Populist Rhetoric:

A functional linguistic view of pro-Brexit discourse

by

Lucas Chambers

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Declaration of Committee

Name:	**Lucas Chambers**
Degree:	**Master of Arts (Linguistics)**
Title:	**Populist Rhetoric: A functional linguistic view of pro-Brexit discourse**
Committee:	**Chair:** Heather Bliss Lecturer, Linguistics
	Maite Taboada Supervisor Professor, Linguistics
	Panayiotis Pappas Committee Member Professor, Linguistics
	Encarnación Hidalgo Tenorio Examiner Professor, English and German Philology University of Granada

Abstract

This thesis investigates populist political rhetoric through the lens of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). SFL provides the tools to analyze and quantify language-in-context and allows us to make inferences about the relationship between the orator and their audience, about the ideological commitments of the orator as well as what they present or want to present as more prominent or salient, and about the way that the orator represents the world through text.

The subject of this investigation is populist politician Nigel Farage. This project employs a corpus approach to 13 speeches given by Farage, which exhibit a range of rhetorical devices that he employs. While this investigation focuses on Farage's political speeches, the underlying subject matter includes populism, populist rhetoric, and Brexit.

It was found that Farage adapts his use of rhetorical devices depending on his audience. For example, he implies a certain closeness or belonging when speaking to his supporters, while he foregrounds more circumstantial elements when speaking to the mainstream media, perhaps in an attempt to alleviate some of the negative impact or contentiousness of his statements.

This project applies the framework SFL to political discourse. Populist rhetoric was chosen as a topic because of its increasing pervasiveness in modern politics and political movements, and Brexit was chosen because it showcases the ability of populist rhetoric to effect social and political change.

Keywords: populist rhetoric; political discourse analysis; Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL); Brexit; Nigel Farage

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List of Acronyms

UK	United Kingdom
EU	European Union
EP	European Parliament
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
UKIP	United Kingdom Independence Party
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CTP	Complement-Taking-Predicate

Chapter 1.

Introduction

The decades following the Second World War saw an unprecedented level of cooperation in the West, which led to social and political developments that brought about peace and stability, scientific flourishing, and booming economies. These developments were made possible by the triumph of democracy – and the rejection of fascism. For seven decades after the Second World War, the powerful classes in the West have relished in the security of international alliances, which were politically strengthened and supported by international organizations such as the World Bank, the UN, and the WHO, economically strengthened and supported by trade treaties such as NAFTA and the EU, and morally strengthened and supported by the institutions of democracy and their legal systems as represented by the Western Allied victors, in Britain and America. Additionally, marking the end of the Cold War, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the reunification of Germany in 1989 was an important political and symbolic event that paved the way for further international cooperation and signaled the triumph of democracy and capitalism. This prosperous period sustained the conditions which allowed for the founding of the European Union, which demonstrated a previously unparalleled level of cooperation between diverse and independent nation states.

These newfound international alliances have allowed liberal democracy to flourish. Liberal democracy has been referred to as “the endpoint of mankind’s ideological evolution” and the “final form of human government” (Fukuyama, 2006, p. xi). These statements stem from the observation that liberal democracy seems to consistently triumph over other systems of government such as hereditary monarchy, fascism, and communism. Fukuyama (2006) points out that liberal democracy seems to provide the best foundation to sustain an ethical society, but also warns that issues like drugs, homelessness, crime, environmental damage, and the frivolity of consumerism may undermine the trust or the requisite irrational pride in democratic institutions that “citizens need to develop” (p. ix) in order for liberal democratic systems to flourish. And it is indeed these problems (among others) that seem to underpin the wavering support (or irrational pride) for liberal democratic institutions and ultimately push people towards the allure of populism. This issue is addressed by Cayla (2021), who points out that “the roots of

populism lay in the contradiction between the democratic ideal, which implies that the people should decide, and neoliberal governance, which seeks to make markets and competition the arbiters of major social developments" (p. ii). This shows us how neoliberal policies stand at odds with liberal democracy, as the division of power between the people and the interests of big businesses is in constant contention. This sentiment is echoed by Fukuyama (2006, p. 43), who agrees that "[d]emocratic procedures can be manipulated by elites, and do not always accurately reflect the will or true self-interests of the people." When read in these terms, it becomes more clear why non-elites living under neoliberal policies may be eager to support politicians who claim to support their best interests, especially when the people feel that they have been failed by the institutions created to support them.

Critics of Fukuyama have cited the one-party state governments of China and Russia (in the case of Russia, in a practical sense) as challenges to the idea that liberal democracy would ultimately triumph (Gat, 2007). In response, Fukuyama published an opinion piece in the Washington Post, defending his argument:

> Despite recent authoritarian advances, liberal democracy remains the strongest, most broadly appealing idea out there. Most autocrats, including Putin and Chávez, still feel that they have to conform to the outward rituals of democracy even as they gut its substance. Even China's Hu Jintao felt compelled to talk about democracy in the run-up to Beijing's Olympic Games. And Musharraf proved enough of a democrat to let himself be driven from office by the threat of impeachment.
>
> (Fukuyama, 2008)

Here, Fukuyama makes a strong argument regarding the image of democratic legitimacy even in states under authoritarian rule. Additionally, Fukuyama's claim was not that authoritarianism would never return – rather, that eventually liberal democracy would once again triumph. And, especially in the case of Russia, we may currently be hopeful that a move towards liberal democracy may unfold in the near future.

These shortcomings of neoliberalism can lead to an erosion of trust in liberal democratic institutions, and this erosion is evident both in political rhetoric and political action. Notably, Britain's withdrawal from the European Union and America's withdrawal under Trump from inter-governmental institutions such as the WHO serve as exemplars for diminishing trust and cooperation on an international scale – particularly in the West.

These developments share some commonalities: a move from liberalism to authoritarianism, from internationalism and inclusivity to nationalism and xenophobia, and from democratic rule to autocracy.

This observable societal shift away from liberal values is invariably preceded by rhetoric which drives and propagates this shift, stoking the economic and social discontent of the people by leading them to place blame on others on the basis of their origin, ethnicity, political beliefs, or their social group membership. This rhetoric plays on a population's discontent by attributing its causes to some scapegoat – an outsider, an enemy, an *Other* – in order to rally and encourage the citizenry to accuse such a group or groups of being the cause of their malcontent. Riggins (1997) discusses *Othering* at length, explaining how social distance to the Other and lack of knowledge about the Other's culture facilitate negative value judgements. The promulgation of negative value judgements of Others can cause vilification of particular groups in a society which, in turn, can be leveraged by populist politicians for their own political ends.

Language is undeniably a powerful tool or vehicle for the spread of populism, as it is the means by which populist leaders engage with and convince their voters to support them. In fact, as van Dijk (2006, p. 728) states, "[p]olitics is one of the social domains whose practices are virtually exclusively discursive; political cognition is by definition ideologically based; and political ideologies are largely reproduced by discourse." Casting awareness to the power of language and rhetoric in the political spheres of societies and illuminating the rhetorical devices used by political elites, billionaires, and despots to wrangle power away from the people allows us to gain insight into the shift from liberal democracy to authoritarianism and can contribute to the academic discussion of populist rhetoric and its proponents. The Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach addresses these power asymmetries in various domains including politics (van Dijk, 2006; Wodak & Meyer, 2009; Breeze, 2019).

Despite differing definitions of populism, one central tenet is that there is an 'in-group' that is humanized, often homogeneous, and in peril, and there is an 'out-group' that is objectified, different or fearsome, and is the cause of the peril of the in-group. This definition is reminiscent of the previously discussed Othering addressed by Riggins (1997). By attributing malice and unworthiness to the Other, populist politicians can establish a false dichotomy, serving as a way to exacerbate feelings of discontent and

mobilize the voting population in favour of a conservative, nationalistic state. In fact, the degree to which populism has been gaining momentum has been referred to as an epidemic (Langa & Ilundain, 2019, p. 17) because of how widespread it is and how it seems to 'infect' other communities with its ideology. Undoubtedly, creating a rift in the population and designating a scapegoat to which its problems may be attributed can serve as a convenient distraction from the very real loss of economic stability, upward mobility, and a sharp increase in inequality.

Inherently, the vehicle for political movements is language. Populism is no exception to this – the assigning of blame and the division of societal groups is done through language, and populist politicians (the successful ones, in any case) seem to make effective use of language to manipulate people's emotions. It is for this reason that this project investigates the type of rhetoric used by the populist politician and former UKIP (United Kingdom Independence Party) leader Nigel Farage. Specifically, this thesis focuses on how Nigel Farage used language to muster support for the 'Leave' side of the Brexit referendum. As linguists, we are in a privileged position to investigate, analyze, and understand shifts in language which drive shifts in the cultural and political Zeitgeist, and conversely, how cultural shifts also drive shifts in language use. It is because of these considerations that the following research questions of this thesis were borne out:

Research question 1 (RQ1)
- How did Nigel Farage use language to present Brexit as favourable to UK voters?

Research question 2 (RQ2)
- How does the rhetoric of Nigel Farage change depending on what type of audience he is addressing?

Research question 3 (RQ3)
- What linguistic features did Nigel Farage employ to construct a relationship between himself and his supporters?

The purpose of RQ1 is to investigate Farage's speeches in a general sense, to see what patterns characterize his illocution and how he achieves his political goals through rhetoric. RQ2 precipitated the categorization of speeches into different forums. This question was chosen to investigate how Farage tailors his use of rhetoric to be maximally impactful on a particular audience. Lastly, RQ3 was chosen to take a closer look at how

Farage portrays himself as being close to or belonging to the same social groups as his supporters.

This topic was chosen because, to date, little work has been done specifically with regards to Theme and populist rhetoric, especially in the realm of the UK and Brexit. Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) was chosen as a framework for this project because it provides a unique set of tools for analyzing and quantifying different aspects of language use. This project focuses on the THEME[1] system of SFL and uses the TRANSITIVITY system and the MOOD system to support the analysis of Theme.

This project performs a corpus study comprised of speeches given by Nigel Farage in a political context. There are four different forums from which 13 speeches were chosen: public addresses, rally speeches, speeches given at the European Parliament, and an address to the mainstream media. These 13 speeches were analyzed in terms of Theme, Transitivity, and Mood choices using UAM CorpusTool (O'Donnell, 2021)[2]. The quantitative findings were recorded and qualitatively analyzed. With regards to RQ1, it was found that Farage hedges his utterance with use of the circumstance of Angle and also uses the circumstance of Location to Other or talk about how things used to be better or could be worse off in the future under the current conditions. Addressing RQ2, the results indicate that there are indeed a number of patterns that emerge depending on the particular audience Farage is addressing. It was found that, through the use of rhetorical questions and relative lack of mental processes, that Farage positions himself closer to his audience in the rally and public speech categories than he does in the European Parliament and mainstream media speech categories. It was also found that, through the use of material processes, Farage states things more explicitly in the mainstream media and European parliament speech categories, while letting his audience 'fill-in' or surmise how Farage feels in the public and rally speech categories, perhaps because he assumes his intentions will be properly understood and that his audience shares his ideological commitments, particularly in the rally speech category. The findings for RQ3 partially overlap with the findings for RQ2: It was found that Farage makes frequent use of

[1] Under SFL conventions, names of systems (i.e., the MOOD system or the TRANSITIVITY system) are written in SMALL CAPS, names of features within that system (i.e., participant, process) are written in lower case, and names of structural elements (i.e., Mood, Subject, Theme) are written with an initial capital (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. ix).

[2] An unpublished version of UAM CorpusTool was made available for this project by Mick O'Donnell. The date in the citation refers to the date the tool was made available to the author. Published versions are freely available at http://www.corpustool.com/

rhetorical questions when speaking to his supporters, which helps him to construe a certain closeness with them. Rhetorical questions foster closeness because “the Speaker and Addressee must share prior commitments to similar and obvious answers” (Rohde, 2006, p. 134), which allows for mutual understanding when certain premises are left unspoken. Additionally, it was found that Farage uses a high proportion of material processes when speaking to his supporters, representing the world in terms of physical happenings, which indicates that he perhaps feels less of a need to talk about mental states and attributing or equating one thing with another. This further indicates that he assumes that his audience shares prior ideological commitments with him, where he feels confident that his use of material processes is understood by the audience in the way he intends for it to be understood with less need for qualification.

For the purposes of this project, the clause serves as the basic unit for analysis. A clause-level analysis has been chosen over a sentence-level analysis in part because written mediums of communication do not contain any explicit punctuation, where clauses flow into each other naturally and what we may define as a ‘sentence’ could span several independent clauses. This decision follows Chafe (1988) and will be expanded upon in Section 3.2.

This thesis is structured as follows: The next chapter, Chapter 2, gives some general background on SFL (including the systems of MOOD, THEME, and TRANSITIVITY), politics and political discourse, populism and populist discourse, as well as the role of populism and populist discourse in the Brexit campaign. Chapter 3 discusses the corpus this project is based on and provides the reader with a guide to the annotation scheme employed in this project. Chapter 4 provides the results and discussion of the findings, and Chapter 5 concludes the thesis with a recap of the main findings.

Chapter 2.

Background

This chapter, Chapter 2, provides background on SFL, politics and political discourse, political speeches as a genre, Brexit & populism, populism & populist discourse, and Nigel Farage. Before providing background on SFL, the reasons for choosing this particular framework will be put forward.

SFL is a valuable tool for political discourse analysis for four main reasons: (1) It provides a basis for analyzing how texts[3] are functionally organized so that we can make inferences about the orator's[4] Weltanschauung; (2) it provides a framework for analyzing the interpersonal metafunction of text to help us analyze how the orator positions themselves relative to their audience; (3) it provides a framework for analyzing the textual metafunction of language so that we can analyze what the orator foregrounds and presents as the 'point of departure' for each clause; and (4) it provides a basis for investigating the ideational metafunction of a text so that we can analyze and track the participants and the processes involved in the text. SFL provides a holistic framework and tools for quantifiable analysis that is thorough and unbiased and serves as a solid basis for comparison to other political texts as well as non-political texts. Furthermore, the quantifiability inherent in SFL allows for inferences to be made regarding the ideological positioning of the orator.

