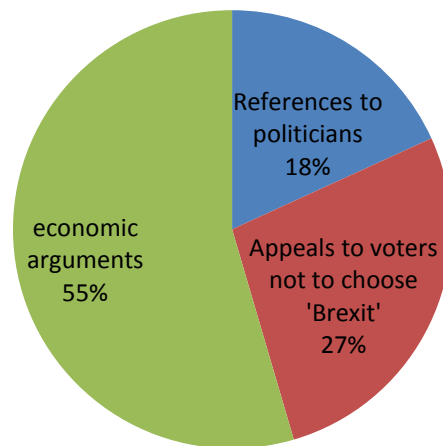
**Pie Chart 3.16. Types of economic quotes.
Perspectivization strategy**



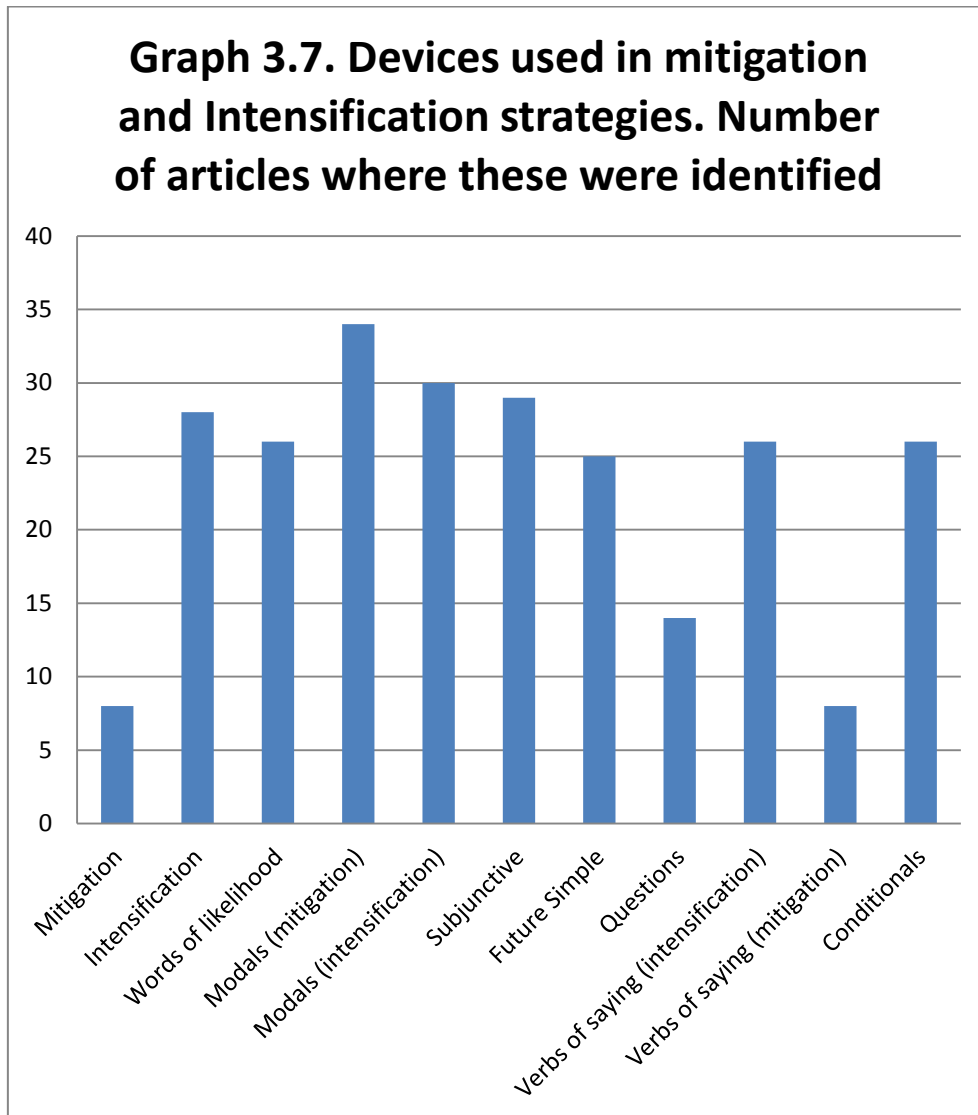
**Pie Chart 3.17. References.
Perspectivization Strategy.**



