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In pursuit of persuasion:

Metadiscourse in David Cameron's Brexit discourse

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Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract

Tutkielmani tavoitteena on selvittää millä tavoin metadiskurssia käytetään vaikuttamisen keinona poliittisessa puheessa. Tutkielman poliittinen konteksti on vuoden 2016 kansanäänestys Iso-Britannian EU-jäsenyydestä, ja itse kokoamani korpusaineisto koostuu silloisen pääministerin David Cameronin puheista ja haastatteluista viideltä kuukaudelta ennen äänestystä. Tutkielmassani tarkastelen kuinka Cameron käyttää suostuttelussa hyväkseen metadiskurssia, mitä käytetyt metadiskurssielementit kertovat Cameronin retorisesta strategiasta ja millä tavalla puheiden retoriikka muuttui viimeisenä kuukautena ennen äänestystä. Aihetta käsitellään metadiskurssin, poliittisen puheen ja retoriikan tutkimuksen näkökulmasta.

Puheista tekemäni laadullinen ja määrällinen kielitieteellinen korpusanalyysi selvittää kuinka metadiskurssia käytetään kielellisenä suostuttelun keinona. Puheista löytämäni metadiskurssin ilmentymät on jaoteltu Hylandin (2005) luokittelun perusteella kahteen pääkategoriaan: interaktiiviseen (interactive) ja vuorovaikutteiseen (interactional) metadiskurssiin. Aineistoa analysoitiin samanaikaisesti myös Aristoteleen vaikuttamisen keinojen, eetoksen, paatoksen ja logoksen, avulla. Eetoksen tarkoitus on vakuuttaa yleisö puhujan uskottavuudesta ja luotettavuudesta; paatoksella pyritään vetoamaan yleisön tunteisiin, logoksella taas yleisön järkeen.

Tulokseni osoittavat Cameronin käyttävän metadiskurssia edistääkseen puheidensa eetosta, paatosta ja logosta. Interaktiivisen metadiskurssin avulla puhujat organisoivat tekstinsä, millä on vaikutus tekstin logokseen. Vuorovaikutteinen metadiskurssi taas auttaa luomaan eetosta ja paatosta. Eetosta rakennetaan itseviittauksilla (self mentions), vahvistuksilla (boosters), varauksilla (hedges) sekä direktiiveillä (directives), kun taas paatoksen välineinä puhujat käyttävät asennemarkkereita (attitude markers), inklusiivista me-muotoa (inclusive we), retorisia kysymyksiä ja eksplisiittisiä viittauksia yleisöön.

Tulokseni osoittavat myös Cameronin retorisessa strategiassa tapahtuneen tilastollisesti merkitseviä muutoksia viimeisen kampanjointikuukauden aikana. Cameron esimerkiksi lisäsi metadiskurssipartikkeleiden käyttöä molemmissa pääkategorioissa.

Tutkielmassani esitän uuden kielitieteellisen tavan tarkastella poliittista puhetta ja vaikuttamisen keinoja sekä osoitan metadiskurssin olevan tärkeä osa retoriikkaa. Tutkimus osoittaa myös menetelmäni sopivan muiden suostutteluun pyrkivien genrejen analysointiin. Vertailtaessa tuloksiani esimerkiksi kirjoitettuun akateemiseen diskurssiin käy ilmi, että puhuttu poliittinen diskurssi on metadiskurssin osalta todella rikasta.

Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords
Metadiskurssi, poliittinen diskurssi, suostuttelun keinot, retoriikka, korpustutkimus, puheet, David Cameron, Brexit, EU, retoriset keinot, vaikuttaminen

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He who wants to persuade should put his trust not in the right argument, but in the right word. – Joseph Conrad

1. Introduction

On BBC's Question Time, four days before the United Kingdom's European Union membership referendum took place, a member of the audience pointed out her frustrations about the upcoming vote to David Cameron, then Prime Minister. "What I don't understand is – with all these experts that you've got saying we should stay in – why isn't the British public more convinced? Why is Brexit in the lead?" she asks, "and it's so frustrating when [we] really want you to get the point across that we should stay in and it's just not getting through to people" (BBC 2016b). Four days later, Britain votes to leave the European Union and Cameron, one of the loudest advocators of remaining in the EU, resigns from his post.

Indeed, the campaign had been accused of scaremongering and even labelled as 'Project Fear' numerous times during its four-month run. Cameron himself claimed to be making a thoroughly positive case for staying in the European Union, but the crowds seemed to disagree. To all intents and purposes, his whole discourse had somehow been miscommunicated.

Language plays a vital role in the political process (Schäffner 1997: 1), and it is "the primary mode of communication in the gentle arts of persuasion" (Charteris-Black 2011: 2). However, political speech is not only about communicating the core of a message to the audience, but also about expressing attitudes towards what was said as well as constructing and negotiating social relations. Understanding this balance can shed light on the persuasive strategies employed. In order to do this, I will, in this thesis, look at the use of metadiscourse markers in political discourse. I will do this by analysing actual linguistic data and then suggesting how the specific forms speakers select contribute to the rhetorical strategies used in the text.

The aim of my study is to find out which types of persuasive appeals Cameron relied on, and whether Cameron changed his rhetorical strategy as the accusations of scaremongering increased. The framework I am using is Hyland's (2005a; 2005b) model of interactive and interactional metadiscourse combined with Aristotle's classical rhetorical theory (i.e. the three modes of persuasion: *logos,*

pathos, and *ethos*). My materials consist of a small corpus of Cameron's public spoken discourse on the EU referendum which I will then comb through using both quantitative and qualitative methods. My research questions are:

- Which modes of persuasion did Cameron rely on in his Brexit discourse?
- Were there changes in Cameron's discourse in terms of rhetorical strategies as the referendum drew near?
- Was the discourse characterized by a strong emotional appeal?

The structure of the study will be as follows: In the next chapter, I will present the political context and theoretical background of my work alongside previous studies conducted in the fields of political rhetoric and metadiscourse. The third chapter focuses on my materials and method. The fourth chapter presents the results and my analysis of them. The fifth chapter includes a discussion of the trends found in Cameron's discourse and how the linguistic elements contributed to the overall persuasiveness of the texts as well as a comparison of my results with previous metadiscourse studies in other genres. Finally, I conclude my study with a summary of my findings and their implications to the study of metadiscourse, political discourse and persuasion.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Political context

The UK's European Union membership referendum took place on the 23rd of June 2016. The referendum itself was a simple vote, where the only question on the ballot paper was "Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?", and the answers "Remain a member of the European Union" and "Leave the European Union". The result was an overall vote to leave the EU with 51.9% of the voters siding with leaving (Electoral Commission 2016).

The referendum was first promised to be held by Cameron in January 2013. Then, he promised that should the Conservatives win a parliamentary majority in the 2015 general election, the UK government would renegotiate Britain's terms of membership in the EU before holding an in-out referendum (Prime Minister's Office

2013). Following the Conservative win, protracted renegotiations of the current conditions of Britain's membership in the EU took place at a summit in Brussels in February 2016, after which Cameron announced that a referendum would be held and that he would side with the Remain campaign (Prime Minister's Office 2016a). In Cameron's words, the new membership conditions would have given Britain "a special status in the European Union", and the deal consisted of three main points: that Britain would be permanently out of an 'ever closer union', there would be new restrictions on EU migrants' access to the British welfare system, and that Britain would never join the euro or the Schengen no-border zone (Prime Minister's Office 2016b). These reforms would have only taken effect if the UK remained in the EU, and Cameron repeatedly used these three points as arguments that the UK's status would be enhanced if they chose to stay in the 'reformed' EU.

It seems that the vote could have swung either way as polls throughout the first half of 2016 showed the British public relatively evenly divided on the matter. Poll trackers such as Bloomberg's 2016 Brexit Watch Indicator[1] and NatCen Social Research's 2016 Eurotrack[2], the latter presented below in Figure 1, show both the Leave and Remain camps in a neck-and-neck race with only a difference of 6% between them on 25 April 2016, in the middle of the campaign. Figure 1 also shows the number of 'don't know' answers even as high as 20% in the beginning of the campaign.

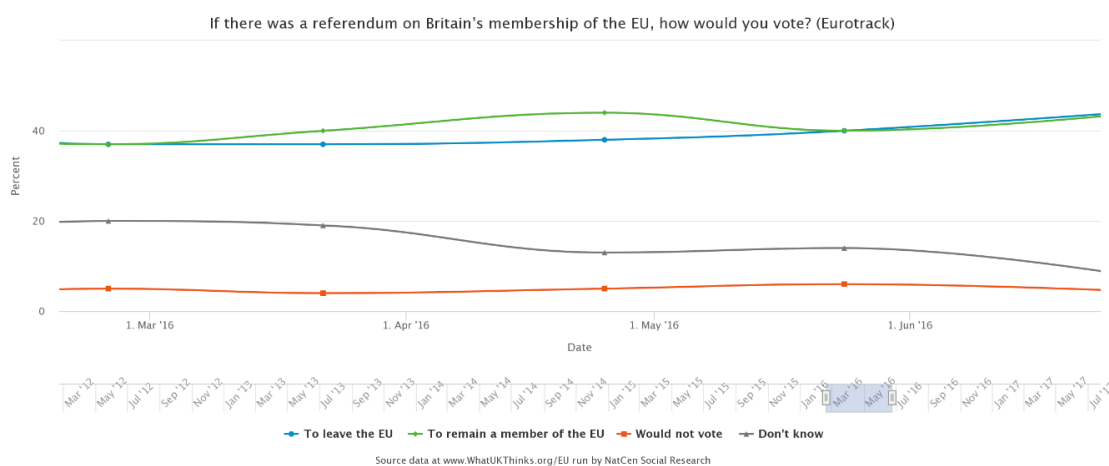

Figure 1. Eurotrack poll results between 19 February 2016 and 23 June 2016.

[1] Interactive data set available through: <https://www.bloomberg.com/graphics/2016-brexit-watch/> [Accessed 4 Oct 2017].
[2] Interactive data set available through: <https://whatukthinks.org/eu/questions/if-there-was-a-referendum-on-britains-membership-of-the-eu-how-would-you-vote-2/> [Accessed 4 Oct 2017].

Moreover, the poll trackers clearly show the number of voters in favour of leaving steadily rising and sometimes even surpassing the Remain camp as the referendum drew near. Indeed, by 11 June 2016, a YouGov (2016) poll showed 42% for remaining, 43% in favour of leaving, and 11% for 'don't know'. These numbers indicate that the Remain campaign's core message was not working in the way intended, and there still was a great deal of undecided voters who had to be persuaded. It is worthwhile to speculate that by the beginning of the final campaigning month, the ineffective rhetorical strategy of Cameron's discourse had to be changed in some way in order to better convince Remainers to stay on their side, and to persuade Leavers and undecided voters to join them.

However, the campaign failed in doing so, even though the high stakes should have motivated the Remain camp to be as persuasive as possible. The consequences of the vote were uncertain and severe not just for the UK, but for Cameron personally as well. A few hours after the results were announced on 24 June 2016, Cameron's six-year premiership abruptly ended when he resigned as Prime Minister because of the referendum outcome (Prime Minister's Office 2016c).

Admittedly, Britain's relationship with the European Union has been "often uneasy" (Oliver 2015a: 409), and characterized by "an insular mentality, a history of strained relations, a pragmatic – rather than ideological or visionary – approach, and frustrations at the EU's apparent lack of ability to respond to global events" (Oliver 2015b: 78). Originally, Britain joined the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973, but held their first referendum on continued EEC membership only two years later. The result was to continue EEC membership by a 67% majority, but Britain's relationship with the EU has been a topic of debate ever since – by March 1980, polls showed that 71% of the public supported a withdrawal (Oliver 2015b: 81). Of course, this suggests that the reasons and motivations that led to the decision to leave the European Union were manifold and complicated, mulled over throughout decades, but there is also reason to speculate that the persuasive strategies the Remain campaign (and Cameron as their spokesperson) implemented, somehow failed.

Indeed, there was negative feedback on the campaign's communicative style even as events were unfolding. As the voting day approached, the pro-EU campaign was quickly renamed by those on the opposing side as Project Fear. This name denotes the alleged scaremongering and pessimism employed by those in favour of

remaining in the EU. In February 2016, Cameron himself tried to rebrand the campaign as Project Fact (Stewart & Asthana 2016). This attempt to change the perspective did not succeed. On BBC's Andrew Marr Show just 11 days before the voting day, the namesake host commented to Cameron: "I'm suggesting to you that somehow the tone has been got badly wrong. People are not listening […] and it's beginning to sound a bit as if your campaign is kind of 'vote to stay or the puppy gets it'" (BBC 2016a).

The term scaremongering implies that the Remain campaign's – and Cameron's – persuasive tactic was to appeal to a sense of fear, which would indicate that the discourse was characterized by a strong emotional appeal. This is a common rhetorical strategy and one of the classical modes of persuasion, which I will turn to next.

2.2. Persuasion and the study of rhetoric

Persuasion can be limited to "all linguistic behavior that attempts to either change the thinking or behavior of an audience, or to strengthen its beliefs, should the audience already agree" (Virtanen & Halmari 2005: 3). It is a deliberate attempt to influence another person (Perloff 2010: 12). In order to do this, persuaders employ mechanisms that are largely linguistic phenomena, i.e. words, symbols, imagery, and emotion (Yeager & Sommer 2012: 1). Persuasion is also closely connected to the study of rhetoric, and Charteris-Black (2011: 13) notes that the concepts are practically inseparable because all definitions of rhetoric necessarily include the idea of persuasion.

Contemporary studies of rhetoric still refer to the three modes of persuasion introduced in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. Aristotle argues that persuasion can be achieved, firstly, by the speaker's personal character when the speech convinces the audience to consider him credible (*ethos*). Secondly, persuasive texts have to stir the audience's emotions (*pathos*). Thirdly, the speech itself needs to "prove a truth or an apparent truth by means of persuasive arguments suitable to the case in question" (Book 1, Chapter 2) (*logos*). Various later researchers of political rhetoric have expanded on the idea, one of which is Virtanen & Halmari's (2005: 5–6) summary:

- *Ethos*, the personal appeal of one's character, which concerns the character of the speaker and their credibility, believability, reliability and competence.

- *Pathos*, the affective appeal to the emotions of the audience, which focuses on creating a certain disposition in the audience.

- *Logos*, the appeal to the rationality and logic of the audience, which also concerns the speech itself, its arrangement, length, complexity, types of evidence and arguments.

Researchers have approached the issue of how persuasion is embedded in political discourse in various ways, and identifying general principles that shape effective message design has been a recurring interest in rhetorical studies (O'Keefe 2011: 117). Previously, academics have looked at lexical frequencies, rhetorical questions, appeals to authority and logic, superlatives and "nice numbers", poetic aspects such as alliteration, vocatives, personal pronoun use, and humour (Halmari 2005). Charteris-Black (2011: 9–12) suggests that politicians can also appeal to their audiences through the use of, for example, three part lists, contrastive pairs, biblical allusion, sarcasm, irony, and metaphors.

Naturally, studying all of these in a single paper would be impossible, which is why I had a narrower view and only focused on how persuasive linguistic behaviour can be realized through the use of metadiscourse. In previous academic works (such as Crismore & Farnsworth 1989; Dafouz-Milne 2008; Hyland 2005a), metadiscourse has been linked to classical Aristotelean rhetoric and has proven to be a relatively suitable approach to studying persuasion descriptively. The details of this framework will be introduced in the next section.

