

University of Pardubice

Faculty of Arts and Philosophy

The Portrayal of Refugees in the UK Online Press

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Bachelor Thesis

2017

Univerzita Pardubice
Fakulta filozofická
Akademický rok: 2015/2016

ZADÁNÍ BAKALÁŘSKÉ PRÁCE

(PROJEKTU, UMĚLECKÉHO DÍLA, UMĚLECKÉHO VÝKONU)

Jméno a příjmení: **Sabina Leopoldová**
Osobní číslo: **H14063**
Studijní program: **B7310 Filologie**
Studijní obor: **Anglický jazyk pro odbornou praxi**
Název tématu: **Vyobrazení uprchlíků v britském internetovém tisku**
Zadávající katedra: **Katedra anglistiky a amerikanistiky**

Z á s a d y p r o v y p r a c o v á n í :

Cílem této bakalářské práce je zmapovat způsob vyobrazení uprchlíků v britském internetovém tisku. Po stručném společensko-politickém úvodu do zkoumané problematiky autorka charakterizuje novinovou zprávu jako žánr a osvětlí vliv médií na vytváření a udržování ideologie. Pro svůj výzkum si zvolí přístup kritické analýzy diskurzu, představí její cíle a metody. Ve svém vlastním výzkumu se zaměří na způsob reference k uprchlíkům ve formě nominální fráze. Nejprve definuje nominální fráze obecně, dále se zaměří na její strukturu, zejména možnosti premodifikace a postmodifikace. Části nominální fráze popíše též z hlediska jejich deskriptivní a evaluativní funkce.

Rozsah grafických prací:

Rozsah pracovní zprávy:

Forma zpracování bakalářské práce: **tištěná/elektronická**

Seznam odborné literatury:

1. Baker, Paul. 2006. *Using Corpora in Discourse Analysis*. London: Continuum.
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Datum zadání bakalářské práce:

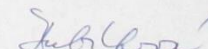
30. dubna 2016

Termín odevzdání bakalářské práce:

31. března 2017



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Souhlasím s prezenčním zpřístupněním své práce v Univerzitní knihovně.

V Pardubicích dne 29. 11. 2017

Sabina Leopoldová

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, PhDr. Zuzana Nádraská, Ph.D. for her time, invaluable advice and guidance.

I would also like to thank my family and my partner for providing me with support and continuous encouragement throughout my studies and through the process of writing this thesis. Thank you.

ANNOTATION

This paper deals with the ways in which the British online media depict refugees. This work introduces the discipline of critical discourse analysis and focuses close attention to ideologies. In the analytical part, the thesis examines noun phrases used for a reference to refugees.

KEY WORDS

noun phrases, news reports, critical discourse analysis, ideology, refugees

NÁZEV PRÁCE

Vyobrazení uprchlíků v britském internetovém tisku.

ANOTACE

Tato práce se zabývá způsoby, kterými Britská internetová média vyobrazují uprchlíky. Práce představuje disciplínu kritické analýzy diskurzu a věnuje pozornost konceptu ideologie. V analytické části se práce zaměřuje na způsob reference k uprchlíkům ve formě nominální fráze.

KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA

nominální fráze, novinová zpráva, kritická analýza diskurzu, ideologie, uprchlíci

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INTRODUCTION

In spite of the significant decline in the popularity of newspapers in recent years, newspaper articles still remain a highly influential source of information. It is generally assumed that the media present information that are true and objective. However, the opposite is true; the media often present events distorted on the basis of the ideological beliefs held by the media institutions.

The ongoing Syrian Civil War gave rise to a large number of people leaving their homes with the vision of building a better life in Europe. These people have been the center of media attention for almost three years now, since the beginning of what is called The European Migrant Crisis. Expressions like refugees, migrants and asylum seekers appear in the media every day. However, these expressions are not the only ones that appear in reference to refugees. Just as there are significant differences in the views on refugees among people in society, the media hold their own subjective opinions which are sometimes, although usually indirectly, reflected in the way they portray refugees.

The aim of this thesis is to examine the ways in which British online media depict refugees. This thesis is divided into theoretical and analytical parts. The theoretical part provides the theoretical background for the analytical part. Firstly, the genre of news reports is introduced, then the thesis explains the term objectivity and its importance. After that, the concept of ideology is explained, followed by a description of a discipline called critical discourse analysis. The last chapter of the theoretical part is dedicated to noun phrases.

The analytical part first describes the data corpus and summarizes the main objectives of the analysis, followed by the explanation of the methodology used in this thesis. Subsequently the data corpus analysis is carried out. The analysis is performed in two steps. Firstly, a quantitative grammatical analysis of the noun phrases in the corpus is performed, followed by a quantitative lexical analysis. Finally, the results of the analysis are presented and interpreted.

1 NEWS REPORTS

The subject of this thesis is the analysis of news reports. Therefore, it is important to define the term ‘news reports’ first. As news reports are nowadays broadcast via different media such as TV, newspapers, or radio, it is necessary to make clear that the subject of the analysis are news reports published in newspapers, more precisely online newspapers. The following text, therefore, only deals with news reports published via online newspapers and does not include news reports published via radio or TV.

1.1 Tabloids vs. Broadsheets

Before proceeding any further, it is essential to briefly mention two major categories of British newspapers. In the UK, newspapers are traditionally divided into tabloids and broadsheets. These categories originally referred to the size of the newspapers. Nowadays, however, the main difference is in their content and ways of presenting information. The main function of tabloids is to entertain readers; accordingly, tabloids usually consist of sensational material such as scandalous gossips about celebrities, disasters or crime articles. *The Sun*, *The Daily Mail*, and *The Daily Mirror* can serve as examples of newspapers from this category. Broadsheets are, on the other hand, considered more quality press and their primary function is informative. Examples of newspapers from the broadsheet category are *The Guardian*, *The Telegraph*, or *The Independent*. In this thesis, only articles from the newspapers from the broadsheets category will be used for the analysis.

1.2 Soft News vs. Hard news

Broadsheets are generally associated with reporting ‘hard news’, whereas tabloids are associated with the category of ‘soft news’ (Bell 1991, 14). Soft news, also known as feature articles, are usually longer, go beyond the basic facts and contain background information about recent events. “They can be amusing, warm, funny, unusual, odd (but nonembarrassing), compelling, informative, and—yes—emotional or opinionated.” (Whitaker, Ramsey and Smith 2004, 302) The style of writing is usually more liberal, and the author can include his personal opinions, which makes the genre of soft news subjective. For the purpose of this thesis, it is necessary to work only with objective articles, therefore, the category of soft news is excluded from the analysis.

The main concern of this paper is the hard news category. In the words of Bell (1991, 14), “hard news comprises reports of accidents, conflicts, crimes, announcements, discoveries,

and other events which have occurred or come to light...” Hard news include ‘spot news’- reports of accidents, disasters, crimes, or important events in politics, economics and diplomacy. (Bell, 1991, 147) This definition is close to that of White (1997,101) who defines hard news as “reports typically associated with eruptive violence, reversals of fortune and socially significant breaches of the moral order.” Unlike soft news, hard news is generally written in an impersonal style, which suggest the objectivity of the facts. Objectivity is very important for the aim of this thesis; hence, the main concern of this thesis is the hard news category.

1.3 Objectivity of News Reports

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, it is vital for the purpose of this thesis to work with articles that are objective. Therefore, the following paragraphs describe objectivity and its importance in more detail.

The main function of newspapers is to inform readers about the world. Therefore, as van Dijk (1988, 74-6) explains, news reports must be written in a formal style; the author is expected to maintain distance from the reader and refrain from including personal experiences, private beliefs or opinions. As Whitaker, Ramsey and Smith (2004, 53) put it:

Ideally, journalism should be the eyes and ears of readers, listeners, and viewers: informing the public, serving as a watchdog over government, business and industry, facilitating democracy, and being a medium of socialization. News stories should be reported with accuracy, fairness, and lack of bias. Journalists should avoid rumor and sensational reporting, keep a social distance from those they cover, and maintain a professional, mutually respectful adversarial relationship with newsmakers, especially political figures.

Similarly, Fowler (1991, 1) points out that the professional ethos of all news media is that the journalist “collects facts, reports them objectively, and the newspaper presents them fairly and without bias, in language which is designed to be unambiguous, undistorting and agreeable to readers.” In other words, the task of news reporters is to represent the reality and present facts objectively.

Objectivity, according to White (1998, 395), is associated with “beliefs that news coverage recounts, or at least should recount events without the intrusion of value judgement, interpretation or point of view.” Similarly, McQuail (1992, 187) states that "objective news implies an unwritten contract that leads the news consumer to expect that news can be believed,

trusted, taken at face value, readily understood, without the need to read between the lines". White (2000,381) presents three principles of objectivity; neutrality, balance and reliability. In terms of neutrality, the reporter cannot include his own opinions, judgments or emotional responses in the article. Balance means that the reporter must include several points of view or versions of events, if necessary. And as for reliability, the reporter must make sure that the used information comes from appropriate sources.

While it is a widely held belief that the news is objective, and the information presented in news reports is always true, it is often argued that the objectivity of news reports is in reality unattainable. For example, Fowler (1991,19) is convinced that objectivity is impossible to maintain because "the institutions of news reporting and presentation are socially, economically and politically situated, all news is always reported from some particular angle." Similarly, White (2006, 37) argues that "news reporting is a mode of rhetoric in the broadest sense of the word – a value laden, ideologically determined discourse with a clear potential to influence the media audience's assumptions and beliefs about the way the world is and the way it ought to be."

In other words, the fact that people trust in the objectivity of media and consider it unbiased gives the media owners the power to present what is convenient for them. Since news reports are widely read and easily accessible, they reach to a massive amount to people. In this way, media become a powerful tool that can serve as an instrument to present opinionated content, viewpoints and spread ideologies.

2 IDEOLOGIES

The previous chapter mentioned ideology. Before proceeding any further, it is important to comprehend the concept, since ideology is the main subject of the analysis presented in this thesis. Van Dijk (2000) came up with a multidisciplinary approach, according to which ideology consists of three dimensions, namely cognition, society, and discourse. The cognitive dimension of ideology concerns social cognitions shared by a group and its members. The social dimension examines the role of groups and institutions in the development and reproduction of ideologies. The discourse dimension deals with the relation between discourse and ideologies and explains the role of discourse in the reproduction of ideology in society (van Dijk 2000, 4). This chapter describes these aspects of ideology in more detail. Moreover, other terms essential for understanding the nature of ideology, namely the concept of groups, power and dominance, are explained.

2.1 The Concept of Groups

Van Dijk (2000, 7) defines ideologies as “fundamental beliefs of a group and its members”. Indeed, the concept of ideologies is closely associated with groups and it is therefore important to first explain what exactly here is meant by the term groups.

Groups, in this context, concern people, who are able to identify themselves as group members based on characteristics they share with other group members, such as origin, appearance, religion, typical activities (professional), specific goals (teach students, bring the news), norms, group relations and resources (van Dijk 2000, 33). The beliefs shared by such groups “are often about important social and political issues, namely those issues that are relevant for a group and its existence, rather than about trivial everyday things” (van Dijk 2000, 11). Relevant shared characteristics function as the foundation for the beliefs shared by group members, that is, ideologies. The categories of information that people use in order to identify themselves as group members and at the same time use as the basis of the beliefs they share are summarized as follows:

Membership criteria: Who does (not) belong?

Typical activities: What do we do?

Overall aims: What do we want? Why do we do it?

Norms and values: What is good or bad for us?

Position: What are the relationships with others?
Resources: Who has access to our group resources?
(van Dijk 2000,17)

Based on ideologies, one can thus identify himself as either belonging to a certain group, that is, as an ingroup member or identify another person as not belonging, that is, as an outgroup member. In this way, ideologies typically polarize people between "us" and "them" (van Dijk 2000, 8.) Should this ingroup/outgroup distinction be applied to the case of refugees, since they are the main focus of this thesis, the ingroup members, "us", are the original British people and the outgroup members, "them", include refugees, the minority (van Dijk 2000, 62).

2.2 Ideology as a Form of Social Cognition

By clarifying what the term 'groups' conveys and how it works in the context of ideology, the necessary background knowledge for comprehending the socio-cognitive aspects of ideology was provided. Social cognition can be defined as "the manner in which we interpret, analyze, remember, and use information about the social world" (Baron and Branscombe 2012, 36). The representation of this information (information about events, actions, situations, participants, etc.) in our minds is referred to as 'mental models' (van Dijk 2000, 21). Mental models are personal, but they are also partially influenced by general social cognitions shared by members within a group, that is, they are subject to ideological influence (van Dijk 2000, 22). Since mental models control social practices and the production and comprehension of discourse (van Dijk 2000, 86), the group members interpret events from the perspective of the ideological group and the ideological interpretation of events is then reflected in their social practices and discourse, in other words, in the way they behave and talk. For example, in case of immigration, members of a group ideologically opposing to immigration would thus reflect their ideology in their opinion of an arrival of immigrants to Europe. In this way, ideologies help group members interpret the world and control their social practices. (Dijk 2000, 6)

2.3 The Social Dimension of Ideology

The social dimension concerns the role of group relations in development of ideologies. According to van Dijk, (2000, 30) "ideologies are not merely acquired and represented by individuals, but socially learned and collectively represented by a group of people, as is also the case for language." Similarly, Fairclough (1989, 88) explains that rather than by individuals,

ideologies are created by “differences in position, experience and interests between social groupings, which enter into relationship (and, as we shall see, ideological conflict) with each other in terms of power.”