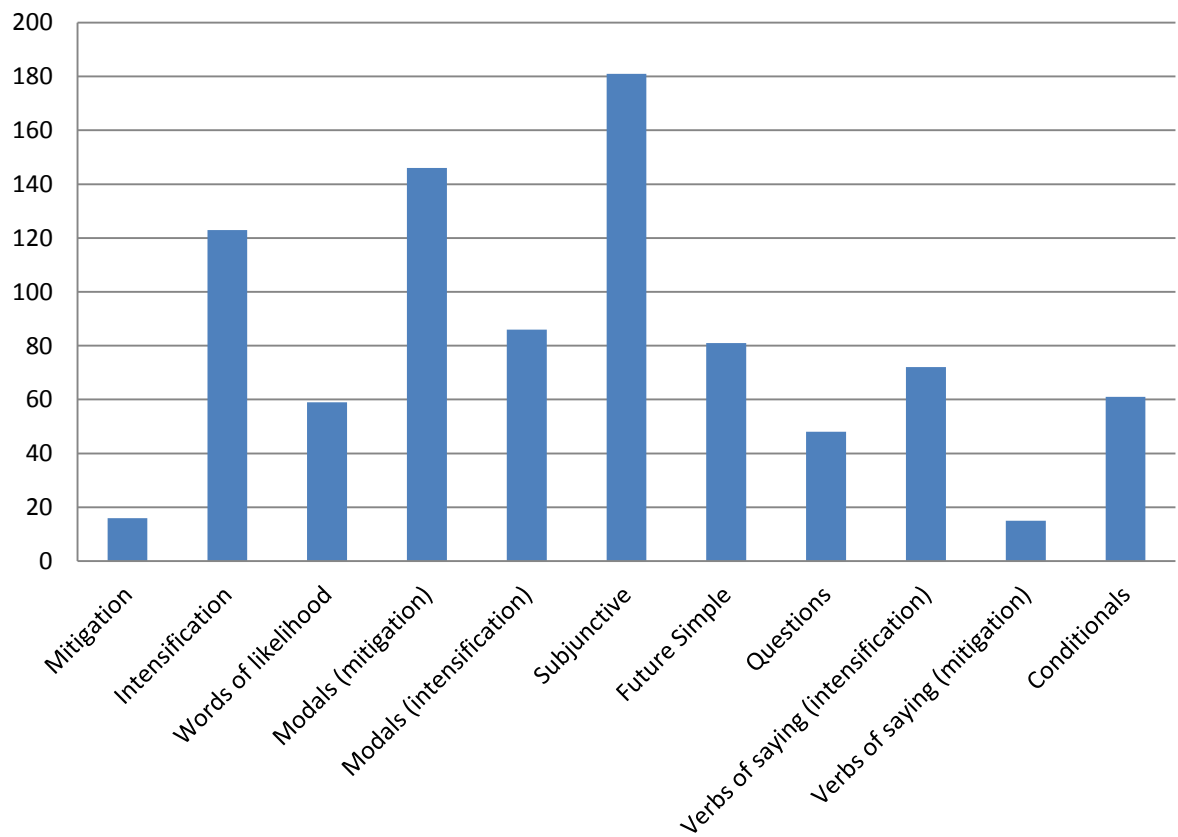
Pie Chart 3.18. Types of references used to deny Brexit. Perspectivization strategy