2.3. Metadiscourse

Language is not only used to communicate propositional content but also to convey subtler relationships between speakers, their texts, and audiences. Speakers and writers use linguistic features to comment on their own texts, to shape them into coherent wholes according to the expectations of their readers, and to address their audiences and build relationships with them (Hyland 2005b: 174).

One of the various theoretical approaches to studying this phenomena is **metadiscourse**. According to Hyland (2005a: 16–25), metadiscourse is an umbrella term that covers "an apparently heterogeneous array" of both textual and interpersonal features of language which help in relating a text to its context. Essentially, the term refers to linguistic elements that are not propositional content, i.e. metadiscourse deals with content concerned with the text and its reception, whereas propositional content is concerned with the world.

At its core, metadiscourse serves a functional purpose in language, which in metadiscourse studies refers to "how language works to achieve certain communicative purposes" (Hyland 2005a: 24). Moreover, it is a pragmatic phenomenon because these communicative purposes have to be recognised in order to properly identify metadiscourse as many linguistic items can be, depending on their context, either metadiscursive or merely propositional.

Because of this functional approach, previous researchers have used Halliday's (1971) functional theory of language as underlying theoretical support for metadiscourse analysis. Within his Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) framework, Halliday's three broad metafunctions of language are:

- *The ideational function*, through which speakers embody in language their ideas and experience of the real world; the expression of content.
- *The interpersonal function*, through which speakers express their comments, attitudes and evaluations as well as the relationship they have with their audience.
- *The textual function*, through which speakers create their texts, organize it and relate what is said to the outside world and to readers in a coherent way.

(Halliday 1971: 90–93)

Previous researchers, such as Vande Kopple (1985: 86–87) and Hyland (2005a: 26), categorize the ideational function to correspond to propositional content. This leaves us two functions, the interpersonal and the textual, that metadiscourse markers realize. First, **interactive metadiscourse**, which coincides with the textual metafunction, is concerned with organizing the discourse and managing its information flow. Interactive metadiscourse reflects the speakers' arrangement of their message and their attempts to make it more 'reader-friendly'. Crismore (1989: 4) argues that it is the textual function that "makes discourse possible" as features

fulfilling the textual function create a text – without them, texts would only be groups of randomly arranged sentences.

The second category, **interactional metadiscourse**, coincides with the interpersonal dimension, which, according to Crismore (1989: 4), maintains and establishes human relationships. In other words, interactional metadiscourse is more concerned with how writers explicitly comment on and evaluate their messages (i.e. convey *stance*), and how they attempt to address the reader personally (i.e. convey *engagement*).

Academic discussions on metadiscourse raise a few issues with the concept. Firstly, the problem with studying functional meanings lies with the way the three different functions are interrelated to one another. Halliday (1971: 96) argues that it is futile to try to "assign a word or construction directly to one function or another". Vande Kopple (2012: 40–41) expands on the theme of multifunctionality by noting that in some sentences some forms may fulfil more than one function within a text. He argues that this shows that meanings expressed through metadiscourse are so finely nuanced that researchers have to be careful when examining "linguistic elements, meanings, and probable effects of those meanings within particular contexts".

Secondly, the core weakness of metadiscourse is that the linguistic items that can be used to organize discourse, the speaker's stance towards it, or towards their audience are so diverse and numerous that the attempts to classify and describe it are as wide-ranging. Indeed, there is still no clear consensus about the term 'metadiscourse' and what it contains or should contain (Ädel 2006: 167–168). The concept is hard to pin down exactly, and this shows in academic discussion. Hyland (2005a: 16) characterizes metadiscourse as a "fuzzy" term, and there has been much dispute about the definitions of metadiscourse markers. Moreover, these issues mean that it is impossible to capture every writer intention or interpersonal feature in a text, and every list of metadiscourse markers will only be partial (Hyland 2005a: 31).

Perhaps due to this vagueness about the term and its classifications, various frameworks and models of metadiscourse currently exist (e.g. Vande Kopple 1985; Crismore 1989; Mauranen 1993; Hyland 2005a). Some previous researchers (such as Fuertes-Olivera et al. 2001) have also expanded and elaborated on these taxonomies by combining and omitting categories according to their own research needs. Some

of them, such as Mauranen (1993) do not include the interpersonal aspect in their models at all and thus limit their model to Halliday's (1971) textual metafunction. Ädel & Mauranen (2010: 2) call this approach to metadiscourse the 'reflexive' or 'non-integrative' model, whereas the more encompassing model that includes both the textual and interactional is the 'interactive model', under which Hyland's (2005a) work falls. In this study, I follow the latter.

Despite the disagreements about the terms and category boundaries, metadiscourse theory can be a potent analytical tool for analysing discourse when researchers adopt a clear functional approach, are consistent in their categorizations, focus solely on explicit textual devices, and review possible metadiscourse markers in their context (Hyland 2005a: 28–37). Hyland (2005a: 27) also suggests metadiscourse to be an open category to which new items can be added according to the needs of the context. This notion allowed me to construct my own metadiscourse categorization, although it is heavily based on taxonomies proposed by Hyland (2005a; 2005b) and Hyland & Jiang (2016b). The details of my framework will be explained in the following subsections and section 3.2.

Previous studies have proven metadiscourse to be a useful method in the analysis of various types of texts. Popular topics of study have been academic discourse (Intaraprawat & Steffensen 1995; Hyland 1998, 1999; Gillaerts & van de Velde 2010; Carrió Pastor 2016), differences in L1 and L2 English (Ädel 2006), business discourse (Gillaerts & van de Velde 2011; Ivorra Pérez 2014), media discourse (Dafouz-Milne 2008; Makkonen-Craig 2011), advertising slogans (Fuertes-Olivera et al. 2001), opening statements in historical criminal trials (Chaemsaithong 2014), and even Darwin's *Origin of Species* (Crismore & Farnsworth 1989). However, there have not – to my knowledge – been conclusive studies on the way metadiscourse markers occur in political discourse. So, another aim of this study is to find out how Hyland's (2005a; 2005b) and Hyland & Jiang's (2016b) frameworks perform when studying a genre so different from academic texts.

Despite the vast range of topics, the common theme of the studies mentioned above appears to be the study of persuasive discourse. Indeed, Crismore (1989: 4) notes that metadiscourse is a "social, rhetorical instrument which can be used pragmatically to get things done". Later studies seem to support this view. For

example, in her study of newspaper texts, Dafouz-Milne (2008) found that her informants considered texts with a balanced number of interactive and interactional markers the most persuasive, and texts with a low index of metadiscourse markers less persuasive. Furthermore, Fuertes-Olivera et al. (2001) pointed out that both interactive and interactional metadiscourse helped copywriters to construct persuasive advertising slogans. All in all, the results of these studies indicate that metadiscourse is an effective way of studying persuasion in various different genres. I will go into the details of the theory in the following subsections.

2.2.1. Interactive metadiscourse markers

Interactive resources are tools that help speakers and writers manage their text's information flow, organize its propositional content, and guide their audiences through them. The subcategories include transitions, frame markers, evidentials, code glosses, and endophoric markers. (Hyland 2005a: 44–49)

In short, **transitions** include conjunctions and logical connectors that link arguments together, helping the reader to interpret the relations between the writer's thoughts. They signal different types of connections within the text, including additives (*and, furthermore*), causals (*therefore, in conclusion*) and adversatives (*however, but, similarly*) (Hyland 2005a: 50).

Frame markers are used to sequence and label different text parts (*first, then, in sum, to introduce, well*) and explicitly announce discourse goals (*my purpose is, I hope to persuade*). In short, they refer to discourse acts and sequences within the text, whereas **evidentials**, in Hyland's framework, refer to information external to the text. For example, evidentials such as *X states* and *to quote X* provide supportive arguments from outside sources. Next, **code glosses** are used to provide additional information, explanations and elaborations (*for example, in other words, this means*). Finally, **endophoric markers** are used to refer to information in other parts of the text (*see Table 1, as noted below*). (Hyland 2005a: 51–52).

Interactive metadiscourse markers play an essential role in delivering a coherent, cohesive and logical message. However, they are not mere text-organizing devices, but their usage depends on the speaker's knowledge of their audience: their understanding capabilities, previous knowledge on the subject, and needs for

interpretive guidance. The relationship between interlocutors also plays an important role. (Hyland 2005a: 49–50)

2.2.2. Interactional metadiscourse: stance and engagement

Interactional metadiscourse markers involve speakers commenting and intruding on their message – in other words, signifying to their audience how they relate, on one hand, to their propositional content, and, on the other, to their hearers. The goal is to voice their own views and to involve their audiences in the discourse (Hyland 2005a: 49–52). Interactional metadiscourse can be further divided into two subcategories: stance and engagement (see Figure 2) (Hyland 2005b). They are introduced in more detail below.
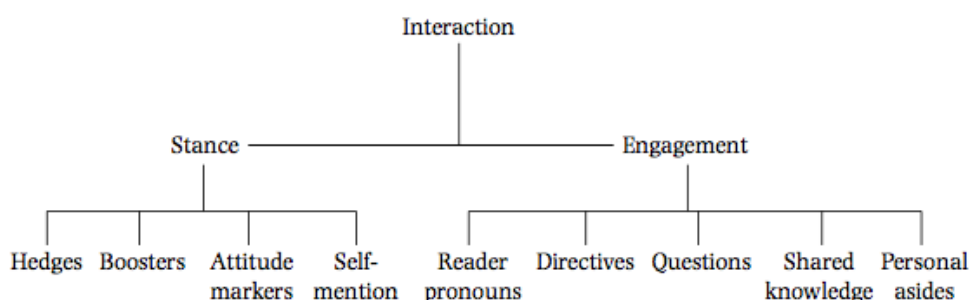
Figure 2. Hyland's (2005b: 177) model of stance and engagement markers.

This particular model of stance and engagement has mainly been used in analysing academic discourse (Hyland 2005b; Hyland & Jiang 2016b; Kuhi & Seyed-Piran 2014), but also to study how online conversations exhibit stance and civic engagement in response to Nigerian terrorist attacks (Chiluwa & Odebunmi 2016). Considering this range of different types of discourse, it should lend itself to the study of political texts as well.

Hyland (2005a: 129) notes that lately there has been "a growing interest in the evaluative and interactive features of language", i.e. those that writers and speakers use to communicate personal assessments and feelings. These frameworks concerned with the language of 'evaluation', as Hunston & Thompson (2000) call it, largely use overlapping terms to describe similar phenomena. The same terms, such as 'evidentiality' (Palmer 1986), 'stance' (Biber 2006), 'affect', 'attitude', and 'engagement' (Martin & White's 2007) have been used abundantly before, so it

should be noted that in this study I relied only on Hyland's (2005a; 2005b) definitions of the terms.

Stance

Stance refers to ways writers present themselves in their texts and "convey their judgments, opinions, and commitments" (Hyland 2005b: 176). It denotes authorial presence and expressing a personal textual 'voice'. Hyland (2005b: 178) regards stance as the *writer-oriented features* of interaction, which refers to the ways writers "comment on the possible accuracy or credibility of a claim, the extent they want to commit themselves to it, or the attitude they want to convey to an entity, a proposition, or the reader". Taking a stance cannot be avoided, and presenting a self is central to the writing process. Stance encompasses three main components: *evidentiality*, *affect*, and *presence* (Hyland & Jiang 2016a: 256).

Firstly, *evidentiality*, in Hyland's (2005b) model, refers strictly to the use of **hedges** and **boosters** and how they help speakers state their commitment to the reliability of the propositions they present and their possible effect on their hearers. Hedges are used to withhold full commitment to propositions, to mitigate the message impact, or to distance the writer from their text. This is done through adverbs (*perhaps, maybe, almost)*, epistemic modal verbs *(might, may),* and prepositional phrases *(in my view, in general*). They signal that the speaker is willing to recognize alternative viewpoints and admit that their message is an opinion rather than a fact. In contrast, boosters – a mix of adverbs (*of course, clearly)* and modal verbs *(must)* – indicate that the speaker is not willing to negotiate their message. They are used to express certainty and head off conflicting views. (Hyland 2005a: 52–53)

Secondly, *affect* refers to a range of personal attitudes towards what is said. This is achieved through **attitude markers**, which include elements that convey the writer's affective stance towards their message, such as surprise, agreement, preference, frustration and so on. They are usually adjectives (*wonderful, shocking*), adverbs (*hopefully, unfortunately*), attitude verbs (*hope, prefer*), or metadiscursive nouns (*risk*). (Hyland 2005a: 53; Jiang & Hyland 2016)

Thirdly, *presence* refers to the extent to which the writer or speaker uses **self mentions**, i.e. first person singular pronouns, to explicitly refer to themselves. Explicit author reference is usually a conscious choice, and done when writers wish to especially emphasize their authorial identity and personal stance. (Hyland 2005a: 53)

Overall, studying stance reveals the degree to which the writer evaluates the contents of his message in terms of truthfulness and their own personal attitudes towards it. It is also a way to emphasize certain points, whilst at the same time mitigating others.

Engagement

Whereas stance includes writer-oriented features, engagement has more to do with the *reader-oriented features* of interaction. It expresses the ways speakers relate to their audience, recognize their presence, pull them along to their argument, guide their interpretations, focus their attention, and acknowledge their uncertainties and possible objections. This is achieved through the use of hearer mentions, directives, questions, appeals to shared knowledge, and personal asides. (Hyland 2005b: 178)

Firstly, **hearer[3] mentions** are explicit references that aim to bring the text's audience into the discourse. This is usually achieved through the use of second person pronouns, but inclusive *we* is also used to portray the speaker as someone who shares similar ways of seeing as the hearer (Hyland & Jiang 2016b: 31).

Secondly, **directives** are expressed through verbs in the imperative mood and modal verbs of obligation such as *should* and *ought to*. They act as explicit instructions to the audience either to carry out some action in the real world or to interpret an argument. Thirdly, **questions** are used to engage the audience in a dialogue and to further arouse their attention. Hyland & Jiang (2016b: 31) also regard questions as inviting "direct collusion" as the writers then "address the reader as someone with an interest in the issue the question raises and the good sense to follow the writer's response to it".

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[3] In Hyland's (2005b) and Hyland & Jiang's (2016b) framework, this subcategory is called *reader mentions*, but was changed here to *hearer mentions* as all data belongs to the spoken medium, not written.

Fourthly, **appeals to shared knowledge** refer to the explicit signals writers use to ask their readers to recognise something as already accepted or familiar. This is achieved through the use of adjectives and adverbs, e.g. *obvious* and *of course,* and verb phrases such as *we all know*. And finally, **personal asides** briefly interrupt the text's argument to offer a personal comment on what was said before. They do not add information to the developed argument, but rather aim to develop the writer-reader relationship (Hyland & Jiang 2016b: 31). Asides are usually preceded by adverbs and prepositional phrases like *incidentally* and *by the way*. In written texts, they are often marked by parentheses (Hyland & Jiang 2016b: 41).

According to Hyland & Jiang (2016b: 30), the role of engagement is at its core rhetorical as it is concerned with "galvanising support, expressing collegiality, resolving difficulties and heading off objections". This helps writers in monitoring readers' understanding of, and response to, a text and managing their impressions of the writer.