2.2.1 Power

The concept of power is crucial for the development of ideologies since it is, as was indicated in the previous paragraph, the reason why ideologies exist in the first place. Power is, in terms of ideology, defined as “*control* exercised by one group or organisation (or its ‘members) over the *actions* and/or the *minds* of (the members of) another group, thus limiting the freedom of action of the others, or influencing their knowledge, attitudes or ideologies” (van Dijk 1996, 84). Similarly, Fowler (1991, 105) defines power as “asymmetrical relationship between people such that one person has the ascribed authority to control the other’s actions and liberties, and not vice versa.” The group that has the power over another group is called a dominant group. Dominance, in this sense, is “a form of social power *abuse*, that is, as a legally or morally illegitimate exercise of control over others in one’s own interests, often resulting in social inequality.” (van Dijk 2000, 35)

The role of ideology in the relations of power between dominant and dominated groups is that it serves to “formulate the principles by which a group ‘deserves’ such advantages over other groups, they justify forms of power abuse and their goal is to reproduce this power and thus maintain the dominance.” Based on these principles, “power abuse may be justified, legitimized, condoned or accepted”(van Dijk 2000, 35). In other words, ideologies are created because they serve as a means of asserting the interests of dominant groups, and thereby help to sustain their power.

2.3 The Discourse Dimension of Ideology

The discourse dimension of ideology concerns the role of discourse in the reproduction of ideology in society. As Fairclough explains, (1989, 88) “ideological struggle pre-eminently takes place in language.” Similarly, van Dijk (2000, 9) states that “one of the crucial social practices influenced by ideologies are language use and discourse, which in turn also influence how we acquire, learn or change ideologies.” Discourse and its relation to ideology thus became the subject of interest to authors who are concerned with ideology.

When people act as members of groups, they start to project their ideological beliefs in their actions and interactions, not only in text and talk, but also in other proverbial activities,

such as gestures, expressions, body posture, etc. (van Dijk 2000, 31-32) It follows that ideologies may be expressed not only explicitly, but they are very often invisible and not easily detected. This is because, as Fairclough (1989, 85) points out, “ideology is most effective when its workings are least visible”. Furthermore, Fairclough (1989, 84) emphasizes the notion of ‘common sense’ which he understands as “common sense in the service of sustaining unequal relations of power.” Fairclough explains that “power can be won and exercised only in and through social struggles in which it may also be lost.” (1989, 43) Therefore, power “is not a permanent and undisputed attribute of any one person or social grouping. On the contrary, those who hold power at a particular moment have to constantly reassert their power.” (Fairclough 1989, 68) In other words, it is desirable for the dominant group when ideologies are perceived as common sense, because it prevents ideologies from being detected and the power of the dominant group is therefore less likely to be questioned and challenged; ideologies thus very often appear in texts indirectly.

2.3.1 Ideology in News Reports Discourse

Van Dijk (2000, 42) believes that ideology can be expressed in all structures of text and talk, but some structures, such as aspects of meaning (topics, presuppositions, metaphors, etc.), are more likely to be used to express ideologies than other structures, for example morphological structures. This work focuses only on the reference to refugees in the form of noun phrases. However, there is a vast amount of different ways for the author of the text to implicitly express ideologies in the text. The following text gives several examples of how discourse can serve to reproduce ideologies in society. Since this thesis concerns the role of media in distributing ideologies, the examples focus on media discourse.

Ideology enters the text before it is even written, during the process of selecting what will be published. Fowler (1991, 11) explains that “the news media select events for reporting to a complex set of criteria of newsworthiness.” These criteria are known as ‘news values’, Whitaker, Ramsey and Smith (2004, 135-136) list eight that must be met in order for the event to be considered newsworthy, namely timeliness or currency, proximity, prominence, impact, suspense, human interest, novelty and progress. However, Fowler (1991, 11) also points out that reported events are not intrinsically newsworthy; someone has to be the judge of the criteria of newsworthiness. The process thus involves certain level of subjectivity of the person who selects the news. Since news reports are considered to be objective, as was already explained, the readers expect to be informed about important events in the world. Needless to say, only a

small part of world events are reported in the press. Consequently, readers are only informed about a fragment of world events, the events who the dominant groups want the readers to be aware of, which gives them enormous power

Another way to hide ideologies in the text concerns the structure of news reports. News reports begin with a headline, which summarizes the central theme of the story, and are traditionally structured according to so called 'inverted pyramid'. Structuring the story in accordance with the inverted pyramid means the article begins by presenting the most important facts and the information that follows decreases in importance. The essential and most interesting information is summarized in the first paragraph of the article, called the 'lead paragraph' (Whitaker, Ramsey, and Smith 2004, 138). As Reeves and Keeble (2015, 114) observe, the choice of the headline reflects the angle from which the story is approached, and different aspects of the story may be emphasized in the headline. In the same way, it is possible to highlight different aspects of the article in the lead paragraph. As was the case with the selection process, the decision of what is the most important feature of the news events is subjective; in this way, some aspects of the news events are assigned a greater importance than others. As van Dijk (1995, 29) explains, "information that is inconsistent with the interests of powerful groups may be downgraded, and information about outgroups be given more prominence by assigning it to a more prominent category."

The next method has to do with syntactic choices. For example, passive sentences, nominalization and word order can be crucial for example, when it is desirable to make someone's negative actions less prominent. The agent can be left out by using nominalization, or his action can be de-emphasized by moving the agent at the end of the sentence by using passive structures. Van Dijk (2000, 55) gives an example of the sentence "The police arrested the demonstrators." In this sentence, the agent, the police, is emphasized by being put at the beginning of the statement. However, if we use the passive structure and say, "The demonstrators were arrested by the police", the agent is still mentioned but receives less emphasis. Another option is to leave the agent implicit and say, "The demonstrators were arrested" or use nominalization and say, "The arrest of the demonstrators". In this case, the role of the police is unclear. These choices reflect the newspaper's ideological positions by expressing their attitude towards the actors.

Lexical choices, that are particularly interesting for this thesis, may also express ideological positions. As Fowler (1991,6) explains „each particular form of linguistic expression in a text – wording, syntactic option, etc. – has its reason. There are always

different ways of saying the same thing, and they are not random, accidental alternatives". For example, the same person or event may be described using different words. Van Dijk (1988, 177) gives an example of the use of "riots" instead of "disturbances" or instead of "resistance" or the use of "hooligans" instead of, for example "demonstrators". When readers see the word "hooligan" which has a negative connotation, they automatically make a negative picture about the subjects of the article. The example of an analysis of articles describing the Gulf War against Iraq is another good example of how lexical choices may reflect ideological positions. While the American soldiers were referred to as "boys" or "lads", the Iraqi soldiers were referred to as "troops" and "hordes". Similarly, the verbs used to describe the actions of Americans were "suppress", "eliminate", and "neutralize", while the verbs used with the actions of Iraqis were "destroy" or "kill". (Richardson 2007, 48) In this way, the reader perceives the Iraqis as the evil and the Americans as the good.

3 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

In the previous chapter, the connection between discourse, ideology and power relations was explained. The discipline that investigates the connection is called critical discourse analysis. Since critical discourse analysis is the approach used in the analytical part of this thesis, the following paragraphs describe critical discourse analysis in more detail.

First of all, it should be pointed out that although critical discourse analysis is a commonly-used term, it is a concept difficult to define precisely, as it is not a comprehensive approach with one clear precise definition. Critical discourse analysis can be viewed as an object of a scholar group's study, their theories and approaches. Research into critical discourse analysis does not have a very long history. Even though critical discourse analysis had existed prior to 1990s, the first serious discussions about critical discourse analysis emerged during that decade. Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen and Ruth Wodak were the first to discuss the concept of critical discourse analysis. However, they did not always arrive at the same conclusion and their definitions and methodology remain slightly different even today. (Wodak and Meyer, 2001, 4) In this paper, I will draw on work of three out of these scholars, namely Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak and their approaches to critical discourse analysis.

Critical discourse analysis regards language as a way of social practice. Fowler (1991, 1) claims that "language is not neutral, but a highly constructive mediator". Likewise, Fairclough (1995, 131) points out that language is constitutive. This means that language is socially shaped, but in the same way it shapes society, that is, it has the power to contribute towards reproduction and transformation of society and culture. (Fairclough, Wodak, 1997, 273) However, as Wodak states: "language is not powerful on its own – it gains power by the use powerful people make of it." (Wodak 2001, 10). In other words, discourse practices may be ideological and may serve to power. One of the main goals of critical discourse analysis is to uncover these practices.

Thus, as Fairclough (1995, 131) puts it, critical discourse analysis aims to

“systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.”

Similarly, van Dijk (2001a, 352) states that critical discourse analysis is concerned with

“the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality.”

Likewise, Wodak (2001, 2) stresses the relation between language and power in critical discourse analysis as crucial and believes that social problems and inequity are from a large part constructed by discourse. She sees critical discourse analysis as concerned with “relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language. In other words, critical discourse analysis aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signaled, constituted, legitimized and so on by language use (or in discourse).” (Wodak 2001, 2)

As was indicated in the previous paragraph, critical discourse analysis “focuses primarily on social problems and political issues, rather than on current paradigms and fashions.” (van Dijk 2001a, 353) Therefore, critical discourse analysis usually deals with topics such as gender inequality, racism, education, media etc. As Wodak (2001, 10) states, the researchers usually take the side of those who suffer and critically view the dominant groups responsible for power inequalities. Likewise, van Dijk (2001b, 96) states that critical discourse analysis supports dominated group and their struggle against inequality. Van Dijk (1993, 253) believes that the success of critical discourse analysis “is measured by its effectiveness and relevance, that is, by its contribution to change.”

In summary, all the above-mentioned authors see critical discourse analysis as a method to explore the relation between discourse, ideology and power. More specifically, critical discourse analysis examines the role of discourse in spreading ideologies and unequal power relations, i.e. the way discourse is used by dominant groups to maintain or strengthen their power. Although the scholars agree on the ultimate goal of critical discourse analysis, they do differ in terms of the methods they use to carry out the analysis. Wodak, for example, emphasizes the importance of historical context in the analysis process. Van Dijk, on the other hand, pays special attention to cognitive features by exploring the connection between cognition and discourse. The methods of Wodak, Fairclough and Dijk are described in more detail in the following text.

3.1 Three-Dimensional Framework

According to Norman Fairclough (1995,130) critical discourse analysis is as a way to investigate discourse as a form of social practice by combining the social nature of language and its function in society with text-analysis.

Fairclough's method of discourse analysis is based on a three-dimensional conception of discourse. Fairclough (1995, 97) uses the term 'discourse' to refer to "(i) a language text, spoken or written, (ii) discourse practice (text production and text interpretation), (iii) sociocultural practice." For a successful discourse analysis, each of these dimensions and their interrelations must be examined (Fairclough 1995, 74). The method of analysis is three-dimensional as well, as it includes three steps of analysis; description, interpretation, and explanation.

The first step, the process of description, is concerned with analyzing linguistic features. Within the analysis, Fairclough distinguishes three different thematic blocks: vocabulary, grammar and textual structures; within each block, he states several questions one should ask during the analysis. The process of interpretation concerns the production and interpretative processes and Fairclough lists six main domains of the process of interpretation-situational context, intertextual context, surface of utterance, meaning of an utterance, local coherence, and text structure and 'point' (Fairclough 1989, 142). The process of explanation is concerned with a description of discourse as a part of social process and at this stage, the analysis is concerned with the social and ideological determinants of the discourse and its role in the struggle over power. (Fairclough 1989, 163,166)

3.2 Discourse- historical approach

Wodak (2001, 64-65) is the author of the 'discourse-historical approach'. The approach is based on the concept of social critique which includes three aspects; the aspect of 'immanent critique of text or discourse' which aims to discover what inconsistencies, contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas arise from the discourse; 'socio-diagnostic critique' which aims to expose the persuasive or manipulative character of the discourse; and 'prognostic critique' which aims to transform and improve communication.

Wodak (2001, 65) believes that due to the complexity of examined issues, the investigation of the discourse alone would not be enough and emphasizes the importance of wider context of discourse. All available knowledge of historical, political and social background should be included in the analysis. Thus, Wodak introduces the principle of

triangulation which works with different approaches, methods and variety of data and background sources.

The discourse-historical approach is a three-dimensional procedure. Firstly, specific contents or topics are established, then, employed discursive strategies are investigated and finally, linguistic tools used are studied. (Wodak 2001, 72) The discursive strategies are strategies which help to create the positive image of ‘us’ and negative image of ‘them’. These strategies are: (a) referential strategy, used for construction of in-groups and out-groups; (b) strategy of predication, used for positive or negative labeling; (c) strategy of argumentation, used for justification of positive or negative attributions (d) strategy of perspectivation, framing or discourse representation, used for expressing involvement or the speaker’s point of view; and (e) strategy of intensification and mitigation used for intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force. Based on these strategies, Wodak (2001, 72-73) states five questions useful for the analysis:

- 1 How are persons named and referred to linguistically?
- 2 What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them?
- 3 By means of what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify and legitimize the exclusion, discrimination, suppression and exploitation of others?
- 4 From what perspective or point of view are these labels, attributions and arguments expressed?
- 5 Are the respective utterances articulated overtly? Are they intensified or are they mitigated?