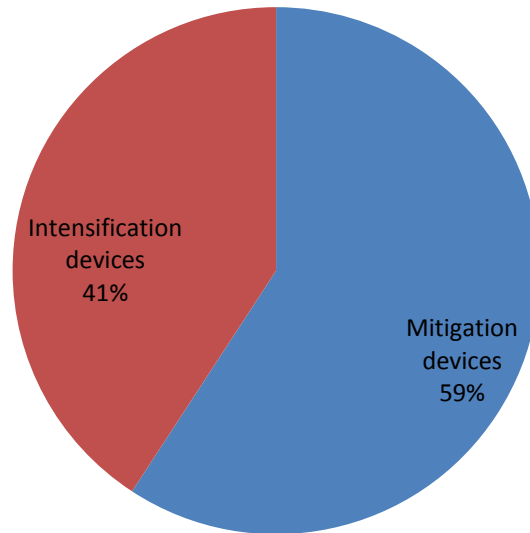
APPENDIX 7 MITIGATION AND INTENSIFICATION STRATEGY



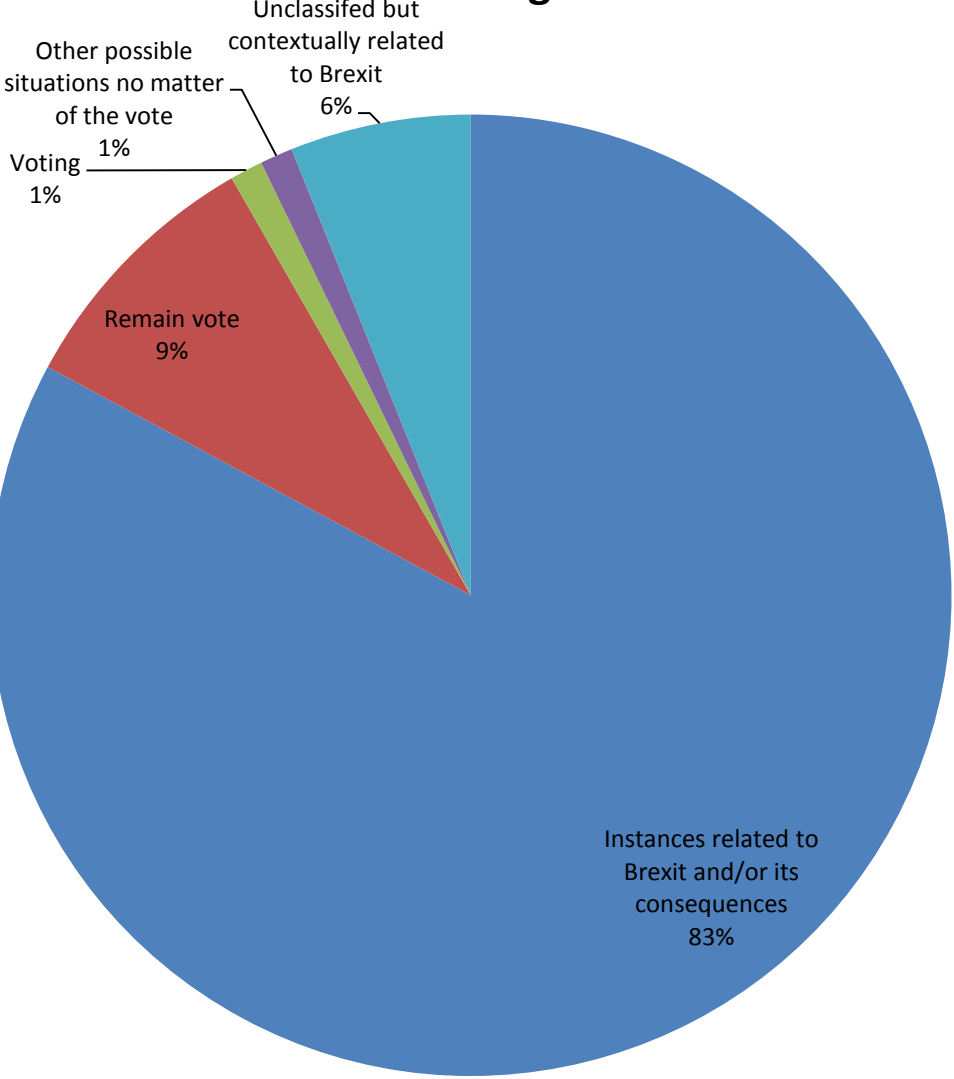
Graph 3.8. Number of instances found belonging to mitigation and intensification strategies.



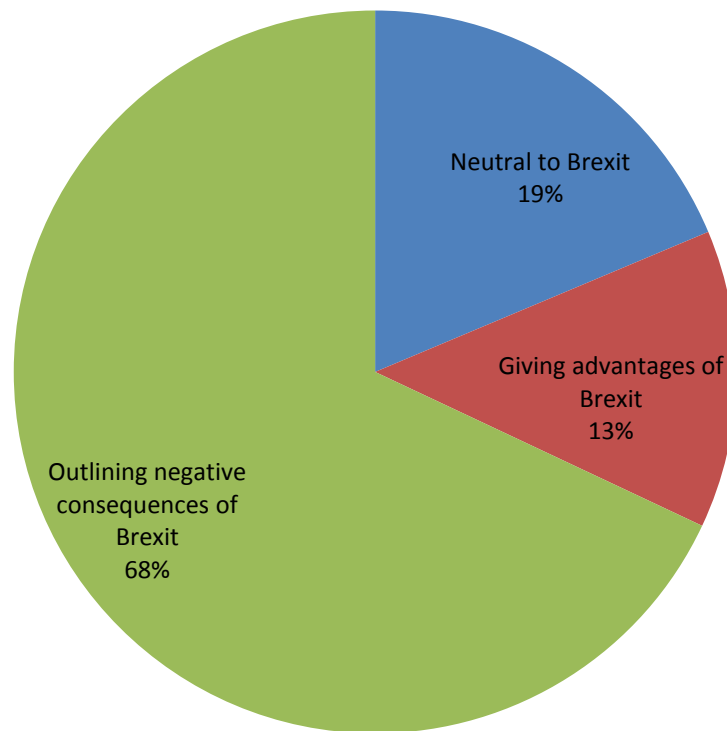
Pie Chart 3.19. Division of instances identified between mitigation and intensification strategies.