[3] In SFL, a "text" refers to both spoken and written mediums of communication.

[4] For the purposes of this work, the terms *orator* and *audience* will be used in lieu of *speaker/writer* and *listener/reader* because it they most accurately represent the hierarchical relationship between the speaker and the addressees in these texts.

2.1. General background on SFL

This thesis investigates political speeches through the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). SFL, which was established and developed by M. A. K. Halliday following previous work by J. R. Firth, is a framework which allows one to analyze language as a "strategic, meaning-making resource" (Eggins, 1994, p. 1). Under the systemic view of linguistics, the communicative function of language stands in the foreground, while the structural properties are interesting insofar as they serve to enlighten us about the function they serve. Broadly stated, the goal of systemic linguistics is "to understand the quality of texts: why a text means what it does, and why it is valued as it is" (Halliday, 1985, p. xxx). This stated goal shows us why SFL is a very suitable framework that can help us to understand how meaning is created in political speech. Of even greater interest to this thesis is the fact that this framework offers a vehicle for understanding how value is created by meaning, which can be analyzed by investigating its constituent parts.

There are four main theoretical claims about language that systemic linguists make:

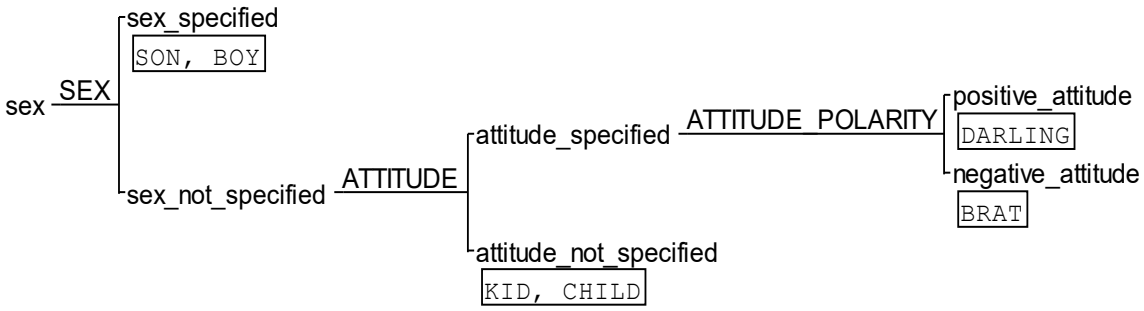
> that language is functional; that its function is to make meanings; that these meanings are influenced by the social and cultural context in which they are exchanged; and that the process of using language is a *semiotic* process, a process of making meanings by choosing.
>
> (Eggins, 1994, p. 2)

These theoretical claims about language are the foundation of the systemic study of languages. Language developed and continues to develop because it serves a function. This is not only evident in everyday language use, wherein it serves a communicative function, but also in language change; new words are created when they are needed to serve a particular function (i.e., if existing words are inadequate, new words are created to fulfill a certain function), and words, constructions, and structures whose function has become obsolete may dissipate or have their meaning changed. The important thing to note here is that it is the function of language which determines its meaning; if a particular word, clause, sentence, paragraph, or text does not fulfill the communicative function it is intended to fulfill, then it at best results in misunderstanding and at worst it is meaningless.

Additionally, the systemic view of linguistics posits that, rather than being full of free and open choices, the meaning making potential of language is constrained by semiotic systems. This is apparent because language "consists of a finite set of **choices** or oppositions" and that "the choices in the system are **discrete**" (Eggins, 1994, p. 13). That is, in order to successfully create meaning (which is meaningful *to someone*), it is only possible to choose from a finite set of words, which can only be ordered in a finite set of ways, and that these choices are on a discrete scale rather than a continuum. The discreteness of choices is an important aspect of systems; each vocabulary item stands in opposition to every other possible choice. In other words, choosing a particular term is meaningful, but the act of *not* choosing other available terms in the system is also meaningful in itself. For instance, if one wishes to refer to their progeny, there is a finite set of available choices to do so. One may use any of the following: *kid, child, brat, darling, son, boy,* etc. Each of these terms stands in opposition to all the others; whichever one is chosen, that choice invariably highlights one or more aspects while denying others. In this list, there are two choices that are implicitly made when choosing any of these terms – whether sex is specified (*son, boy*) or not (*kid, child, brat, darling*), and whether attitude is specified (*brat, darling*) or not (*kid, child, son, boy*). Whichever term is chosen, it stands in opposition to every other term; it serves a meaning-making function (communication of genealogical relationship between parent and offspring), and this choice is part of a system because it must be made from a limited set of choices that can convey the intended meaning.

Figure 1 shows how a system can be schematized, which makes explicit the choices that we make in our utterances.

Figure 1 System for PROGENY



(Eggins, 1994, p. 17, recreated)

SFL posits three different types of meaning in every text that operate in tandem. These three types of meaning are interpersonal, textual, and experiential. The interpersonal system of meaning is realized in the lexicogrammar by the MOOD system. The MOOD system determines clause-type, that is, whether a clause is indicative, interrogative, or imperative, and it provides information about the speaker's attitude, certainty, and ideological commitments towards a proposition. The textual system of meaning is governed by the THEME system. The Theme of a clause is "the element which serves as the point of departure of the message; it is that which locates and orients the clause within its context (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 64). The Theme of a clause in English is the element in the first position of a clause, the starting point from which the rest of the message unfolds. The rest of the clause, where this unfolding takes place, is the Rheme. Experiential meaning is governed by the TRANSITIVITY system. The TRANSITIVITY system consists of meaning that can be 'experienced' or is in some way tangible for the speaker and their intended audience. This 'experienced' or tangible meaning includes processes, circumstances, as well as the participants involved therein.

Each metafunction tells us something different about the meaning made in each clause; the interpersonal metafunction tells us how the relationship between the orator and the audience is construed by the orator, allowing us to gain insight into their ideological stance towards the content of the clause as well as their hierarchical power relationship to their audience; the textual metafunction tells us what the orator chooses to present as the point of departure for their message, from which the message of the clause is expanded upon; and the experiential metafunction informs us about how the orator frames

the participants and processes in which they are involved, which tells us about how and in what terms the orator represents the world to their audience. Each of these three metafunctions realized by the aforementioned systems of language can give us valuable insight into political speeches and meaning making more generally. Each of these types of meaning will be expanded on in the following sections.

2.2. SFL background: Mood

Lexical choices make up only one aspect of language systems. In fact, according to Halliday & Mathiessen, (2004, p. 7) "it is important to clarify…that grammar and vocabulary are not two separate components of a language – they are just two ends of a single continuum." That is, written language and spoken language are representations or instantiations (or, more technically, *realizations*) of a language, and that the lexical aspects of language(-in-use) are inextricably tied to the grammatical aspects. On the level of the clause, for example, the lexicogrammar allows for three possible choices: declarative (statement), interrogative (question), and imperative (command). Each of these choices is realized through the grammatical structure of the clause: declarative clauses have the structure [Subject-Finite verb(-Predicate)], interrogative clauses have the structure [Finite verb-Subject(-Predicate)], and imperative clauses have the structure [non-Finite verb] (Eggins, 1994, p. 20). The MOOD system governs choices that express their meaning through the interpersonal metafunction. In order for a string of words to have meaning, they must embody one of these clausal structures. Without embodying such a structure, the words become meaningless and thus serve no communicative function.

The MOOD system is a part of the interpersonal metafunction of language. As Halliday & Mathiessen (2004, p. 106) point out, language is inherently a communicative process, where each clause is "organized as an interactive event involving speaker, or writer, and audience." This interactivity that Halliday mentions is embodied by the Mood of a clause which signals the function of the clause to the addressee. That is, whether the clause in question constitutes a statement, a question, an offer, or a command, and whether the exchange in the clause is an exchange of information or an exchange of goods and services (Eggins, 1994, pp. 149–151). Additionally, the interpersonal metafunction is responsible for managing the relationship between the speaker and the

hearer, while also implicitly establishing the power dynamic between the speaker and the hearer. This exemplifies why the interpersonal metafunction is of interest to political discourse analysis.

There are two different dimensions pertaining to the interpersonal metafunction: equality & distance. The hierarchy between two interlocutors can either be equal or unequal and close or distant. For example, siblings and close friends have close and equal relationships; co-workers and acquaintances have a distant and equal relationship; workers and their managers have close and unequal relationship, while junior workers and senior managers have both unequal and distant relationships (Martin & Rose, 2008, p. 13). The interpersonal dynamic of political speeches is one of inequality, where the orator is simultaneously beneath and above the audience in the hierarchy of power: While the politician, ideally, is subservient to 'the people' in a democratic political structure, the monologic nature of political speeches places the orator in a position of communicative power. Additionally, there is an element of equality in the rhetoric of populist politicians whereby the orator, who has political power, positions themselves as being 'of and equal to the people.' This idea is expanded upon later in this chapter.

While, generally, politicians seem to be cognizant of the power dynamic between them and the people, they often position themselves as being 'together' with the people in an ideological sense, thereby insinuating that they are in an equal power hierarchy with the people. This ideological positioning is especially useful for populist leaders, who portray themselves as being part of a broader movement of the people – a 'popular' movement, if you will. Often, however, this broader movement is just as broad as is advantageous for the politician – it includes a certain base (represented by an 'us') while excluding another portion of the population (represented by 'them' or 'the Other'). This dichotomy is often exploited to rile up support for a politician by asserting that those who do not belong are inferior or underserving in some way. These ideological commitments can be gleaned from politicians' speeches, and an analysis of the interpersonal metafunction is a useful tool to do so.

The Mood of a clause determines its speech function. For example, the declarative Mood is appropriate for making a statement, whereas the interrogative Mood is appropriate for posing a question (Eggins, 1994, p. 153). There are two elements of the MOOD system: the Mood, which is comprised of the Subject, the Finite, and optional Mood

Adjuncts; and the Residue, which is comprised of the Predicator and optionally one or more Complements and Comment Adjuncts. The ordering of these elements of the MOOD system determine clause type and, consequently, the speech function attached to the clause type.

The definition of the Subject, according to Halliday (1985a: 76), is that it "realizes the thing by reference to which the proposition can be affirmed or denied. It provides the person or thing in whom is vested the success or failure of the proposition, what is 'held responsible'" (cited in Eggins, 1994, p. 156). The Subject can be identified by a tag test: the element which is referenced by the pronoun in the tag question is the Subject. The Subject (underlined in the following examples) may be a person or a thing (a noun-y thing), a contentless word such as non-referential *there*, or it may even be an entire clause:

1) This now poses huge dangers to the continent (doesn't it?)

2) The EU Titanic has now hit the iceberg (hasn't it?)

3) There is perhaps some good news (isn't there?)

4) Because, in Greece what we saw, last Sunday, was rather reminiscent of the German election of 1932. (wasn't it)?

-2012 05 09 Parliamentary speech

These examples and the corresponding tag questions identify the subject of each clause, namely *This*, *The EU Titanic*, *There*, and *what we saw*.

The Finite, according to Halliday, "brings the proposition down to earth so that it is something that can be argued about. A good way to make something **arguable** is to give it a point of reference in the here and now; and this is what the Finite does." (2014, p. 144). That is, the Finite "carries the selections for tense, polarity, etc.," while it is the Predicator that "tells us what process [is] actually going on" (Eggins, 1994, p. 161). In Example 2, for instance, *has*, the first verbal element, provides us with information about the tense and aspect of the clause, in this case indicating through the present perfect that it is a completed action that has taken place in the past. The second verbal element, *hit*, is what provides us with information about what process actually took place. In this case, the Finite and the Predicator are separate verbal elements. However, this is not the case in

examples 1 and 4. In these cases, the Finite is said to be fused with the content part of the verbs *poses* and *was* respectively. The stipulation that the Finite is still present when it is fused with the Predicator rests on the observation that the Finite in its unfused form surfaces in the tag questions (Eggins, 1994, p. 159). See, for instance, Example 1, where we can see the unfused finite *does* in the tag question and its confirmatory answer: *This now poses huge dangers to the continent **(does**n't it? It **does** pose…)*. The tag question reveals that there is indeed a 'hidden' Finite in these clauses. As such, in these cases the Finite and the Predicator are said to be 'fused' in a single verbal element.

Aside from the Mood block, the Residue block is the other component of the MOOD system in a clause. The Residue is said to be "somehow less essential to the arguability of the clause than is the Mood component" (Eggins, 1994, p. 161). This is because, in some cases, the Residue can be ellipsed in dialogic interactions. This may, for example, take the form of the answer *I am* <…> to a question such as *are you hungry?* whereby only the Mood elements are stated but the Residue element (*hungry*) is ellipsed. The Residue is comprised of three elements: the Predicator, which is responsible for expressing the lexical content of the verbal group; the Complement, which represents non-essential participants that are somehow affected by the clause and becomes the Subject in passive constructions; and any number of Adjuncts, which contribute non-essential information to the clause (Eggins, 1994, pp. 161–165). When the Finite and the Predicator are fused, this word straddles the boundary of both the Mood and the Residue blocks, which is represented in the following example, Example 5:

Example 5

<table>
<tr><td>I</td><td colspan="2">learnt</td><td>the English language</td><td>from this guy</td></tr>
<tr><td>Subject</td><td>Finite</td><td>Predicator</td><td>Complement</td><td>Adjunct</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Mood</td><td colspan="3">Residue</td></tr>
</table>

(Halliday, 1985, p. 39)

It can be seen from Example 5 that the fused Finite + Predicator verb *learnt* contributes (past) tense information to the MOOD part of the clause, but it also contributes lexical content to the RESIDUE part of the clause. The dual function of this verb as well as the surfacing of the unfused Finite in the question construction (*Who **did** you learn the English*

language from?) further motivate the assertion that, in such cases, the Finite and the Predicator are in fact fused.

Adjuncts are another label given to a category of words and phrases that are governed by the MOOD system. There are two main types of Adjuncts: Mood Adjuncts and Comment Adjuncts. Mood Adjuncts, according to Halliday (Halliday, 1985, p. 82), include *probability, usuality, inclination*, *obligation,* and intensity. For this thesis, the category of *inclination* was not included as a Mood Adjunct in this project, as Halliday (Halliday, 1985, p. 83) points out that *inclination* has scope over the entire clause, not just the Finite element, and as such it is said to operate outside of the Mood/Residue structure. Additionally, polarity Adjuncts were subsumed under Mood Adjuncts when they were found in the Mood block, as in this position they have scope over just the Finite element.

The interpersonal metafunction governed by the MOOD system is valuable for political discourse analysis because it is responsible for establishing and maintaining the relationship between the speaker and the audience, but it also plays a role in influencing the behaviour of the audience. For example, the MOOD system determines clause type, which in turn determines the type of commodity exchanged in the interaction. This exchange fulfills the function of either giving or demanding of goods-&-services or the exchange of information (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 107). Consequently, the MOOD system indicates the expected response to the orator's statements. For example, the expected response to a polar interrogative (when the Finite comes before the Subject) is 'yes' or 'no,' while the expected response to an imperative (when there is only RESIDUE and no MOOD element) is an action (Eggins, 1994, p. 185). This is illuminative, especially for political discourse analysis, because it not only indicates how the orator positions themselves with respect to the reader/hearer, but also what the expected response is to the orator's utterances. By conducting a MOOD analysis, we can, for example, discern what the orator's 'call to action' is in imperative clauses or what the orator assumes about the nature of their relationship to their audience.

2.3. SFL background: Theme

The textual metafunction of language on the clausal level is realized through the THEME system. The Theme, as defined by Halliday (2014, p. 64) is "the element which serves as "the starting-point for the message; it is that which locates and orients the clause within its

context." In English, the Theme can be identified by its order: the first element in a clause is the Theme. This creates a flow of information where the reader or audience of a text is led through the information presented in an incremental way, where the orator is able to signal the point of departure of a message which is subsequently expanded upon in the Rheme. As such, it can be said that the Theme and Rheme structure has the effect of driving the flow of information through a text. The starting point may often coincide with the 'aboutness' of the clause, but not necessarily so. We will see in Section 3.2 and 4.1 that thematically positioned elements do not always embody 'what the clause is about,' or, in other words, "that which locates and orients the clause within its context" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 89).

Other languages have different strategies for marking the Theme of a clause: Japanese, for example, attaches the thematic marker *-wa* as a suffix immediately after the thematic element. In English, "[n]o other signal is necessary, although it is not unusual in spoken English for the Theme to be marked off also by the intonation pattern" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, pp. 88–89).

While this project assumes the definition of Theme as the point of departure of a clause, there is another definition of the Theme structure that is operationalized as 'Given' and 'New.' While the Theme + Rheme and Given + New structures have a close semantic relationship, they are conversely oriented; Theme + Rheme is speaker oriented, where the speaker makes a choice about what should be the point of departure of a message. On the other hand, the Given + New structure is listener oriented, where what knowledge the speaker already has access to, either through the text itself or from a broader context, is considered Given, and the additional information that is predicated on said Given is referred to as New (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 93). Both definitions carry their own advantages, but for the purposes of this project, the orator, Nigel Farage, stands at the centre of this analysis, and as such the speaker-oriented definition of Theme (+Rheme) has been deemed preferable to the listener-oriented definition of Given (+New).

Within the textual metafunction of language, the Rheme is the only other part of the clause aside from the Theme, and it constitutes everything which is not in the Theme. In English, the Rheme can be identified by virtue of the Theme – once the Theme has been identified, everything which comes after the Theme of a clause is part of the Rheme.

Theme analysis is insightful for political discourse analysis because it allows us to see how a text unfolds through its clausal structure. The Theme can signal to the audience what the orator wants to emphasize or foreground. This is especially the case with when circumstances are foregrounded in the Theme, as doing so is a deliberate choice that, as we will see, can be used to emphasize, weaken, shirk responsibility, or orient an utterance relative to other utterances.

There are three types of Themes, each of which is an instantiation of one of the three metafunctions in clause initial position (in English, anyways). Ideational Themes occur when the first position of a clause is filled by an element to which a Transitivity label can be applied; interpersonal Themes occur when a constituent to which we would assign a Mood label (but not a Transitivity label) occurs in the beginning of a clause; and textual Themes occur when an element which does not express any interpersonal or experiential meaning, but does cohesive work in relating the clause to the context, occurs in the first position (Eggins, 1994, pp. 275–282). Of these three types of Themes, only the ideational Theme is obligatory in each clause, while interpersonal Themes and textual Themes are optional.

2.4. SFL background: Transitivity

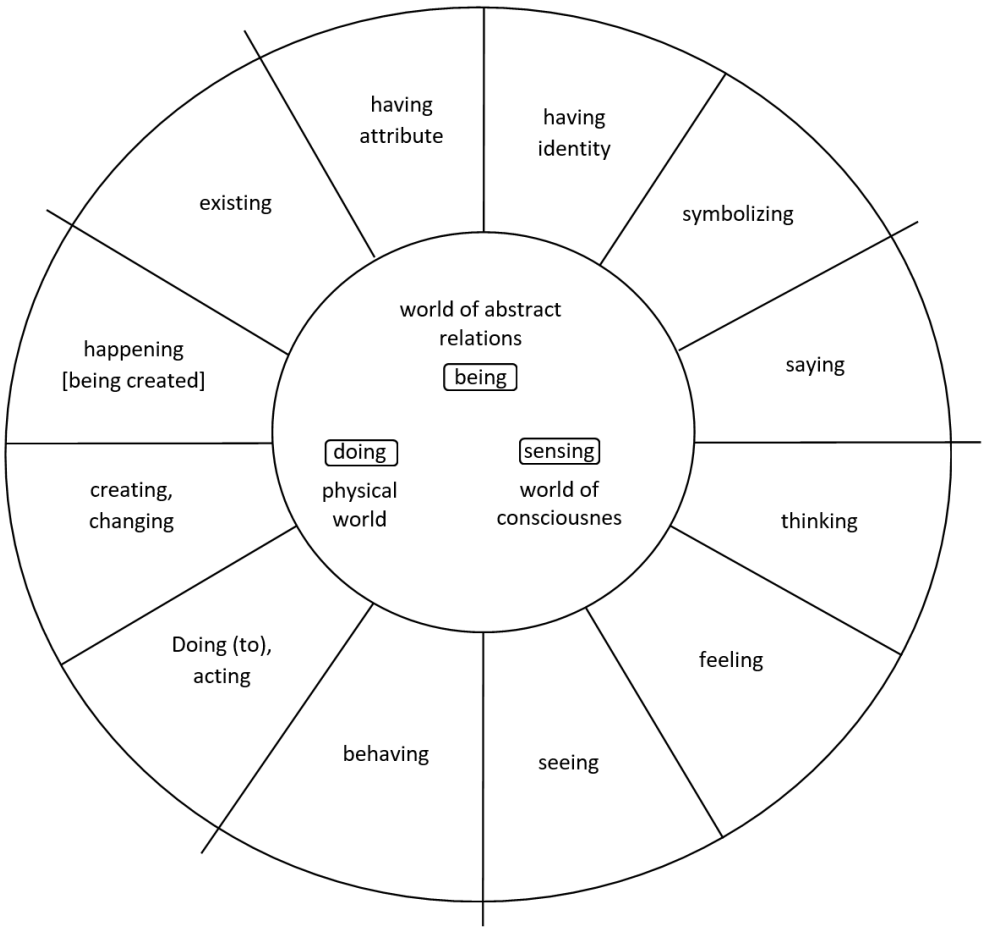
The third meaning-making metafunction of language is realized through the system of TRANSITIVITY. Transitivity has to do with the experiential meaning of a clause; a clause is not “just a giving of information: it is a giving of information **about something**” (Eggins, 1994, p. 225). The ideational meaning created by the TRANSITIVITY system populates the clause with information regarding activities and their sequences, with people and the things involved in these activities, as well as the locations of and the qualities ascribed to these activities, people, and things. Ideational meaning furthermore shows how each of these things is connected, and how they interact and unfold throughout a text (Martin & Rose, 2007, p. 73).

Experiential meaning covers the domains of being, doing, and sensing, and is realized in the lexicogrammar as processes, participants, and circumstances. Being has to do with the abstract world of relations, doing has to do with the physical world, and

sensing has to do with the world of consciousness (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 172). There are six types of experiential processes: material processes cover the domains of *doing* and *happening* and must have an Actor as their key participant; mental processes have to do with affection, cognition, perception, or desideration and must have a Senser and a Phenomenon as their participants; verbal processes include spoken action and other modes of expressing and indicating which must include a Sayer, Receiver, and Verbiage; existential processes posit the existence of something and usually include an expletive Subject and the verb *to be*; relational processes have to do with being, possessing, or becoming, must have two participants, and are either identifying (x is y) or attributive (y has the property of x); behavioural processes generally have only one participant, the Behaver, whose Behaviour is being described.

Each of these six process types have a 'core area,' but they function on a continuum. For example, while the prototypical mental emotive process is *feeling*, the process of *seeing* can be regarded as hybrid mental-behavioural process (because it involves bodily actions with some degree of involuntariness), while the process of *thinking* can be considered a mental-verbal process (because often thoughts contain verbal elements). These process types and each of the intermediate of 'hybrid' types are depicted in Figure 2.

Figure 2 Transitivity circle



(adapted from Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 172)

The circle in Figure 2 shows the different process types which are constitutive of the experiential meaning system, TRANSITIVITY. This circle exhausts the experiential potential of the world which can be encoded into language.

Aside from the experiential process types represented in **Error! Reference source not found.**, the system of TRANSITIVITY also includes the realm of circumstantial information. Circumstantial information provides the reader/hearer with information about Extent (including temporal or spatial Extent), Cause/Reason (why or for what reason something happened), Location (including temporal or spatial Location), Matter (what the clause is about), Means (including means, quality, and comparison), Role, and Accompaniment (including reason, purpose, and behalf) (Eggins, 1994, p. 237). In other

words, circumstantial elements answer the questions of when (what time), where (what place), how (in what Manner), and why (for what Cause/Reason). Circumstantial elements are differentiated from participants and processes in that they provide extra information about where/when, why, how, about what, in what way, with whom, etc. an action takes place, but they do not include the action or the participant themselves.

A Transitivity analysis is valuable to political discourse analysis because understanding experiential choices made by politicians gives insight into, for example, to whom they attribute responsibility, blame, praise, etc. In other words, the same situation may be construed differently to achieve an intended effect. This is shown in Example 6:

Example 6

a. They rebuff and reject me.	-constructed
b. I am rebuffed and rejected.	-2016 04 29 Immigration and Brexit

Example 6a represents an action, which is a material process carried out by an Actor (*rebuffed and rejected*) on a Goal (*I/me)*, (in the case of 6b, Nigel Farage). However, in Example 6b, the Subject is the Goal (*I*), and the Actor (*They*) is relegated to an unspecified, elided position. We can recover the elided Actor from earlier in the speech, namely *the cabinet that has seen net migration running at record levels and running at 10 times the post war average.* This difference can also be explained with reference to passivization. Choosing between a clause which contains an Actor (an active clause) and a clause without an Actor (a passive clause) has clear rhetorical implications; through this choice it is possible to either foreground or deny agency, depending on which clause type is chosen – and in the case of the politician, this system of meaning can be leveraged to serve their political ends. Omitting Actors in agentless passive constructions is a form of impersonalization and, according to Koller (2020, p. 62), such agentless passives can be used for stylistic purposes or, more often, “to divert blame or responsibility away from a social actor.”

A Transitivity analysis is of interest to political discourse analysis because the ideational metafunction is what gives a text its content or ‘aboutness’. After all, as we saw previously, “the clause is not just a giving of information: it is a giving of information **about something**” (Eggins, 1994, p. 225). The tracking of participants and pronouns in a text may be of particular interest for political discourse analysts because it can enlighten us as

to who is part of the 'in-group' and who is part of the 'out-group' according to the orator, and the identification of process type can tell us whether, for example, the orator represents the world in the abstract plane of thoughts and desires (mental processes) which generally will be aimed at affecting people's thinking, or mainly through physical actions of doing (material processes), which may have more of an effect on people's actions.

This concludes the SFL part of the background section. Further sections in this introduction cover the following topics: a general overview of political discourse is given in the next subsection followed by an overview of populism and populist discourse, which will serve as a basis to which the speeches of Nigel Farage will be compared. Thereafter, political speeches will be situated as a genre, then a general overview on Brexit will be provided, followed by a review of existing literature on the role of populism as a driving force behind pro-Brexit political rhetoric. Lastly, the subject of investigation, Nigel Farage and his political development will be discussed.

2.5. Politics & political discourse

The previous sections in this chapter have given a rudimentary outline of how SFL works and why it has been chosen as a framework for this project. This section presents an overview of previous work done in political discourse analysis and the frameworks used for this purpose.

Political discourse is a specific type of discourse which differentiates itself from other types of discourse because political contexts are necessarily *institutional* contexts, in that they are "contexts which make it possible for actors to exert their agency and empower them to act on the world in a way that has an impact on matters of common concern" (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 17). According to Chilton (2004), there are two broad strands that may define politics, which in turn are manifested to a large degree through political discourse:

> on the one hand, politics is viewed as a struggle for power, between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those to seek to resist it… On the other hand, politics is viewed as cooperation, as the practices and

> institutions that a society has for resolving clashes of interest over money, influence, liberty, and the like.
>
> Chilton, 2004, p. 3

Thus, in analyzing political text, we should be aware of both the cooperative character as well as the struggle for power. An awareness of the ideational metafunction can help us to do so by making the relationship between the orator and the audience more explicit. That is, the ideational metafunction contributes to our understanding of the relationship between an orator and their audience by indicating speech function through clause type, the orator's stance and certainty towards the content of the clause through Mood Adjuncts, and, though they are not separately analyzed in this project, the orator's epistemic commitment to the content of the clause through modals.

Previously, work has been done on Theme in political discourse in British politics by Leung (2017), who analyzes thematic choices in three political speeches by British Prime Minister Theresa May on the topic of Brexit. These three speeches include the Lancaster House speech, Britain's Article 50 notification letter, and May's oral statement in Parliament on the notification letter. While all three texts are examples of prime ministerial discourse on Brexit, "how often each referent is thematized in each text has valuable ideological implications" (p. 61). For example, the target audience of the Lancaster House speech is the public, and as such there are many references to British society in its experiential Themes. This has the effect of giving prominence to the voice of the British people. On the other hand, textual Themes, which signal an adversative relation in the Article 50 notification letter, have the effect of construing May's optimism about the prospect of Brexit. Additionally, thematic use of the first-person plural pronoun *we* has the effect of establishing solidarity between Britain and the European Union. This article showcases the value of SFL as a tool for Political Discourse Analysis, as, for example, it can "shed light on the interface between discourse an ideology" (Leung, 2017, p. 61). Additionally, this article is a valuable point of comparison for this project because it similarly deals with recent U.K. politics centered around Brexit. Additionally, this article contributed to the decision to contrast speeches given in different speech forums.

In terms of Transitivity, an analysis of populist discourse was performed on the 2017 Labour manifesto by Bartley (2019). The analysis found that the manifesto made most ample use of the (inter)action process category, referred to in this project as material

processes. The prevalence of material processes could “be explained by the fact that references are commonly made to what the Conservative party have done or, otherwise, failed to do” (Bartley, 2019, p. 145). The second most prevalent process category was found to be relational processes. The relational process category seems to often have been used to “persistently challenge the Conservative party, who have seemingly led the country towards a poorer quality of life” (Bartley, 2019, p. 146) as well as outlining “the living situation in Britain and, thus, emphasize the common people’s poor quality of life at the expense of a Conservative government’s concern for the elite” (Bartley, 2019, p. 148). Later, we will see how this same sentiment is used by Nigel Farage against his political rivals. The third most frequent category found in the Labour manifesto was mental processes. Specifically, cognitive mental processes made up 73.3% of all mental processes, far outweighing the other subtypes. It was found that “the mental process category is used almost exclusively to refer to the Labour party’s understanding of what the British people need” (Bartley, 2019, p. 146). We will also see later how, generally, Farage’s speeches exhibit similar proportions of process types, and also how these proportions are sensitive to the particular audience he is addressing.

A modality analysis was conducted on Maine Le Pen’s populist discourse by Baider (2019), with a focus on Mood Adjuncts as stance markers. It was found that Le Pen uses modal (Mood) Adjuncts and comment (Residue) to either foreground or background the following argument. The most common Mood Adjuncts in Le Pen interviews were found to be *d’ailleurs* (by the way/anyway), *totalement* (totally), *exactement* (exactly), and *évidemment* (obviously). It was found that *d’ailleurs* was used mainly to background an argument, while the other *-ment* adverbs were used mainly to foreground and summarize arguments. The most commonly found Mood Adjunct in the corpus, *d’ailleurs*, was found to have a backgrounding function that is dialogically expansive, which is described in three ways: as “an avoidance process (avoiding potentially face-threatening acts by taking the floor or guiding the conversation), a corrective process (giving a proof for a redressive act), and making points (the most used by Marine Le Pen)” (Baider, 2019, p. 143). These findings will serve as a point of comparison for Farage’s populist discourse.

The framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been used extensively in linguistic analyses of political communication. CDA investigations focus on the hierarchical relationship between interlocutors and how this relationship is represented or manifested through text. CDA differentiates itself from other types of Discourse Analysis in that it

focuses on social and political inequality and manipulation of the audience. There are two essential elements that make up CDA: “A more or less political concern with the workings of ideology and power in society; and a specific interest in the way language contributes to, perpetuates, and reveals these workings” (Breeze, 2019, p. 3). While this project does not operate on the CDA paradigm, an awareness of its main tenets and applications is advantageous to keep in mind when analyzing ideological stances and power relations when analyzing political texts.

Political Discourse Analysis is a closely related to but distinct from CDA. As Fairclough & Fairclough (2012, p. 17) point out, it is vital to recognize that political discourse, in contrast to other types of (critical) discourse, is necessarily “attached to political *actors* – individuals (politicians, citizens), political institutions and organizations, engaged in political processes and *events*” (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 17). CDA and political discourse analysis is of value to this project as it focuses on what the implicit assumptions are that are embedded in language use. Fairclough (1989, p. 2) calls these embedded assumptions *ideologies*. Ideologies are inextricable from power dynamics because they serve as a “means of legitimizing existing social relations and differences of power, simply through the recurrence of ordinary, familiar ways of behaving which take these relations and power differences for granted” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 2).

Fairclough (2006, p. 33) further points out that “[p]olitical interaction between different social groups has both a cooperative character in that there is a search for a *modus vivendi* and a conflictual character in that there is a struggle for power.” With the knowledge that political speeches are clearly instances of political interaction between different social groups (politicians vs. the people), we can aim to identify both the political struggle for power as well as the social need for cooperation and how these are both manifested within the micro-structure of political speeches. Doing so allows us to gain further insight into the ideological commitments of politicians and their strategies for furthering their political goals.

2.6. Political speeches as a genre

Before getting into more fine-grained analyses, it is important to situate political discourse as a genre. Situating a text within a genre can help us to acknowledge commonalities among different types of texts, their purposes, and their structural organization, and can also be of use in helping us to identify the intended purpose of a text. In the case of political speeches, the intended purpose can be viewed as a form of persuasion. This persuasion is one step among many that serve to reach an overarching political goal.

A genre, within SFL, is defined as a staged, goal-oriented social process. It is social because we 'participate' in genres with others; it is staged because reaching a goal invariably takes multiple distinct steps or stages; and it is goal-oriented because invariably "we feel frustrated if we don't accomplish the final steps," as for instance a narrative that is aborted before its conclusion (Martin & Rose, 2008, p. 6). Having predictable stages to a text helps to situate it within a genre, which in turn helps the text to make coherent sense within the broader social context. Thus, a political speech needs to be recognized as such because the orator relies on the audience to recognize that their speech is political in nature and that it is meant to persuade. Then, on this basis, the audience may either accept or reject the views expressed therein.

Genres embody cultural conventions within a text that help us to understand its communicative purpose. These culturally determined conventions are not inherent to the texts themselves. Instead, they arise out of the meaning attributed to particular constellations within a particular culture. For example, it is customary to greet each other when meeting people across all cultures, but the conventions surrounding the stages within the genre of greetings varies greatly across cultures. Because of this, two persons from different cultures are likely to react differently to the equivalent in their language to a "*How are you?"* question, where one person might consider this to be a salutation, while the other may consider this to be an inquiry into their wellbeing. Similarly, the way requests are formulated varies greatly across cultures, where in more high-context cultures it is important to listen for implicit clues to understand what is meant by a particular utterance, and in more low-context cultures it is socially appropriate to make explicit requests (for more, see, for example, Croucher et al., 2012). In the same way, a particular text is to be understood against its cultural backdrop, where the meaning of a single text may be interpreted differently depending on the cultural context. For these reasons it is important

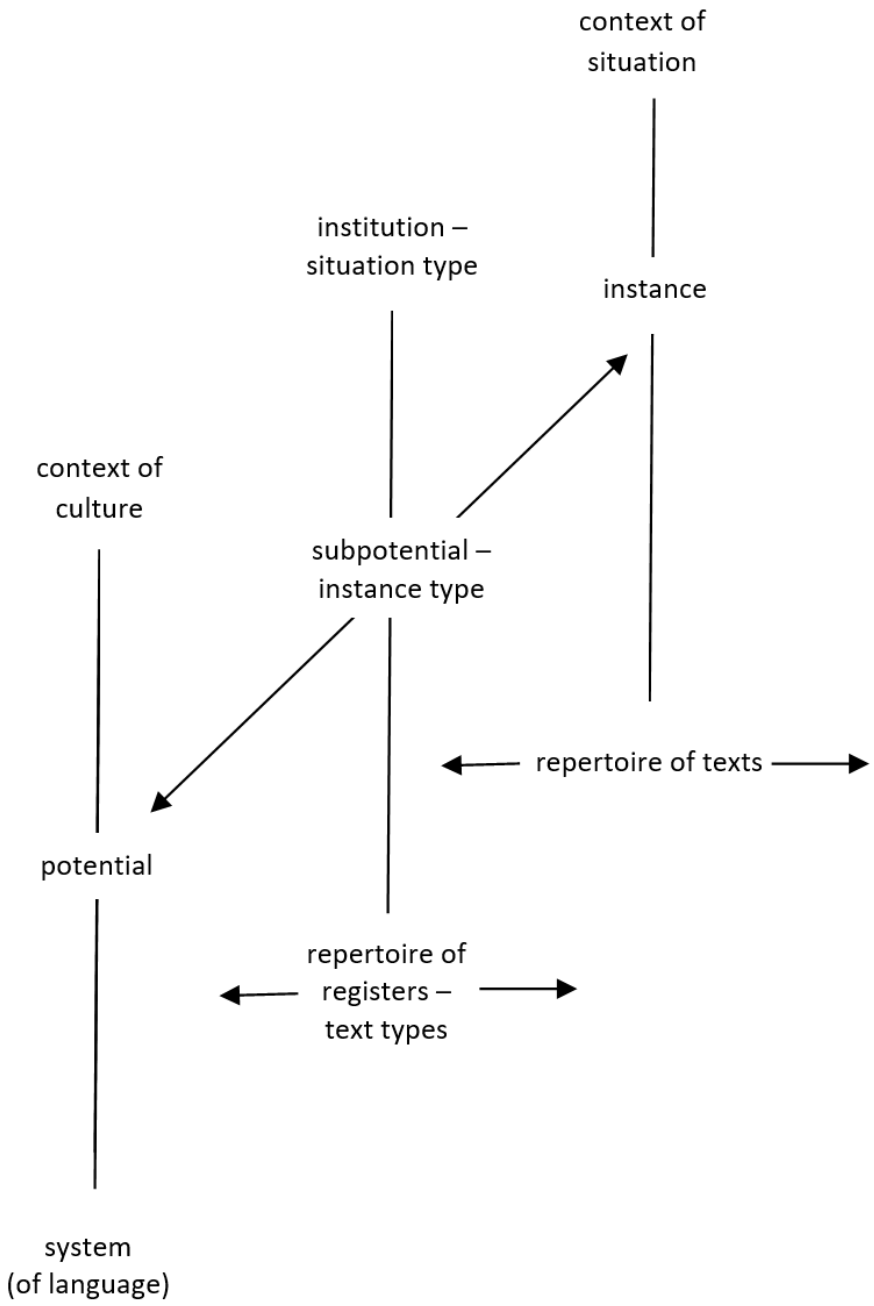
to be aware that the meaning of a text arises through the conventions of a particular culture and can only be fully understood which an implicit knowledge of said conventions.

These cultural conventions are captured by Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) as 'context of culture.' Cultural context is an abstract concept that enables the meaning making potential of language on a broad, cultural level. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) stress the importance of this context of culture, explaining that language exists on a 'cline of instantiation,' wherein a language can be viewed as a system and a text as a particular instantiation or realization of the meaning-making potential of that system. Halliday and Matthiessen analogize this system of language to climate and weather:

> [t]he climate is the ***theory*** of the weather. As such, it does have its own separate existence – but (like all theoretical entities) it exists on the semiotic plane. It is a virtual thing. Likewise with the system of language: [context of culture] is language as a virtual thing; it is not the sum of all possible texts but a theoretical entity to which we can assign certain properties and which we can invest with considerable explanatory power.
>
> -Halliday and Matthiessen (2014, p. 28)

In the same sense that the weather on a particular day is the result of a more abstract, overarching theory of climate, a text can be seen as a particular instantiation of the more abstract concept of language. In this sense, the theoretical entity of language rests in the cultural context. A particular text, on the other hand, relies on context of situation to fulfill its meaning making potential. That is, a political speech is an instance of a text that takes place within the context of the situation at hand, on a particular day, and with a particular audience that has particular, preconceived ideological commitments. When looking at an instance of a text, we are looking at the most concrete, instantiated form of language. If we take a step back and look at political speeches in general, we are grouping together texts that are similar and as such may be constitutive of such a previously mentioned genre. By doing so, we are moving along the cline away from the concrete context of situation towards the more abstract system of language, which resides in the context of culture. The relationship between context of culture and context of situation is illustrated in the cline of instantiation seen in **Error! Reference source not found.**. The genre of political speeches would be considered a text 'type,' which exists somewhere between the context of culture and the context of situation.

Figure 3 Cline of instantiation



(adapted from Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 28)

There are numerous different types of genres and subgenres within both spoken and written text. In addition to the previously mentioned genres, other types include

reports, descriptions, procedures, protocol, narrative, 'just so stories,' explanation, speeches, etc. Each of these genres has recurrent patterns that make a particular text identifiable as part of its genre. For example, Martin & Rose (2008, p. 5) draw a distinction between observations/comments and recounts, stating that it is "based on the presence or absence of an unfolding sequence of events; and the distinction between reports and descriptions [is] based on whether the facts presented were generic or specific." The narrative (or story) genre, furthermore, is differentiated from the observation/comment genre because it necessarily must outline a series of events which unfold through time (Martin & Rose, 2008, p. 1). These are some brief examples of what kinds of characteristics are constitutive of a genre.

Thus, the question arises: what elements are constitutive of the genre of political speeches? A definition of political speeches is given to us by Dedaić (2006, p. 700): "Political speech represent relatively autonomous discourse produced orally by a politician in front of an audience, the purpose of which is primarily persuasion rather than information or entertainment." Dedaić further emphasizes that "[t]he purpose of such a speech is to convince the audience that the orator's advice is plausible or, at least, to persuade the audience to decide according to the orator's proposal" (p. 700). In our case, the orator's proposal is 'vote Leave' for all speeches up to the Brexit referendum, and thereafter it becomes more akin to maintaining political pressure to go through with Brexit and to continue to present the decision as favourable to voters.

Other work has previously done with regards to identifying political speeches as a genre. For example, D.J. Martin (2011) combines SFL, Genre Theory, and Appraisal Theory to analyze four 'visionary' speeches, in order to determine whether these intuitively labeled 'visionary' speeches adhere to a specific genre. These speeches include Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, Churchill's "We Shall Fight on the Beaches," Kennedy's inaugural, and Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I have a Dream." Every speech except for Lincoln's Gettysburg address was determined to fit into this 'visionary genre.' This analysis was done by looking for the presence of previously identified "benchmark" features in these four speeches. Martin identified eight stages of 'visionary speech' (to be confirmed by future research):

> situational positioning of the past (*then*); situational positioning of the present (*now*); a statement identifying the purpose of the speech; a synopsis of the orator's vision or goal – how the future should be; statement(s) on how the vision/goal might be implemented or the change effected; the timetable for needed change and an expression of urgency; statement(s) of the orator's personal commitment to the vision/changes needed; and, finally, a call to action or the issuing of a rallying cry" (pp. 6)

It was further found that Mood Adjuncts enabled "the orator's ability to communicate certainty and commitment to his vision through the exclusion of alternative voices from the texts."

In this section, we have defined political speeches as a genre. As informed by SFL, a genre is a staged, goal-oriented social process. We have seen how genres exist within the context of culture, and how instantiations of said genres take place within a specific context of situation. It was explained that political speeches are goal oriented because each speech is one instantiation in a series of steps to achieve a wider, overarching goal – in the case of Farage, that goal was persuading the UK to leave the EU. We have also seen how other renowned political speeches share some central tenets, including situational positioning of the speech, a statement of the overarching goals of the orator, as well as a statement of the personal commitment of the orator. This background serves as a foundation upon which to understand the rhetoric of Nigel Farage, so that we may understand and interpret his speeches. The next section gives a brief overview of the situation that led up to the Brexit referendum and the role of populism in this development.

2.7. Brexit & populism

June 23rd, 2016 was the fateful day of the Brexit referendum, when 26.3 million voters cast their ballots. Adding another 7.2 million mail-in ballots, the election showed a remarkable turnout of 72.2 per cent – the highest turnout since the general election in 1992 (Clarke et al., 2017, p. 1). The last time such a question was brought to the UK public, during the 1975 referendum on the UK's membership in the European Community (the Common Market), commanding support (2:1) was found for the country's continued membership in the European Community. During this time, the political parties competed in a stable party system, the parties generally enjoyed strong loyalty "from what was still largely deferential public and which had collectively recommended that the people vote to stay – which they

did" (Clarke et al., 2017, p. 1). In contrast, the political atmosphere was very different in 2016, where Cameron's decision to hold a referendum has been seen as a miscalculated gamble (Clarke et al., 2017, p. 2). This miscalculation was predicated on three misconceptions: that the Conservative party has no prospects of winning the 2015 general election; that other EU member states would not risk Britain leaving; and that there was no real chance that the Leave side would win the referendum (H. Thompson, 2017, p. 444). David Cameron's promise to hold a referendum on EU membership in 2013 was viewed by many as "an attempt to fend off growing pressure from a group of backbench Eurosceptic MPs and the sudden rise of a new Eurosceptic party in national politics, UKIP" (Clarke et al., 2017, p. 2). Rather than appeasing the radicals within his party, Cameron's political rivals were emboldened.

In fact, within this climate of appeasement and alienation, Nigel Farage UKIP's anti-EU messages progressed "in leaps and bounds" (Adam, 2020, p. 64), which was the cause of alarm among conservatives who "risked having their majority undermined in the general election (Adam, 2020, p. 64). Despite the fact that Nigel Farage, UKIP leader since 2006, had failed to win a seat in five general elections, Conservatives had cause for concern because they did not know the extent to which this new dynamic would bolster UKIP's ranks. This was especially troubling for the Conservatives because UKIP mainly targeted voters who had a history of voting Conservative. As such, if UKIP were able to siphon enough voters, then "many constituencies might fall to the opposition candidate and hand Labour a landslide victory" (Adam, 2020, p. 65).

Scholars have suggested that the Brexit referendum can largely be attributed to political factors. Hobolt (2016) attributes the referendum to "the culmination of decades of internal division in the British Conservative Party on the issue of European integration," further stating that the referendum was called "[t]o appease the Eurosceptic wing of that party and to avoid a flight of voters to the populist right-wing United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP)" (3). In trying to avoid this flight of voters, the Conservative Party manifesto pledged a "straight in-out referendum of the European Union by the end of 2017" (Conservative Party Manifesto 2015: 32; cited in Hobolt, 2016, p. 3).

Additionally, scholars have pointed other contributing factors including the fact that "the supremacy of European laws over British laws…was unacceptable to the leave campaign" (Arnorsson & Zoega, 2018, p. 303); that less educated, pooper, and older

voters cited anti-immigration stances and economic fears as reasons for favouring Leave (Hobolt, 2016, p. 1259); and how Islamophobic, xenophobic, and racist imagery was used in the Leave campaign, as well as how the "concepts of racism, hate, and Nazism" were "used to describe refugees, immigrants, migrants, and migration" (Durrheim et al., 2018, p. 391).

Other scholars have confirmed the role of anti-immigration sentiment as a 'key driver' of the public vote to leave the EU. Specifically, the two factors that most influenced the anti-immigration sentiment among the British voters were the *rate* of immigration at the local level and perceived control over immigration policy (Goodwin & Milazzo, 2017). In fact, empirical survey data has shown that "public hostility towards immigration and anxiety over its perceived effects was a major predictor of support for Nigel Farage" (Goodwin & Milazzo, 2017, p. 451)

Understandably, in any political system, certain groups are bound to feel disadvantaged, exploited, or overlooked and powerless. These sentiments are exacerbated when social, economic, and geographical differences are as pronounced as they have been and still are in the EU. However, the mere existence of these sentiments does not entail that a majority of voters endorse the demise of the EU. In the case of the United Kingdom, these sentiments were fanned by political leaders (especially Farage and UKIP) and the media through the propagation of 'crisis imagery.' As Krzyżanowski shows, the negative effects of Brexit were strategically downplayed, while pro-Brexit politicians and the media relied on "a strategy of discursively amalgamating the real and the imaginary, as well as the experienced/past and the expected/future" (2019, p. 465) in order to rile up anti-European sentiment among voters. In other words, the depiction of crisis surrounding Brexit conflated 'real' or experienced facts about the EU and European politics with "expectations about its future developments that [are] profoundly distorted, if not altogether averted, by the Brexit vote" (Krzyżanowski, 2019, p. 487).

While there are a myriad reasons to which the invocation of Article 50 can be attributed, scholars seem to agree that attitudes of "output, education and the share of older people at the regional level can explain attitudes towards immigrants and the European Union" (Arnorsson & Zoega, 2018, p. 301). As Arnorsson & Zoega (2018) point out, anti-European sentiment, apprehensiveness of immigration and immigrants, as well as voting in favour of Brexit are correlated with low GDP per capita, low level of education,

as well as a high proportion of voters over 65 years of age. As we will see, Farage uses a variety of rhetorical devices to stoke these xenophobic and anti-EU sentiments by dividing the population into 'us' and 'them,' emphasizing how the common voter is hard-working, honest, and diligent, while the corrupt elite, both in the UK and in the EU, are taking advantage of the UK and favouring immigrants over UK citizens and, as a result, that the hard-working common voter is unduly disadvantaged.

Krzyżanowski found that discursive media constructions of 'Brexit as crisis' were established through a "very peculiar past-to-future connection" (2019, p. 487). In other words, Krzyżanowski (2019, p. 487) found that "the analysed discourse not only pointed to the past/current ontologies of the British decision to vote in favour of Brexit but also painted a vast array of scenarios of future crises (soon to be) caused by [the] UK decision to leave the EU." The propagation of the constructed 'Brexit as crisis' narrative directly plays into the perceived versus actual economic/social/cultural interest that Arnorsson & Zoega (2018) address. In fact, we can see that Farage makes use of the temporal circumstance of Location to evoke feelings of nostalgia about how he perceives things to have been better in the past and also how keeping with the current conditions would result in an economic and social crisis for his supporters.

Additionally, the representation of immigrants or refugees in the months and years leading up to the Brexit referendum undoubtedly played a role in shaping the public perception of the EU and the prospect of Brexit. Lams (2018) found that *The Daily Telegraph*, for example, tended to use derogatory labels such as 'illegal immigrant' more often than the term 'refugee' (Lams, 2018, p. 119). Similarly, individuals are often lumped together as 'foreign entrants' whose individuality is disregarded by overestimating their internal cultural homogeneity. Moreover, the author identified certain language strategies that were employed by the news media included "a high occurrence of numbers and water metaphors ('influx', 'flood'), and using nominalizations ('arrivals')" (2018, p. 119). In fact, we see Farage using such language as well, for example referring to a "Romanian crime wave" (2013 09 20 UKIP), or insinuating that refugees are 'fake' by stating that "there are up to five thousand jihadis who have come into Europe in the last 18 months, posing as migrants through the Greek islands" (2016 04 29 Immigration and Brexit). There are other allusions to the 'realness' or deservingness of immigrants that Farage makes, by stating, for example, "[a]s we know, the majority of people who are coming…are economic migrants," while also pointing out that "we see, as I warned earlier, evidence that ISIS is

now using this route to put their jihadists on European soil" (2015 09 09 Speech at State of the Union). This is one very blatant form of Othering, which will be discussed in the next section.

2.8. Populism & populist discourse

Populism has become a topic of major discussion in today's geopolitical sphere. Hidalgo-Tenorio et al. (2019) point out that populism has simultaneously been referred to as a strategy, an ideology, and a discursive style, and that the enactment of populism happens mainly through discourse. Jagers & Walgrave (2007) define populism primarily as a specific political communication style: "[p]opulism is conceived of as a political style essentially displaying proximity of the people, while at the same time taking an anti-establishment stance and stressing the (ideal) homogeneity of the people by excluding specific population segments" (p. 319). The three elements by which populism is defined here seem to be a common thread throughout literature on populism and populist discourse. Eventually, it will become clear how Farage's speeches encompass each of these three tenets of populist rhetoric: (1) proximity of the people, (2) an anti-establishment stance (towards the EU and UK governments), (3) as well as exclusion (of immigrants). Nigel Farage's speeches will be investigated on these grounds. It seems to be widely accepted that Farage is a populist, and we will see how and to what degree each of these tenets is prevalent in his speeches.

Naturally, any political theory must include 'the people' in some way, as governments are ultimately responsive to them. As Kaltwasser et al. (2017, p. 3) point out, "in the history of modern democracy, 'the people' emerge not only as the source of political authority, but also as a unified entity able to act and to retrieve power from government officials: the sovereign people. This popular ground legitimizes democratic politics, but it also paves the way for populism."

In recent times, the term populism has developed a negative, pejorative connotation. Originally, the term comes from the United States around 1891-1892 (Kaltwasser et al., 2017, p. 3) where The People's Party expressed hostility towards the establishment, criticizing the Democratic and Republican parties as being "too close to

each other and too tied to special interests" (Kaltwasser et al., 2017, p. 3). Earlier historians such as Hofstadter (1955; cited in Kaltwasser et al., 2017) dismissed The People's Party as "reactionary and regressive," while later historians such as Goodwyn (1976) praised its progressive and co-operative basis.

Other populist movements include *nerodniki*, or the 'going to the people' in Russia, Boulangism in France, as well as the more recent examples of populist leaders who managed to "construct heterogenous class alliances and mobilize excluded sectors of society" (Kaltwasser et al., 2017, p. 5). As de la Torre and Arnson (2013) point out, the paradigmatic examples of these kinds of populist leaders include Juan Domingo Perón in Argentina, Getúlio Vargas in Brazil, Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre in Peru, José María Velasco Ibarra in Ecuador, and Jorge Eliécer Gaitán in Colombia. These historical examples of populism share some prototypical populist features: "a direct appeal to 'the people' as inherently virtuous and dutiful or disadvantaged" as well as "a powerful sense of opposition to an establishment that remained entrenched and a belief that democratic politics needed to be conducted differently and closer to the people" (Kaltwasser et al., 2017, pp. 4–5). Invariably, each of these movements also includes a "strong sense of nationalistic or native pride" (Kaltwasser et al., 2017, p. 5).

While populism varies in its political ideology, one thing that each populist movement has in common (to differing extents) is their celebration of the "'true' common rural people" (Kaltwasser et al., 2017, p. 4). This is reminiscent of the *proximity to the people* mentioned by Hidalgo-Tenorio (2019), where populist leaders portray themselves as being *of* or *close to* the people. As we will see in Section 2.9, Farage constructs his identity as being anti-establishment, and consequently, as being close to or of the people. In Chapter 4, furthermore, we will see how Farage uses rhetorical devices to foster closeness especially when he is addressing his supporters.

Similarly, Mudde (2017, p. 3) defines populism as "an ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, 'the pure people' versus 'the corrupt elite', and which argues that politics should be an expression of the volonté générale (general will) of the people." A populist leader, according to this definition, is one who uses or exploits the opposition between 'the people' and 'the elite.' Mudde (2017, p. 4) points out that the concept of purity is used in a moralistic sense, rather than in any ethnic or racial sense. While it is presupposed that the

elite come from the same group as the people do, under this view, the elite propagate their own special interests and 'inauthentic morals' rather than advocating for the will of the people. In this case, the elite who propagate their inauthentic morals are represented by the governing body of the EU, who unjustly impose their laws on the people and businesses of the UK, and his political rivals, who support continued membership in the elite, corrupt institution of the EU.

This antagonism that Mudde (2017) observes is echoed by Langa & Ilundain (2019), who found that populist rhetoric in Spain exhibited similarity to a narrative plot with the portrayal of antagonistic characters: "the victim, embodied by the people; the hero, Podemos, who appears as the saviour of a 'Spain that is tired of being robbed'; and the villain, represented by a delegitimized government that has falsified democracy" (2019, p. 30). Similarly, Farage points to instances where the EU has lost its legitimacy and that the voice of the British people is not adequately represented in the law-making process of the EU.

Populism stands in contrast to other ideological frameworks such as socialism or liberalism in that populism demands that 'the general will of the people' be respected but does not prescribe any specifics regarding political institutional or socio-economic issues (Mudde, 2017). This means that populist ideologies are like empty vessels that can lean either to the pollical left or the political right, so long as it advocates this 'general will of the people.' By identifying a 'general will,' populist politicians take on a homogeneous interpretation of the people (Mudde, 2017, p. 7).

Some scholars have argued that the concept of 'the people' does not really exist. Taggart (2017), for example, advocates a view that the concept of the people refers to an idealized conception of the community, whereas Mudde (2017, p. 6) argues that "if populists want to become politically relevant, they will have to define the people in terms of some of the key features of the self-identification of the targeted community." An understanding how Farage views the self-identification of his voters, and consequently the pro-Brexit movement, can tell us about his ideological views and commitment.

De Cleen (2017) discusses how nationalism and populism are often combined in populist politics. Populism inherently creates an up/down dichotomy between the people and the elite. On the other hand, nationalism relies on an in/out dichotomy, where there

are clear members (we, us, insiders) who belong to a certain group, and clear non-members (them, the Other, outsiders) who do not belong to that group (de Cleen, 2017, p. 1). As such, when populism and nationalism work in tandem, there is not only a vertical Othering of the elite, but also a horizontal othering of other ethnicities or nationalities. We can see this Othering in Farage's speeches in his word choice but also in his use of linguistic devices such as the circumstance of spatial Location. However, as de Cleen (2017, pp. 10–11) points out, there is nothing inherent in these issues that make them populist. Certainly, there are issues that seem to lend themselves to populist mobilization, but this is a function of the nature of Western European society and politics more than a function of populism itself.

This in/out dichotomy, which has a powerful force for mobilizing populist support, has been addressed by Riggins (1997), who delves into the history and social aspects surrounding Othering. Riggins (1997) points out the work of Todorov (1982), who identifies three factors that define the relationship between the self and the Other: value judgements, wherein the Other is seen as either good or bad and equal or inferior to the self; social distance, where physical and psychological distance play a significant role in the viewing of the Other; and knowledge, which encompasses the knowing of the history and culture of the Other. It is said that each of these factors seems to be associated with one another, where a high degree of any of these factors tends to foretell a higher degree in the other factors. This seems to make intuitive sense, as well, since positive value judgements, low social distance, and intricate knowledge of others and their culture tend to diminish feelings of antagonism which, as we have seen, seem to be central to the narrative of populism. By insinuating that migrants coming from other parts of the EU and abroad are a homogeneous group, Farage perpetuates racism and xenophobia through the mechanisms pointed out by Riggins. For example, he does not acknowledge different histories and cultures of immigrants, instead opting to homogenize entrants as a group that takes advantage of UK institutions and make reference to the deservingness of immigrants by calling them 'economic migrants' (2015 09 09 Speech at State of the Union) or by using water metaphors such as 'Romanian crime wave' (2013 09 20 UKIP).

The role of the media in racist discourse and Othering is discussed by van Dijk (1993), who shows that the discourse surrounding racism and xenophobia (and consequently Othering as well) is propagated by the elite in a top-down fashion. Van Dijk (1993, p. 8) aptly points out that explicit, intentional, or blatantly racist ideologies of the

extreme right are the kind which are rejected by the elite, who see these “as the only form of racism.” This strategy has proven to be valuable to populist politicians over the years as “their denial of racism presupposes a definition of racism that conveniently excludes them as part of the problem” (1993, p. 8). However, it is not only populist politicians who propagate these more subtle and systemic forms of racism. In fact, many who make up the ‘moderate mainstream’ enable and propagate these racist ideologies including politicians of ‘respectable parties,’ journalists of daily newspapers, writers of textbooks and books used by teachers at school, renowned scholars of sociology texts, personnel managers of businesses, and all those who manage public opinion (van Dijk, 1993, pp. 8–9). These systemic issues are ingrained in the system as it is the ‘leading elites,’ which includes politicians, the media, scholarship, education, corporate business, among many other domains, who “control the access to valued social resources and privileges, and thus are mainly responsible for inequality between majority and minority groups” (van Dijk, 1993, p. 17).

The concept of ‘Othering’ has also been discussed by other scholars in the profiling of new Europeans in the British news publication *Daily Telegraph* (Szymanska, 2017), the ideology behind construing the other in the British news publication *The Guardian* (Wilk, 2017), and the effect of identity and alliance in mobilizing right-wing populism with regards to UKIP’s Brexit ‘Breaking Point’ campaign (Durrheim et al., 2018).

Ekström et al. (2018) investigated Farage’s rhetoric in mediated political discourse. They show how Farage’s appearance as being “close to the people and distant from the political elite is accomplished when a mix of discursive strategies are enacted in different settings of mediated political communication” (p. 8). The authors found that one way Farage does is this by speaking ‘candidly’ or ‘frankly.’ This often involves talking bluntly, using hyperbolic language, and articulating strong opinions. They further point out how this is not restricted to informal, ‘on-the-street’ type interviews, but extends to speeches in the EU parliament as well, where he challenges the norms of conduct.

This section has shown how populism and populist discourse rely on both an up-down dichotomy between the ‘pure’ people and the ‘corrupt’ elite, and on an in-out dichotomy between the self and the Other. It has been shown that the rhetoric of Othering is propagated in a top-down fashion by the elites in society and how Othering is often performed along a majority-versus-minority dimension. The next section will look at how

Nigel Farage fits in to the picture of populist discourse, Othering, and how he constructed his image to be ‘belonging to the people’ rather than the elite.

2.9. Nigel Farage

We have now looked at how populism relies on establishing a dichotomy between the ‘common’ or ‘pure people’ and the ‘corrupt elite’ (c.f., Mudde, 2017, p. 3). Despite the fact that Farage “was born into a prosperous family…and attended Dulwich College, a prestigious private school in London” (Kellner, 2022), Farage “was able to convince ordinary voters that ‘he speaks [their] language’” (Breeze, 2019, p. 130). Farage’s ability to connect with voters and project himself as one of them may have to do with his academic success, or lack thereof, at Dulwich College. Rather than pursue a university education, Farage decided on becoming a commodities trader at age 18 (Kellner, 2022). While there are plentiful examples of populist politicians with degrees from prestigious universities, this fact seems to clash with the anti-establishment persona that most populist politicians embody. As such, it seems like Farage’s decision not to attend university might have contributed to his ability to project himself as a common voter, even though his background and his choice of profession seem to stand at odds with this endeavour. How, then, did he manage to shed the image of belonging ‘corrupt elite’ in favour of him belonging to the ‘pure people’? According to Breeze (2019), this has something to do with Farage’s frequent appeals to binary concepts which would classify solutions to issues as being either ‘common sense’ or ‘sensible’ on the one hand, or ‘illogical,’ ‘ridiculous,’ or 'foolish’ on the other (pp. 130). In other words, what Farage did was to “reaffirm the view that a few simple solutions will suffice to solve all our problems” (2019, p. 130).

Reducing complex problems and situations to black-and-white issues which are either ‘sensible’ or ‘foolish’ certainly contributed to Farage’s appeal to those who see themselves as ‘common voters.’ As Breeze (2019, p. 130) further points out, Labour news “uses hardly any items tagged as ‘sensible’ or ‘foolish,’ since these parameters are not part of their evaluative system,” opting instead to project “a more complex understanding of the world in which black and white give way to shades of grey.” It seems that Labour’s more nuanced world view, which includes parties that have ‘wrong priorities,’ negotiations that are ‘fiendishly difficult,’ and a government that may take ‘steps in the right direction’

(Breeze, 2019, p. 130) may have not been so appealing to certain voters as a clear dichotomy of actions and policies that are ‘good’ or ‘sensible’ one the one hand, and actions and policies that are ‘bad’ or ‘foolish’ on the other.

However, it was not just Farage’s portrayal of issues as being binary that contributed to his common appeal. As Keating and Soria (2019, p. 220) point out, Farage constructed populist oppositions to solidify his image as a common person. These oppositions included ‘the noble people,’ usually Britain and the British, or Farage himself, who stand opposed to ‘the elites’ of the European Union’s political institutions; and the national sovereignty of European member states, which stands opposed to the ‘anti-democratic’ policies of the EU.

In fact, as Crick (2021) points out, Farage’s budding rebellious nature that began during his time at Dulwich College intensified as he grew older. “I always questioned authority,” Farage was quoted as saying (Crick, 2021, p. 24). However, more worryingly, Farage’s racist and xenophobic tendencies were on display even during his time at Dulwich College. As Bob Jope recalled in relation to the Master of Dulwich College appointing Farage prefect for his final year, “[a] significant number of staff, young and old, from various departments, expressed concern at Nigel Farage being made a prefect… The accusation from some staff was that Nigel had voiced views there were not simply right-wing, but views that were racist… not the views that a school should tolerate” (Crick, 2021, p. 24). In fact, it was even recounted that Farage would “sometimes express support for the National Front, or the even more extreme neo-Nazi British Movement” (Crick, 2021, p. 25) especially towards left-wing teachers, as he knew it would rile them up. It seems now that Farage has abandoned neither his provocateur tendencies nor his racism and xenophobia.

Towards the end of his time at Dulwich College, Farage was invited to visit a firm on the London Metal Exchange, Maclaine Watson & Co., by the managing director over a game of golf. After a successful day of visiting the firm, managing director Bob McPhie offered Farage a job once he completed his A levels. Recounting his time there, Farage later reminisced that, at the age of eighteen, “[he] was handling millions, and drinking more or less continuously…throughout the day and night,” and it was said about him that he was “a puerile sexist in a puerile sexist world (Crick, 2021, pp. 42, 44). That was, until Farage had two encounters with death: being struck by a car and a bout of testicular

cancer. These encounters seem to be that which propelled him into politics. In his own words, Farage stated, “[n]o one who’s been through what I went through could ever say that it is out of their mind totally. I am very much a fatalist. Life’s for the living. You’ve got to follow your heart and I won’t pretend that didn’t shape my decision to leave business and enter politics” (Crick, 2021, p. 48). It would be a few more years, however, until his entry into politics was manifested. After his time at Maclaine Watson, Farage joined a small trading firm called R. J. Rouse & Co. After getting fired from R. J. Rouse during a heated argument on the London Metal Exchange floor, Farage founded his own firm, Farage Futures (Crick, 2021, pp. 49–52). Apparently, Farage’s anti-EU sentiments seemed to strike a chord with his colleagues in the metal-trading world, and unbeknownst to him, “his views were about to get a boost which would propel Nigel Farage into the public limelight” (Crick, 2021, p. 53).

It was at a meeting at Westminster Central Hall, where Dr Alan Sked, founder of UKIP proclaimed, that he intends “to start a party which will lead Britain out of the EU” (Crick, 2021, p. 56). Farage claimed to be in the audience during this exchange, saying that he was among a crowd of people wanting to learn more about Sked’s plans. Shortly thereafter, Farage became an official member of the Anti-Federalist League, the precursor to UKIP, where Farage began to campaign for Sked. A meeting in 1993 precipitated a name change of the Anti-Federalist League to the UK Independence party, seemingly because senior figures in the party “decided they wouldn’t get far in advancing the anti-EU cause with an incomprehensible name” (Crick, 2021, p. 61). It was then that Farage became a founding member of UKIP.

Despite his untrue statement that Farage was the first candidate ever to stand for UKIP, he was one of the first three to stand in the east London elections under UKIP. The relative success of these candidates showed “a sign of the party’s potential in working-class areas with high levels of immigration” (Crick, 2021, p. 63), a group which would later become some of his more ardent supporters. Eventually, Farage became more forward with his criticism of party founder Alan Sked as their relationship grew ever more strained.

Eventually, as Farage fervently worked to spread the anti-EU message and garner support for his party, Farage was elected as a Member of the European Parliament in 1999. So great was in success, in fact, that Professor Matthew Goodwin, an academic who has extensively studied UKIP, stated that “[y]ou can make a convincing case that

Nigel Farage is the most influential politician of the modern era," and that "[Farage] is responsible for mainstreaming Euroscepticism, bringing about the 2016 referendum and then delivering the vote for Brexit" (D'Arcy, 2019).

In the end, Farage's success can be attributed to factors including his TV presence, his attractiveness, his charisma, and the luck of operating at the right time in history (Crick, 2021, p. 525). However, each of these factors are underpinned by one common factor: his rhetorical talent. It has been said of Farage that "[h]e's a pro. To watch Nigel Farage in front of a crowd of believers is to witness a well-honed performance" (D'Arcy, 2019). It is for this reason that the purpose of this project is to identify the linguistic tools that Farage employs to construct his image and convince his supporters to follow his ideology.

This chapter has given a brief overview of the framework used for this analysis, SFL, and discussed generally the field of politics and pollical discourse as well as political speeches as a genre. A brief overview of Brexit has been given and the terms populism and populist discourse have been addressed. Lastly, Farage's character has been investigated from his time at Dulwich college to his self-portrayal as belonging 'to the people' as accentuated by his anti-establishment stance. The next chapter, Chapter 3, outlines the methodology and methodological choices that were made to best suit the needs of this investigation.

Chapter 3.

Methodology

This chapter presents the corpus this project is based on and outlines the methodological decisions made regarding the annotation of the corpus. Under SFL, each of the three metafunctions of language, the textual metafunction, the experiential metafunction, and the interpersonal metafunction, are realized in the lexicogrammar as systems of THEME, TRANSITIVITY, and MOOD, respectively. In terms of Theme, we are able to see what Farage considers to be the point of departure for each clause, which can give us an idea about the orientation and location of said clause within the broader context (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 64). In terms of Transitivity, we are able to see how he represents the world around him in terms of participants and processes, and how his framing of such changes depending on his audience. Lastly, in terms of Mood, we can gain insight into his ideological commitments regarding his certainty/uncertainty and how he modulates his utterances depending on his audience.

3.1. The corpus

The corpus that serves as the basis for this project consists of 13 speeches delivered by Nigel Farage between 2012 and 2021. The speeches broadly fall into three categories: speeches held at the European Parliament (EP), rally speeches, and public addresses. One speech that is included in this corpus, 'speech to mainstream media,' does not clearly fall into one of these categories, since the audience is neither the EP, Farage's party and supporters, nor does it address the general public. Nonetheless, it was included because it seemed worthwhile to have another category for comparison. We might expect that the mainstream media category could exhibit similar patterns to the EP speech category, since Farage portrays himself as being in contention with both the EU and the media.

The rationale behind classifying the speeches as such is as follows: EP speeches take place during a session of the European Parliament. Rally speeches is the classification given to speeches where the audience are supporters of Farage's party

(UKIP or the Brexit Party). Public addresses are speeches delivered to the general public, including press conferences and speeches. The speech entitled 'speech to mainstream media' does not quite fit the category of 'public address' because the audience is a subgroup of the public. As such, this speech will reside in its own category 'media address.' Some of the speeches came from news media websites, while others were taken from YouTube videos. When there was no transcript available, the speeches were transcribed by the author. Table 1 presents the list of speeches in chronological order:

Table 1 Speeches in corpus

Title	Date	Audience	Word count
Parliamentary speech	2012, May 9	European Parliament	487
European Council meeting	2012, June 13	European Parliament	460
UKIP conference speech	2013, September 19	Rally	3399
Speech at State of the Union	2015, September 9	European Parliament	375
Immigration and Brexit	2016, April 29	Rally	2865
UKIP resignation speech	2016, July 4	Public address	1408
Post Brexit vote speech	2016, June 23	Public address	642
Parliamentary victory speech	2016, June 28	European Parliament	671
Speech to mainstream media	2017, May 21	Mainstream media	2180
Brexit Party rally	2019, May 21	Rally	1972
Brexit Party will not contest seats	2019, November 11	Public address	2021
Farewell speech at the European Parliament	2020, January 29	European Parliament	582
Brexit anniversary	2021, January 31	Public address	1224
		Total:	18 553

These speeches were chosen because they are varied in their forum and because they encompass a number of years before and after Brexit. Having a variety of forums, and consequently a variety of audiences, allows us to compare Farage's oratory style between these forums. This allows us to gain insight into his assumptions about different audience types as well as how he uses his oratory style to achieve his political goals, which helps us to address RQ2.

There are thirteen speeches from four different forums represented in this corpus: European Parliamentary speeches (5), public addresses (4), rally speeches (3), and a

mainstream media address (1). Because of the different characteristics of these speech forums, the speeches are not of equal length. Because of speaking limits, the European Parliament addresses (average 488 words) are considerably shorter than the public addresses (average 1,312) and rally speeches (average 2,564). To compensate for this, the European Parliament (EP) speech category contains a greater number of speeches than the public address speech category, which in turn has a greater number of speeches than the rally speech category. There is only a single speech in the mainstream media category, containing 2180 words.

As Koller (2020, p. 67) notes, "[i]t is true that spontaneous spoken discourse will include more incomplete, ungrammatical, and non-cohesive clauses and sentences, but in whatever form people use language they will always construct experience and build relations with others." This corpus does not contain texts that are spontaneous, but the spoken nature of speeches places them on a continuum somewhere between spontaneous spoken communication and written communication.

3.2. Theme

Each of the three metafunctions of language can be realized in the lexicogrammar as a thematic element: the experiential metafunction is realized through the TRANSITIVITY system and is manifested in the THEME system through ideational (including topical and circumstantial) Themes; the textual metafunction does organizational and cohesive work within a text and is realized through the structure of the text as the THEME system; and the interpersonal metafunction is realized through the MOOD system and is manifested in the THEME system as interpersonal Themes. Example 7 shows how this works in a clause:

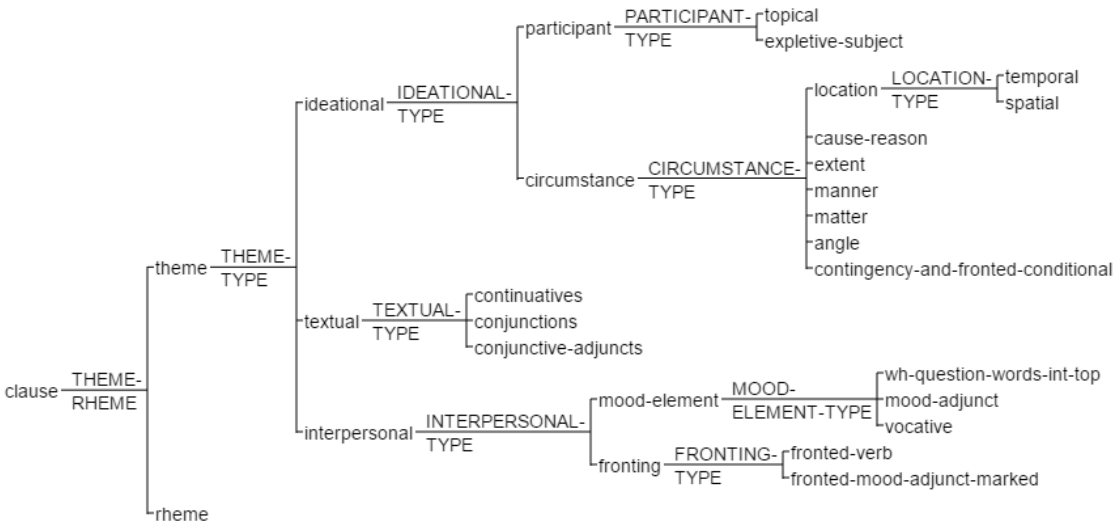
Example 7

But,	for me,	yeah,	it	's been a 25 year journey.
Conjunction	Angle	Vocative	Expletive	
Theme				Rheme

-2017 05 21 Speech to mainstream media

In this example we can see each of the metafunctions represented in the Theme of the clause: the textual metafunction is represented in the Theme of the clause by the conjunction *but*, which does organizational work by relating the clause to the previous clause and managing the audience's expectation of what comes after by signaling a contrast; the ideational metafunction is represented in the Theme of the clause by the Angle circumstance *for me*, which provides the reader with information about whose perspective is represented in the proposition and also provides the orator with some plausible deniability; the interpersonal metafunction is represented in the Theme of the clause by the Vocative element *yeah*, which provides the audience with epistemic information about the orator's stance towards the content of the clause; and, finally, the ideational metafunction is represented again in the clause by *it*, which acts as an expletive Subject, representing the topical Theme or point of departure of the clause. Together, these Themes constitute the point of departure of the clause. The complete annotation scheme for the THEME system is presented in Figure 4.

Figure 4 Theme annotation scheme



Observation shows us that in the vast majority of cases there is one and only one topical Theme. For the purposes of this project, it is possible to have additional ideational (circumstantial), interpersonal, and textual Themes, but once the topical Theme occurs, everything that comes after is part of the Rheme.

3.2.1. Ideational Theme

There are two types of ideational Theme: topical Themes and circumstances. In English, topical Themes (participants in the Transitivity structure) are normally realized as the grammatical Subject of a clause. The topical Theme of a clause may be a noun, a pronoun, or a nominalized phrase, as exhibited in Example 8 through Example 10, respectively.

Example 8

We	want to be an independent, self-governing, normal nation.
Topical	
Theme	Rheme

-2016 06 28 Parliamentary victory speech

Example 9[5]

As I say	27 years of my life fighting for this	some people	said I was obsessive,	others	said I was a fanatic.
Angle	Extent	Topical		Topical	
Theme			Rheme	Theme	Rheme

-2021 01 31 Brexit anniversary

Example 10

Well	all I can say	on this long journey is a huge thanks to everybody that's helped me, many of whom are in this room today.
Continuative	Topical	
Theme		Rheme

-2016 07 04 UKIP resignation speech

Example 8 shows *we* as the topical Theme. In Example 9, there are two topical Themes—one for each clause. *Some people* is the topical Theme to *said I was obsessive*, and *others* is the topical Theme to *said I was a fanatic*. While it would be possible to interpret Example 9 as a single utterance with one Topical Theme, the spoken nature of speeches is not

[5] In the examples, a shorthand is used to make them easier to read. As such, the 'full' label for *Angle* would read "Ideational Theme: circumstance of angle."

conducive such an analysis. Speeches, unlike written text, do not contain explicit punctuation, making it impractical to try to delimit sentences. Instead, for the purposes of this project, the clause serves as the basic unit for analysis.

The decision to focus on the clause as the unit of analysis follows from Chafe (1988), who investigates the connection between what he calls 'intonation units' and clauses. Intonation units can (very) roughly be thought of as an 'idea' (Chafe, 1988, p. 3) uttered in spoken discourse. While an intonation unit is usually a whole clause, the nature of spoken discourse is more flexible and fluid than that of written discourse. As such, an intonation unit may be made up of, for example, an incomplete clause, just a noun, or multiple clauses strung together. Since speeches have characteristics of both spoken and written communication, we would expect to find fewer incomplete clauses in speeches vis-à-vis spontaneous communication because of their tendency to be previously written and rehearsed. As such, analyzing intonation units seems to provide an excessive level of detail and delimiting sentences from spoken discourse for the aforementioned reason seems impractical, which seems to indicate that the clause is the appropriate unit of analysis.

Example 10 provides an instance of a complex topical Theme. This Theme is complex because it contains an entire nominalized clause that we can unpack into a full sentence (*I can say [everything]*).

As previously mentioned, this analysis allows for multiple ideational Themes. This is in line with Downing (1991), who suggests divorcing the idea of Theme and topic, whose participant roles may coincide – but only necessarily so if there is a single participant. Since the main focus of this project is to perform a Theme analysis, the choice of whether to follow Halliday's restriction to single ideational Theme or Downing's allowance of multiple ideational Themes is not gratuitous. Because of the focus of the project, Downing's multiple Theme interpretation was adopted. This seems advantageous for this analysis since we can identify the topical Theme in each clause in addition to one or multiple circumstantial Themes, which allows for greater depth of analysis. Also, at this point it also might be valuable to remind the reader that his project adopts the speaker-oriented 'point of departure' definition of Theme in line with Halliday (1985; Halliday 2004; Halliday 2014) rather than the Given + New definition.

Each topical Theme is realized by a participant – an element to which a Transitivity label can be applied. The label "topical Theme" was chosen for this project to distinguish the initial participant (the topical Theme) from the overarching ideational Theme, which, following Downing (1991), includes circumstances as well. It is also possible to have expletive Subjects as topical Themes, even though they do not receive a Transitivity label. An example of an expletive Subject topical Theme follows in Example 11:

Example 11

We	've shown with Brexit what is possible	and	there	are now many countries across the European Union seriously questioning their future in this project.
Topical		Conjunction	Expletive	
Theme	Rheme	Theme		Rheme

-2017 05 21 Speech to mainstream media

In order for a Subject to be considered an expletive Subject, it must be non-referential. It is possible to test the referentiality of a pronoun by asking the tag question *who…?/what…?* In Example 11, asking *What are now many countries across…?* does not yield a logically possible answer. In other words, there must be an antecedent to the pronoun that is recoverable from the context. Contrast this example with the Example 12:

Example 12

It	's been a hell of a long journey, this.
Topical	
Theme	Rheme

-2016 06 23 Post Brexit vote speech

In Example 12, we may ask *what has been a hell of a long journey?*, and there is a logically possible and contextually recoverable answer to this question—namely, Farage's political journey. The referentiality of *it* here becomes clearer when taking into account the subsequent clause: *I first got involved in Eurosceptic politics 25 years ago…* (2016 06 23 Post Brexit vote speech).

In imperative constructions, there is no overt Subject participant. As such, the imperative verb in such constructions is designated as the topical Theme. This is so because every clause is anchored in the ideational metafunction through the topical Theme, and the elided presence of the second person singular pronoun is identifiable through statements like *Cheer up,* (*won't you?*). An example of an annotated imperative follows in the third clause of Example 13:

Example 13

You	can shout at me,	you	can get upset,	but	cheer up	everybody.
Topical		Topical		Textual	Topical	
Theme	Rheme	Theme	Rheme	Theme		Rheme

-2017 05 21 Speech to mainstream media

Aside from topical Themes, the other type of ideational Theme analyzed in this project are circumstances. The types of circumstances analyzed are circumstances of Location (temporal or spatial), Cause/Reason, Extent, Manner, Matter, Angle, and Contingency. An example and discussion of each circumstance type follows.

Spatial circumstances answer the question *where?* and can take the form of *here* or are part of a prepositional phrase that makes reference to a physical Location, usually consisting of an adverb of Location (*here, there*) or a prepositional phrase (i.e., *in the house, below the table*). This is seen in Example 14 and Example 15:

Example 14

Well	here	we	are.
Continuative	Spatial	Topical	
Theme			Rheme

-2013 09 19 UKIP conference

Example 15

And,	as Minford said,	outside of this single market,	we	'll be better off

Conjunction	Angle	Spatial	Topical	
Theme				Rheme

-2016 04 29 Immigration and Brexit

The prepositional phrase *outside of this single market* in Example 15 represents a spatial Location in the abstract sense. Nonetheless, this is analyzed as a spatial circumstance because this project when possible, focuses on the literal, compositional meaning of text, rather than using metaphorical meaning as the basis for this analysis. The reasoning for this is to remove annotator bias, thereby increase the objectivity of the analysis.