3. Data and Methods

In this chapter, I introduce my materials and method. My study employs both corpus and discourse approaches, which in Hyland's (2009: 110) view are "perfect bedfellows". Corpus studies can shine a light on typical patterns that occur in a restricted domain and thus contribute insightful analyses to discourse studies.

3.1. Data

For the purposes of my study, I have compiled a specialized corpus of speeches and other spoken public performances Cameron conducted prior the referendum. I began collecting my data from 19 February 2016 onwards, as this was the day Cameron finished his renegotiations of Britain's future status in the EU and began openly campaigning for remaining in the European Union. The last speech is from the eve of the referendum, 22 June 2016.

In order to analyse if there were any changes in Cameron's persuasive strategy as the referendum drew near, I divided my data into two subcorpora where the first one consists of speeches from 19 February 2016 until 22 May 2016 and the second corpus of speeches held in the last month before the voting day, from 23 May

until 23 June 2016. This division was based on various polling trackers, such as Bloomberg's Brexit Watch Indicator (2016) and NatCen Social Research's (2016) Eurotrack polls (see Figure 1 in section 2.1.), that showed the simultaneous trend in the number of Remain responses declining and a surge in the number of people supporting the Leave campaign at the end of May.

Table 1. Contents of Corpus 1.

	Genre	Location	Length (words)
19 02 2016	Speech	Brussels, after Euro Council meeting	3334
20 02 2016	Speech	10 Downing Street	659
21 02 2016	Interview	BBC The Andrew Marr show	3257
23 02 2016	Speech + Q&A	O2 headquarters, Slough	1974
25 02 2016	Speech	Conservatives IN Launch Rally	2906
29 02 2016	Speech	University of Suffolk	2038
04 03 2016	Speech	Scottish Conservatives Party Conference	2423
10 03 2016	Speech	Vauxhall Motors assembly plant, Ellesmere Port	4101
11 03 2016	Speech	Welsh Conservatives Party Conference, Llangollen	3067
05 04 2016	Speech + Q&A	PwC office, Birmingham	1556
07 04 2016	Speech	University of Exeter	1791
22 04 2016	Speech + Q&A	Anti-Corruption Summit, London	2552
28 04 2016	Speech + Q&A	Caterpillar factory, Peterborough	1173
09 05 2016	Speech	British Museum, London	6535
17 05 2016	Speech	World Economic Forum, London	2793
17 05 2016	Q&A	World Economic Forum Q&A	285
TOTAL			**40444**

The first corpus is 40,444 words, and the second (the last month of campaigning) 27,679 words. Details of their contents are presented in Tables 1 and 2, respectively. Overall, my data set consists of 28 speeches, totalling 68,123 words. The sources for the materials vary, as my purpose was to get a comprehensive overview of Cameron's public discourse vis-à-vis the referendum. There were two main sources: first of all, transcribed speeches provided by the British Government's Digital Service (gov.uk). They were held at various venues ranging from Siemens and PwC headquarters to 10 Downing Street. Some were clearly intended for a more select audience, such as employees working at the company site, whereas others were televised for the British public.

Secondly, I have transcribed public performances found online (mainly on YouTube and several UK newspapers' video services, but also as audio recordings) where Cameron argues his case for remaining in the EU. They represent a variety of

genres, including press conferences and rally speeches, but also debates, interviews and Q&A's, in which I have only included Cameron's lines. Again, the target audiences vary: some were obviously more selective, such as at events held at, for example, universities and the Welsh Conservatives Party Conference, whereas others such as the ITV's EU referendum debate reached as many as 4 million viewers (Sweney & Martinson, 2016). However, even the events held at more obscure places made headlines in British media coverage, and Cameron's speeches were often quoted in the articles. Thus, his discourse reached voters through media reports even if they were not physically present at the events.

Table 2. Contents of Corpus 2.

Date	Genre	Location	Length (words)
23 05 2016	Speech	B&Q headquarters, Eastleigh	876
24 05 2016	Speech	easyJet, Luton airport	1276
27 05 2016	Q&A	G7 news conference, Japan	590
02 06 2016	Q&A	SkyNews' EU debate	7500
06 06 2016	Speech	News conference, London	1100
07 06 2016	Speech	BBC press conference in Central London	1187
07 06 2016	Q&A	ITV debate	3341
12 06 2016	Interview	BBC The Andrew Marr show	2965
19 06 2016	Q&A	BBC Question Time	5614
21 06 2016	Speech	10 Downing Street	1127
21 06 2016	Interview	ITV Lorraine morning show	1100
22 06 2016	Speech	Remain campaign rally, Birmingham	1003
TOTAL			**27679**

In some cases, a corpus of 68,123 words would be considered rather small. However, it should serve the purposes of my study. According to Koester (2010), having a smaller, more specialized corpus has a distinct advantage: it allows a close link between the corpus and the context in which the texts of the corpus were produced. Smaller corpora can give insights into patterns of language use in a particular setting, and if the analyst is the same person as the corpus compiler (as in this case), this context is usually highly familiar to them. This means that quantitative findings revealed by the corpus analyst can be "balanced and complemented with qualitative findings" (Koester 2010: 67–68). Furthermore, she argues in the same article that a specialized corpus does not need to be as large as a more general corpus to yield reliable results. O'Keeffe et al. (2007: 198) add that even though the total of words may not be as large as in a general corpus, "specialized lexis and structures are likely

to occur with more regular patterning and distribution" than in a large general corpus.

3.2. Method

After gathering my data, I skimmed through all the texts and cleaned them up for part-of-speech (POS) tagging. I used UCREL's (University Centre for Computer Corpus Research on Language) free online CLAWS7 (the Constituent Likelihood Automatic Word-tagging System) tagger, which has also been used to POS tag the British National Corpus. POS tags were relied on in cases where it was necessary to make a distinction between polysemous words. For example, when looking for the transition *so*, POS tags helped in finding the word used as a conjunction ("*so* I think this is a weak argument"), not as a degree adverb ("this is *so* important"). The texts, now annotated with relevant part-of-speech tags, were then examined in *AntConc* (Anthony 2014), a corpus analysis toolkit for concordance and text analysis (see Figure 3). Additionally, to further investigate how certain markers were used, I used AntConc to search for collocations.
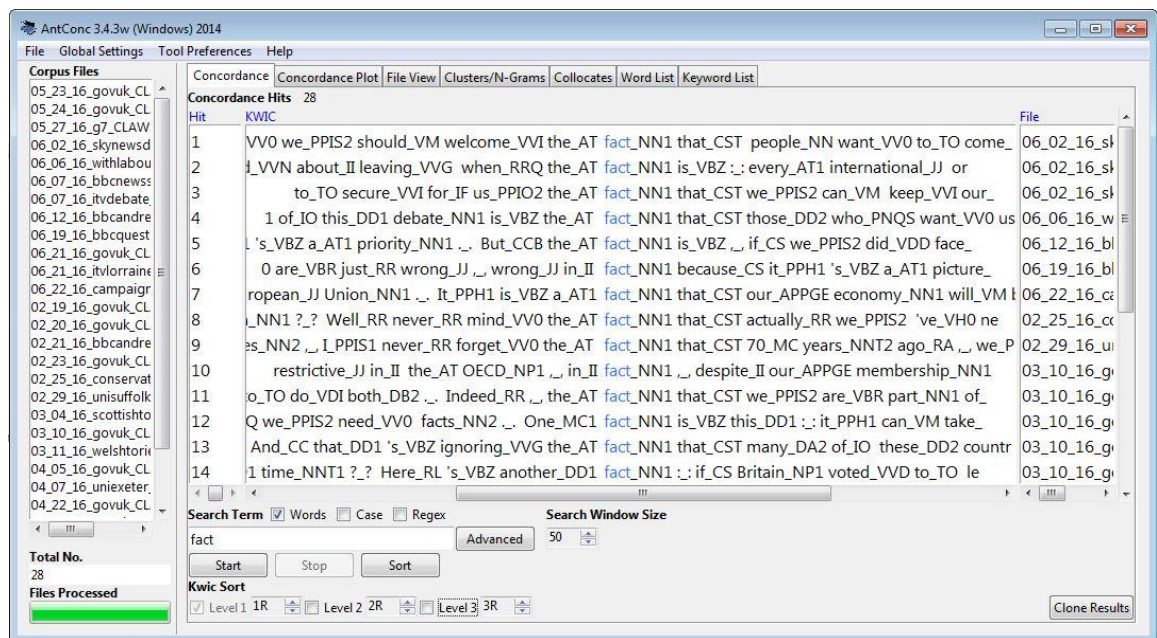

Figure 3. AntConc search view.

Then, I combed through my data looking for specific metadiscourse markers, largely based on Hyland's (2005a: 218–222) list of interactive metadiscourse and stance markers as well as Hyland & Jiang's (2016b: 40–41) list of engagement markers. My search item lists are included in the Appendix. It is worth noting that the search items were evenly spread throughout the corpus, and none of them appeared in just one speech.

Considering that the lists of metadiscourse markers mentioned above were used to study solely academic discourse – a remarkably distinct genre from political speeches – I found it appropriate to make some additions and omissions of my own to the list of searchable items. Notes on my modifications are also pointed out in the Appendix. This was based on Hyland's (2017: 18) notion that the lists of potential metadiscourse items work only as a starting point for analysis as they are merely high-frequency items that usually carry a metadiscoursal function in a specific register. This means that the lists should be used as a suggestion of opening explorations before new items can be added to it after subsequent sweeps through the corpus. This was done by closely reading through some of the texts, noting frequent patterns in the speeches and then studying whether Cameron employed these in the whole of the corpus as well. If so, they were added to the search item list.

Hyland (2017: 18–19) also notes that when conducting the analysis based on said lists, the context of keywords needs to be thoroughly examined, because in corpus-based metadiscourse studies "reading concordance lines is more important than recording frequency counts". Irrelevant instances have to be gotten rid of manually as not to make superficial assumptions of form corresponding function. This means that corpus-based metadiscourse studies are not merely a quantitative exercise of searching for and counting instances on a pre-defined list. Metadiscourse has to be a rhetorical and pragmatic, not formal, property of texts to have any explanatory power at all. For this reason, after searching for particular lexical items, each concordance line was individually reviewed to make sure it fit the category. (For example, when looking for *directives*, I made sure that each keyword was used as an imperative in its context.) Then, each instance was counted along with a normalized frequency for it. Due to the size of my corpus (68,123 words), I deemed *per a 1,000 words* (ptw) the appropriate unit. Chi-squared tests (χ^2) with raw numbers were conducted to test for statistical significance.

It should also be noted that Hyland's (2005a) model contains overlaps between the categories. This is due to the fact that forms can simultaneously perform more than one function. In fact, this is not surprising as writers may attempt to achieve multiple goals at once, whether it is setting out a claim, establishing solidarity, or commenting on its truth (Hyland 2005b: 176–177). Category overlaps such as this are well known in discourse analysis and possibly a consequence of the multi-functionality of language itself (Hyland 2017: 18). So, overlaps in cases such as *let me* (counted as a frame marker) and *me* (counted as a self mention) are due to this multi-functionality. As I was evaluating markers based on their function within their context, it means that sometimes, a singular linguistic item (in this case, *me*) was counted twice into two distinct categories. This corresponds to Hyland's (2005a: 218–224) method.

However, in other cases such as *of course*, which can be both a booster and a knowledge appeal, I went through the markers by hand and categorized them based on their primary pragmatic meaning in their respective contexts.

4. Results

In this chapter, I present my results and analysis of them. Overall, the number of all metadiscourse categories increased as the referendum grew closer, as shown in Figure 4.
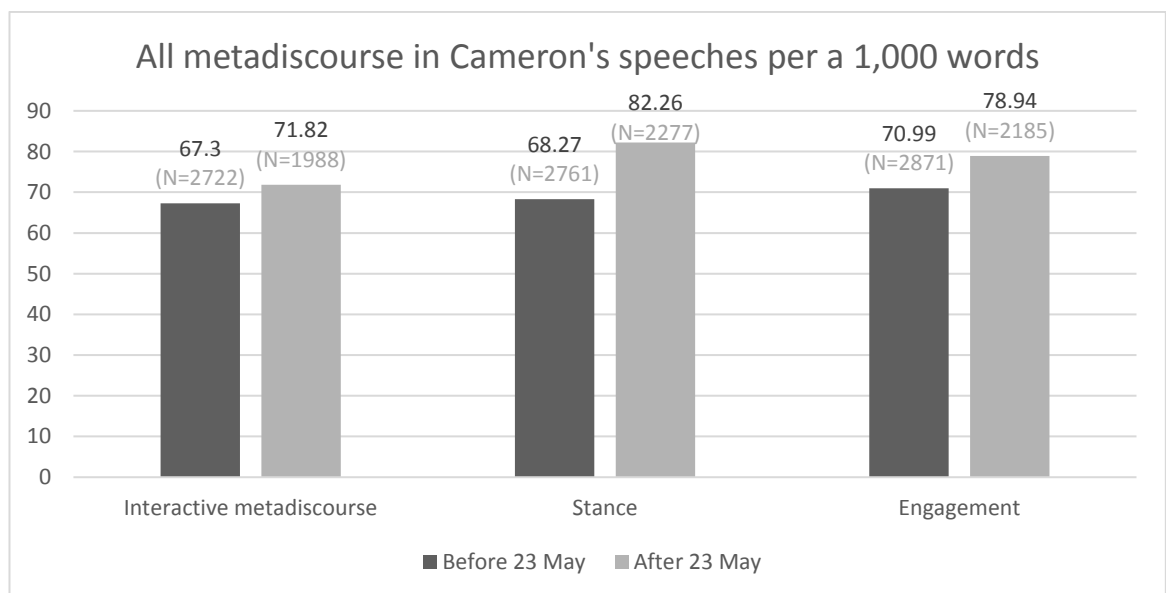

Figure 4. All metadiscourse in Cameron's speeches.

The differences were statistically significant (χ^2=9.23, df=2, p<0.01). The growth of interactive metadiscourse markers was moderate, from 67.30 to 71.82 hits ptw, whereas the number of stance markers grew the most, from 68.27 to 82.26 instances ptw. Engagement increased from 70.99 to 78.94 hits ptw. Fluctuations within individual categories are introduced below, beginning with interactive metadiscourse and followed by Cameron's usage of interactional metadiscourse markers.

4.1. Interactive markers

As Figure 4 shows, the number of interactive metadiscourse markers grew from 67.30 to 71.82 hits ptw. Fluctuations between the interactive metadiscourse marker subcategories, presented in Figure 5 below, were significant (χ^2=13.3, df=4, p<0.01). The most frequently used markers within this category were transitions, which, along with evidentials and endophoric markers, were used increasingly more as the referendum drew near. I will go through them in this subsection.
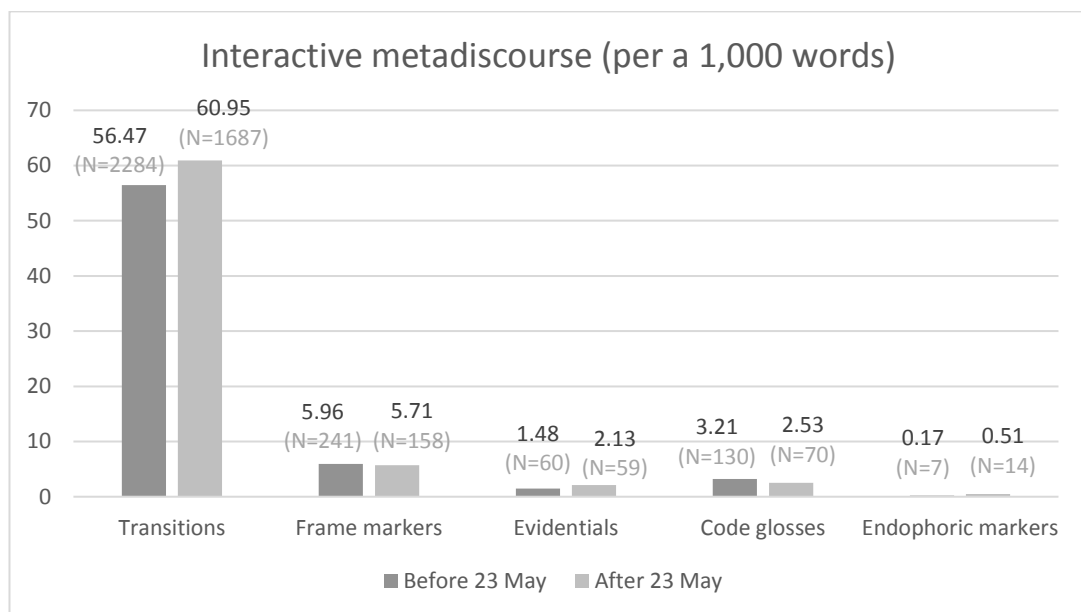
Figure 5. Normalized frequencies for interactive metadiscourse markers in Cameron's speeches.

Transitions

Out of all interactive metadiscourse markers, transitions were by far the most frequently used: 56.47 instances per a 1,000 words in Corpus 1, and 60.95 hits ptw for Corpus 2. This is not surprising as transitions are needed to logically and rationally link clauses together, so using conjunctives like *and, but, if, so* and

because increase the number of instances. They were used consistently throughout the materials to signal addition, consequence and contrast when constructing logical arguments, as in example 1 below. One the one hand, transitions help the speaker to give a logical and coherent impression of both their statements and themselves, and on the other, they help the hearer to easily follow arguments.

(1) Giving that up would in no doubt destroy a huge amount of jobs, not just here in London, **but also** in the financial services centres we have in our country […]. **And** the Head of the Stock Exchange recently said to me, he thought 100,000 jobs alone could go in the City of London alone **because** of that measure, **so** I think that is a complete myth. (17.5.2016)

There was no fluctuation among conjunctive types: Additives (*and*, *also*) were the most used subcategory, but there was no change moving from Corpus 1 to Corpus 2. Similarly, causals (*so*, *because*) remained the same, whereas adversative conjunctions (*but, though, yet*) declined only slightly. However, conditionals notably surged as instances of the conjunction *if* clearly increased (from 3.76 to 8.85 hits ptw). Obviously, Cameron was more and more pressed to talk about the possible future scenarios as the referendum approached, much like in this quote from the eve of the referendum:

(2) It is a fact that our economy will be weaker **if** we leave and stronger **if** we stay. (22.6.2016)

Frame markers

Frame markers were the second most frequent metadiscourse marker category used. Overall, usage was consistent as normalized frequencies for Corpus 1 were 5.96 instances ptw and 5.71 ptw for Corpus 2. Frame markers can be further divided into those that speakers use to sequence their discourse, label stages in it, announce goals, and shift topics. Fluctuations between the corpora within these categories were nonsignificant.

Firstly, a good example of a frame marker used to sequence discourse is Cameron's surprisingly frequent use of *let me*, which was usually followed by verb phrases such as *be clear, explain, give you an example,* and *tell you*. Consider examples 3 and 4 below. These constructions acted as a way of framing and emphasizing the most important points in the discourse and guiding the audience's

attention to what follows. The use of first person singular pronoun also turned the attention to Cameron, explicitly bringing him to the forefront.

(3) **Let me** be clear: this isn't the whole economic case for membership. (10.3.2016)
(4) How relevant is it to my life? **Let me** tell you. (7.6.2016)

Secondly, *now* and *shortly* were used to label stages within the discourse. Example 5 below illustrates some ways Cameron typically used them. Again, the aim was to make the discourse easier to follow by hinting at what is going on at the moment and what will happen next in the discourse.

(5) **Now,** the Chancellor will go into the details **shortly**, but I just want to focus on the impact it would have on your life (…) (23.5.2016)

Thirdly, markers such as *I want to* were used to announce goals, i.e. to explicitly explain to the audience what Cameron wanted to achieve with his discourse, like in example 6 below (also present in example 5 above). They acted as a strong signal to the audience of the speaker's stance, the very purpose of his discourse and what is coming ahead.

(6) So today **I want to** set out the big, bold patriotic case for Britain to remain a member of the EU. **I want to** show that if you love this country, if you want to keep it strong in the world […], our membership of the EU is one of the tools […] that helps us to do these things. (9.5.2016)

Finally, shifting topics was mostly done with the interjection *now* to signal that Cameron was moving on to a different argument, as in example 7 below.

(7) And that is why we must vote Remain tomorrow in large numbers on Thursday. **Now**, you've had so many facts and so many figures and so many arguments from so many different people (…) (22.6.2016)

All in all, frame markers were generally used to guide the audience's attention and to signal to them that the speaker is now moving on to the next argument, thus making the discourse more logical and easier to follow.

Code glosses

Code glosses were the third most popular interactive metadiscourse marker used, with a slight decrease between the subcorpora – 3.21 instances ptw for Corpus 1 and

2.53 ptw for Corpus 2 (see Figure 5). For the sake of analysis, they were divided into four main categories: dashes, example-providing glosses (i.e. *for instance*), interpretation-guiding glosses (*that is*), and verb constructions like PRONOUN + MEAN. Fluctuations within these categories were significant (χ^2=21.03, df=3, p=0.0001), and normalized frequencies for each subcategory are given below in Figure 6.
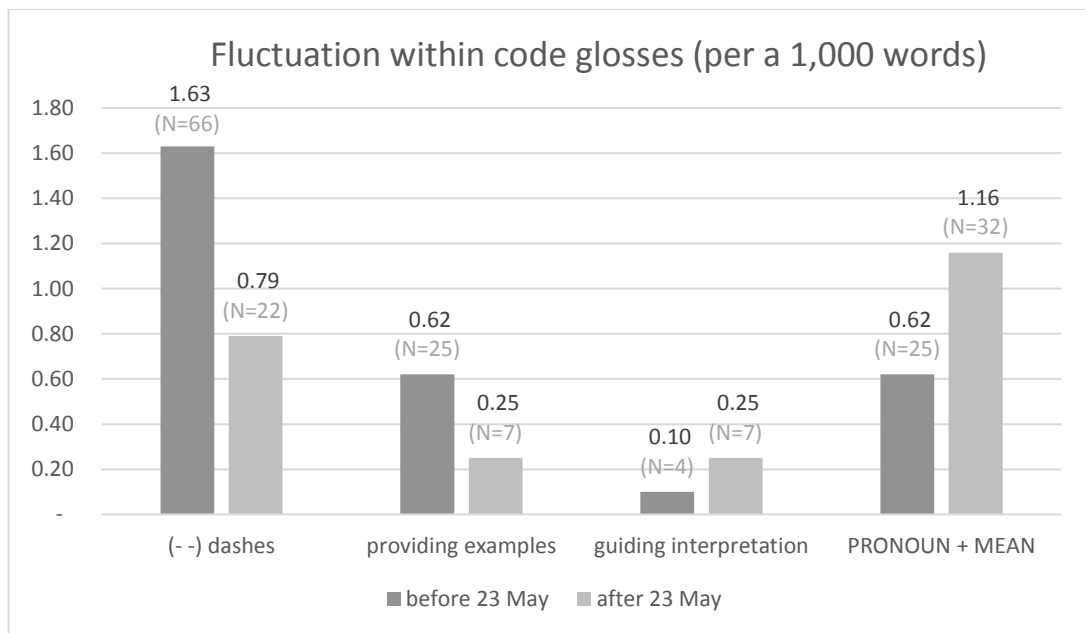
Figure 6. Normalized frequencies for code gloss subcategories.

Code glosses were used in the following ways: Firstly, markers such as dashes conveyed parenthetical statements providing extensive information on what was previously said in order to further support the construction of the logical argument:

(8) But Britain – the fifth largest economy in the world, the second biggest in Europe – would be absent, outside the room. (9.5.2016)

Secondly, code glosses were used in an exemplary style to provide concrete facts and figures to justify the economic argument:

(9) Take **for instance** our car industry. Hugely successful over the last decade, 150,000 people working in our car industry […] (17.5.2016)

(10)   So many businesses succeed, directly and indirectly, because of this free-trade system. **Indeed,** 3 million people's jobs in our country are already linked to it. (10.3.2016)

Thirdly, some code glosses elaborated on how arguments should be perceived, as in example 11 below. Instances per a 1,000 words more than doubled as the voting day approached, from 0.10 to 0.25 hits ptw.

> (11)   But look, there are good ways of controlling immigration and my welfare break, saying that people who come and work here have to work here for four years before they get full access to our welfare system, **that is** a good way, but pulling out of the single market, wrecking our economy, **that is** a bad way. (21.6.2016)

Finally, there was also a considerable surge in verb constructions such as *it/that/this/which means* and *I mean*. Consider examples 12 and 13.

> (12)   [T]here would be an economic shock. It's worth remembering what a shock really means. **It means** pressure on the pound sterling. **It means** jobs being lost. **It means** mortgage rates might rise. **It means** businesses closing. **It means** hardworking people losing their livelihoods. (10.3.2016)
>
> (13)   At the end of those 2 years, you are out and you have to operate under World Trade Organization rules. And I want people to understand what **that means**. **That means** 10 percent tariffs on the cars that we sell to Europe. (2.6.2016)

Throughout the campaign, Cameron typically used these PRONOUN + MEAN constructions to summarize and simplify economic terminology and how the consequences of leaving reflect on the voters. It is interesting that they would grow to be the most popular code gloss category in Corpus 2: instead of just hashing out numbers, Cameron increasingly began to explicitly explain meanings behind the figures. In example 12, the usage case is especially affective as it portrays negative consequences personally relevant to the audience.

In the end, the overwhelming majority of code glosses were related to economic statements, and used to explain and elaborate both terms and arguments, and to carefully emphasize how Brexit, i.e. changes on the society's level, impact the individual's life. They contributed to the logical construction of the argument by elaborating on and giving out supplementary information. However, it seems that towards the end of campaigning Cameron was more inclined to provide ways to interpret statements (such as in example 11) and to stress the negative economic consequences of leaving (examples 12–13). This suggests a move from the purely logical argument (offering numbers and examples) towards a more personal and

engaging way of presenting them (offering numbers and examples, but also elaborating on what they mean and how they should be interpreted).

Evidentials

In total, evidentials increased slightly from 1.48 instances ptw in Corpus 1 to 2.13 ptw in Corpus 2, as illustrated in Figure 5 above. Albeit a relatively infrequent category, evidentials convey interesting rhetorical information as they are indicators of how much Cameron relied on outside sources to support his arguments. They also link Cameron's speeches to the surrounding Brexit discourse. The most frequent search items were quote marks *("")* and constructions such as NOUN + SAY, both of which increased towards the end of campaigning. There were three distinct ways in which Cameron used them. Typically, he quoted, first of all, the Leave campaign to disprove their claims:

(14)   I really feel strongly about this because people are getting
        through their letterboxes leaflets from Leave saying basically
        "Turkey's going to join the EU." Not true. (19.6.2016)

Secondly, he anticipated possible questions his electorate might have and answered them directly, again pre-empting counter-arguments:

(15)   Or some people say: **"What about a trade deal like Canada?"**
        When I'm in favour of the Canada trade deal – seven years in counting
        and still not yet in place […] (25.2.2016)

Thirdly, Cameron referred to high-ranking institutions and people to support his arguments, showing that prestigious and influential experts were on his side:

(16)   Now, of course there are the experts, the Governor of the Bank
        of England, the IMF, the Institution of Fiscal Studies, **all saying** our
        economy would be smaller [if we left] and so therefore we'd have less
        money to spend on public services. (12.6.2016)

In short, evidentials were used as a logical argument-building device. They allowed Cameron to address possible concerns and rebuttals from the voters and the opposing side, and to debate them within his own discourse. A slight increase in their number would indicate that Cameron wanted to ramp up the force of his logical argument, but can also be attributed to the fact that some institutions came out with their 'quotable' pro-Remain views later on in the campaign. In a similar way, some
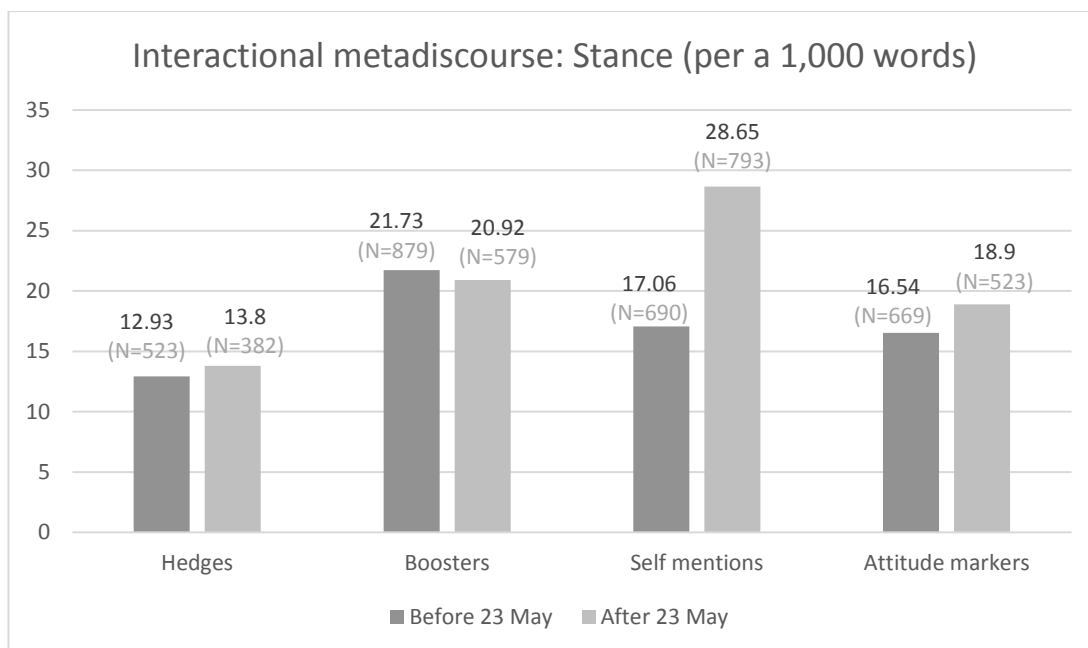
counter-arguments from the opposing side arose only later on in the surrounding Brexit discourse.