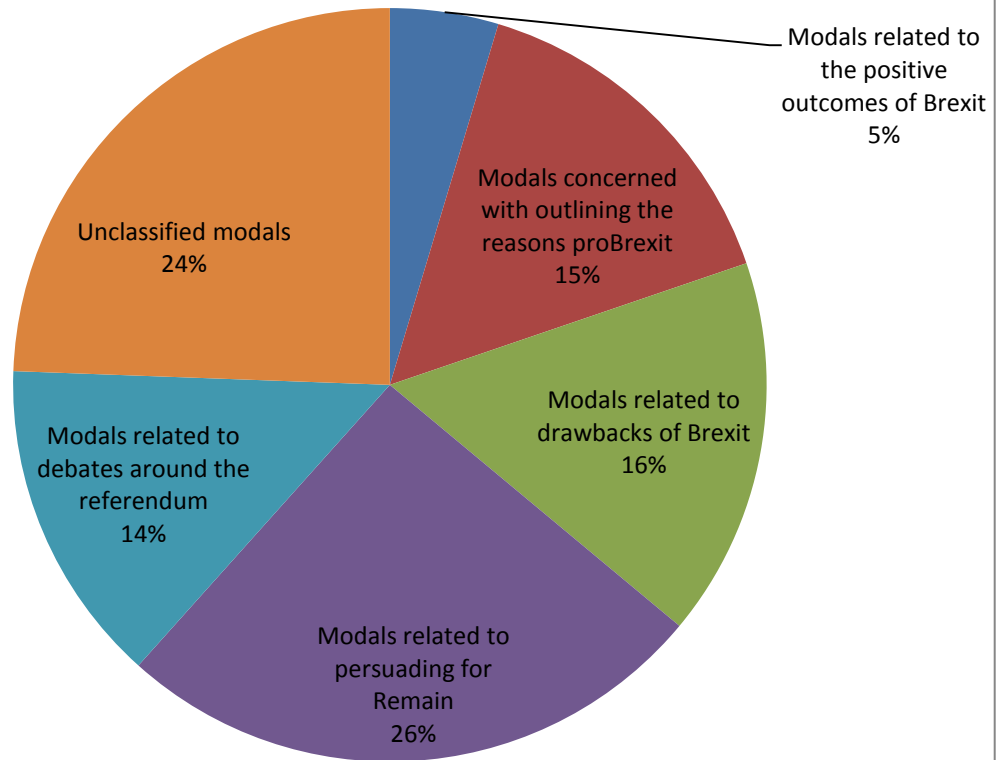
Pie Chart 3.20. The use of would with a modal meaning.