3.3 Socio-cognitive approach

In the same manner as Wodak, Dijk (2001b, 96) stresses that critical discourse analysis should be diverse and multidisciplinary. However, van Dijk places special emphasis on cognition and wants to understand its role in reproduction of social power and dominance. Thus, he limits his field of study to what he calls ‘socio-cognitive’ discourse analysis.

Van Dijk (2001b, 98) introduces the concept of ‘discourse-cognition-society triangle’. He uses the term discourse to refer to “conversational interaction, written text, as well as associated gestures, facework, typographical layout, images and any other ‘semiotic’ or multimedia dimension of signification”. Cognition, as he explains, can be personal, including

personal memories, knowledge and opinions or social, referring to memories, knowledge and opinions shared by groups. (2001a, 354) Cognition also includes “beliefs and goals as well as evaluations and emotions, and any other ‘mental’ or ‘memory’ structures, representations or processes involved in discourse and interaction”. (2001b, 98) Society includes groups and group relationships. Van Dijk believes that cognitive and social dimensions of the triangle are defining the context of discourse and in order to do an adequate critical discourse analysis, the analysis must include detailed social and cognitive analysis first. (2001b, 98)

3.3.1 Ideological square

Central to Dijk’s analysis is what he calls the ‘ideological square’ (van Dijk, 2000, 44). As mentioned in the ideology chapter, ideology typically polarize people into “us” and “them.” The ideological square illustrates the basic strategy of ideological discourse, which is to form positive presentation of “us”, the ingroup members, and negative presentation of “them”, the outgroup members.

- Emphasize positive things about Us.
- Emphasize negative things about Them.
- De-emphasize negative things about Us.
- De-emphasize positive things about Them.

(van Dijk 2000, 44).

The ideological square is applicable to all levels of analysis. As Van Dijk (2001b, 98-99) explains that there is a large number of structures to be analyzed. For this reason, only structures relevant for the particular social issue must be chosen after defining the context of investigation, i.e. aims, participants, setting, users and their beliefs and interests.

3.4 Approach used in this thesis

All of these approaches offer effective methods for analyzing discourse. However, all three approaches analyze the articles as a whole, that is, the articles are examined from different perspectives, because, as mentioned earlier, there are many ways to hide ideology in the text. Analyzing all these aspects would go behind the scope of this thesis. Therefore, the analysis focuses only on the category of noun phrases, in order to reveal what words are most commonly used to refer to refugees and to find out how refugees are portrayed in the media. It

is therefore necessary to choose an approach that offers the best method to achieve the goal of this work. To be able to decide which approach is the most useful, the next section compares the methods and shows what information about the text and ideology are gained from each method.

The first described approach is Fairclough's three-dimensional approach. As previously stated, Fairclough's approach offers several categories of analysis, concerned with vocabulary, grammar and textual structures. While his approach seems to be well developed for the analysis of different aspects of discourse, he does not suggest any methods suitable for the analysis of noun phrases alone. Moreover, Fairclough's list of questions is very extensive, and it seems to be more appropriate for analyzing smaller quantities of texts. For these reasons, Fairclough's approach will not be applied in this thesis.

The discourse-historical approach of Wodak and the socio-cognitive approach of van Dijk, on the other hand, both focus on the analysis in-groups and out-groups. The combination of these approaches seems to be the best option. As mentioned above, Wodak offers several questions the analyst can ask in order to uncover ideological implications in discourse. One of these questions, namely "How are persons named and referred to linguistically?" corresponds with the aim of this thesis. The question will thus be asked during the analysis. Subsequently, results of the analysis will be interpreted using van Dijk's ideological square. As explained before, Dijk believes that the overall ideological strategy is the strategy of positive-self presentation and negative other-presentation. Since this thesis focuses only on the reference to refugees, this approach can be applied only partially. Overall, the analysis will focus on the ways in which refugees are being referred to and subsequently it will examine, whether these ways are used in order to highlight the negative things about as opposed to the positive ones.

4 NOUN PHRASES

The analytical part of this thesis deals with reference to refugees in the form of a noun phrase. Therefore, the following text describes what a noun phrase is. Firstly, phrases are described in general and then the thesis focuses on their structure.

4.1 Phrases

Phrases are textual units of a sentence “containing more than one word (more specifically, containing a central and most important word augmented by appropriate accompanying words that elaborate its contribution to the sentence.” (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 22) To be exact, as Biber et al. (2007, 50) point out that phrases can actually consist of only one word. The phrases are named after the word which is the main constituent of the unit. Thus, Quirk et al. (1985, 60) distinguishes between five categories of phrases, namely verb phrases, noun phrases, adjective phrases, adverb phrases, and prepositional phrases.

4.2 The Structure of a Noun Phrase

Noun phrases can be described by their function and structure; however, the function of noun phrases is not relevant for this thesis and therefore, it will not be discussed here.

A noun phrase is a phrase consisting of a central element, called a head, which is typically a noun. The head can either stand on its own (such phrases are called simple noun phrases) or it can be accompanied by determiners, modifiers and followed by complements. (Quirk et al. 1985, 62) Such phrase is referred to as a complex noun phrase. The following figure illustrates the structure of a noun phrase.

Table 1 The Noun phrase Structure

	Determiner	Premodification	Head	Postmodification	
					Complementation
I remember			him		
			Peter		
	Alice's		wedding		
	that		girl	with the read hear	
	all those	fine warm	days	in the country last year	
	a	bette	story		than that
	the	best	trip		that I ever had
	a	good	trip	that I once had	

(Quirk et al. 1986, 62)

4.3 The Head

The head is the central element of a noun phrase and it dictates the concord with other parts of the sentence (Quirk et al. 1985, 1238). The head of a noun phrase is usually a noun. However, as Quirk et al. (1985, 64) point out, the head can also be realized by a pronoun or an adjective. Biber et al. (2001, 574) call noun phrases with a noun as a head 'noun-headed structures' and noun phrases with a pronoun as a head 'pronoun-headed structures'. The head varieties are shown in the following examples. The heads in these examples are indicated by the underlined expressions.

- 1) Tell that to the poor girl (noun)
- 2) Tell that to the poor (adjective)
- 3) Tell that to them (pronoun)

4.4 Determiners

Determiners, typically realized by closed-class items, occur at the beginning of a noun phrase, before the head or premodifiers (Quirk et al. 1985, 253). Determiners determine what

kind of reference a noun phrase has (e.g. definite, indefinite, partitive, universal) (Quirk et al. 1985, 64) and specify the instance that is being referred to (e.g. *his boat/ this boat*) (Biber et al. 2007, 241.) From a semantic point of view, every noun phrase has some kind of determination. Nevertheless, the use of a determiner is obligatory only for certain noun phrases (for example for noun phrases headed by singular countable nouns. Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 355) call phrases containing a determiner ‘determined noun phrases’. On the other hand, some phrases, such as proper nouns, are inherently definite. In such cases, the determination does not need to be made explicit and the determiner is thus not required (Quirk et al. 1985, 64). Whether a determinant is obligatory or not, thus depends on the head.

Quirk et al. (1985, 1238) distinguish between three classes of determiners: predeterminers (*all, both, double*), central determiners (*this, some*) and postdeterminers (*many, few, several*). All three types of determiners may be used with one noun phrase, but always in a strict order; predeterminer, central determiner and post determiner, as in: *all the seven deadly sins*, where *all* functions as predeterminer, *the* as central determiner and *seven* as postdeterminer.

Predeterminers include the determinatives *all, both, and half*, multipliers (*twice, double*), fractions (*one-third*) and determinatives *such* and *what* (Quirk et al. 1985, 257). Central determiners are typically definite and indefinite articles *the* and *a/an*, demonstrative determiners (*this, these*), possessive pronouns (*her*), the wh-determiners in -ever (*whatever*) interrogative determiner (*what*), nonassertive determiner *either*, determiners *no* and *neither*, zero article, determiners *some* and *any, enough*, and universal determiners *every and each*. (Quirk et al. 1985, 266-267) Postdeterminers include cardinal numerals (*three*), ordinal numerals and ‘general ordinals’ (*first, last*), closed-class quantifiers (*few people, too many*) and open-class quantifiers (*a large number of people*). (Quirk et al. 1985, 61). Open-class quantifiers typically consist of a quantity noun modified by a quantifying adjective, such as *a large number of*. As Quirk et al. (1985, 264) explain, although this expression looks like a modified head of a noun phrase, the whole expression functions as a determiner. Additionally, Biber et al. (2007, 280) add another type of determiners under the postdeterminers category. He calls this type ‘semi-determiners’ which are “determiner-like words which are often described as adjectives.” What makes them different from adjectives is their lack of descriptive meaning, since they only serve to specify the reference of the noun. They usually appear with the definite article. These semi-determiners are the following words: *same, other, former, latter,*

last, next, certain and such. Quirk et al. (1985, 262), on the other hand, classify these expressions as ‘general ordinals’.

4.5 Modification

The head of a noun phrase can be optionally modified, either by a premodifier, which precedes the head and follows determinants or by a postmodifier, which follows the head. (Quirk et al. 1985, 65) Modifiers serve to specify the meaning of the head by classifying or describing the entity denoted by the head. (Biber 1999, 97) Unlike determiners, modifiers are completely optional, which means they can be omitted without injuring the structure and basic meaning of the phrase. (*His arrival in Hobart vs. his arrival*) (Biber, 240).

Quirk et al. 1985, (1985, 1239) distinguish between restrictive and nonrestrictive modification. Restrictive modification concerns noun phrases in which the modification serves to identify the head, which would not be identifiable without the modification. Nonrestrictive modification, in contrast, gives additional information unnecessary for the identification of the head.

Furthermore, Quirk et al. (1985, 655) explain that one modification (as well as determiners) can be applied to several heads. For example: *the man in the corner and the woman in the corner* may be coordinated as such: *the man and woman in the corner*.

4.5.1 Premodification

Quirk et al. (1985, 1322) list three major premodification categories: adjective, participle, and noun, and add three more minor types of premodification: genitive, adverb and other phrases, and sentence.

Premodification consists of all the items preceding the head, except for determinatives. Quirk et al. (1985, 1239). It can be realized by a variety of structures, most frequently by nouns (*city traffic*), adjectives (*delightful family*) and -ed or -ing participles (*missing report*). Other, less notable structures used for premodification are genitive structures (*fisherman’s cottage*), adverb and other phrases (*round-the-clock service*) and sentences (*I don’t know how many people*). (Quirk et al. 1985, 1322)

4.5.2 Postmodification

Postmodification consists of all the items following the head. It is typically realized by relative (*the news that appeared in the papers*) and appositive finite clauses (*the news that the*

team has won) (Quirk et al. 1985, 1244); nonfinite clauses which include -ing participle clauses (*the person writing reports*), -ed participle clauses (*the car repaired by that mechanic*) (Quirk et al. 1985, 1263), and infinitive clauses (*the man to help you*) (Quirk et al. 1985, 1266) and prepositional phrases (*the car outside the station*) (Quirk et al. 1985, 1274). Additionally, there are some minor types of postmodification, namely postmodification by adverb phrases (*The way out*) and postposed adjectives (*something different*) (Quirk et al. 1985, 1253). Finally, Biber et al. (2007, 605) add another category, namely postmodification by reflexive pronouns (*he himself*).

5 ANALYSIS

In this part of the thesis, the analysis of noun phrases referring to refugees is presented. First, the methodology used in the analysis is explained. Then, the data corpus and its sources are introduced and finally, the results of the analysis are presented and interpreted.

5.1 Corpus Description

The aim of this thesis is to find out how refugees are portrayed in the British online newspapers. More specifically, the analysis aims to uncover ideological positions indirectly expressed in news reports. For this reason, it is necessary to work with newspapers focused on a truthful presentation of facts. Hence, the corpus consists only of news reports taken from newspapers from the broadsheet category. In order to get a representative sample of British newspaper discourse, three daily newspapers were chosen, namely *The Guardian*, *The Independent* and *The Telegraph*.

The articles chosen for the analysis were retrieved from the online news websites: www.theguardian.com, www.independent.co.uk and www.telegraph.co.uk. The articles are all from the period of September 2015, since this is a period when large quantities of refugees arrived in Europe and there was a considerable media coverage of this topic. In order to cover the whole period and avoid undesirable influence of the events of a particular day, one day of each week of the month was chosen, specifically September 1, September 8, September 15, September 22 and September 29.

Altogether, the corpus consists of three hundred noun phrases. The data were collected to represent all three newspapers equally which means one hundred noun phrases from each source, twenty from each day were collected. The data were collected chronologically; for each day, the first published article concerning refugees was chosen and the noun phrases were located and written down for the further use in the analysis. As a means to obtain an equal amount of data from each day, other articles from the particular day were chosen, if one article did not provide enough phrases. The process continued until a sufficient number of noun phrases were collected. It should be noted that editorials, opinions, and other articles not falling into the hard news category were not included in the corpus for the analysis. Overall, six articles from *The Guardian*, ten from *The Independent* and ten from *The Telegraph* were included. The difference in the number of articles is mostly due to their different lengths, in other words, *The Guardian* produced enough noun phrases for the analysis in just six articles,

whereas *The Independent* and *The Telegraph* needed ten articles each in order to provide a sufficient number of noun phrases.

Several issues concerning the question of which phrases should be included, or more specifically, whether some noun phrases should be excluded from the analysis aroused during the data collection process. The first decision had to be made when direct speech quotes appeared in the text. The question was whether to include direct quotes since technically, they are not the voice of the author of the text and thus the voice of the newspaper as such. Nevertheless, direct speech quotes often present opinions of people with political and social power which play a vital role in creating and maintaining social values and influencing opinions of the people in the society. Moreover, external voices sometimes form a large part of the text in some news reports and they can thus greatly contribute to the overall ideological orientation of the article. Therefore, in order to carry out a complete analysis, direct quotes were included in the analyzed corpus.

Another decision concerned pronouns. As was explained in the theoretical part, noun phrases can take the form of a single pronoun, for example: *the large number of newcomers foraging for mushrooms and mistaking those they find for varieties found in their homelands.* (Appendix 1, 94) In this example the pronoun *they* functions as a substitution form used in order to avoid repetition. The function of pronouns, in this sense, is rather grammatical than discursive and pronouns cannot carry any evaluative meaning. For this reason, only pronouns which were further modified were included in the analysis, such as in: *those seeking asylum from war-torn and impoverished countries.* (Appendix 1, 28)

The last thing that needs to be clarified concerns coordinated phrases. In the corpus, there were several cases of coordinated phrases which shared the same determiner, for example phrases *800,000 refugees* and *asylum seekers* (Appendix 1, 228, 229). These phrases were originally coordinated: *800,000 refugees and asylum seekers*. In cases like this, the debate was whether to repeat the determiner or whether to state it only once, since the two phrases have been separated. It was decided to include the determiner only once because it comprises eight hundred thousand refugees and asylum seekers together, not eight hundred thousand refugees plus eight hundred thousand asylum seekers. If these phrases were to be counted twice, the result of this analysis would not be accurate. The same reasoning was applied in phrases with shared modification. Coordinated phrases which shared either a determiner or modification were marked with * in the corpus.

5.2 Methodology

This part of the thesis explains the methodology used to perform the analysis. The present thesis uses a quantitative method for the analysis of noun phrases from news reports published via online British newspapers, aiming to find out what lexical choices do authors of news reports make when they write about refugees in their texts. Moreover, the objective is also to gain a general understanding of how ideologies can manifest themselves through media. The analysis was divided into two parts; after collecting the data, a quantitative grammatical analysis was carried out, followed by a quantitative lexical analysis.

The grammatical analysis was performed in order to get a general idea about the data and to find out whether there are any structures irrelevant to the aim of the thesis. Furthermore, the analysis also aimed to find out if there are any sharp differences in the representation of refugees among the three chosen newspapers. The first step was to examine the structure of noun phrases in the corpus. Once the analysis of the structure of noun phrases was finished, the noun phrase constituents were labeled with the letters *H* for head, *D* for determiner, *PrM* for premodification and *PoM* for postmodification in the corpus. If a phrase was premodified or postmodified by two modifiers, the letters were accompanied by numbers. After that, the analysis focused on the frequency of different structures used as noun phrase constituents. In this part of the analysis, several structures were excluded from further analysis because they turned out to be irrelevant to the goals of the thesis.

The lexical analysis focused on the frequency of occurrence of lexical units serving as a head, determiners and modifiers was carried out. It is fitting to remark that the analysis was carried out for each noun phrase constituent separately. This was done with the intention of being able to distinguish what noun phrase constituent conveys what type of information. In each category, the used expressions were categorized into groups based on what type of information they communicate. Some of the groups that were formed appeared in all noun phrase constituents. Therefore, it was subsequently necessary to merge the analysis results of each noun phrase constituent in order to be able to cautiously interpret the data. Based on the results of this analysis, it was possible to find out which characteristics and features are most frequently attributed to refugees.

Finally, the results were compared and interpreted using Van Dijk's ideological square which was introduced in chapter (3.3)

5.3 Grammatical Analysis

5.3.1 The Head

The first part of the grammatical analysis focused on the analysis of heads. Before proceeding any further, it is important to explain why the heads of some phrases in the corpus (phrases no. 87, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118, 199, 120, 240, 262, 287 and the phrases containing the expression *asylum seekers*) consist of more than one word. This can be explained using the example of *Miss Iceland in 2022* (Appendix 118). From a syntactic point of view, the head of this phrase is the word *Miss*. The head is postmodified by the noun *Iceland* and by the prepositional phrase *in 2022*. However, from a semantic point of view, when these words stay alone, they convey a completely different meaning than within the phrase. In other words, these expressions are in a strong semantic relationship and they were thus analyzed as a unit. However, this logic was not applicable to all of these heads; for instance, the meaning of the head *best friends* (Appendix, 114) is not significantly different from the meaning of the word *friend*. However, since this thesis analyses modification and heads separately, these expressions are all considered heads in this analysis because otherwise, some of the modifying items would not make sense without the context of the other word. The constituents of these phrases are marked in the corpus first without regard to the differences described above, and subsequently, the phrases are listed again and marked in a way which makes clear that both words represent heads in these phrases.

Furthermore, it should be noted that some phrases in the corpus contain heads that have the form of a genitive or a plural form. For the purpose of this thesis, it is not essential to distinguish between these structures and therefore they were all counted together with the first person singular heads.

Now when it has been clarified which expressions were determined as heads, in the following section the results of the grammatical analysis of heads are presented.

The analysis showed that a clear majority of heads was represented by nouns (two hundred eighty-four phrases), followed by a small number of pronouns (thirteen phrases) and only three adjectives. Out of the nouns used for referencing to refugees, six heads were realized

by proper nouns, for example, *Alan Kurdi* and the rest by common nouns. Two of these phrases were realized by numerals functioning as nouns (*million, thousands.*)

As stated above, the corpus included thirteen pronoun-headed structures. It was already explained in the section describing the data corpus (5.1) that pronouns perform mostly grammatical function in discourse; hence, the pronoun-headed phrases included in the corpus were only those which were further modified. For the same reason, pronouns will not be further considered in the thesis.

5.3.2 Determiners

The analysis of determiners revealed that overall, one hundred and forty-six phrases included a determiner. The following table shows what types of determiners were most frequently used.

Table 20 Occurrence of Determiners

Articles		numerals		pronouns		quantifiers	
definite	indefinite	cardinal	ordinal	possessive	demonstrative	closed-class	open-class
21	20	46	8	2	3	20	28

As was the case with heads, some of these determiners have only a grammatical function (definite and indefinite articles, determiners *some* and *any*), some determiners serve to indicate possession (possessives) and another to indicate what entities are being referred to (demonstratives) or the sequential order (ordinals) and some express a part of a certain quantity (*whole, most.*) Once again, analyzing these determiners is not relevant to the aim of this thesis. Thus, only cardinal numerals and quantifiers will be further analyzed.

5.3.3 Modification

The third step of the grammatical analysis concerned modification. The analysis showed that altogether, two hundred and seven phrases were modified, fifty-eight by premodifiers, sixty-nine by postmodifiers and six by both, premodifiers and postmodifiers

5.3.3.1 Premodification

As mentioned above, fifty-eight heads were overall premodified. Out of these phrases the majority were premodified by only one premodifier, but some phrases were modified using

two modifiers for example *a young Syrian refugee* (Appendix 1, 186). In the statistics, each of these modifiers is counted separately because in all cases, the modifiers did not depend on each other and conveyed a different type of information. The majority of premodifying items were adjectives, seven times, the head was premodified by a -ed participle, three times by -ing participle and three times by nouns.

5.3.3.2 Postmodification

With regards to postmodification, the majority of the postmodified phrases were postmodified by a single clause, however, as was the case with premodification, some clauses, included two postmodifying clauses. The phrase *those fleeing from war-torn countries and attempting to build a better life in Europe* (Appendix 1, 106) can serve as an example. This phrase includes two -ing postmodification clauses. In a case like this, both postmodifying items were further treated separately in the analysis, because these are two separate coordinated clauses with a different meaning. On the other hand, there were several phrases which were to be counted as one postmodification, for example, *foraging for mushrooms and mistaking those they find for varieties found in their homelands*. In this case the clauses must be kept together so their meaning can be fully understood.

The analysis further revealed the most frequent type of postmodification is the postmodification by -ing clauses, followed by relative clauses and prepositional phrases. Post modification by the -ed participle appeared only six times and by to infinitive only once.

5.3.4 Summary

This brief analysis was performed in order to get a general idea about the data and to find out whether there are any structures irrelevant to the aim of the thesis. The analysis focused on the frequency of different structures used as noun phrase constituents. In this part of the analysis, several structures were excluded from further analysis because they turned out to be irrelevant.

5.4 Lexical Analysis

This part of the thesis is a presentation of the lexical analysis carried out with the aim to find out what lexical units are most commonly used by British newspapers for the reference to refugees. All noun phrase constituents were examined separately, but this time, the results will be presented together. Fifty-five unique expressions referring to refugees were found in the corpus when examining the head and sixty-one unique expressions were found when examining

the premodifying items. However, most of them appeared only once or twice. As expected, the numbers of unique determiners and items in postmodification were even larger. Therefore, in order to be able to draw conclusions about the ways in which refugees are presented, an attempt was made to categorize the lexical units based on what type of information they communicate.

The categories were created for each noun phrase constituent category separately, however, once the process of dividing the expressions into units was done, several categories overlapped. For this reason, it was decided to merge the results of each noun constituent analysis and present them together. Altogether, eleven categories were formed, namely the category of neutral expressions, sex, age, relations, proper names, contribution, origin, plight, journey, entry and mental state. The following section describes these categories and the items that were included in them and discusses their possible ideological meaning.

5.4.1 Neutral Expressions

The first category of expressions comprises expressions indicating that the subject are people who are called refugees in this thesis, people who left their countries, people who are on the move. This category is the broadest one because it includes the commonly used terms refugee, asylum seeker and migrant. Out of these expressions, the term refugee is the most frequently used head in all three sources. The other two frequently used expressions are asylum seekers and migrants. As can be seen from the Table 3 in Appendix 2, the term migrant is used mainly by The Telegraph, while the other two sources use it rather rarely. It should be noted that even though these expressions do not have the same meaning, the media often do not distinguish between the different meanings and they use all the terms to mean the same thing. Nevertheless, these expressions are all neutral and politically correct. Besides these three words, several other expressions, less frequently used by the newspapers but communicating the same meaning, for example voyagers or arrivals, were found in the corpus. These expressions are also rather descriptive.

Furthermore, other expressions that can be considered neutral were found in the corpus. These expressions are the words people, person, individual and folks. These first three words are completely neutral. The term folks is defined by the Macmillan dictionary as “people in general” and it is thus considered to be neutral too. The word people is widely used by The Telegraph and The Guardian.

5.4.2 Sex, Age, and Relations

The next three categories, labeled 'sex', 'age' and 'relations' comprise expressions indicating sex and age of refugees and lexical units expressing family relations and relations with other people in general. These expressions are presented together, because some of them are ambiguous and could fall into more of these categories. For example, the words *girl* and *boy*, express both, sex and age. Expressions belonging to these categories and their number of occurrences in each newspaper are summarized in Table 4, Table 5 and Table 6 in Appendix 2.

The first of these categories, the category of sex, includes expressions, *women*, *man*, *girl*, *boy*. The results of the analysis showed that The Independent does not use the term man or woman at all, while the Guardian mentions both terms roughly the same amount of times. The Telegraph, on the other hand, uses the term man, as compared to women, much more frequently. Moreover, The Independent also uses the expressions boy and girl, as opposed to The Guardian where the term appeared only once or The Telegraph where the term did not appear at all. Similarly, with regard to the category of age, it can be seen that the Independent often refers to children, while The Telegraph uses this expression only twice.

Although the terms of these two categories seem to be neutral and purely descriptive at first glance, ideology can be hidden behind them. Not only how refugees are directly labeled in the news, but also who the media decide to pay attention to can influence how the refugees will be perceived by people reading the newspapers. Closer inspection of the table shows that the media pay attention mostly to two groups of refugees. The first group includes words like the *20-year-old* and *men*. The second group includes expression such as *elderly* or *children*. Overall, the newspapers pay attention to both these groups more or less equally, however, as suggested above, there are certain differences between the presentation by each of the examined newspapers. While The Guardian pays attention to both groups equally, The Telegraph pays more attention to the first group of refugees. The Independent, on the other hand, focuses on the depiction of the second group.

This could mean that The Telegraph pays more attention to men in order to portray refugees as a threat because it is a common concern that most of the refugees arriving to Europe are young strong men and their reasons for escaping from the country of origin are being questioned. On the other hand, The Independent might be purposely pointing out the fact that there are also children among the refugees and therefore, "we" should feel empathy towards "them".

Similarly, the category of relations can be interpreted in the same manner as the previous two categories. The analysis revealed that The Independent tends to quite often use expressions related to relations with other people. For instance, *parents, future spouses, best friends* or even *soul mate* appear among the expressions found in the corpus. The Telegraph and The Guardian, on the other hand, do not use such expressions much often. As already explained, the way refugees are perceived is influenced by who the media decide to include in the news. Pointing out that refugees are not only young men, but people of all ages, people who have families, friends and care about others may lead to the fact that refugees will begin to look more like people who are like "us" in the eyes of readers.

5.4.3 Proper Names, Contribution and Origin

The next two categories are categories labeled ‘proper names’, ‘contribution’ and ‘origin’. The first category of expressions can be used for the same purpose as the categories described in the previous section. However, the category not very broad, as proper names, such as *Alan Kurdi*, appear in the whole corpus only six times. The fact that proper names appear in the corpus only rarely suggests that the examined newspapers avoid incorporating specific people into their articles in order not to highlight their individuality.

The next category is a minor category labeled ‘contribution’. The category includes expressions which label people by their occupation and abilities; or more precisely, expressions from this category portray refugees in a positive light. For example, expressions such as *human resources* or *the carpenter who finally finishes the bathroom*, put emphasis on the fact that refugees are people who can contribute towards the society with their skills and abilities. Similarly, the phrase *drummer for our children’s band* conveys that refugees are people who are talented and friendly. In other words, expressions from this category serve to point out that refugees are individuals with abilities, hobbies and talents. By using these expressions, the media blur the difference between “us” and “them”. However, as was the case with proper names, these expressions were not found in the corpus very often. As can be seen in Table 7 and Table 8 in Appendix 2, expressions from these two categories were found mostly in The Independent.

The category of origin, on the other hand, can leave readers with the opposite impression than the previous two categories. As can be seen from Table 9 in Appendix 2, nationality of refugees is given many times. In fact, nationality is the most frequently stated information in premodification. The periodical with the highest occurrence of expressions from this category

is The Independent which mentioned the nationality of refugees sixteen times. On the contrary, The Telegraph mentioned the origin only eight times, much less frequently than The Guardian or The Independent.

Although it may seem that nationalities are employed in the text for description and not for ideological reasons, labeling someone by their country of origin directly points at the fact that refugees are people who come from foreign countries and are thus different from “us”. Writing about refugees in this way may result in readers perceiving refugees mainly in terms of their otherness.

5.4.4 Plight, Journey and Entry

The next categories are called ‘plight’, ‘entry’ and ‘journey’. Expressions from these categories depict the suffering of refugees (*photographed crying with children*), the horrible conditions refugees are fleeing from (*fleeing war and poverty in the Middle East and Africa*), the obstacles refugees have to face on their way to Europe (*who is thought to have been crushed by pallets*) and death (*who died after a replacement liver could not be found in time to save him.*) Furthermore, the category of ‘plight’ includes expressions that are more oriented towards future, such as *who is hoping to join his brother in Germany*. This sentence says that refugees hope for better future which also indirectly suggest that their present is not ideal.

Results of the analysis (presented in Table 10 in Appendix 2) show that the highest occurrence of these expressions was in The Guardian and less frequently, they appeared in The Telegraph. The Independent mentioned the poor conditions of refugees rather rarely. By emphasizing the difficult and poor conditions refugees have to live in and their suffering, the newspapers depict refugees as victims, as someone who needs compassion and help. Thus, it can be concluded that these expressions are used in order to arouse the feeling of empathy in readers and make them perceive refugees as innocent victims of oppressive regimes rather than a threat.

The category of plight is connected to the category of ‘journey’. It consists of expressions describing the journey refugees have to make in order to reach their dream destination. The difference between this category and the category of plight is that the expressions falling into this category do not directly depict any difficulties. This category may thus seem neutral, however, some of the instances also denote the difficulty of the journey the refugees have to set out on in order to escape from their country or origin. For example, in *attempting to cross the Mediterranean*, the word attempting suggest that the way across the

Mediterranean to Europe is not easy which also implies the hurdles that refugees have to face. The expressions belonging to this category are shown in Table 11 in Appendix 2.

The next category is labeled 'entry'. This category includes sentences which speak of the ways in which refugees entered Europe in terms of legality/ illegality. The category is summarized in Table 12 in Appendix 2. Some of the expressions in this category convey that refugees enter Europe or stay in Europe illegally, for example, *Nevertheless, it not the subject of this thesis. who arrive legitimately and lawfully with a time-limited visa, then remain here when that permission expires*. Not only this particular expression emphasizes the fact that refugees are breaking the law by staying in Europe illegally, but it also manages to highlight the positive deeds of the British Government, as it points out that refugees have been offered help. Overall four more expressions point out the help and support refugees get. The category of these expressions was quite narrow, but it suggests that the British media also tend to focus on their positive-self representation, which is, as described in Dijk's ideological square, the basic ideological strategy.

5.4.5 Numbers

The next category includes mostly determiners. As the title suggests, this category consists of numbers. Two types of numbers were found in the corpus. The first type were exact figures and the second type were approximate numbers. Stating exact figures suggests the objectivity of information and efforts to present the facts and could therefore be considered neutral. On the other hand, if refugees are talked about mostly in terms of numbers, even if these numbers are exact, it means that the newspapers purposely emphasize the quantities of refugees coming to Europe. Nevertheless, this was not the case here, closer inspection of the data shows that most of the times, the numbers are not any high figures. The data show that while The Independent states the exact numbers seventeen times and The Telegraph ten times, The Guardian does so only three times, which implies a lesser degree of objectivity.

Expressions in the category of inaccurate numbers also describe refugees in terms of numbers but instead of stating the exact figures, these numbers are only approximate. The use of approximate numbers gives the media the possibility to round the numbers of refugees upwards and refugees may thus appear to be a bigger problem than they actually really are. It should be noted, however, that in some cases, the inaccurate numbers do not necessarily mean that the newspapers are trying to influence the readers' opinion by lying about the exact figures.

For example, in the expression *between 3000 and 3500*, the approximate numbers may be given simply because the author does not know the exact figures.

Nonetheless, some terms in this category are undoubtedly used to exaggerate the total number of refugees arriving in Europe. These expressions are mostly determiners, such as the *millions of, thousands of, flow of, many*, etc. but several expressions in this category appeared also when analyzing heads (*thousands, millions*) and postmodification (*still pouring to Europe*) Expressions from these categories are presented in Table 13 and 14 in Appendix 2.

The fact that refugees are described in thousands, hundreds, and other inaccurate high numbers, can be a strategy used in order to frighten readers with the number of refugees coming to Europe and that can eventually lead to refugees being negatively perceived by readers.

5.4.6 Mental state

The last category is a category labeled ‘mental state’. As the name of this category suggests, this category comprises expressions which reflect the mental state of refugees. Three of these expressions, namely *protester, panicking* and *frustrated* and they convey that refugees are uneasy and dissatisfied. By pointing out these attributes, readers can easily get the idea that refugees are unstable and a protentional threat. It should be noted that all of these expressions were used by The Guardian, as the Table 15 in Appendix 2 shows.

Another expression which falls into this category is the sentence *who headed into the woodland close to their refugee shelters to forage for mushrooms, and took pleasure in finding something they appeared to know from their countries of origin*. Although the postmodifying sentence seems to be objective, by pointing out that refugees ‘took pleasure’ in something, the newspapers emphasize their positive side.

5.4.6 Other Expressions

Additionally, there are several expressions which did not belong to any of these categories, namely *foraging, potential, usual, who would otherwise flee* and *foraging for mushrooms and mistaking those they find for varieties found in their homelands*. The last expression and the word *foraging* are used to describe actions of refugees, this word does not emphasize anything negative, positive or different about refugees and it is thus considered neutral. Similarly, the word *potential* has only a descriptive function. The word *usual*, on the other hand, generalizes refugees by suggesting that there is some typical type of refugee, i.e. that refugees are people who share some typical characteristics. Such suggestion can have

negative impact on the way people perceive refugees because it does not emphasize the fact that in the same way as “us” refugees are all individual people with different traits and personalities. The expression *looking for alternative way to spend their time* is ambiguous. On one hand it could mean that refugees are looking for alternative ways to spend their time because they want to actively use their time, on the other hand, it could mean they have too much free time or that they are bored, which is rather negative. Last term, *who would otherwise flee* is impossible to analyze without further context. All these expressions are presented in Table 16, in Appendix 1.

5.5 Summary

This section summarizes findings from the lexical analysis. As demonstrated in the previous section, there are many different ways to express ideologies in the news reports. The results of the analysis show that the media emphasize different characteristics and traits of refugees. Refugees are described in terms of their age, sex, origin, relations with other people, abilities, skills and flaws. Moreover, the newspapers also focus on the description of the reasons that make refugees escape from their country of origin, on the descriptions of their journey to Europe and on the awful conditions the refugees find themselves in. Furthermore, refugees are very often described in terms of numbers. As was explained in the theoretical part, the basic ideological strategy is the strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation which can be achieved by emphasizing the negative and deemphasizing the positive things about “them” and emphasizing the positive and deemphasizing the negative things about “us”. Since this thesis analyzed noun phrases used for the reference to refugees, it focused only on one part of the strategy, more specifically on “them”. Although the strategy was identified several times during the analysis, the results show that the strategy is not frequently employed by the British media.

The analysis revealed that the most frequently used expressions by the newspapers are the ones from the ‘neutral expressions’ category. Altogether, this category includes two hundred and three expressions. Out of these, the majority is formed by the commonly used term *refugees* and the word *people*. Besides these, several other neutral expressions were found in the corpus, more precisely, in the category of exact numbers. In total, this category consists of thirty figures. Finally, some of the expressions describing the journey of refugees seem to be objective, since they do not emphasize anything negative or positive about refugees. Even

though a large number of neutral expressions was found during the analysis, none of the examined newspapers managed to remain completely neutral and objective.

The second most frequently used expressions were those from the category called 'plight'. This category consists of forty-nine expressions which depict the dreadful conditions refugees come from, the suffering of refugees and the difficulties they have to face. This way of depicting refugees aims to portray them as innocent victims in order to make people more compassionate and feel empathy for refugees. Similar expressions were also found in the category 'journey'. Even though the strategy of portraying refugees as victims does not emphasize positive things about them, it definitely does not emphasize anything negative either. Considering the objectives of this strategy, it is clear that it is used with the intention to include refugees among other members of society, that is, in the ingroup, rather than to exclude them.

Other expressions that contribute to the overall positive image of refugees are those from the categories of sex, age and relations. As was explained in the previous section, it is essential to pay attention to what type of people media portray in terms of age and sex. The analysis revealed that the newspapers focus on men more frequently than on women, which could mean they attempt to depict refugees as a threat by implying that the majority of refugees arriving in Europe are men. On the other hand, the analyzed newspapers also mentioned children, mothers, families and other expressions indicating that refugees are members of families. Family and other relations were altogether mentioned nineteen times. The intention behind stressing that not only men, but people of all ages and more importantly, people who have families and friends, arrive to Europe, is to 'humanize' refugees. This means that the media make the effort to make refugees seem less different and more like "us".

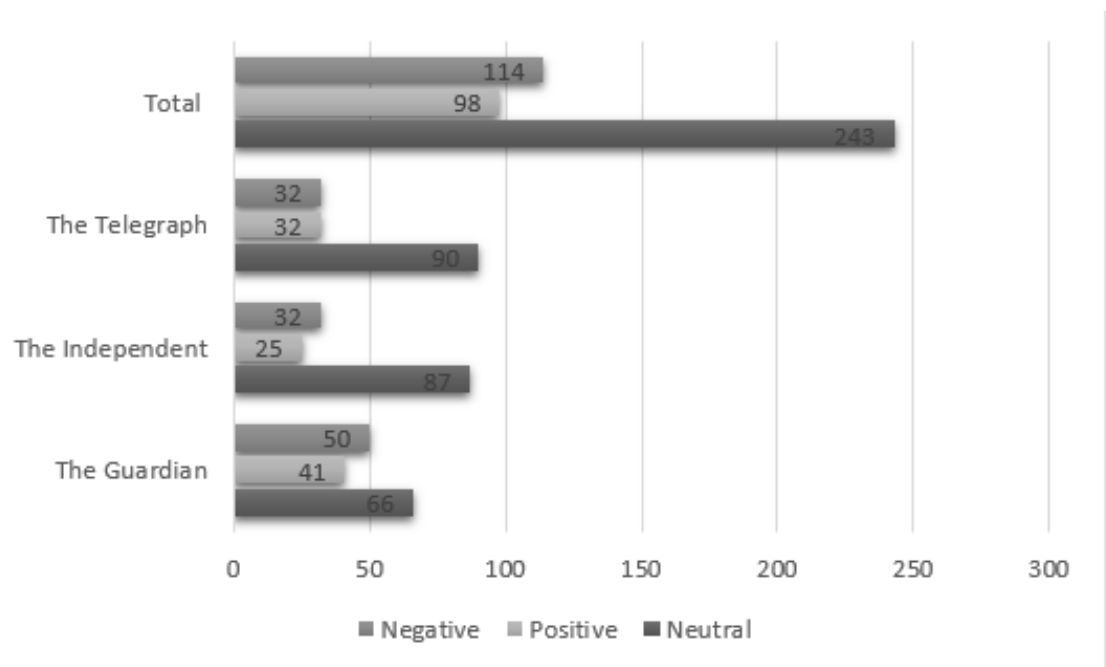
Similar effect can be achieved by including names of specific people in news reports. However, proper names were found in the corpus only six times. Similarly, the category named 'contribution' which comprises expressions highlighting the positive attributes and skills of refugees included only seven expressions.