Endophoric markers

Endophoric markers were slightly more frequent in Corpus 2 (0.51 hits ptw versus 0.17 in Corpus 1, as pictured in Figure 5 – however, notably the most infrequently used metadiscourse marker altogether). They referred to previous or future parts of the discourse, and were mostly used at the end of campaigning to repeat some of Cameron's previous arguments, as in example 17, where they allowed Cameron to underline and strengthen his arguments. Some cataphoric references were present as well, employed in order to arouse the audience's attention and signal what's coming ahead in the discourse. Consider example 18, where the reference acted as a way to highlight upcoming discussion points and thus get the audience's attention.

(17)　　And **I say again**: I hope that when people go to vote on June the 23rd they think about their children and grandchildren, […]. (7.6.2016)

(18)　　And **I'll tell** you exactly why it's a phoney statistic. (2.6.2016)

In conclusion, interactive metadiscourse played a crucial part in organizing the discourse and building logical, easy-to-follow arguments. They benefitted both interlocutors, as they made the logical thread of the speeches easier for hearers to follow, but also helped portray the speaker as articulate and rational.

4.2. Interactional markers: Stance

The overall number of stance markers grew from 68.27 to 82.26 instances ptw (see Figure 4 above), the most out of all metadiscourse categories. The normalized frequencies for stance subcategories are portrayed in Figure 7 below. The growth can mostly be attributed to the rise in the number of self mentions. Attitude markers and hedges also saw a slight increase as the voting day approached, whereas boosters declined somewhat. Fluctuations within stance marker categories were highly significant (χ^2=62.81, df=3, p<0.0001). In this subsection, I will go through each stance marker category individually.

Figure 7. Normalized frequencies for stance markers in Cameron's speeches.

Presence: Self mentions

As Figure 7 shows, Cameron's use of self mentions increased the most out of all markers, from 17.06 to 28.65 instances ptw. However, the function of self mentions did not differ in the two subcorpora: Cameron obviously wished to create a notable authorial presence in the speeches and to bring forward his personal opinions about the subject matter. Admittedly, this is understandable as he was the main instigator in and personally responsible for holding the referendum. Sometimes Cameron's usage of self mentions finds him on the defence, almost siding with his opponents, as in examples 19 and 20 below. In them, Cameron takes a personal stance to show that he empathizes with the audience who may feel that he is on EU's side, not Britain's – an Ethos-building attempt to portray himself as trustworthy and relatable.

(19)   As **I've** said before, **I** don't love Brussels; **I** love Britain, and **my** mission is to make it greater still. (10.3.2016)
(20)   Because yes, **I** am a Eurosceptic. **I** am sceptical about some of the aspects of this organisation. (7.4.2016)

However, more notable is the way he brings forward his own personal opinions and wishes in the discourse. This can be seen in the (non-auxiliary) verbs that most frequently followed *I: think*, *want*, and *believe.* Examples 21–23 below illustrate

typical usage. The phrase *I think* seems to be Cameron's habit of speech (even, to an extent, a filler phrase), but nonetheless always brings him to the forefront.

> (21)   **I think** we'll be stronger, because **I think** Britain gains from being in these organisations rather than losing by being in them. But crucially, **I think** we'll be better off. (24.5.2016)
>
> (22)   And **I want** us to be a country that does work together with others. (12.6.2016)
>
> (23)   But **my** recommendation is clear. **I believe** that Britain will be safer, stronger and better off in a reformed European Union. (20.2.2016)

Besides using *I* and its inflections, Cameron also referred to himself by his position as the Prime Minister, as in example 24. Presumably, he did this to emphasize his own authority, experience in and knowledge about the political situation, and that his advice was thus noteworthy.

> (24)   But frankly, **I** think the job of the **Prime Minister** is to warn about potential dangers as well as to talk […] about the upsides and the opportunities that there are by being a part of this organization. (28.4.2016)

According to Wilson (1990: 45), first person pronoun usage is commonly used to gain people's allegiance. Hyland & Jiang (2016a: 267) add that heavy use of personal references usually communicates to the audience "the perspective from which a statement should be interpreted", enabling speakers to seek agreement for it and underline their own contribution to the discourse. It is a powerful Ethos-building device and a prevalent feature in Cameron's discourse as he inevitably wanted to make his presence very distinct in his Brexit discourse, increasingly so as the referendum approached.

Boosters

Boosters were the second-most popular stance marker in Cameron's speeches, and their usage declined only slightly, from 21.73 instances to 20.92 ptw (see Figure 7). Often, they were adverbs (*never, of course*), modifiers (*absolute*, *very*), and verbs (*will*). Adverbs were used to strengthen arguments in favour of remaining, like in examples 25 and 26 below.

> (25)   So, if that happens, you don't gain money by leaving the EU, you **actually** make your economy smaller. (19.6.2016)

(26)   But there's **no doubt** in my mind, having been your Prime
Minister for six years, that we are safer being in the European Union.
(7.4.2016)

Modifiers were most often followed by words like *important* and *clear*, both
emphasizing the importance of the vote and suggesting to hearers that the economic
arguments presented should drive the electorate to vote Remain (examples 27–28):

(27)   Make sure you vote because this is **absolutely** vital for your
future and for the country's future. (7.4.2016)
(28)   So I think we have got here a **very** clear set of arguments that
completely demolish the economic case for leaving the European
Union, and we have a **very** strong argument for [staying in].
(17.5.2016)

Of verbs, *will* was the most frequently used to point out future scenarios, usually to
portray the negative consequences of leaving (and, of course, the positive
consequences of remaining) as facts, not mere possibilities:

(29)   I'm **absolutely** convinced that our economy **will** suffer if we
leave. (19.6.2016)
(30)   Britain **will** suffer an immediate economic shock, and then be
permanently poorer for the long-term. The **evidence** is clear: we **will**
be better off in, and poorer if we leave. (9.5.2016)

As Hyland & Jiang (2016a: 259) note, boosters are commonly used to express
conviction and shut down alternative voices. This seems to be the case in Cameron's
discourse as well, especially when it comes to booster verbs illustrating the
imminent, negative future consequences if the country votes to leave. The high
number of boosters also portrays Cameron as very sure of and committed to the
claims he is putting forward. Furthermore, by using boosters alongside self mentions
(illustrated in examples 26 and 29), he projects an image of himself as a leader sure
of his own viewpoint that should be trusted and adopted by hearers.

Hedges

Hedges increased slightly from 12.93 hits ptw to 13.80 (see Figure 7), but still
remained the least-used stance marker. Cameron used hedges like adverbs (*some,
quite, almost*) and epistemic modals (*would, could, might*) to soften his claims.
Adverbs all increased slightly. Cameron used them to both mitigate both judgments
(example 31) and to give approximate numbers (example 32).

(31)   I've got to do better getting this argument across but to me it comes down to **quite** a simple point about the economy. (19.6.2016)

(32)   Our goods and, crucially, our services – which account for **almost** 80 percent of our economy – can trade freely by right. (9.5.2016)

Epistemic modal verbs usually had to do with imagining the UK out of the EU, and some possible scenarios this could lead to:

(33)   This **could** be, for the first time in history, a recession brought on ourselves. As I stand here in B&Q, it **would** be a DIY recession. (23.5.2016)

Naturally, contemplating a potential future involves the use of a conditional, but it has to be kept in mind that Cameron could have, in these instances, also used the present tense or *will* – taking away the hedge usually moves the argument closer to a fact than mere speculation. The slight increase in hedging indicates that there may have been a change to portraying future scenarios as opinions, rather than facts. This could be interpreted as a step away from scaremongering – a way to mitigate statement force. However, comparing hedges alongside boosters gives a more beneficial insight into Cameron's rhetorical strategies.

Evidentiality: Balancing hedges and boosters

In Hyland's (2005b) model, hedges and boosters contribute to the text's evidentiality. Balancing hedges and boosters is typically deemed important because speakers have to consider the weight they give to their claims and determine the degree of reliability and precision they feel they can invest in them (Hyland & Jiang 2016a: 259). In this way, hedges and boosters help speakers balance conviction with caution (Hyland 2000: 179), or even authority with sincerity (Hyland 2005a: 80). Indeed, there are some instances in Cameron's discourse where hedges and boosters co-occur to create a balanced argument that does not state all arguments as facts (with hedges, in italics), but nevertheless presents a confident claim (with boosters, in bold):

(34)   We **obviously** face, in our world today, *some* **very** big threats in terms [of] crime and terrorism. (23.2.2016)

(35)   For those who advocate leaving, lost jobs and a dented economy *might* be collateral damage, or a price worth paying. For me, they're not. They **never** are. Because there's **nothing more important** than protecting people's financial security. (10.3.2016)

Be that as it may, the overall booster-hedge imbalance is prominent in both corpora (see Figure 8). In Corpus 1, there were 12.93 hits ptw for hedges and 21.73 for boosters. In Corpus 2, the normalized frequencies were 13.80 ptw for hedges and 20.92 for boosters. The slight fluctuations were not significant.
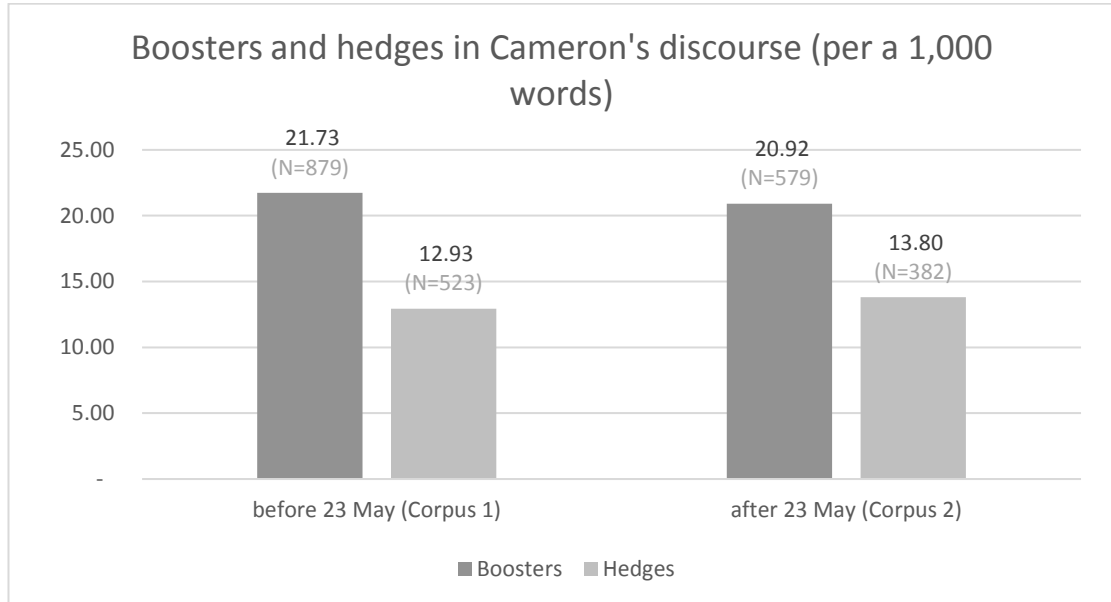

Figure 8. Normalized frequencies for evidentiality.

It is clear through his heavier use of boosters that Cameron was, throughout the campaign, more inclined to portray his arguments regarding the vote as facts rather than opinions or possibilities. Generally, he also showed strong commitment to his statements, and wanted to maintain his way of building a personal ethos of assurance and confidence in the discourse. This is especially evident in passages where Cameron ramped up the force of his statements about the consequences of leaving with clusters of boosters such as in example 36 below. Statements like this head off possible objections on the audience's part and leave them in no doubt of Cameron's own views.

> (36)   So here's the **truth**; if we leave the European Union, and if we have a deal like a Canada free trade deal, it **will** be **very** bad for our economy. It **will** be bad for jobs. It **will** be bad for investment. And it **will** be **particularly** bad for services industries that **need** those markets open. (5.4.2016)

However, there appeared to be a change towards a slightly more cautious view within booster and hedge verbs (but not within other categories) as the use of *would*

grew and *will* decreased towards the end of campaigning. Figure 9 depicts this change and results were highly significant (χ^2=15.19, df=1, p<0.0001).

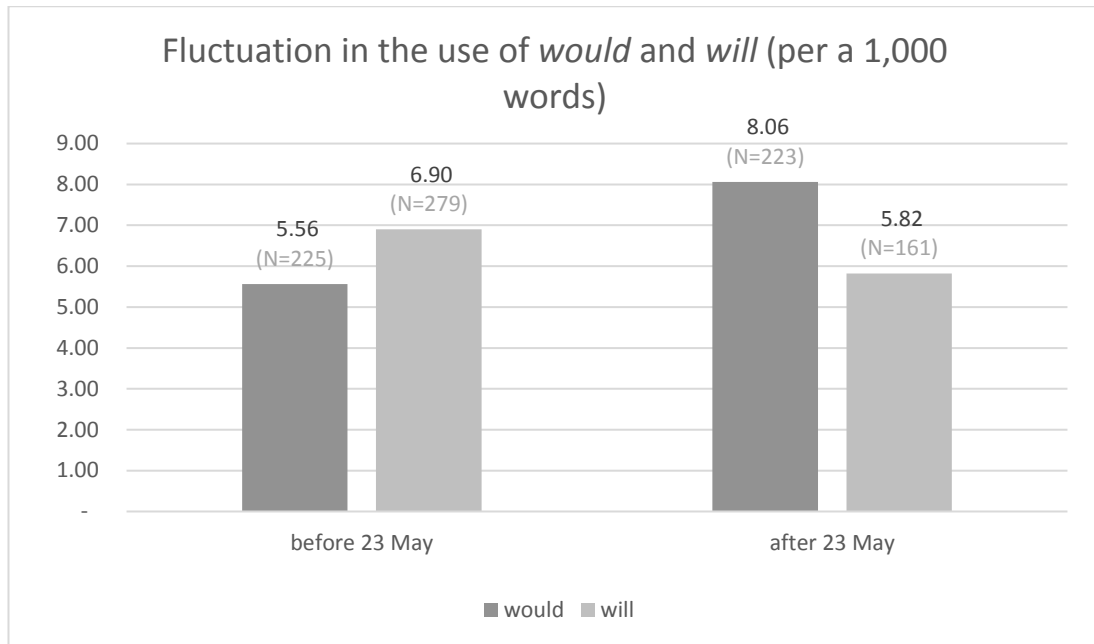Fluctuation in the use of *would* and *will* (per a 1,000 words)

Figure 9. Normalized frequencies for the use of would and will.

Admittedly, the increase of *would* is not particularly surprising considering the increase of the transition *if* (discussed in section 4.1.) since these markers often co-occur in conditional sentences, but it does seem that with this increased usage of conditional sentences, Cameron wanted to be more cautious with his claims. So, as the voting day approached, Cameron was more hesitant with his future predictions, as in this example:

(37)   Leaving the EU **would** put all of that at risk. Expert after expert, independent advisors, people whose job it is to warn Prime Ministers, have said it **would** shrink our economy. (21.6.2016)

Cameron's shift within booster and hedge verbs show him beginning to somewhat distance himself from his claims about the possible future scenarios, softening the depiction of his views. Nevertheless, boosters – a device to build up confidence, certainty, and commitment – still remained a more prominent characteristic of his discourse.

Affect: Attitude markers

The number of attitude markers rose from 16.54 instances ptw to 18.90, as shown in Figure 7 in the beginning of this section. Attitude – and affect – was most typically expressed through adjectives, adverbs and, in some cases, nouns, which conveyed either importance or value on a good-bad scale. The fluctuations within these three subcategories were statistically significant (χ^2=12.47, df=2, p=0.002), and are presented below in Figure 10.
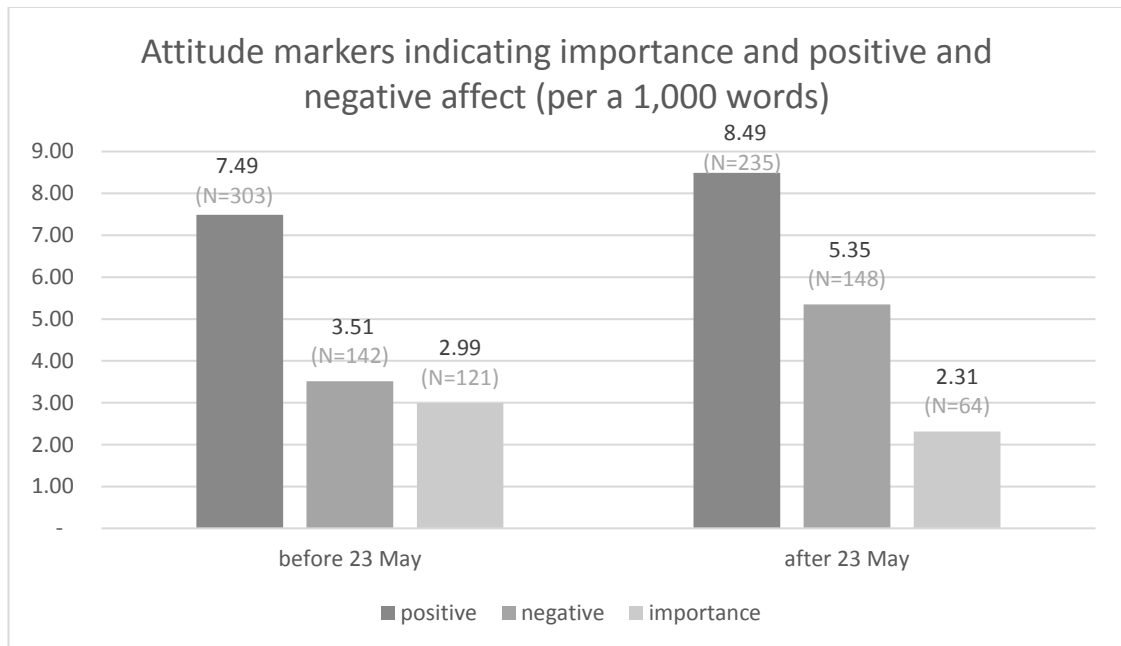

Figure 10. Normalized frequencies for attitude marker subcategories.

Firstly, markers denoting positive affect were by far the most frequently used attitude markers, and their number increased from 7.49 to 8.49 hits ptw as the voting day approached. Overall, the most popular attitude markers within this category were *better*, *good*, *great*, and *right*. The high frequency for *better* is easily explained by Cameron's use of "stronger, safer and better off", which was the Remain campaign's catchphrase. In a similar way, remaining in the EU was usually portrayed as *good*, often for the economy (example 38). *Great* was commonly associated with the UK (example 39), appealing to a feeling of patriotism, whereas voting Remain was the *right* thing to do, as in example 40.

> (38)   It's because we're part of a market of 500 million people […] and that is **good** for jobs, it's **good** for companies, it's **good** for investment, it brings businesses here to Britain. (24.5.2016)

(39)   Ours is a **great** country. Not just a **great** country in the history
books, although it surely is that […] (9.5.2016)

(40)   We leave, and then we spend the next few years trying to get
back into some of the information systems, the border systems, the
terrorism systems to keep our people safe. That is not the **right** thing
to do and that is why we should vote to remain tomorrow. (22.6.2016)

As voting day approached, Cameron especially increased his use of adjectives like *good, positive,* and *right* to stress the positive aspects of his message. Indeed, Cameron himself definitely felt that the message he was communicating was far from a negative one, explicitly commenting on it thusly:

(41)   There's a **strong**, **bold**, **patriotic** case, **positive** case, for staying
in this organization. (12.6.2016)

Secondly, markers denoting negative affect increased from 3.51 to 5.35 instances ptw (see Figure 10). Overall, the most used markers in this category were RISK and *uncertain**[4]. Cameron used both to refer to the consequences of leaving, in ways such as in examples 42 and 43 below, where he gave hearers explicit rational reasons to vote for Remain. Instances of both increased as the voting day approached, showing that Cameron was more and more inclined to remind voters of the indeterminate economic consequences of leaving.

(42)   We've worked so hard to get economy growing, get people into
work, and see living standards rise. Leaving the EU could put all that
at **risk**. (4.3.2016)

(43)   If we vote out, it is a decade of **uncertainty**. And so, we
shouldn't **risk** it. (12.6.2016)

Other frequently employed negative attitude markers were *wrong*, WORRY*, bad*, and *dangerous*. *Wrong* was used to disapprove of the opposing campaign's claims (like in example 44). WORRY was usually used in reference to Cameron himself, and explicitly communicated his personal feelings about the vote, as in example 45. This is consistent with his way of bringing his personal feelings to the forefront. Not surprisingly, *bad* appeared in conjunction with the economic consequences of leaving, as in example 46 below.

(44)   A Leave campaign resorting to total untruths to con people into
taking a leap in the dark. It is **irresponsible**. It is **wrong**. (7.6.2016)

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[4] In AntConc, asterisks denote any sequence of zero or more characters, so in this case the search term returns items *uncertain* and *uncertainty*.

  (45) So I'm going to be urging people today in the clearest way I can
    there's a very positive future if we stay but I really **worry** about the
    consequences if we leave. (21.6.2016)

  (46) So here's the truth: if we leave the European Union, (…) it will
    be very **bad** for our economy. It will be **bad** for jobs. It will be **bad**
    for investment. And it will be particularly **bad** for services industries.
    (5.4.2016)

Dangerous was used to support the argument for Britain being more secure in the EU. Consider example 47 below, which is a particularly affective usage case. However, this was not a prevalent trend in Cameron's discourse, and usage of *dangerous* dropped by half nearing voting day (from 0.37 to 0.18 hits ptw), perhaps suggesting a step away from scaremongering.

  (47) And to Conservatives, what matters more than keeping [our
    people] safe in a **dangerous** world when we face threats from
    terrorism and criminals crossing borders? (25.2.2016)

Thirdly, *important, vital,* and *crucial* referred to the significance of the vote, reminding the audience that this was not just an average voting opportunity (see example 48). They were also used to emphasize statements (example 49).

  (48) It's a huge decision for you as young people, and frankly it is
    more **important** than a general election. (29.2.2016)

  (49) Let's take the health service, because this is a very **important**
    point. (19.6.2016)

To sum up, attitude markers helped Cameron to stress the gravity of the vote, make positive judgments of staying in the EU and negative judgments of leaving and the campaign in favour of it. Attitude markers often worked as emotional appeals, but sometimes also appealed to logical reasoning, often when presenting remaining as an economically sound, risk-free choice. It should be noted that overall, the normalized frequencies for positive attitude marker usage (7.90 hits ptw in both corpora) outweighed the negative (4.26 ptw), posing questions about scaremongering. Interestingly, both negative and positive judgments increased, whereas remarks about the importance of the vote were somewhat left to the background as the voting day approached.

All in all, Cameron took a very explicit personal stance in his speeches. His presence in the discourse is palpable. Besides frequent self mentions, he often took a stand on

the certainty of claims through boosters and hedges, and expressed his affective stance readily with attitude markers. Furthermore, as stance markers increased the most in his discourse out of all the metadiscourse categories, they seem to be a rhetorical tactic he more and more relied on nearing voting day. Now, I will turn from stance and the writer-text relationship to engagement markers which illustrate the relationship between the speaker and their audience.

4.3. Interactional markers: Engagement

The normalized frequency for all engagement in Corpus 1 was 70.99 instances ptw and 78.94 ptw for Corpus 2 (see Figure 4 in the beginning of chapter 4). There was some variation in the number of engagement markers in both corpora, and it proved highly significant (χ^2=21.22, df=4, p=0.0003). Figure 11 shows, on one hand, an increase in hearer mentions and directives, and on the other, a decline in asides, questions, and appeals to shared knowledge.
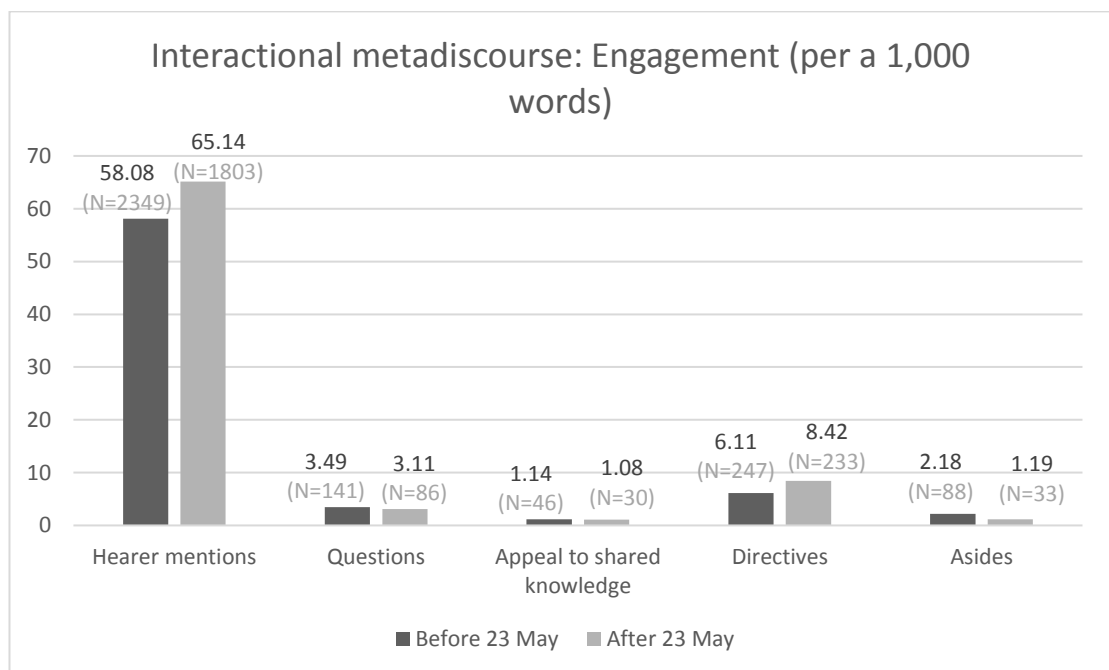

Figure 11. Normalized frequencies for engagement markers in Cameron's speeches..

Hearer mentions

Out of all interactional markers, hearer mentions were by far the most frequently used throughout the campaign (58.08 hits ptw in Corpus 1 and 65.14 in Corpus 2, see

Figure 11). This is understandable considering the context of the speeches. The point was, after all, to appeal to the audience and change their voting behaviour on an issue that greatly impacts their lives, so the hearers were ever-present in the speeches:

(50)   **We** need to strip away the drama and focus on real life, because this isn't about political parties or personalities or Prime Ministers. It's about **you**, about **your** money and **your** life. (23.5.2016)

(51)   And I very much hope that **you** will [take part in the referendum], whichever way **you** vote, and it's 76 days to go from today until that hugely important referendum. And it is, I think, one of the most important political decisions that **you** will take in **your** lifetime. (7.4.2016)

The high frequency of hearer mentions can also be attributed to the fact that I have, besides *you* and its inflections, also included all usage of the first person plural pronoun *we* in this category. Obviously, Cameron used *we* to refer to the UK and its inhabitants, as in example 52 below, but also when he referred to himself (example 53).

(52)   **We** aren't any old country. **We're** a special country. (21.6.2016)

(53)   The reforms that **we** have secured today have been agreed by all 28 leaders. (19.2.2016)

Technically, in example 53 he refers solely to his own efforts in the February 2016 EU renegotiations, but speaks on behalf of the whole country and thus includes the audience in the discourse, which is why I have included it in as engagement, not stance.

Cameron used inclusive *we* to create a sense of a strong in-group among himself and the voters – in a sense, to indicate that they were all in the same boat. Boyd (2013: 306) supports this notion by noting that using inclusive *we* can provide a sense of unity between interlocutors, and Charteris-Black (2011: 8) adds that it indicates a "sharing of interests between speaker and audience". Indeed, inclusive *we* was a way to create rapport and communality between Cameron and the audience. At times, it was also used to implicitly suggest that they both shared the same values and opinions:

(54)   **We've** done great things in this world. **We're** a very interconnected country. What happens on the other side of the world matters to **us**. **We** care about tackling climate change; **we** care about trying to alleviate poverty in Africa; **we** know **we** need to have the

world's trade lanes open for British business and enterprise.
(24.5.2016)

Possessive pronouns give more insights into the topics Cameron associated with this British in-group. Overall, the most frequent lexical collocates of pronouns *our* and *your* were *country, economy, people, membership, (grand)children*, and *jobs*. Figure 12 shows the variation between the two corpora. These changes were highly significant (χ^2=73.24, df=5, p<0.0001).
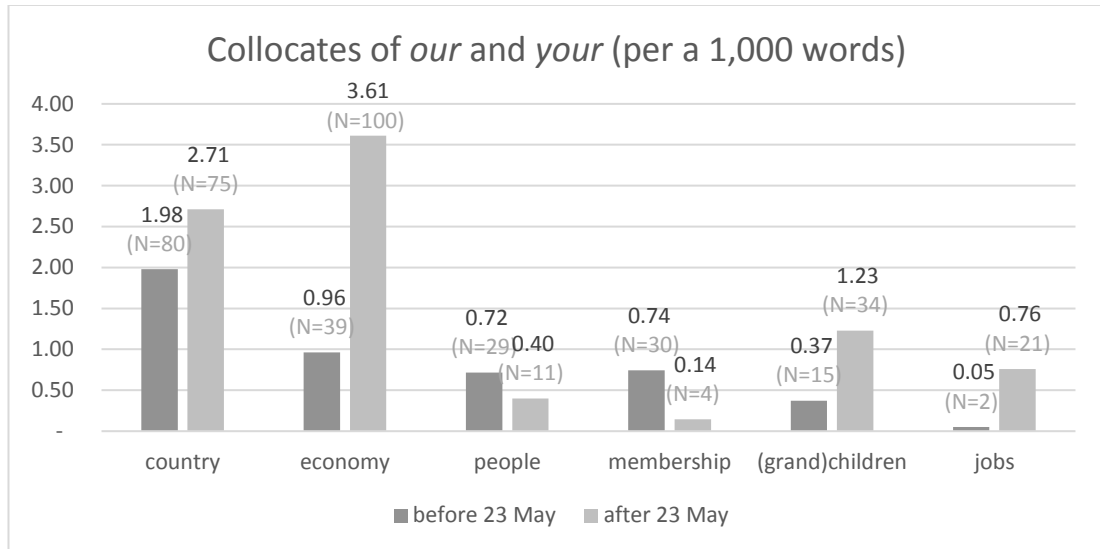

Figure 12. Normalized frequencies for collocates of possessive pronouns our and your.

Examples 55–58 below depict typical usage cases for these collocations. Cameron used them to argue for staying in by referring to the UK's national interests common to both him and his audience.

(55)   **We** shouldn't risk the investment that a company like this brings into Britain. So I think the most important argument in this debate is the one about **our economy**. (28.4.2016)

(56)   **Our defence** is absolutely linked to **our membership** of NATO, but I would argue **our membership** of the EU […] also helps **us** to be strong in the world and to get things done. (29.2.2016)

(57)   But **we** also draw strength and project strength and project power and project **our values** and protect **our people** and make **our country** wealthier, and **our people** wealthier, by being in the European Union. (22.4.2016)

(58)   That could mean years of uncertainty for **our economy** – for **our children's future**. (19.2.2016)

These collocations are an interesting mix of both logical and emotional appeals. On the one hand, referring to *our economy* and *membership* in examples 55–56 could not

be described as especially emotional, but quite rational. On the other hand, references to *our values*, *our people* and especially *our children's future* (examples 57–58) were explicit appeals to emotions. Moreover, *our country* (example 57) and other references to its greatness were designed to appeal to a sense of patriotism – again an affective appeal.

Considering this, the changes between the two corpora are of interest. Allusions to *our membership* and *our people* were the only ones to decrease, whereas others increased. Particularly noticeable is the way Cameron ramps up his logical argument with references to *our economy* alongside affective mentions of *children, grandchildren* and *jobs*, all of which increase manifold from Corpus 1 to Corpus 2. So, in the last month of campaigning Cameron was more heavily relying on arguments such as in example 59 below, where the emphasis is on the economic argument for remaining, but also closely linked with quite an emotional appeal as Cameron talks about the audience's livelihoods and preserving an economically secure future for their offspring.

(59)   I hope people will stop and think very seriously about what's
         best for **our economy**, for **jobs**, and what's best for **our children**,
         that's really what this is about. (21.6.2016)

Overall, hearer mentions were used primarily in this way to appeal to the audience's emotions as they were used to create a British in-group and thus, a sense of patriotism and rapport, and to make allusions to things very personal to the audience. They also appealed to logic when used in conjunction with financial and political terminology.

Directives

Cameron increased his use of directives towards the end of the campaign. Normalized frequencies for Corpus 1 were 6.11 hits ptw, and 8.42 for Corpus 2, as Figure 11 above shows. Cameron used them in three distinctive ways, but the fluctuations within these subgroups were not statistically significant.

Firstly, Cameron most frequently used deontic verbs (*should*, *have to*, *need to*). Their usage varied a great deal, as Cameron used them to talk about things concerning voting behaviour, the voters, and the opposing campaign (examples 60–

62, respectively). These contributed to Cameron's Ethos as they portrayed him in an authoritative position where he is able to give instructions.

> (60)   That's why I think the experts are right. I think we **should** listen to their opinions and I think we **should** vote to remain on June the 23rd. (7.6.2016)
> (61)   The British people **must** now decide whether to stay in this reformed European Union or to leave. (19.2.2016)
> (62)   I want to turn to the big questions that Leave campaigners **need to** answer. (10.3.2016)

Secondly, Cameron frequently used hortative modals such as *let us* and *let's*. They were used to heavily encourage hearers, but did not necessarily include an obligation. Besides softening explicit instructions, they were used to create a sense of an inclusive in-group and, essentially, a community:

> (63)   So I say – instead, **let us** remain, **let us** fight our corner, **let us** play the part we should, as a great power in the world, and a great and growing power in Europe. (9.5.2016)

The third category included verbs in the imperative mood that instructed hearers to engage in cognitive tasks such as *think, look at, remember* and *imagine*. Cameron used these to steer the audience to consider the consequences of a Leave vote, as in examples 64–65 below.

> (64)   So **imagine** for Britain, being stuck for 7 years trying to negotiate a trade deal with a market where 44 percent of our trade goes and is only 20 miles off our coast. (17.5.2016)
> (65)   But it does show the sort of gains our membership of a reformed European Union could deliver. And **compare** that to the alternatives. (10.3.2016)

According to Hyland & Jiang (2016b: 38), directives that guide hearers to cognitive acts are used to steer the audience to a particular conclusion by leading them through a line of reasoning. Thus, it seems that Cameron's aim was to strongly urge the hearers to reach the conclusion that remaining in the European Union is good for them on their own. Cameron did also explicitly communicate the core of his message with direct commands to carry out actions in the physical world such as *vote* and *stay*, but these were both extremely rare[5]. The scarcity of straightforward commands

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[5] In both corpora, frequencies: *vote* (3) *stay* (7)

to vote a certain way is not surprising, as it is not the way those in power approach voters in liberal democracies.

In conclusion, Cameron used directives in versatile ways. They were not just straightforward commands that emphasized Cameron's position of authority, but as the examples with hortatives show, they were also used in order to appeal to a sense of a British community. Moreover, directives were used to guide the hearers, through cognitive acts, to reach the conclusion that staying in was the obvious choice.

Questions

Questions in Cameron's discourse appeared more often in Corpus 1, with 3.49 instances ptw in comparison to 3.11 ptw in Corpus 2 (see Figure 11). Rhetorical questions were commonly questions which were not asked because the speaker wished to elicit an answer, but rather because there was a point to be made. They were a powerful way to capture the hearer's attention and to move on from logical arguments to explicitly addressing the audience:

(66)   But the question for us is not: **Are we a great country, have we got a brilliant economy, have we got talented businesses, have we got great entrepreneurs, have we got amazing universities, brilliant scientists?** The question is: **How do we do best?** (27.5.2016)

(67)   If Britain were to leave the EU, that would give you a feeling of sovereignty. But you've got to ask yourself: **Is it real? Would you have the power to help businesses and make sure they're not discriminated against in Europe?** No, you wouldn't. (21.2.2016)

In example 66 above, Cameron also employs the inclusive *we* to further create the sense of a cooperative effort to address this dilemma. Hyland & Jiang (2016b: 35) consider using inclusive *we* in questions a powerful persuasive strategy because it enables speakers to take the audience "towards a pre-determined conclusion". Together with the repetitive nature of the questions, their aim is also to grab the audience's attention.

Besides attracting attention and logically leading hearers to resolves, Cameron's use of rhetorical questions portray him as willing to engage his audience in a dialogue, and to thoroughly think the decision and its consequences through, as in examples 66 above and 68 below, where he does not answer his question like he immediately does in example 67.

(68)   **What happens for the 7, 8, 9 years while we wait to put these arrangements in place? What happens to jobs? What happens to our confidence?** (29.2.2016)

So, Cameron posed some of his questions as food for thought for his hearers, but in the hopes that the arguments he has presented elsewhere in the discourse provide the answer. However, in some cases his questions were immediately followed by an answer which provides the audience with a memorable take-away message:

(69)   **Better off [in the EU]?** Certainly. (9.5.2016)

Asides

Asides decreased from 2.18 hits ptw in Corpus 1 to 1.19 ptw in Corpus 2 (see Figure 11). Asides differed functionally from code glosses by not adding any additional information to the argument – rather, they allowed Cameron to digress somewhat from what was said in order to connect with the audience in a more personal way. The single most used marker to signal comments such as these were dashes. In the few instances in my data, Cameron used them in various ways. Firstly, they were highly contextual and involved Cameron addressing and acknowledging his physically present live audience:

(70)   If you were trying to rejoin **– let me just make this point but I promise I'll then take some of your questions –** you'd have to join the single currency […]. (19.6.2016)

Secondly, asides were used to add in positive comments on the UK as a nation:

(71)   We should be taking that market, and driving the trade deals with China **– whose economy we're bigger than –** as part of that single market […]. (12.6.2016)

And finally, sometimes asides were either meta-comments on his own discourse (as in example 72) or personal remarks (example 73).

(72)   You cannot find an expert on the subject **– and I've been quoting lots of experts –** you can't find one who thinks it's going to happen. (12.6.2016)
(73)   You boil it down to: if you love this country **– and I love this country so much –** you want what's best for it. (21.2.2016)

According to Hyland & Jiang (2016b: 37), asides are, in essence, "an intervention simply to connect" with the audience as they are a way for the speakers to suddenly turn to the hearers mid-flow and directly address them. In Cameron's case, this meant acknowledging the audience's presence and offering dialogic remarks on the discourse, himself and the UK to establish a more personal connection with his audience.

Appeals to shared knowledge

Knowledge appeals were relatively infrequent in both sources: 1.14 instances ptw in Corpus 1 and 1.08 ptw (see Figure 11 in the beginning of this section). Most popular markers within this subcategory were *of course*, *obviously* and *we know*. Cameron used knowledge appeals in two ways. Firstly, they were employed to refer to things common to the British people:

(74)   **We all remember** those terrible days in 2005 when London was
         bombed by terrorists. (23.2.2016)

In example 74, Cameron's appeal is a strong emotional appeal. A reference to a shared national trauma – in order to support his argument that remaining in the EU is vital – is a powerful one. However, he used this particular reference to the 2005 bombings only once in Corpus 2, and four times in Corpus 1 (all in February). All in all, it was not a frequently heard appeal. Secondly, Cameron used knowledge appeals in a less affective way, as facts apparently already known to the audience:

(75)   **We know** that to be a global power and to be a European power
         are not mutually exclusive. (9.5.2016)
(76)   I think there's such an **obvious common sense** and logical point
         here which is [that British businesses] want us to stay in the biggest
         single market of the world because they see immense opportunity.
         (12.6.2016)

In this way, he seems to implicitly suggest that the audience is smart enough to agree with the following statement. Especially referring to the audience's common sense and implying that the arguments (or even opinions) put forward are commonly known, universal facts is a strong rhetorical strategy.

To sum up, hearer mentions were the predominant subcategory within engagement markers. Cameron used them in a clearly affective way to acknowledge his audience and their situation, to establish a British in-group, and to signal that they are all in the same boat and want what is best for both the country and its people. He instructed hearers with directives and built relationships with them through the use of questions that brought the audience into the discourse as participants. Asides and appeals to shared knowledge offered personal remarks and explicit comments on shared common ground. In the next chapter, I will sum up my findings and connect them in more depth with the three Aristotelean modes of persuasion.

5. Discussion

In this chapter, I will answer my research questions, compare my results with previous studies of metadiscourse in other genres, and present some limitations of my study. I also make suggestions for future research.

5.1. Metadiscourse and Cameron's rhetorical strategy

First, it should be noted that metadiscourse analysis proved to be a suitable way of studying persuasion in political speeches. Moir (2013: 227) notes that persuasion in political communication has traditionally been analysed from three distinct points of view: message source (credibility), message characteristics (e.g. one-sided versus two-sided messages), and message receivers (involvement). A main advantage of studying metadiscourse is that it covers all of these dimensions, i.e. studying stance coincides with linguistic matters related to the source, interactive metadiscourse markers coincide with the characteristics of the message itself in terms of its structure, and engagement markers with how speakers want to involve their audiences in the discourse. Therefore, Hyland's theory of metadiscourse overlaps with many previous theories of political rhetoric.

Previously, Hyland (2005a: 63–85) has suggested a link between the three Aristotelean modes of persuasion and his metadiscursive categories. Firstly, in his view, interactive metadiscourse markers are used by writers and speakers to make their appeals rational, as they explicitly help in connecting arguments and ideas together – linking them to Logos. Secondly, hedges, boosters and directives are tools

that make texts appear more credible, contributing to Ethos, by allowing the writer to explicitly express authority and competence. And finally, he notes that Pathos can be appealed to through various devices, such as hearer mentions, attitude markers, and rhetorical questions. My results were well in line with these findings. To sum up and to answer my first research question, Cameron relied on all three modes of persuasion in his rhetoric. This is not a surprising find, since political speeches typically include a strong combination of all three types of appeal, and are thus needed to construct a convincing, persuasive argument (Virtanen & Halmari 2005: 6).

In Cameron's discourse, Logos was achieved mainly through interactive metadiscourse, and especially the way it was used to structure the propositional material. Transitions linked arguments together and communicated to the audience how the logical connections between claims worked, while frame markers made Cameron's discourse easier to follow by explicitly organizing its structure on a higher level and communicating its purpose. Code glosses explained economic terminology in more depth, and evidentials borrowed supporting arguments for remaining from the surrounding Brexit discourse and allowed Cameron to address rebuttals of his views. Finally, Cameron used endophoric markers to repeat and remind the audience of previous arguments and, much like some frame markers as well, to guide the audience's attention to upcoming talking points.

Besides interactive metadiscourse, I would also add that some interactional metadiscourse markers in Cameron's discourse contributed to the construction of Logos. Within attitude markers, his references to what choices were 'right' and 'good' in an economic sense were a prevalent feature and worked as an appeal to the rational *homo economicus*. In a similar way, questions and directives that were used to induce the audience to perform cognitive acts acted as appeals to the audience's logical reasoning.

Ethos-building devices in Cameron's discourse included directives, self mentions, hedges, and boosters. Cameron claimed authority with directives by portraying himself as an assertive leader and requiring the audience to act or understand things in a pre-established way. However, stance markers like self mentions, hedges, and boosters were by far a more salient part of Cameron's discourse than directives. As Cameron's career was on the line, his heavy personal

involvement was clearly reflected on the language he used. His use of self mentions, boosters, and hedges clearly revealed his personal attitudes to the propositional matter of the discourse, and all three were employed to build up his image as a credible source. For example, self mentions, and references to his premiership in particular, were used to bring his own authority, knowledgeability, and personal wishes forward. With his frequent use of boosters, Cameron portrayed his claims with great certainty and showed commitment to his statements. Boosters helped in building up his Ethos as a determined leader certain of his personal beliefs, especially when used alongside self mentions. Hedges, albeit more infrequent than boosters, helped in softening claims about the future consequences of a Leave vote and thus in creating a more honest speaker persona. Moreover, I have argued that interactive markers, to a certain extent, helped in building up Cameron's Ethos. Despite being mainly used as text-organizing devices, they also help in constructing articulate, sensible, and credible speaker personas.

Finally, Pathos was achieved through various interactional metadiscourse markers. One of the most prominent features was Cameron's extensive use of hearer mentions. Through them, Cameron constructed a British in-group and used collocates referring to the audience's lives (*country, jobs, children*) in a particularly affective way. Hortative directives also acted as a means to convey a sense of community. Appeals to shared knowledge and asides were used to build rapport within this UK in-group by overtly acknowledging the audience and that they have things in common between them; questions explicitly included the hearers in the discourse and invited them to engage in it. Additionally, Cameron relied on both positive and negative attitude markers, some laden with emotions (*dangerous, positive, right, wrong*), to make value judgments about the vote's consequences on the economy. Boosters and hedges also contributed to Pathos, especially the way in which Cameron envisioned future scenarios of the country's apparently-imminent demise if they vote to leave. Code glosses, at times, verged on the emotional appeal as well, especially when they were used to elaborate on the economic consequences of a Leave vote in a way personal to the audience.

My second research question asked if any interesting changes arose in my data when the two corpora were compared. Indeed, there were some obvious trends that show that the polls' decline had an effect on the discursive strategies.

Interestingly, all metadiscourse categories grew in number – stance by 20%, engagement by 11%, and interactive metadiscourse by 7% – indicating that there may be a link between the number of metadiscourse markers and attempts to increase persuasive strength.