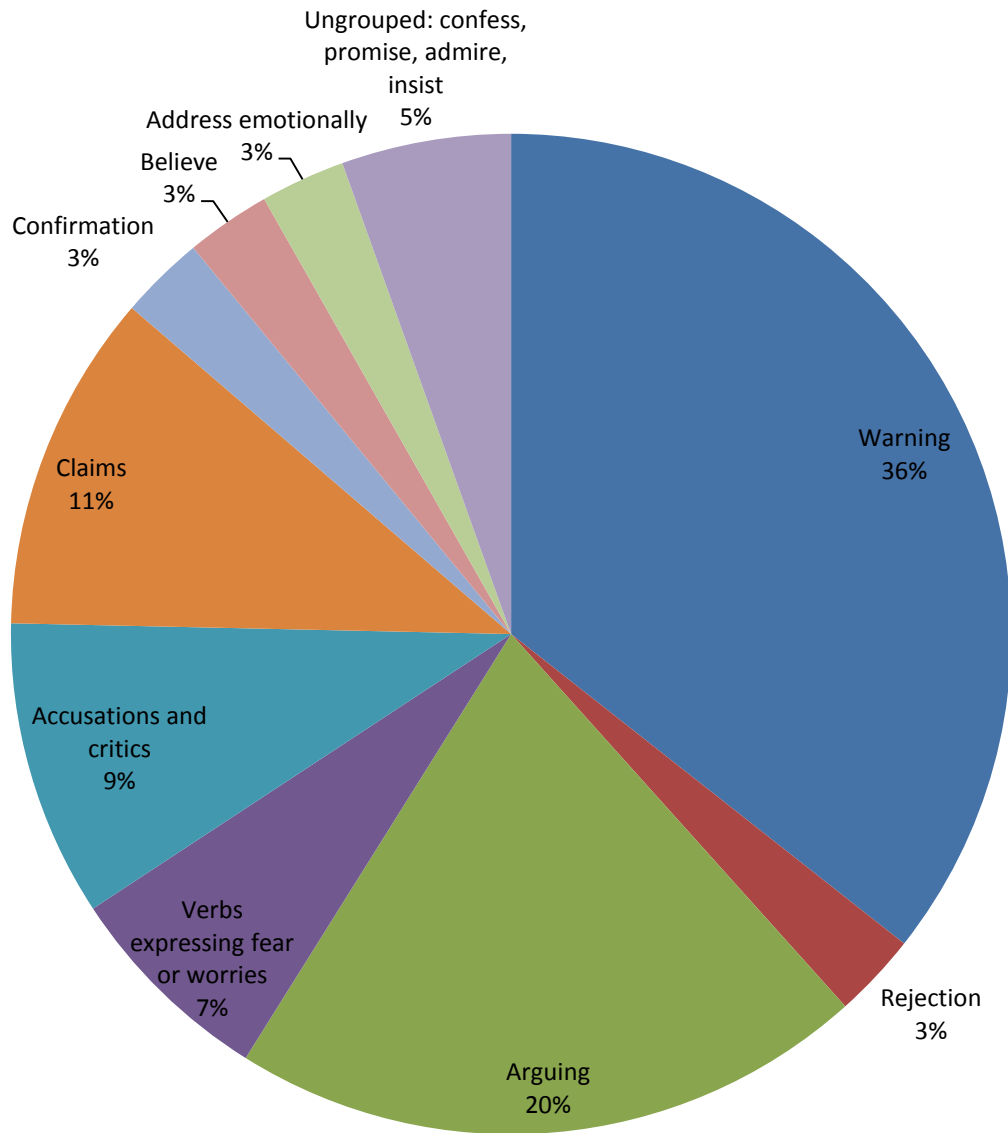
Pie Chart 3.21. The use of would with a modal meaning. Expressing attitude towards Brexit



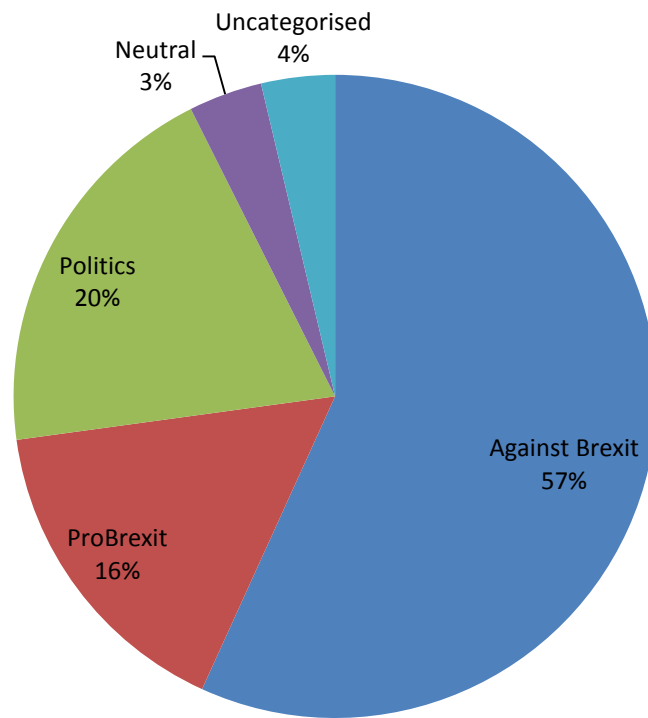
Pie Chart 3.22. Modals. Intensification strategy



**Pie Chart 3.23. Functions of verbs of saying.
Intensification strategy.**



**Pie Chart 3.24. Functions of the Future
Simple. Intensification Strategy**



Dokumentārā lapa

Bakalaura darbs „Coverage of Brexit on the Guardian Website” (Brexit atspoguļojums "the Guardian" mājaslapā) izstrādāts LU Humanitāro zinātņu fakultātē.

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22. 05. 2017.

Rekomendēju/nerekomendēju darbu aizstāvēšanai

Vadītāja: lect. Margarita Spirida

22. 05. 2017.

Recenzents:

Studiju metodiķe: Sintija Karule

Darbs iesniegts Anglistikas/Sastatāmās valodniecības un tulkošanas nodaļā 22. 05. 2017.

Darbu pieņēma:

Darbs aizstāvēts bakalaura gala pārbaudījuma komisijas sēdē

2017. gada..... jūnijā, prot. Nr., vērtējums

Komisijas sekretāre: