

Appendix 1. List of texts analysed

1	“A general election is the democratic way forward” – Corbyn’s full speech in Salford
2	“A new UK-EU customs union” – Corbyn’s full speech on Brexit
3	“A socially just Scotland in a modern United Kingdom” – Starmer’s full speech
4	“A vote for Labour is a vote to rule out no deal” – Starmer’s speech in Harlow
5	“Common Market 2.0 is the fastest route to Brexit” – Stephen Kinnock’s speech
6	“Good for hedge fund managers, bad for communities” – Corbyn on Brexit bill
7	“It’s time for parliament to work together and agree on a Plan B” – Corbyn’s Brexit response
8	“Not one single word has changed” – Corbyn’s speech ahead of second Brexit deal vote
9	“Our proposals are workable and could be negotiated” – Corbyn’s Brexit statement
10	“To stand by and do nothing would be a complete dereliction of duty” – Corbyn’s Brexit response
11	“We could’ve done a deal,” anonymous government official writes
12	“We will have to clean up the mess left by the Tories” – Starmer’s TUC speech
13	12 Brexit talking points to use on the Labour doorstep
14	A confirmatory public vote is our bottom line
15	A letter to Labour members... who might not vote Labour
16	A longer Brexit delay might involve holding European elections. So what?
17	A public vote is on the table – now we need to pick it up
18	Abortion rights must be at the forefront of Labour’s feminist agenda for Europe
19	Agreeing a soft deal doesn’t mean we’ll stop talking about Brexit
20	An election must come, and soon – but not until Brexit is resolved
21	Andrew Harrop: Labour’s new Brexit position is good economics and good politics
22	Another referendum isn’t a threat to our democracy, but billionaires are
23	Arguing to rejoin the EU now isn’t credible – 2020 needs to be a year of realities
24	As councillors, we know everything is local – even Brexit
25	Bercow’s ‘bombshell’ was no surprise. The government cannot bully MPs
26	Better for Corbyn to embrace the will of the party now than buckle later
27	Beware, Lexiteers you could be paving the way for Blue Corbynism

28	Beyond the ballot box Seven ways to save democracy
29	Brexit does not belong to one party, and Labour must play its part
30	Brexit is a billionaire con. Why would anyone in Labour support it?
31	Brexit is not an expression of hard-right politics
32	Brexit saw Corbyn's Labour turn from radicalism to incoherence
33	Brexit will put America first and workers last. We must stop Boris
34	Brexiters are falling behind. Labour must back a public vote wholeheartedly
35	Bring on the general election – and a referendum in 2020
36	Britain needs to get global-ready as we prepare to leave the EU
37	Built on arcane conventions, our constitution has led us to democratic crisis
38	Centre-left policies won't cancel out the emotional appeal of nationalism
39	Child refugees need protecting from Johnson's nasty government
40	Christian Wolmar: It is time for Labour to embrace the EU
41	Common Market 2.0 No, thanks – it's a bad deal for Britain
42	Corbyn tells members Labour backs Remain against no deal or Tory deal
43	Cross-party Brexit talks have “gone as far as they can” – Corbyn's letter
44	Dianne Hayter Labour peers won't allow Tory Brexit power grab
45	Does the 'Referendum and Remain' policy work for a government in waiting
46	Don't mistake the Lib Dems for a paragon of Remain virtue
47	End UK Labour's uncertainty on Brexit. Let our members decide
48	European elections 2019 Supporters of another referendum, beware
49	Even after Brexit, austerity will remain a choice – not a necessity
50	Even if the next Tory leader keeps no deal on the table, Labour must not block Brexit
51	Farage is a wolf in sheep's clothing. Only Labour can stop his politics of fear
52	First-time conference goer's delegate diary – Day Three
53	Five reasons why Labour MPs should vote against Johnson's deal
54	Free movement, state aid, European courts – a Common Market 2.0 mythbuster
55	Gareth Snell Why I voted against Labour's motion this week

56	Get Brexit Done has been superseded by Get Brexit Right
57	Heidi Alexander 17,000 people have spoken out – Labour must consult members on Brexit
58	Here’s what poses the biggest threat to Labour’s public ownership plans
59	Here’s what we know (and don’t know) about Labour’s next election performance
60	How and why we must fight against no deal and for EU membership
61	How conference delegates can fulfil their moral duty to stand up for migrants
62	How Labour can stop no deal
63	How Labour members can actively support EU citizens
64	How Labour should approach the UK’s post-Brexit trade policy
65	How Labour should fight the European elections
66	How Labour’s new leadership must handle Brexit in coming months
67	I followed the whip on Brexit in good faith. But our frontbenchers didn’t
68	I’m a staunch Remainer – and I think Corbyn’s Brexit position makes sense
69	I’m campaigning for a confirmatory vote. This is what I say to Leavers
70	I’m Labour’s NEC youth rep – and I won’t be at the People’s Vote march tomorrow
71	If a deal is passed, Brexit never ends. We must put a stop to it
72	If consensus cannot be reached, we must vote on a Remain stance
73	In 50 days, the Brexit transition period ends. Where next for Labour
74	In the Westminster bubble, it’s easy to forget the impact of Brexit on real lives
75	Ireland needs Labour to march for a People’s Vote
76	It’s time to bust the ‘Brexit betrayal’ myth of the Labour left
77	Jeremy agrees we must have a confirmatory vote on any deal
78	Jeremy’s latest Brexit move is the right one for our country
79	Joe Anderson Labour should back a second EU referendum
80	Johnson’s deal is even worse than May’s. Labour must unite against it
81	Labour backing Johnson’s Brexit deal would be a serious strategic mistake
82	Labour Business 10 principles for a positive future with the EU
83	Labour cannot be ‘Remain’ or ‘rejoin’ – but it must be internationalist

84	Labour cannot rubber-stamp a Tory Brexit deal. This is an enormous trap
85	Labour got it wrong on a second referendum. We should say sorry
86	Labour MPs trading Brexit votes for cash will only sell out our towns
87	Labour must demand a Brexit pause while we tackle Covid-19
88	Labour must mobilise members, unite the country and tell a story
89	Labour must prepare for the premiership of Boris Johnson – with a Remain position
90	Labour must re-energise the Corbyn project by opposing Brexit
91	Labour must remember that freedom of movement is a class issue
92	Labour must say what we mean and mean what we say
93	Labour must take the lead on immigration after new report shows government failure
94	Labour supporters should back Corbyn's Brexit plan to offer a genuine choice
95	Labour will hold the Tories to account on their Brexit promises
96	Labour would end free movement. We can't rely on Corbyn's past credentials
97	Labour's Brexit choice – for the many or the few
98	Labour's Brexit shift is a victory for the grassroots left, not centrists in suits
99	Labour's Euro election result matters. Here's why
100	Labour's new message must be 'Building a Better Britain Without Brexit'
101	Labour's priority should be helping to build a European socialist left
102	Labour's public vote position is the only realistic option
103	Labour's radical vision will only get a hearing once it backs a final say
104	Labour's silence on Brexit smells of moral cowardice
105	LabourSay Labour's manifesto for Europe must back a public vote
106	Leaving the EU without a deal is undemocratic – but it may be unlawful too
107	LeFT Why we're campaigning to leave, fight and transform
108	Len McCluskey's letter to The Guardian – in full
109	Let's show Brexit for what it always has been a hard-right Tory project
110	Lexit will not dismantle Fortress Europe
111	Lisa Nandy Why we should vote for the Brexit bill at second reading

112	Love Feminism, Hate Brexit It's nothing less than a disaster for women's rights
113	Love Labour, hate Brexit All out for the climate strike!
114	Love Socialism Hate Brexit We're going on tour and want to meet you
115	Manuel Cortes Labour is on the Brexit front foot – now it must call for Article 50 to be extended
116	Manuel Cortes Only Labour can save us from May's begging bowl Brexit strategy
117	Mark Drakeford "Even the best form of Brexit is not as good as Remain"
118	May's deal is the worst of all worlds. We must again reject it decisively
119	Message to Labour don't give Boris Johnson's deal a ringing endorsement
120	Millions of Labour leave voters will be deeply concerned by the new Brexit policy
121	MPs must oppose the PM's Brexit plans – or workers will pay the price
122	My voters are fed up with Labour's anti-Brexit metropolitan elite
123	No deal Brexit – who gains Boris Johnson's friends
124	No deal Brexit would be a knockout blow for an economy already on the ropes
125	No EU customs arrangement That'd be industrial vandalism
126	Now more than ever, Labour must champion the progressive work of the European parliament
127	On Brexit, Corbyn should get back to his roots
128	On Brexit, Keir Starmer is making the same mistakes as Jeremy Corbyn
129	Our Brexit policy was not wrong – it didn't go far enough
130	Our message from Labour's battle bus This is not a Brexit election
131	PMQs Starmer takes a risk in virtual session with new focus on Brexit
132	PMQs Tricky Brexit sparring match for Labour
133	Public vote campaigners won't accept May's new "offer". But what next
134	Put first things first. Let Brexit take a back seat during the Covid-19 crisis
135	Referendum first, election second – that's how Labour will get into power
136	Remain and fudge The EPLP's vote for von der Leyen has let us all down
137	Remain and Reform to stop Brexit and fix Britain
138	Remain will only win a public vote if we make a positive case for Europe
139	Remainers should be held responsible for where we find ourselves

140	Rory Palmer People in food poverty can't afford a no deal Brexit
141	Scottish Labour's leader now supports a public vote. Let's back that decision
142	Socialists of Britain unite – the last days to stop Brexit are nigh
143	The agriculture bill revealed the government's true post-Brexit vision
144	The British public, not Boris Johnson, should have the final say on Brexit
145	The challenges Labour must face to win the next referendum for Remain
146	The fight for conference begins. Let's tell Labour to lead the Remain movement
147	The government's no deal plans show Corbyn must change tack on Brexit
148	The left is now leading the anti-Brexit movement
149	The Lib Dems are wrong to dismiss Jeremy Corbyn's offer
150	The old world is dying... Labour must consider constitutional reform
151	The polls are clear our Labour Party could lead European socialism
152	The problems with the Conservative Party's new Euro elections video
153	The room where it happened how we agreed Labour's Brexit conference policy
154	The Tories must deliver the main course of their 'oven-ready' Brexit deal
155	The Tories must keep their word on Brexit – and deliver the deal promised
156	The Tory trade bill threatens parliamentary sovereignty
157	There has been no climbdown on the internal market bill – only a doubling down
158	Theresa May has set a trap for Labour – but she could fall into it herself
159	This Brexit deal is a long way from perfect – but Labour is right to vote for it
160	This election is about Labour values – not EU identity politics
161	This year's Labour conference is a test of the Corbyn project
162	Time is running out for the Prime Minister to get a worthwhile Brexit deal
163	To survive in Scotland, Labour must back another vote on Brexit
164	To win power, Labour should back a Brexit deal
165	Tories want to put their anti-migrant campaign ahead of our prosperity
166	Trump, Brexit and the far-right the dangers of globalisation beyond economic regulation
167	Unless we're clear on Brexit, Boris Johnson will win the next election

168	Vote Labour to stop the Brexit Party and secure a confirmatory public vote
169	Voting for Boris Johnson's deal is Labour's least worst option
170	Voting for May's Brexit deal solves nothing
171	We can change Labour's policy on Brexit
172	We cannot allow Boris Johnson's Brexit deal to go unexamined
173	We cannot defeat the message of hard Brexiteers by triangulating
174	We cannot ignore the 2016 result. How can Labour rebuild Britain without Britain's trust
175	We cannot let the Tories force a no-deal Brexit amid a pandemic
176	We cannot risk our future for a deal with Trump
177	We must grasp the benefits of Brexit to rebuild our nation after Covid-19
178	We need Jeremy in Number 10 to stop the Brexit crisis
179	We're saying "no to no deal" – because our jobs matter
180	We've come a long way on Brexit – but let's keep up the pressure
181	We've left the EU, but the UK still faces many hard choices
182	Welcome, John and Emily, to the campaign for a public vote
183	Westminster has failed the people of Northern Ireland
184	What a customs union (really) means for the UK
185	What could a winning coalition for Labour look like
186	What is Labour's current position on freedom of movement
187	What now for pro-Europeans in the Labour Party
188	Why every Labour MP should stand up for Remain tonight
189	Why I'm ready to occupy parliament to stop the coup
190	Why I'm thrilled by Diane Abbott's immigration speech
191	Why it's time for Labour to consider voting for a Brexit deal
192	Why Labour can't be ambiguous about the next EU referendum
193	Why Labour was right to offer a fresh EU referendum in the 2019 election
194	Why Lexiteers should not support Labour's alternative deal
195	Why misgivings about a new referendum are unfounded

196	Why the Brexit issue won't simply go away
197	Winning back Labour's heartlands – like North East Derbyshire
198	With a confirmatory vote pledge, Labour will smash the European elections
199	With the right messaging, we can win back Labour Leavers

Appendix 2. List of most frequent lexical items in the corpus (excluding grammatical items).

ITEM NOUN/MODIFIER	FREQUENCY COUNT OF ITEMS ADJUSTED BY KEYNESS (REFERENCE CORPUS: ENGLISH WEB 2020 (ENTENTEN20)	LEFT COLLOCATE	FRE QUE NCY	RIGHT COLLOCATE	FRE QUE NCY	MOST FREQUENT VERBS ASSOCIATED WITH ITEM AS SUBJECT/OBJECT
Labour	1482	Scottish	8	Party	94	be(128), have(79), need(65), want (33) take(12) know(5)
		Open	7	MP	89	
		Welsh	7	government	81	
		election	7	member	50	
		time	4	voter	38	
Brexit	1435	(no) deal	56	deal	86	be(115), have(63) , deliver(44),rely(31), mean(24),work(21),bring(16)
		soft	25	Party	35	
		hard	21	crisis	27	
		Tory	12	policy	22	
EU	739	leave	95	law	17	be(88), need,(60), say(48), have(41),negotiate(23),know(15),put(6)
		exit	6	referendum	21	
		rejoin	5	citizen	14	
		reform	2	national	12	
people	521	British	21	Labour	2	be(71), want(37), vote(33), know(21),come(19)work(16),live(9)
		young	12	vote for	2	
		many	18			
		ordinary	9			

		working-class	9			
country	405	our	28			be(41) need(29), want(23), get(16) stay(11),rely(9)put(8)
		third	6			
		other	13			
		non-EU	3			
		whole	3			
		EU	8			
referendum	358	second	65	result	29	have(64), be(26), deliver(12)set
		EU	21	campaign	9	
		fresh	7	second	2	
		confirmatory	8	vote	5	
		independence	5	people	2	
		new	10	Labour	2	
Remain	330			voter	18	have(56), make(6),say(4),do(3),know(3),mean(2),lose(2)
				supporter	6	
				stance	5	
				position	5	
				campaign	4	
Leave	330			EU	95	have(45), take(16), be(15),think(5), win(3),find(3)
				voter	51	
				campaign	14	
				Union	13	
				union	7	
				option	6	
European	318			election	54	be(32), take(15), say(7),vote(6),give(5),face(4),think(3)
				parliament	27	
				union	12	
				institution	7	
				Union	7	
trade	305	frictionless	6	deal	80	need(18), be(17),win(4),work(3), lose(2),have(2)
		free	6	union	27	
		international	3	agreement	21	
many	299	so	24	people	18	be(23),think(14),say(12),see(7),get(4),find(4)
		too	9	years	11	
election(s)	570	general	99	result	13	be(22), have(13), give(11),deliver(6)
		European	54	campaign	10	

		next	26	defeat	4	
		last	8	matter	3	
		parliamentary	6	commission	5	
policy	253	Brexit	22	shift	4	be(15), have(11), get(7), rely(3),set(2)
		trade	15	decision	3	
		immigration	7	change	5	
		radical	6			
		clear	5			
Parliament	251	European	27	Act	4	be(19), want(11), have(10), say(8), take(3)
		hung	2			
Conservatives/Tories	230	hard-right	3	Brexit	16	be(17), have(11),want(7),say(6),go(4),give(2), win(1)
		Brexit	2	government	15	
				policy	12	
				plan	11	
Britain	214	post-Brexit	6			be(15), want(6), get(6),do(4), come(3),become(3),go(2)
		Great	4			
		Global	3			
		socialist	3			
		Open	2			
members	192	party	18	state	8	be(21), want(13), work(8), rely(7), win(3),put(2),hold(2)
		Labour	50	activist	2	
		most	6			
economy	190	UK	10			be(14), have(7), work(4)
		low-wage	3			
		local	3			
jobs	182	manufacturing	11	loss	10	need(13), be(11), have(9), put(2)
		decent	6	security	6	
		good	5	wage	3	
		secure	3			
movement	177	free	36			be(10), do(7),get(3),have(3),bring(2)
		Labour	18			
		union	7			
		mass	4			
campaign	177	election	10	strategy	3	be(11), have(5), make(4),need(3),stand(3),believe(3)
		referendum	9	organiser	2	
		leadership	5	trail	1	

		Vote	4			
agreement	143	withdrawal	40	bill	5	need(9), vote(4), be(4),give(1)
		trade	21			
		free	9			
		international	6			
position	137	Brexit	18	statement	8	be(16), need(6), have(5), vote(4),fight(3)
		ambiguous	4			
		clear	5			
		strong	5			
		pro-Remain	2			
national	123	interest	21	executive	6	be(16), need(7), have(6),give(2)
		committee	5	local	2	
		issue	6			
		unity	2			
		sovereignty	2			
British	123			people	21	have(15), be(7), need(4), vote(3), leave(2), remain(2), go(1)
				public	9	
				citizen	9	
				politics	7	
				state	5	
workers	104	migrant	6	rights	8	be(8), want(7),do(4) need(4),see(3),tell(3)
		British	4	migrant	2	
		dock	1			
		second-class	1			
immigration	102	uncontrolled	2	bill	7	be(11), remain(4), come(3), put(1)
		positive	2	system	6	
		large-scale	1	control	5	
crisis	97	Brexit	27	point	3	be(10), get(3), vote(2), let(1)
		climate	9			
		financial	7			
		Covid	4			
law	86	EU	17	breaking	2	be(6),make(6),include(2)
		international	9			
		employment	4			
Northern	82			Ireland	47	be(8), have(3),build(3)
				border	4	

local	79	community	7			have(7), need(4),believe(3)
		council	4			
		councillor	3			
		level	3			
		economy	3			
relationship	75	future	24			be(10), must(10),let(6)
		new	13			
		trading	9			
		close	8			
austerity	75	Tory	8	measure	1	be(12), have(4),show(4)
		devastating	2	politics	1	
government	72	Labour	81	spending	3	be(11), have(11), need(6)
		Tory	23	revenue	2	
		next	10			
		UK	9			
manifesto	72	Labour	7	pledge	7	have(7), say(6),include(5)
		radical	3	commitment	5	
		anti-austerity	1	promise	1	
opportunity	72	perfect	5			have(12),be(7),come(1)
		huge	3			
		ideal	2			
investment	58	job	3	treaty	5	be(10), need(4), see(3)
		regional	2	bank	3	
		business	2			
socialism	55	British	6	group	4	be(6), work(5),believe(3),show(1),mean(1)
		European	5	MP	2	
		future	3			
		transformative	2			
withdrawal	54	agreement	40	(from) Europe		be(10), need(3), take(3),lose(2)
		bill	8			
		Act	2			
border	54	Irish	10	agent	2	be(7), have(7),hold(4),mean(3)
		hard	10	inspection	1	
		open	4	surveillance	1	
		porous	2	check	1	
interests	53	national	21	rate	1	be(9),have(8),get(4),fight(3)

		good	7			
		common	3			
		mutual	3			
manufacturing	53	UK	3	industry	9	be(5), need(4),have(4),become(2)
		regional	3	job	6	
		food	2	sector	5	
		environment	1			
citizens	53	EU	14	rights	4	be(7), think(6), vote(3),say(2),want(1),go(1)
		British	9	security	1	
		UK	4			
		EU27	2			
choice	52	hard	3			make(12),be(11),let(1)
		genuine	3			
		real	4			
consequences	52	austere	1	bite	1	be(7), become(3),have(3),show(1)
		destructive	1			
		lasting	1			
		collateral	2			
damage	48	least	2	limitation	2	be(4), become(4),mean(1),see(1)
		calamitous	1	package	1	
		irreparable	1			
bad	48	particularly	2	deal	19	be(5), have(2),bring(2)
		seriously	1	outcome	4	
				effect	2	
				defeat	2	
coalition	38	electoral	4	partner	1	be(6),set(2),have(2)
		uneasy	1	agreement	1	
reform	38	constitutional	5			need(4), be(1),bring(1)
		substantive	1			
		institutional	1			
solidarity	22	international	4	message	1	be(4),show(2)
regional	20	bank	4			be(3),have(3) stand(2)
		inequality	3			
		international	3	agreement		

cooperation	18	genuine	1			be(2), want(1),believe(1),have(1)
heartlands	15	ex-Labour	1	seat	2	vote(3), be(2), say(2),come(1),work(1)
		post-industrial	1			
		northern	1			
		working-class	1			
treaty	12	bilateral	1	protection	1	be(2),set(1),have(1),follow(1)
obligations	9	international	1			must(1), be(1),change(1)
		humanitarian	1			