These were all the strategies that described refugees in a positive light. However, refugees were also described negatively. The third most frequent category is the category of origin. This category includes forty-eight expressions which draw attention to the origin of refugees. By doing so, the newspapers subtly highlight the otherness of refugees which prevents them from being accepted by the society.

Another abundantly represented category is the category of approximate numbers. This category comprises overall thirty-eight expressions which indicate that refugees are coming to Europe in enormous numbers and therefore, they are something to be feared. Furthermore, several other negative expressions, regarding the negative mental state of refugees and their illegality, were found in the corpus. These expressions and the categories of origin and approximate numbers are all emphasizing the negative things about refugees which can lead to a negative perception of them.

In summary, neutral, negative and positive expressions were found in all three newspapers. The following chart shows the final results of the analysis.

Figure 1 Results of the Analysis



The values in the graph were assigned based on the number of terms that were identified as neutral, the number of terms that indicated a positive approach to refugees and the number of terms that indicated a negative approach to refugees. It is apparent from this graph that refugees are most frequently described neutrally. Apart from neutral expressions, negative expressions slightly prevail over the positive ones. The most interesting aspect of this graph similar numbers of neutral, positive and negative expressions were found in all three newspapers included in the analysis. The one newspaper that slightly differs from the other to is The Guardian which uses less neutral expressions in comparison to The Independent or The Telegraph. Nevertheless, the proportion of negative and positive expressions is balanced and

therefore it cannot be concluded that The Guardian uses less neutral expressions in order to portray refugees in a more positive or negative way.

As explained in the theoretical part, the overall ideological strategy is the one of positive self-representation and negative-other presentation. In order to portray refugees negatively, the analyzed articles should include expressions emphasizing the negative aspects and deemphasizing the positive aspects of refugees. However, the analysis revealed that these strategies are not frequently employed by the examined newspapers. Although they do sometimes emphasize negative things about refugees, mostly their large numbers and origin, they also emphasize some of their positive characteristics and point out that refugees are innocent victims, who need the empathy and compassion of other people. Thus, it can be concluded that the newspapers try to stay objective and when they fail to do so, at least they present refugees not only negatively but also emphasize their positive attributes.

6 CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis was to map the ways in which refugees are depicted by the British online media. Overall, three newspapers were analyzed, namely *The Guardian*, *The Independent* and *The Telegraph*. The subject of analysis were noun phrases used for the reference to refugees. Altogether, three hundred phrases covering the period of September 2015 were analyzed.

The analysis first focused on the structure of the noun phrases, with the aim to get a general idea about the data. Furthermore, this part of analysis was useful for determining which structures are relevant for the aim of the thesis. Phrases such as definite and indefinite articles were excluded from the analysis.

Subsequently, the analysis focused on the frequency of occurrence of different lexical units which were found in the corpus. The research identified several categories of expressions used for the reference to refugees. These categories were further investigated, and the results were interpreted using approach adopted from the discipline of critical discourse analysis. According to this approach, that the basic ideological strategy is positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. Surprisingly, the findings revealed that refugees are portrayed mostly neutrally, even though some positive and negative expressions were also found in the corpus.

It should be noted that since the research focused only on noun phrases and analyzed relatively a small amount of data, definite conclusions about the ways in which British online newspaper portray refugees should not be drawn based on this research.

7 RESUMÉ

Tato práce se zabývá vyobrazením uprchlíků v britském internetovém tisku. Cílem práce já zmapování způsobů, které média k vyobrazování uprchlíků používají.

Práce je rozdělena na teoretickou a praktickou část. Teoretická část nejprve definuje žánr novinové zprávy. V této části je popsán rozdíl mezi dvěma typy novin, konkrétně mezi britskými „broadsheety“ a tabloidy. Noviny patřící do kategorie tabloidů jsou obdobou českých bulvárních tisků, soustředí se především na prezentaci skandálních informací a dalších senzací, v nichž hrají klíčovou roli emoce. „Broadsheety“ jsou na druhou stranu považovány za seriózní tisk, jehož funkce je především informativní.

Následně je v práci popsán rozdíl mezi dvěma druhy zpráv, tzv. „hard news“ a „soft news“. Zatímco „soft news“ zahrnují spíše doplňující informace o celosvětovém dění, zprávy z kategorie „hard news“ přináší nejaktuálnější novinky o důležitých událostech. Jedním z hlavních rozdílů mezi těmito kategoriemi je stupeň jejich objektivity. Zatímco kategorie „soft news“ ve svých článcích často zahrnuje subjektivní názory, kategorie „hard news“ je charakterizována právě prezentací objektivních informací.

Objektivita je v této práci klíčovým termínem, a proto je v této části také definována. I přestože je obecně předpokládáno, že jsou novinové zprávy věcné a předkládají pouze fakta, tato část práce tuto domněnku vyvrací a vysvětluje, že se v médiích častokrát, ne-li vždy, ukrývají ideologie.

Ideologie je pojem, kterému je věnována druhá kapitola práce. Ideologie je zde vymezena jako základní přesvědčení, která jsou sdílena členy sociálních skupin. Tyto skupiny jsou často formovány na základě sdílených vlastností, které mohou být fundamentem pro vznik ideologií. Dále je zde představen multidisciplinární přístup Teun van Dijka, který vysvětluje, že ideologie stojí na třech pilířích, konkrétně na společnosti, sociální kognici a diskurzu.

Van Dijk je jedním z hlavních představitelů tzv. kritické analýzy diskurzu, což je disciplína, které je věnována třetí kapitola této práce. Kritická analýza diskurzu zahrnuje různé metody a přístupy užívané ke zkoumání spojitostí mezi diskurzem, jazykem a ideologií. V této části práce jsou prezentovány přístupy třech hlavních představitelů této disciplíny, konkrétně již zmiňovaného Teun van Dijka, Ruth Wodak a Normana Fairclougha.

Poslední kapitola teoretické části práce se zabývá nominální frází. V této kapitole jsou nejprve fráze definovány obecně a poté se práce koncentruje na jednotlivé konstituenty nominální fráze, konkrétně determinanty, jádro a modifikátory.

Posléze je již představena analytická část a její cíle. Poté následuje popis nasbíraných dat a metodologie užitých k analýze. V analytické části jsou analyzovány nominální fráze získané z online verzí britských novin, konkrétně novin *The Guardian*, *The Independent* a *The Telegraph*, které všechny spadají do kategorie „broadsheetů“, tedy seriálních novin. Všechny články, které byly ke sběru dat použity, byly publikovány v období září 2015. Toto období bylo zvoleno, protože v tomto časovém úseku přicházelo do Evropy velké množství uprchlíků, jež se stali předmětem zájmu médií. Celkově bylo k analýze zvoleno tři sta frází, sto z každého zdroje.

Analýza probíhala ve dvou krocích. Nejprve byly fráze analyzovány z hlediska jejich struktury, a jednotlivé konstituenty fráze byly vyznačeny v korpusu. V této části analýzy byl dále vytvořen přehled struktur, které nejčastěji fungují jako konstituenty nominální fráze. Tato analýza byla provedena za účelem zjištění, zda jsou všechna data vhodná k analýze. Na základě výsledků byly některé konstituenty frází z další analýzy vyloučeny, například určité a neurčité členy, které mají výlučně gramatickou funkci a jejich analýza by mnoho informací relevantních pro cíl práce nepodalala.

Druhou částí analýzy byla analýza lexikálních jednotek, které byly součástí korpusu. Analýza ukázala, že jsou uprchlíci vyobrazováni za pomoci četného počtu výrazů, a tak byly výrazy seskupeny na základě typu informace, kterou předávají. Dohromady bylo vytvořeno třináct kategorií, jmenovitě kategorie neutrálních výrazů, kategorie *věku*, *pohlaví* a *vztahů*, kategorie pojmenovaná *přínos*, kategorie *původu*, *neštěstí*, *cesty*, *vstupu*, *duševního vztahu* a taky kategorie *přesných a přibližných čísel*. Následně se práce zabývá každou z těchto kategorií zvlášť.

První podkapitola prezentuje výrazy z kategorie neutrálních výrazů. Tato kategorie je nejobsáhlejší, především protože zahrnuje hojně používané výrazy jako *refugee*, *migrant* a *asylum seeker*, tedy uprchlík, migrant a žadatel o azyl. I přesto že jsou tyto výrazy médií často zaměňovány, všechny tyto výrazy jsou neutrální a politicky korektní. Dalším příkladem výrazů z této kategorie jsou například výraz *people*, tedy lidé.

Další podkapitola zahrnuje kategorie *pohlaví*, *věk* a *vztahy*. Tyto kategorie obsahují výrazy, které, jak vyplývá z názvu, indikují pohlaví nebo věk uprchlíků a dále výrazy jako

například *family*, tedy rodina. Tato kategorie vysvětluje, jaký ideologický význam se může za těmito zdánlivě popisnými výrazy schovávat. Časté vyobrazování uprchlíků určité věkové kategorie může indikovat postoj, který média k uprchlíkům zaujímají. Pokud média např. poukazují na to, že do Evropy přijíždí především mladí muži, čtenáři získají ze zpráv zcela jiný dojem, než pokud média vyobrazují především ženy a děti.

Další podkapitola se týká kategorie *vlastních jmen*, která však v korpusu nejsou téměř zastoupena; *povolání* a dalších výrazů, které vyobrazují uprchlíky jako individuální jedince, kteří jsou svými schopnostmi schopni přispět k fungující společnosti. .

Následující podkapitola se týká výrazů, které zachycují utrpení uprchlíků, popisují jejich cestu anebo vyzdvihují, zda uprchlík přišel do země legálně či ne. Opětovaně se objevují výrazy zdůrazňující hrozivé podmínky, před kterými uprchlíci prchají, nepříjemné situace, kterým musí čelit a také smrt. Kategorie *cesty* obsahuje převážně neutrální výrazy, které referují k cestě uprchlíků do Evropy. Poslední kategorie zdůrazňuje dvě věci. První z nich je ta, že někteří uprchlíci přijíždějí do Evropy nelegálně anebo v Evropě nelegálně zůstávají; druhá kategorie zdůrazňuje pomoc, která byla uprchlíkům nabídnuta.

Velmi rozsáhlá kapitola se týká čísel. Čísla mohou být použita dvěma způsoby, zaprvé mohou indikovat, že jsou noviny, které uvádějí přesná čísla objektivní; na druhou stranu, noviny mohou čísla uprchlíků záměrně zveličovat a tím v lidech vyvolávat strach .

Poslední podkapitola se týká výrazů, které indikují duševní stav uprchlíků, například slovo *frustrated*, tedy frustrovaný. Tato kategorie je zastoupena opravdu velmi zřídka a líčí uprchlíky spíše negativně. Některé další výrazy nalezené v korpusu nepatří do žádných z těchto kategorií, a proto byly analyzovány samostatně.

Po přestavení kategorií následuje jejich shrnutí, které porovnává výsledky analýzy a zjišťuje, že jsou uprchlíci vyobrazováni jak negativně, tak pozitivně a neutrálně a překvapivě, neutrální výrazy převládají ve všech analyzovaných novinách. Poměr negativních a pozitivních výrazů je ve všech novinách zhruba stejný.

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9 APPENDICES

9.1 Appendix 1: Data Corpus

1) The Guardian

1. [hundreds of]^D [people]^H
2. [many]^H [fleeing Syrian war]^{PoM}
3. [migrants]^H [camped around Budapest rail stations]^{PoM}
4. [men]^H
5. [women]^H
6. [children]^H
7. [many]^H [fleeing Syria's civil war]^{PoM}
8. [thousands of]^D [undocumented]^{PrM} [people]^H
9. [people]^H [without visas]^{PoM}
10. [frustrated]^{PrM} [refugees]^H [entering Hungary at a rate of more than 2,000 a day during August]^{PoM}
11. [hundreds of]^D [Syrians]^H
12. [refugees]^H
13. [Syrians]^H [who were now to be permitted to stay and apply for refugee status]^{PoM}
14. [a]^D [protester]^H
15. [refugees]^H
16. [the]^D [refugees]^H
17. [the]^D [crowd]^H
18. [panicking]^{PrM} [parents]^H
19. [toddlers]^H
20. [children]^H

(The Guardian 2015, September 1)

21. [more]^D [refugees]^H
22. [a]^D [Syrian]^{PrM} [toddler]^H
23. [three-year-old]^{PrM} [Aylan Kurdi]^H
24. [hundreds of thousands of]^D [people]^H [who loaded into boats just this year to risk the dangerous journey to Europe]^{PoM1} [seeking primarily to escape conflicts in the Middle East and North Africa]^{PoM2}
25. [the millions of]^D [refugees]^H [who have fled war-torn Syria]^{PoM}
26. [Kurdi]^H
27. [more]^D [refugees]^H
28. [those]^H [seeking asylum from war-torn and impoverished countries]^{PoM}
29. [more]^D [refugees]^H
30. [65,000]^D [refugees]^H [from Syria]^{PoM}

31. [800,000]^D [refugees]^H
32. [no additional]^D [refugees]^H
33. [refugees]^H
34. [some more]^D [folks]^H
35. [people]^H
36. [more]^D [refugees]^H
37. [the flow of]^D [refugees]^H
38. [these]^D [people]^H
39. [people]^H
40. [more]^D [refugees]^H

(Siddiqui, 2015)

41. [refugees]^H
42. [Syrian]^{PrM} [refugees]^H
43. [Syrian]^{PrM} [refugees]^H
44. [displaced]^{PrM} [Syrians]^H
45. [asylum]^{PrM} [seekers]^H → [asylum seekers]^H
46. [Syrian]^{PrM} [refugees]^H
47. [asylum]^{PrM} [seekers]^H [whose applications had been refused by the Home Office (who receive no financial assistance from the government)]^{PoM} → [asylum seekers]^H [whose applications had been refused by the Home Office (who receive no financial assistance from the government)]^{PoM}
48. [refused]^{PrM1} [asylum]^{PrM2} [seekers]^H → [refused]^{PrM} [asylum seekers]^H
49. [Syrians]^H
50. [the thousands of]^D [Syrian]^{PrM} [refugees]^H
51. [homeless]^{PrM} [migrants]^H
52. [vulnerable]^{PrM} [refugees]^H
53. [destitute]^{PrM} [asylum]^{PrM} [seekers]^H → [destitute]^{PrM} [asylum seekers]^H
54. [Syrian]^{PrM} [refugees]^H [most of whom will come to this country with government funding]^{PoM}
55. [a]^D [Syrian]^{PrM} [family]^H
56. [thousands of]^D [Syrians]^H
57. [no more than 4,000]^D [arrivals]^H
58. [a]^D [Syrian]^{PrM} family]^H
59. [Alan Kurdi]^H
60. [people]^H [with no resource to public funds]^{PoM}

(Gentleman, 2015)

61. [refugees]^H
62. [refugees]^H [hoping to reach the safety of the EU]^{PoM}
63. [thousands of]^D [people]^H [walking north from Greece]^{PoM}
64. [more than 2,000]^D [refugees]^H
65. [other]^D [refugees]^H
66. [refugees]^H
67. [refugees]^H

68. [tens of]^D [thousands]^H
69. [people]^H
70. [people]^H
71. [the]^D [refugees]^H
72. [women]^H
73. [children]^H
74. [people]^H
75. [about 8,000]^D [people]^H
76. [many]^D [people]^H
77. [women]^H
78. [children]^H
79. [elderly]^H
80. [refugees]^H

(Kingsley, 2015)

81. [Iraqi]^{PrM} [man]^H
82. [twenty-year-old]^H [who is thought to have been crushed by pallets]^{PoM}
83. [12th]^D [person]^H [killed trying to reach UK from France this year]^{PoM}
84. [a]^D [20-year-old]^{PrM1} [Iraqi]^{PrM2} [man]^H
85. [the 12th]^D [person]^H [killed while trying to cross the Channel to Britain this year]^{PoM}
86. [a]^D [deceased]^{PrM} [migrant]^H
87. [two]^D [family]^{PrM} [members]^H → [two]^D [family members]^H
88. [a]^D [young]^{PrM} [man]^H
89. [between 3,000 and 3,500]^D [people]^H [mostly from Africa and the Middle East]^{PoM}
90. [several hundred]^D [more]^H [living in a camp about 25 miles (40km) from Calais]^{PoM}

(The Guardian 2015, September 1)

91. [foraging]^{PrM} [refugees]^H
92. [Syrian]^{PrM} [arrivals]^H [mistaking poisonous fungi such as the death cap for food]^{PoM}
93. [most]^D [refugees]^H
94. [the large number of]^D [newcomers]^H [foraging for mushrooms and mistaking those they find for varieties found in their homelands]^{PoM}
95. [refugees]^H [who have already arrived in Germany, mainly from Syria]^{PoM *}
96. [asylum]^{PrM} [seekers]^H → [asylum seekers]^{H*}
97. [whole]^D [families]^H [who headed into the woodland close to their refugee shelters to forage for mushrooms, and took pleasure in finding something they appeared to know from their countries of origin]^{PoM}
98. [groups of]^D [men]^H [looking for alternative ways to spend their time]^{PoM1} [who had fallen victim to toxic mushroom varieties]^{PoM2}

99. [young]^{PrM} [men]^H
 100. [a]^D [16-year-old]^{PrM} [boy]^H [who died after a replacement liver could not be found in time to save him]^{PoM}

(Connolly, 2015)

2) The Independent

101. [asylum]^{PrM} [seekers]^H → [asylum seekers]^H
 102. [151]^D [people]^H
 103. [a trickle of]^D [asylum]^{PrM} [seekers]^H [from Syria and the Mediterranean region]^{PoM} → [a trickle of]^D [asylum seekers]^H [from Syria and the Mediterranean region]^{PoM}
 104. [151]^D [people]^H
 105. [asylum seekers]^H [arriving from the Arctic]^{PoM} → [asylum seekers]^H [arriving from the Arctic]^{PoM}

(Huuhtanen, 2015)

106. [Syrian]^{PrM} [refugees]^H
 107. [50]^D [asylum seekers]^H [asylum]^{PrM} [seekers]^H → [50]^D [asylum seekers]^H
 108. [Syrian]^{PrM} [refugees]^H
 109. [just 50]^D [asylum]^{PrM} [seekers]^H → [just 50]^D [asylum seekers]^H
 110. [five]^D [Syrians]^H [fleeing the country's brutal civil war]^{PoM}
 111. [more]^D [refugees]^H
 112. [human]^{PrM} [resources]^H [with experience and skills that could help all Icelanders]^{PoM} → [human resources]^H [with experience and skills that could help all Icelanders]^{PoM}
 113. [future]^{PrM} [spouses]^H → [future spouses]^H
 114. [best]^{PrM} [friends]^H → [best friends]^H
 115. [the next]^D [soul]^{PrM} [mate]^H → [the next]^D [soul mate]^H
 116. [a]^D [drummer]^H [for our children's band]^{PoM} → [a]^D [drummer for our children's band]^H
 117. [the next]^D [colleague]^H
 118. [Miss]^H [Iceland]^{PoM1} [in 2022]^{PoM2} → [Miss Iceland in 2022]^H
 119. [the]^D [carpenter]^H [who finally finishes the bathroom]^{PoM} → [the]^D [carpenter who finally finishes the bathroom]^H
 120. [the]^D [cook]^H [in the cafeteria]^{PoM} → [the]^D [cook in the cafeteria]^{PoM}

(Dearden, 2015a)

121. [asylum]^{PrM} [seekers]^H → [asylum seekers]^H
 122. [refugees]^H
 123. [families]^H

124. [refugees]^H
 125. [arriving]^{PrM} [asylum]^{PrM} [seekers]^H → [arriving]^{PrM} [asylum seekers]^H
 126. [anyone]^H [hoping to gain permanent residence in Denmark]^{PoM}
 127. [larger number of]^D [refugees]^H
 128. [migrants]^H
 129. [refugees]^H
 130. [refugees]^H
 131. [refugees]^H
 132. [immigrants]^H
 133. [potential]^{PrM} [migrants]^H
 134. [almost 15,000]^D [asylum]^{PrM} [seekers]^H → [almost 15,000]^D [asylum seekers]^H
 135. [more than 1 million]^D [Syrian]^{PrM} [refugees]^H

(Taylor, 2015)

136. [father]^H [photographed crying with children in Kos]^{PoM}
 137. [Laith Majid]^H
 138. [his]^D [wife]^H
 139. [children]^H
 140. [the]^D [refugee]^H [who was photographed weeping as he landed on a Greek island cradling his children]^{PoM}

(Dearden, 2015b)

141. [1 in 50]^D [Syrian]^{PrM} [refugees]^H [in Europe]^{PoM}
 142. [refugees]^H
 143. [one in 50]^D [Syrian]^{PrM} [refugees]^H [entering Europe]^{PoM}
 144. [as many as two per cent of]^D [refugees]^H [from Syria]^{PoM}
 145. [refugees]^H
 146. [refugees]^H
 147. [some]^D [people]^H
 148. [groups]^H
 149. [usual]^{PrM} [refugees]^H
 150. [displaced]^{PrM} [Syrians]^H
 151. [the large number of]^D [refugees]^H *
 152. [the large number of]^D [migrants]^{PoM} *

(Sims, 2015)

153. [refugees]^H
 154. [refugees]^H
 155. [refugees]^H
 156. [those]^H [fleeing from war-torn countries]^{PoM1} [and attempting to build a better life in Europe]^{PoM2}
 157. [refugees]^H [caught up in the crisis]^{PoM}

158. [those]^H [suffering on the continent]^{PoM}
(Critchley, 2015)
159. [asylum]^{PrM} [seekers]^H → [asylum seekers]^H
160. [migrants]^H
(Dearden 2015c)
161. [1000]^D [Syrian]^{PrM} [refugees]^H
162. [any]^D [refugees]^H
163. [1000]^D [Syrian]^{PrM} [refugees]^H
164. [any]^D [refugees]^H
165. [1000]^D [individuals]^H
166. [200]^D [families]^H
167. [any]^D [Syrian]^{PrM} [refugees]^H
168. [those]^H [in need]^{PoM}
169. [the]^D [refugees]^H
(Sheffield, 2015)
170. [family]^H
171. [refugees]^H
172. [a]^D [refugee]^{PrM} [family]^H
173. [refugees]^H
(Blair, 2015)
174. [first of the 20,000]^D [Syrian]^{PrM} [refugees]^H [David Cameron
promised to take in]^{PoM}
175. [120,000]^D [refugees]^H
176. [The first]^D [Syrian]^{PrM} [refugees]^H [to take part in the Government's
expanded resettlement programme]^{PoM}
177. [The]^D [group]^H
178. [20,000]^D [Syrians]^H
179. [120,000]^D [refugees]^H
180. [Syrians]^H [who desperately need our assistance]^{PoM}
(Stone, 2015)
181. [Syrian]^{PrM} [girl's]^H (painting)
182. [young]^{PrM} [refugee]^H
183. [3-year-old]^{PrM1} [Syrian]^{PrM2} [boy]^H
184. [Alan Kurdi]^H
185. [hundreds of other]^D [children]^H
186. [a]^D [young]^{PrM1} [Syrian]^{PrM2} [refugee]^H
187. [a]^D [Syrian]^{PrM} [child]^H
188. [the]^D [refugee]^{PrM} [child]^H
189. [refugees]^H
190. [refugees]^H

191. [Syrian]^{PrM} [refugees]^H
 192. [refugees]^H
 193. [several]^D [asylum]^{PrM} [seekers]^H → [several]^D [asylum seekers]^H
 194. [a]^D [refugee]^{PrM} [girl]^H
 195. [the]^D [girl]^H

(Noack, 2015)

196. [hundreds of]^D [refugees]^H
 197. [Syrian]^{PrM} [refugees]^H
 198. [just 15]^D [people]^H [on board]^{PoM}
 199. [kids]^H
 200. [these]^D [children]^H

(Popham, 2015)

3) The Telegraph

201. [refugees]^H
 202. [migrants]^H
 203. [migrants]^H
 204. [thousands of]^D [people]^H
 205. [illegal]^{PrM} [immigrants]^H
 206. [anybody]^H [who comes across the Mediterranean or comes through
 Turkey]^{PoM}
 207. [hundreds of thousands of]^D [people]^H
 208. [anybody]^H [who comes from a war-torn country]^{PoM}
 209. [people]^H [leaving extreme poverty]^{PoM}
 210. [millions and millions of]^D [people]^H.
 211. [millions]^H
 212. [a few thousand]^D [people]^H [from Syria]^{PoM}
 213. [migrants]^H
 214. [200]^D [people]^H [who were smuggled trying to come into their
 country]^{PoM}

(Wilkinson, 2015)

215. [10,000]^D [refugees]^H
 216. [refugees]^H
 217. [10,000]^D [refugees]^H
 218. [refugees]^H
 219. [refugees]^H
 220. [2,500]^D [people]^H [attempting to cross the Mediterranean]^{PoM}

(Hughes, 2015)

221. [immigrants]^H
 222. [more]^D [families]^H [fleeing conflict]^{PoM}

223. [refugees]^H [arriving from the Syrian war- and elsewhere]^{PoM}
 224. [up to 70,000]^D [people]^H
 225. [20,000]^D [refugees]^H
 226. [between 5,000 and 8,000]^D [Syrian]^{PrM} [refugees]^H
 227. [refugees]^H
 228. [800,000]^D [refugees]^{H*}
 229. [asylum]^{PrM} [seekers]^H → [asylum seekers]^{H*}
 230. [asylum]^{PrM} [seekers]^H → [asylum seekers]^H

(Crilly, 2015)

231. [up to 2,500]^D [migrants]^H
 232. [migrants]^H
 233. [some 2,500]^D [migrants]^H
 234. [the]^D [crowd]^H
 235. [influx of]^D [people]^H [fleeing war and poverty in the Middle East and Africa]^{PoM}
 236. [thousands]^H [making their way across the Balkans and the Mediterranean every day]^{PoM}
 237. [a wave of]^D [voyagers]^H [setting sail from the nearby Turkish coast for Western Europe]^{PoM}
 238. [up to 20,000]^D [refugees]^H
 239. [Aleddin]^H
 240. [an]^D [engineering]^{PrM} [student]^H [who is hoping to join his brother in Germany]^{PoM} → [an]^D [engineering student]^H [who is hoping to join his brother in Germany]^{PoM}