Increases in stance and engagement can be, for the most part, attributed to the growing number of self and hearer mentions. As the voting day drew near, Cameron was more inclined to bring his own personal stance, thoughts, wishes and position as the Prime Minister more prominently forward, and increasingly engaged the audience in his discourse by referring to them both as hearers (with second person pronouns) and as a part of the British community (with inclusive *we*). It seems that in the last month of campaigning Cameron's discourse topics heavily shifted towards how the referendum and its possible consequences would affect both him and the audience personally, instead of more abstract economic and political arguments.

The polls tipping towards leaving were visible elsewhere in the discourse, too. Cameron's use of conditional sentences surged, apparent in the growth of markers such as *if* and *would*, and as the separation from the EU became more real, he increasingly proclaimed his own stance with verbs such as WORRY. Furthermore, positive and negative attitude markers both appeared more often, the latter experiencing more robust growth, again indicating that Cameron was more inclined to present affective value judgments about the vote and its consequences as his campaign began losing prospective voters in the polls. At the same time, Cameron started talking considerably more about *risks, our economy,* and *your grandchildren* and *jobs*.

Furthermore, there was an interesting shift in code glosses from purely logical usage towards offering the audience a more affective, personal, and explicit way of interpreting economic arguments – i.e. a change from just providing facts and figures to offering opinions on how Brexit could negatively impact voters' lives. It seems that Cameron, especially towards the end of campaigning, started to elaborate and explain economic facts through code glosses in quite affective ways. Besides code glosses, he explained the risks of a smaller economy through ways very personal to the audience by referring to their children, grandchildren, families and jobs through hearer mentions. In this way, the logical economic arguments were very explicitly translated to personal, emotional arguments – usually quite negative.

As for the third research question about the prevalence of a strong emotional appeal, the matter is more complicated. My results do provide some ground to speculate that some points of Cameron's discourse could be interpreted as scaremongering, especially the way boosters and negative attitude markers were used to paint inevitable future doomsday images, and the way knowledge appeals reminded the audience of previous terrorist attacks. Moreover, Cameron's attempts to explain economic facts and the impacts of societal changes on an individual's life through code glosses, especially when relating them to the audience's personal lives and families with hearer mentions, may have contributed to this sense of scaremongering – translating Brexit's effects on the economy as a risky move and a job-destroying shock that impacts 'your children's lives' is a powerful and affective fear appeal.

Nevertheless, Cameron also softened his claims about the future state of the UK if it happens to leave the European Union with hedges, especially by increased use of *would* instead of *will*. Furthermore, directives guiding the hearers to cognitive acts and Cameron's use of rhetorical questions portray a politician asking their electorate to think and consider for themselves, rather than approaching them with straightforward commands. Notions of scaremongering are also challenged by my results of the balance between positive and negative attitude markers: purely in terms of frequency, Cameron was more inclined to communicate the positive effects of staying in, rather than the negatives.

However, measuring the intensity or existence of a fear appeal is not straightforward, and further research would be needed to find out which types of linguistic markers contribute to a feeling of fear in the hearers – and to what extent. For example, I could not include clearly affective words such as *terrorism* in my search item lists as they are not markers of Cameron's stance, but rather denote propositional content. This was beyond the scope of this study, where the focus was solely on metadiscourse. Thus, the answers to my third research question remain mainly speculative.

On the whole, however, it does seem like Cameron's message was severely miscommunicated. The fact that Cameron tried to rebrand the Remain campaign as 'Project Fact' – i.e. the logical choice – suggests he was aiming for a more Logos-based approach, but considering the way he then ended up combining boosters,

negative attitude markers, hearer mentions and code glosses together to illustrate the negative economic consequences of a Leave vote on both the UK and its citizens may have been misconstrued as emotional instead of rational.

5.2. Comparison of metadiscourse marker usage in different genres

When compared to previous studies of metadiscourse in other genres, it is apparent that Cameron's Brexit speeches contained an extremely high number of metadiscourse in both interactive and interactional dimensions. Table 3 sums up my results alongside a few metadiscourse studies mentioned in Hyland (2005a)[6].

Table 3. Comparison of metadiscourse marker usage in other genres (per a 1,000 words).

	CEO's letters (Hyland 1998, cited in Hyland 2005a: 74)	**Textbooks** (Hyland 1998, cited in Hyland 2005a: 102)	**Research articles** (Hyland 1998, cited in Hyland 2005a: 102)	Cameron's Brexit discourse before 23 May	Cameron's Brexit discourse after 23 May
Interactive	12.90	49.10	34.80	67.30	71.82
Interactional	7.90	19.40	31.40	139.23	161.21
Total	**20.80**	**68.50**	**66.20**	**206.56**	**233.03**

In short, Hyland has previously analysed interactive and interactional metadiscourse in genres such as business and academic discourse. Of these, CEO's letters score the lowest frequencies for metadiscourse usage (20.80 ptw) and textbooks the highest (68.50 ptw). These totals are completely surpassed by the total number of metadiscourse in Cameron's Brexit discourse, with 206.56 hits ptw for Corpus 1 and 233.03 for Corpus 2. Presumably, the great differences can be accounted to changes in both medium and genre. Hyland's (2005a) data of both business and academic discourse all belong to the written medium, whereas mine was spoken. This comparison seems to indicate that spoken political discourse as a genre may be more laden with metadiscursive elements, but, of course, in order to make relevant comparisons one should make sure the frameworks and methods match exactly and the medium remains the same.

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[6] The basis of Hyland's framework has remained the same, so the studies should be comparable.

It should also be noted that all three studies mentioned in Hyland (2005a) feature more interactive than interactional metadiscourse, with research articles reaching the most balanced number with 34.80 hits ptw for interactive and 31.40 for interactional markers. Cameron's Brexit discourse, on the other hand, differs from them in the sense that it is the only genre where interactional metadiscourse is substantially more frequent and used in both corpora more than twice as much as interactive metadiscourse. Again, this poses questions of whether the imbalance can be attributed to a change in medium, genre, or both, and further studies with fewer variables should be conducted to make relevant comparisons.

Moreover, as Partington (2003: 20) suggests, findings resulting from corpus studies should be re-tested, perhaps with different corpora, because "no corpus is fully representative of the language as a whole, or even a subset thereof". Thus, more studies testing out Hyland's framework in the study of both written and spoken political discourse would be needed in order to make any conclusive statements of the genre characteristics.

5.3. Limitations of my study

The limitations of my study lie mostly in the theory of metadiscourse and its lack of clear-cut definitions (as explained in Chapter 2), and with the multifaceted nature of persuasion. Firstly, as Hyland (2005a: 31) notes, every list of metadiscourse markers can only be partial. As the lists by Hyland (2005a) and Hyland & Jiang (2016b) I used for the basis of my analysis were employed in studying academic discourse, there may have been linguistic items I overlooked in the process of constructing my own list of markers for the study of political discourse.

Secondly, it should be kept in mind that metadiscourse is only one factor contributing to the overall persuasiveness of Cameron's appeals. Persuasion is attained through other linguistic means as well, such as lexical frequencies, metaphors, poetic aspects such as alliteration, three-part lists, and humour (Halmari 2005). Furthermore, persuasion is not only limited to verbal communication, but can consist of nonverbal cues as well. This refers to speaker qualities such as charisma, communicators' congruity with the audience's values and attitudes, their likability, similarity to the hearer, and physical attractiveness (Perloff 2010). Evidently,

persuasion is a multi-dimensional entity that is affected by a multitude of factors, and metadiscourse is only a part of it.

Nevertheless, the high frequencies of metadiscourse markers indicate that it may be an important feature. The fact that Cameron's usage of interactive metadiscourse, stance, and engagement increased in a context where the referendum drew near, the polls tipped in favour of leaving, and the speaker personally had much at stake suggests that there, indeed, is a link between persuasion and metadiscourse, and that this connection should be studied further. For instance, studying audience responses to persuasive texts with varying amounts of metadiscursive elements could prove fruitful.

6. Conclusion

Studying metadiscourse has provided me with a comprehensive overview of the rhetorical trends in Cameron's EU referendum discourse. In short, Cameron's presence in the discourse was very salient, reflecting his personal involvement in calling the referendum. Cameron made his stance on the vote and his confidence in his claims clear, contributing to a strong Ethos. The arguments he relied on related mostly to the economic consequences of Brexit and were carefully constructed with the use of interactive metadiscourse markers, contributing to a strong Logos. However, these mainly rational arguments were usually translated to negative personal repercussions on the audience, which contributed to a strong Pathos and possibly the accusations of scaremongering.

My study has provided a look into metadiscourse markers in a genre and medium not previously studied in the field of metadiscourse and a new outlook on linguistic elements that help writers and speakers in the construction of persuasion in their discourse. My thesis joins the vast array of studies in the metadiscourse field, further supporting the theory, and adds political speeches to the list of genres studied. Moreover, I have tested Hyland's framework in a setting that differs much from the academic genre. The analysis of spoken language shows that some metadiscourse items may appear more often in this medium than in writing.

Furthermore, my thesis has contributed to the analysis of political discourse and rhetoric as it has related linguistic variables to the construction of the three

modes of persuasion by mirroring Hyland's metadiscourse framework with Aristotle's classical theory of rhetoric. This is a novel way of studying persuasion in political speeches, especially with such a comprehensive linguistic framework that allows analysts to study discourse in terms of the message source, the message itself, and message receivers. Before, studies have focused on singular linguistic phenomena (such as pronoun usage or rhetorical questions), whereas Hyland's framework simultaneously covered many of these aspects.

Overall, I hope to have shed some light on the way persuasion manifests in actual spoken political discourse, and how some specific linguistic forms helped Cameron in the pursuit of persuasion.

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Appendix

My search item lists for interactive metadiscourse and stance markers are based on Hyland's (2005a: 218–224) list, whereas my search item list of engagement markers is based on Hyland & Jiang (2016b: 40–41). My own additions are marked in **bold**. Overlapping metadiscourse markers (i.e. those that appear in more than one marker category) are marked in red. Asterisks (*) and underscores (_) are symbols used in AntConc as wild cards (to search for any sequence of zero or more characters) and to mark part-of-speech tags (UCREL CLAWS7 tagset), respectively. Regular expressions search terms were also used in finding relevant items whenever needed.

INTERACTIVE METADISCOURSE

TRANSITIONS

accordingly
additionally
again
also
alternatively
although
and
anyway
as_C*
as a consequece
as a result
at the same time
because
besides
but
by contrast
by the same token
consequently
conversely
equally
even though
follow* (consequence)
further
furthermore
hence
however
if
in addition
in any case
in contrast
in the same way
leads to

lead* to
likewise
moreover
nevertheless
nonetheless
on the contrary
on the one hand
on the other hand
opposite*
rather
result* in
similarly
since
so (_RR + _C*)
so as to
still
the result is
thereby
therefore
though
thus
whereas
while
yet

FRAME MARKERS
well_RR*
SEQUENCING
finally
final
first
first of all
firstly
last

lastly
let me
next
second
secondly
subsequently
then
third
thirdly
to begin
to start with

LABEL STAGES

all in all
at this point
at this stage
basically
by far
for the moment
in a nutshell
in brief
in conclusion
in short
in sum
in summary
now
on the whole
overall
shortly
so far
thus far
to conclude
to repeat
to sum up
to summarize

ANNOUNCE GOALS

aim is/to
argument is/arguments are
desire to
focus
goal
I (would) argue
intend to
intention
objective
point is
purpose
seek to
this debate
I (just) want to

wish to
would like to

SHIFT TOPIC

back to
digress
in regard to
move on
now
regarding
resume
return to
revisit
shift to
to look more closely
turn to
with regard to

EVIDENTIALS

"_"
_N sa*_V*
according to
cite*
quote*

CODE GLOSSES

– –
()
as a matter of fact
called
defined as
e.g.
for example
for instance
I mean
i.e.
in fact (elaborating)
in other words
indeed (elaborating)
it means
known as
meaning
namely
or X
put another way
say
specifically
such as
that is
that is to say

that means
this means
which means
viz

explain later
I have said
I will tell
I'll tell
previously said
in this *_NN*
repeat
I've said
say again

INTERACTIONAL METADISCOURSE:
STANCE

Hedges
_P 'd (conditional modality)
about_RG
all sorts
almost
apparent*
appear*
approximate*
argue*
around_RG
broad*
certain amount
certain extent
certain level
claim*
could (conditional, not past)
doubt*
essentially
estimate*
fairly
feel*
felt
frequently
from my perspective
from our perspective
from this perspective
general*
guess*
in general

in most cases
in most instances
in my opinion
in my view
in our opinion
in our view
in this view
indicat*
largely
likely
mainly
may (possibility)
maybe
might
most*
often
on the whole
ought (probability)
perhaps
plausibl*
possibil*
possibl*
postulate*
presumabl*
probabl*
quite
rather X
relatively
roughly
seem*
should (likely to)
some
sometimes
somewhat
suggest*
suppose*
suspect*
tend* to
to my knowledge
to our knowledge
typical*
unclear*
unlike*
up to
usually
would (conditional modality)
would not
wouldn't

Boosters

*_'ll_*
absolute*
actually
always
beyond doubt/not be in any doubt
certain*
clear*
complete*
conclusively
decidedly
definite*
demonstrate*
doubtless
establish*
evidence
evident*
fact*
find*
found
highly
in fact (emphasizing)
incontestabl*
incontrovertibl*
indeed (emphasizing)
indisputabl*
know*
massive*
must (possibility)
never
no doubt
obvious*
of course
prove*
realize*
really
show*
sure*
total*
true
truly
undeniabl*
undisputedly
undoubtedly
very
whol*
will (future tense)
won't (future)

without doubt

Self mentions

I
me
mine
my
Prime Minister

Attitude markers

!
admit*
afraid
agree*_V*
amaz*
appropriate*
astonish*
attractive
bad
better
bright*
brilliant
concern*
correct*
crucial*
curious*
dangerous
desirabl*
disagree*
disappoint*
dramatic*
enhance*
error*
essential
even x
expected*
extraordinar*
fair*
fantastic
fear*
fortunate*
good
great
happy
hope*
I understand
important*
inappropriate*
interesting*

it/that/this is *_JJ*
mistake*
most_* *_JJ
myth*
negative*
nonsense
passionate*
positive*
prefer*
proud
remarkabl*
ridiculous*
right_J*
rightful
rightly
risk*
sacrific*
shocking
special
striking*
superb
surpris*
terrible
unbelievabl*
uncertain*
unexpected
unfair*
unfortunate*
unusual*
usual*
vital
worr*
worse
wrong

INTERACTIONAL METADISCOURSE:
ENGAGEMENT

Hearer mentions

our
ours
us
we
you
your
yours

Questions

?

Appeal to shared knowledge

apparent*
as a rule
common*
conventional*
established (adjective)
familiar
given (assumed condition)
integrate*
normally
obvious
obviously
of course
prevailing
prevalent
routinely
traditional*
typical*
usual*
we know
we remember
we_PPIS2 all_* *_VV0

Directives

,_, *_VV0
._. *_VV0
:_: *_VV0
choose
compare
consider
don't
ensure
go
has to
have to
imagine
keep
let us
let's
listen
look at
make
must (obligation)
need* to
ought (duty or obligation)
picture
remain
remember

should (obligation)
stay
take
think
turn
vote

Asides
– –
by the way
incidentally