(Squires, 2015)

241. [hundreds of thousands of]^D [non-European]^{PrM} [people]^H
 242. [people]^H
 243. [people]^H [who arrive legitimately and lawfully with a time-limited visa, then remain here when that permission expires]^{PoM}
 244. [migrants]^H
 245. [migrants]^H
 246. [those]^H [who would otherwise flee]^{PoM}
 247. [people]^H

(Kirkup, 2015)

248. [more than 50 million]^D [people]^H
 249. [men]^H
 250. [women]^H
 251. [children]^H
 252. [the flow of]^D [refugees]^{H*}

253. [the flow of]^D [migrants]^{H*}
 254. [more]^D [people]^H
 255. [the]^D [people]^H [fleeing from their home countries]^{PoM}
 256. [people]^H [in need]^{PoM}
 257. [asylum]^{PrM} [seekers]^H → [asylum seekers]^H
 258. [refugees]^H
 259. [migrants]^H
 260. [most]^D [refugees]^H

(McAllister, 2015)

261. [refugees]^H
 262. [illegal]^{PrM1} [border]^{PrM2} [crossers]^H → [illegal]^{PrM} [border crossers]^H
 263. [the]^D [migrants]^H
 264. [refugees]^H
 265. [120,000]^D [migrants]^H
 266. [54,000]^D [refugees]^H
 267. [refugees]^H
 268. [refugees]^H
 269. [thousands of]^D [refugees]^H [still pouring to Europe]^{PoM*}
 270. [migrants]^{H*}
 271. [some 994]^D [people]^H
 272. [70]^D [people]^H
 273. [some 23,000]^D [people]^H
 274. [those]^H [arriving in Nickelsdorf on Monday]^{PoM}
 275. [refugees]^H
 276. [these]^D [people]^H
 277. [people]^H
 278. [one]^D [Syrian]^{PrM} [mother]^H [from Damascus]^{PoM}
 279. [her]^D [two-year-old]^{PrM} [son]^H
 280. [young]^{PrM} [men]^H

(Holehouse, 2015)

281. [Iraqi]^{PrM} [migrant]^H
 282. [the]^D [20-year-old]^H
 283. [a]^D [20-year-old]^{PrM} [Iraqi]^H
 284. [the 13th]^D [migrant]^H [killed trying to cross the Channel this year]^{PoM}
 285. [the]^D [man's]^H (body)
 286. [a]^D [deceased]^{PrM} [migrant]^H [undoubtedly crushed by the pallets]
 PoM
 287. [two]^D [family]^{PrM} [members]^H → [two]^D [family members]^H
 288. [a]^D [child]^H
 289. [between 3,000 and 3,500]^D [people]^H [mostly from Africa and the
 Middle East]^{PoM}

290. [several hundred]^D [more]^H [living in a camp around 25 miles from Calais]^{PoM}
(AFP, 2015a)
291. [penniless]^{PrM} [asylum]^{PrM} [seekers']^H (fine) → [penniless]^{PrM} [asylum seekers']^H (fine)
292. [a]^D [penniless]^{PrM} [asylum]^{PrM} [seekers']^H (fine) → [a]^D [penniless]^{PrM} [asylum seekers']^H (court fine)
293. [the]^D [refugee]^H
294. [the]^D [man]^H [in his 20s]^{PoM}
295. [the]^D [asylum]^{PrM} [seekers']^H (personal story) → [the]^D [asylum seekers']^H (personal story)
296. [the]^D [asylum]^{PrM} [seeker]^H → [the]^D [asylum seeker]^H
297. [the]^D [man's]^H (paperwork)
298. [the]^D [asylum]^{PrM} [seeker]^H → [the]^D [asylum seeker]^H
299. [an]^D [asylum]^{PrM} [seeker]^H → [an]^D [asylum seeker]^H
(Ward, 2015)
300. [asylum]^{PrM} [seekers]^H → [asylum seekers]^H
(AFP, 2015b)

9.2 Appendix 2- Tables

Table 3 Neutral Expressions

NEUTRAL EXPRESSIONS	The Guardian	The Independent	The Telegraph	Total
arrivals	2	0	0	2
asylum seeker	5	10	10	25
border crossers	0	0	1	1
folks	1	0	0	1
immigrants	0	1	2	3
individuals	0	1	0	1
migrant/s	3	4	16	23
newcomers	1	0	0	1
people	15	4	23	42
person	2	0	0	2
refugee (PrM)	0	3	0	3
refugee/s	32	43	23	98
voyagers	0	0	1	1
Total	61	66	76	203

Table 4 Age

AGE	The Guardian	The Independent	The Telegraph	Total
20-year-old	0	0	1	1
16-year-old	1	0	0	1
3-year-old	0	1	0	1
elderly	1	0	0	1
child/children	4	5	2	11
in his 20s	0	0	1	1
kids	0	1	0	1
three-year-old	1	0	0	1
toddler/s	2	0	0	2
twenty-year-old	1	0	0	1
two-year-old	0	0	1	1
young	2	2	1	5
Total	12	9	6	27

Table 5 Sex

SEX	The Guardian	The Independent	The Telegraph	Total
boy	1	1	0	2
girl	0	3	0	3
man	6	0	5	11
women	4	0	1	5
Total	11	4	6	21

Table 6 Relations

RELATIONS	The Guardian	The Independent	The Telegraph	Total
colleague	0	1	0	1
family/families	3	4	1	8
family members	1	0	1	2
father	0	1	0	1
friends	0	1	0	1
mother	0	0	1	1
parents	1	0	0	1
son	0	0	1	1
soul mate	0	1	0	1
spouses	0	1	0	1
wife	0	1	0	1
Total	5	10	4	19

Table 7 Proper Names

PROPER NAMES	The Guardian	The Independent	The Telegraph	Total
Alan Kurdi	1	1	0	2
Aleddin	0	0	1	1
Aylan Kurdi	1	0	0	1
Kurdi	1	0	0	1
Laith Majid	0	1	0	1
Total	3	2	1	6

Table 8 Contribution

CONTRIBUTION	The Guardian	The Independent	The Telegraph	Total
drummer	0	1	0	1
Carpenter	0	1	0	1
Cook	0	1	0	1
Student	0	0	1	1
Miss Iceland	0	1	0	1
human resources	0	1	0	1
with experience and skills that could help all Icelanders	0	1	0	1
Total	0	6	1	7

Table 9 Origin

ORIGIN	The Guardian	The Independent	The Telegraph	Total
from Damascus	0	0	1	1
from Syria	1	1	1	3
from Syria and the Mediterranean region	1	0	0	1
Iraqi	2	0	1	3
Iraqi	0	0	1	1
mostly from Africa and the Middle East	1	0	1	2
non-European	0	0	1	1
Syrian	8	16	2	26
Syrians	5	4	0	9
who have already arrived in Germany, mainly from Syria	1	0	0	1
Total	19	21	8	48

Table 10 Plight

PLIGHT	The Guardian	The Independent	The Telegraph	Total
Destitute	1	0	0	1
arriving from the Syrian war- and elsewhere]	0	0	1	1
attempting to build a better life in Europe	0	1	0	1
attempting to cross the Mediterranean	0	0	1	1
camped around Budapest rail stations	1	0	0	1
Deceased	1	0	1	2
displaced	1	1	0	2
fleeing conflict	0	0	1	1
fleeing from their home countries	0	0	1	1
fleeing from war-torn countries	0	1	0	1
fleeing Syria's civil war	1	0	0	1
fleeing Syrian war	1	0	0	1
fleeing the country's brutal civil war	0	1	0	1
fleeing war and poverty in the Middle East and Africa	0	0	1	1
Homeless	1	0	0	1
hoping to gain permanent residence in Denmark	1	0	0	1
hoping to reach the safety of the EU	1	0	0	1
in need	0	1	1	2
killed trying to cross the Channel this year	0	0	1	1
killed trying to reach UK from France this year	1	0	0	1
killed while trying to cross the Channel to Britain this year	1	0	0	1
leaving extreme poverty	0	0	1	1
living in a camp about 25 miles (40km) from Calais	1	0	0	1
living in a camp around 25 miles from Calais	0	0	1	1
making their way across the Balkans and the Mediterranean every day	0	0	1	1
mistaking poisonous fungi such as the death cap for food	1	0	0	1
Peniless	0	0	2	2
photographed crying with children	0	1	0	1
refused	1	0	0	1
seeking asylum from war-torn and impoverished countries	1	0	0	1
suffering on the continent	0	1	0	1
undoubtedly crushed by the pallets	0	0	1	1

Vulnerable	1	0	0	1
walking north from Greece	1	0	0	1
who comes from a war-torn country	0	0	1	1
who desperately need our assistance	0	1	0	1
who died after a replacement liver could not be found in time to save him	1	0	0	1
who had fallen victim to toxic mushroom varieties	1	0	0	1
who have fled war-torn Syria	1	0	0	1
who is hoping to join his brother in Germany	0	0	1	1
who is thought to have been crushed by pallets	1	0	0	1
who loaded into boats just this year to risk the dangerous journey to Europe, seeking primarily to escape conflicts in the Middle East and North Africa	1	0	0	1
who was photographed weeping as he landed on a Greek island cradling his children	0	1	0	1
whose applications had been refused by the Home Office (who receive no financial assistance from the government)	1	0	0	1
with no resource to public funds	1	0	0	1
Total	24	9	16	49

Table 11 Journey

JOURNEY	The Guardian	The Independent	The Telegraph	Total
Arriving	0	1	0	1
arriving from the Arctic	0	1	0	1
arriving in Nickelsdorf on Monday	0	0	1	1
attempting to cross the Mediterranean	0	0	1	1
making their way across the Balkans and the Mediterranean every day	0	0	1	1
entering Europe	0	1	0	1
setting sail from the nearby Turkish coast for Western Europe	0	0	1	1
walking north from Greece	1	0	0	1
who comes across the Mediterranean or comes through Turkey, once they have set foot in an EU country	0	0	1	1
Total	1	2	5	8

Table 12 Entry

ENTRY	The Guardia n	The Independen t	The Telegrap h	Tota l
without visas	1	0	0	1
[most of whom will come to this country with government funding	1	0	0	1
David Cameron promised to take in	0	1	0	1
Illegal	1	0	0	2
to take part in the Government's expanded resettlement programme	0	1	0	1
Undocumented	0	1	0	0
who arrive legitimately and lawfully with a time-limited visa, then remain here when that permission expires	0	0	1	1
who were now to be permitted to stay and apply for refugee status	1	0	0	1
who were smuggled trying to come into their country	0	1	1	2
Total	4	4	2	10

Table 13 Exact Numbers

EXACT NUMBERS	The Guardian	The Independent	The Telegraph	Total
50	0	1	0	1
70	0	0	1	1
151	0	2	0	2
200	0	1	1	2
1000	0	3	0	3
2500	0	0	1	1
10000	0		2	2
20000	0	1	1	2
54000	0	0	1	1
65000	1	0	0	1
120000	0	2	1	3
800000	1	0	1	2
1 in 50	0	1	0	1
first of the 20000	0	1	0	1
as many as two per cent of	0	1	0	1
five	0	1	0	1
just 15	0	1	0	1
just 50	0	1	0	1
one in 50	0	1	0	1
two	1	0	1	2
Total	3	17	10	30

Table 14 Approximate Numbers

APPROXIMATE NUMBERS	The Guardian	The Independent	The Telegraph	Total
a few thousand	0	0	1	1
a wave of	0	0	1	1
crowd	1	0	1	2
entering Hungary at a rate of more than 2,000 a day during August	1	0	0	1
group/s	0	2	0	2
groups of	1	0	0	1
hundreds of other	0	1	0	1
hundreds of	1	1	0	2
hundreds of thousands of	1	0	2	3
influx of	0	0	1	1
many	1	0	0	1
millions	0	0	1	1
millions and millions of	0	0	1	1
more than 1 million	0	1	0	1
more than 50 million	0	0	1	1
several hundred	1	0	1	2
still pouring to Europe	0	0	1	1
tens of	1	0	0	1
the flow of	1	0	1	2
the large number of	1	2	0	3
the millions of	1	0	0	1
the thousands of	1	0	0	1
thousands	1	0	1	2
thousands of	3	0	2	5
Total	16	7	15	38

Table 15- Mental State

MENTAL STATE	The Guardian	The Independent	The Telegraph	Total
Frustrated	1	0	0	1
Panicking	1	0	0	1
Protester	1	0	0	1
who headed into the woodland close to their refugee shelters to forage for mushrooms, and took pleasure in finding something they appeared to know from their countries of origin	0	0	1	1
Total	3	0	1	4

Table 16- Other Expressions

OTHER EXPRESSIONS	The Guardian	The Independent	The Telegraph	Total
foraging for mushrooms and mistaking those they find for varieties found in their homelands	1	0	0	1
foraging	1	0	0	1
looking for alternative ways to spend their time]	1	0	0	1
potential	0	1	0	1
usual	0	1	0	1
who would otherwise flee	0	0	1	1