Temporal circumstances answer the questions *when?* and generally take the form of adverbs of time such as *before*, *earlier*, *later, now, tomorrow, on Tuesday, etc*. Example 16 provides an instance of a temporal circumstance from the corpus:

Example 16

I mean	now	she	has surrendered to virtually everything
Angle	Temporal	Topical	
Theme			Rheme

-2019 05 21 Brexit Party rally

Cause/Reason circumstances can be identified by asking *why?*/*for what purpose?/to what end?* This is shown in Example 17:

Example 17

For tariff free access to the single-market,	we	have to accept the free movement of people
Cause/Reason	Topical	
Theme		Rheme

-2016 04 29 Immigration and Brexit

In Example 17, the preposed prepositional phrase, *For tariff free access to the single-market*, is a logical and coherent answer to the question *why/for what purpose/to what end do we have to accept the free movement of people?* As such, it is analyzed as a circumstance of Cause/Reason.

The circumstance of Extent answers the question *how (much) long(er)?*

Example 18

Ahm,	no longer	are	we	the party being accused of harbouring extremists.
	Extent	Fronted verb	Topical	
Theme				Rheme

-2016 04 29 Immigration and Brexit

A logical and coherent answer to *how much longer are we the party being accused to harbouring extremists?* is *no longer*. Thus, *no longer* is designated as a circumstance of Extent.

The circumstance of Manner answers the question '*in what way is the* process *carried out?'* as is illustrated in the following example:

Example 19

But,	like Communism,	this	has all gone badly wrong.
Conjunction	Manner	Topical	
Theme			Rheme

-2012 05 09 Parliamentary speech

The circumstance of Matter answers the question '*about what?*' as is shown in the following example:

Example 20

As far as the national health service is concerned,	I	did try last year, in the general election, to raise the issue of health tourism,	but…
Matter	Topical		Textual
Theme		Rheme	Theme…

-2016 04 29 Immigration and Brexit

The circumstance of Angle answers the question '*from whose perspective?*' In line with Downing (1991), this project assumes a broad interpretation of the Angle circumstance and includes formulaic constructions that carry epistemic information. Angle circumstances may often look like mental cognitive processes, but they clearly answer the question *'from whose perspective?'* in a formulaic manner. In other words, they "signal the angle form which the speaker or writer is about to project his message" which consequently "assigns the hearer, in principle, the role of assenting or dissenting" (Downing, 1991, p. 129). Martin & White (2005) agree with Downing (1991), stating that different forms of attribution, including the circumstance of Angle, constitute mechanisms "by which the reader is covertly position to regard the attributed material as either highly credible and warrantable, or alternatively, as dubious and unreliable" (pp. 116).

Thompson (2002) also addresses such formulaic phrases indicating perspective, referring to them as Complement-Taking-Predicates (CTPs). According to Thompson, CTPs express epistemic/evidential/evaluative fragments for the utterance they go with. The argument for the existence of CTPs comes from observations that

> for speakers of English, what has commonly been taken as the grammar of complementation, with a main clause containing a subject and an utterance-cognition verb together with a clausal object (or subject), may be better understood as a combination of an epistemic/evidential phrase together with a declarative or interrogative clause.
>
> (S. A. Thompson, 2002, p. 155)

Thompson also draws attention to the formulaic nature of these phrases, noting that these relatively fixed epistemic formulas are observed in an investigation of English-speaking

children, especially with constructions involving *think, guess, remember, know* (S. A. Thompson, 2002, p. 139).It is based on these observations that a broad classification of formulaic projecting clauses that include a cognition verb is employed.

Regarding such CTPs as Angle circumstances makes intuitive sense as well, since, looking at

Example 21 below, it does not seem reasonable to conclude that *I* (Farage) constitutes the topical Theme. Rather, *I know* clearly seems to be an instance of Farage providing epistemic information to the clause regarding his, in this case, epistemic stance, and that the topical Theme of the clause is *you*, picking out members of parliament and their frivolous spending.

The following examples show instances of the Angle circumstance, where we can see that the portions labelled Angle indicate the orator's epistemic stance towards the following clause. These Angle circumstances are also clearly formulaic and are commonly used in thematic position of various clauses in the corpus.

Example 21

I know	you	intend to spend tens of millions of pounds of British taxpayer's money telling us what we should think.
Angle	Topical	
Theme		Rheme

-2015 09 20 Speech at State of the Union

Example 22

I'm certain of one thing,	I'm certain that	the United Kingdom	will leave the European Union.
Angle	Angle	Topical	
Theme			Rheme

-2016 07 04 UKIP resignation speech

Example 23

As we know,	the majority of people who are coming…	…are economic migrants.
Angle	Topical	
Theme		Rheme

-2015 09 20 Speech at State of the Union

In each of these examples, we can intuit that the Angle circumstances do not constitute the topic (and thus, the topical Theme) of the clause. In Example 22, for instance, it seems clear that the addressee, *you*, who *intends to spend tens of millions of pounds of British taxpayer's money telling us what we should think* is the topical Theme of the clause, while *I know* frames the clause in relation to the orator's epistemic disposition to the proposition. This exemplifies the reasoning for divorcing topic & Theme, in line with Downing (1991).

The circumstance of Contingency answers the question '*under what circumstances?'* and includes phrases headed by *if…*, *despite…*, or even *when…* in the case that *when* introduces a Contingency. Examples of each follow:

Example 24

If the coalition wants to save their electoral skins,	they	must, before January 1st, tell Brussels that we will not unconditionally open our door to Bulgaria and Romania.
Contingency	Topical	
Theme		Rheme

-2013 09 19 UKIP conference

Example 25

Despite the fact that I led UKIP into coming second across the entire United Kingdom in 2009,	I	simply couldn't get any coverage.
Contingency	Topical	
Theme		Rheme

-2017 05 21 Speech to mainstream media

Example 24 and Example 25 are prototypical examples of the Contingency circumstance that are headed by either If… or Despite… clauses. The following examples presents a Contingency circumstance in thematic position.

Example 26

And	when people stand up and talk about the great success that the EU has been,	I	'm not sure that anybody saying it really believes it themselves anymore.
Conj.	Contingency	Topical	
Theme			Rheme

-2012 05 09 Parliamentary speech

However, there are other constructions that look superficially similar but do not represent a Contingency element. This is shown in Example 27:

Example 27

When we signed up to government from the continent,	most Britons	didn't know what they were letting themselves in for.

Temporal	Topical	
Theme		Rheme

-2013 09 UKIP conference

In Example 27, the preposed adverbial phrase *When we signed up to government from the continent* is similar in form to the adverbial phrase in Example 26. However, we can tell that *When…* in Example 26 represents a Contingency because the meaning and grammaticality remains intact when adding *then* before the Topical Theme: *And when people stand up and talk about the great success that the EU has been, (then) I'm not sure that anybody saying it really believes it themselves anymore.* On the other hand, Example 27 does not retain its grammaticality when inserting *then* in the same position: *When we signed up to government from the continent, (*then) most Britons didn't know what they were letting themselves in for.* This shows that Example 26 contains the Contingency circumstance, whereas Example 27 contains the temporal circumstance.

3.2.2. Textual Theme

Textual Themes help organize the text as such and are thematic realizations of the textual metafunction. Textual Themes include continuatives, conjunctives, conjunctive Adjuncts, and Wh-relatives. Continuative textual Themes include adverbials such as *so* and *well* at the beginning of a clause. An example of each follow:

Example 28

So,	it	doesn't, as it stands, get Brexit done.
Continuative	Topical	
Theme		Rheme

-2019 11 11 Brexit Party will not context seats

Example 29

Well	we	‘ve clearly established ourself as the third political force in this country.
Continuatives	Topical	
Theme		Rheme

-2016 07 04 UKIP resignation speech

In certain circumstances, *now* can also constitute a continuative Theme if it does not express temporal information. This can be seen in Example 30:

Example 30

Now,	one of the questions that is being asked	is what of UKIP?
Continuative	Topical	
Theme		Rheme

-2016 07 04 UKIP resignation speech.

In Example 30, *now* is being in a similar fashion to the way *so* is used in Example 28. In this case, *now* does not have a temporally deictic function. Rather, *now* is being used as a continuative in a series of clauses each beginning with a continuative. An excerpt from before and after this instance of *now* in Example 30 follows, with each continuative bolded:

> I’m told we haven’t got the competence or the expertise within our own civil service, which I supposed is the price you pay when you give away the ability to run your own country.
>
> So, let’s head hunt them, let’s get them in from Singapore or South Korea, or Chile, or Switzerland, or any of these countries who’ve managed to achieve far more in terms of global trade deals that we have as a part of a European Union.
>
> So, we are now in charge of our own future, and I want us to grab this opportunity with both hands.
>
> Now, one of the questions that is being asked is what of UKIP? What is the future for UKIP after this result? What is the future for UKIP after this result?
>
> Well, we’ve clearly established ourselves as the third political force in this country.

-2016 07 04 UKIP resignation speech (line breaks added by author)

This interpretation of *now* Echoes that of Schiffrin, who points out that *now* can fulfill both the function of a time adverb as well as a discourse marker. When *now* functions as a discourse marker, it

> is also indexing a proposition to a temporal world. But the temporal world is not one in which a proposition is related to the speaking time; rather, the temporal world is internal to the utterances in the discourse itself. Thus, the marker *now* provides a temporal index for utterances within the emerging world of talk, i.e. their ideas, the speaker orientation, and the speaker/hearer footing.
>
> (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 245)

This notion of discourse internal temporality is what motivates the distinction between the temporal circumstance *now* and the textual continuative (discourse marker) *now* in this project. In other words, this use of the discourse marker *now* is considered a textual continuative Theme because it plays an organizational role in the discourse itself, rather than a deictic function indexing temporality.

Conjunctions as textual Themes include *and*, *or*, *but*, and constructions such as *as well as* and *in addition to*. It should be noted, again, that conjunctions are only considered to be textual Themes when they precede the Topical Theme. Conjunctions in the Rheme are not considered to be textual Themes.

A thematic Wh-question word occurs when a referential Wh-word is found in thematic position. In this case, the Wh-question word constitutes the topical Theme of the clause. This is shown in Example 31:

Example 31

I mean,	who	wouldn't, on the Brexit side of the argument and indeed many on the Remain side of the argument, who wouldn't cheer this coming to a conclusion as quickly as possible?
Angle	Wh-question word	
Theme		Rheme

-2019 11 11 BP will not contest seats

3.2.3. Interpersonal Theme

There are two types of interpersonal Themes analyzed in this project: Mood elements and fronting. Halliday (2004, p. 79) additionally observes Comment Adjuncts as forming a type of interpersonal Theme together with Mood elements, which are outside of the Mood block and thus not analyzed in this project. Aside from this, Halliday (2004, p. 79) considers Vocatives to be their own type of interpersonal Theme.

Mood elements include Wh-question words, Mood Adjuncts, and Vocatives, while fronting includes fronted verbs and fronted Mood Adjuncts. Modals are not analyzed in the THEME system because when they occur in the Theme, they are counted as fronted verbs. Example 32 shows both a fronted Mood Adjunct (*just*) followed by an imperative construction. As a side note, in the imperative constructions, the verb receives the topical Theme label because "often the Subject and Finite elements do not appear in the clause, which often begins with the Predicator. The Predicator is labelled for the Transitivity function of process, and should therefore be treated as a topical Theme" (Eggins, 1994, p. 287).

Example 32

Just	look	at the Mediterranean.
Mood Adjunct	Topical	
Theme		Rheme

-2016 08 28 Parliamentary victory speech

Every time that a Mood Adjunct was found in thematic position, it was simply labelled 'Mood Adjunct' rather than, for example, 'Mood Adjunct: intensity.' This was done in order to identify the frequency with which Mood Adjuncts appear in thematic position. There was no further discernment in terms of type of Mood Adjunct in the THEME system because these distinctions are captured in the Mood analysis.

Example 33 shows an instance of a fronted verb in a question construction:

Example 33

Oh,	and	by the way,	have	you	seen what she's done this afternoon?
Continuative	Conjunction	Angle	Fronted-verb	Topical	
Theme					Rheme

-2019 05 21 Brexit Party rally

Here we can see that the verb *have* is preposed before the topical Theme *you*. This counts as a fronted verb and is considered an interpersonal Theme because the ordering of elements provides interpersonal information (in this case, indicating it this is a question) to the clause.

Vocatives include constructions such as *thank you*, *yes*, interjections such as *Ahm*, and references to the addressee such as *Gordon Brown*.

Example 34

And,	yes	we	are able, not being part of Schengen, to ask people to show their passport as they come through Dover
Conjunction	Vocative	Topical	
Theme			Rheme

-2016 04 29 Immigration and Brexit

Example 35

Thank you,	Gordon Brown,	for that	Gordon Brown,	along with Tony Blair
Vocative	Vocative	Cause/Reason	Vocative	Accompaniment
Theme				

-2019 05 21 Brexit Party rally

Names are only considered to be Vocatives when they are not the Subject or the object of a sentence. In this sense, they are outside of the grammar of the clause and function to provide interpersonal information. As Halliday (2014, p. 159) points out, “in many dialogic contexts the function of the Vocative is more negotiatory: the speaker uses it to mark the interpersonal relationship, sometimes thereby claiming superior status or power.” As such, the relative use of Vocatives in different speech categories can provide us with insight into Farage’s hierarchical relationship to the person in question, or at least how he would like to portray it.

3.3. Transitivity

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the TRANSITIVITY system involves participants, processes, and circumstances. Processes, because of their role in characterizing different types of events, states, and attitudes, can be further categorized. While there are different classifications, this project follows the classification laid out by Eggins (Eggins, 1994, p. 228), which includes material, mental, verbal, behavioural, existential, and relational processes. Each type of process in the TRANSITIVITY system is connected to specific types of participants based on how humans perceive these processes to take place and the nature of each process’ participants. Table 2 provides and overview of the processes which were analyzed in this project along with their respective participants.

Table 2 Process types

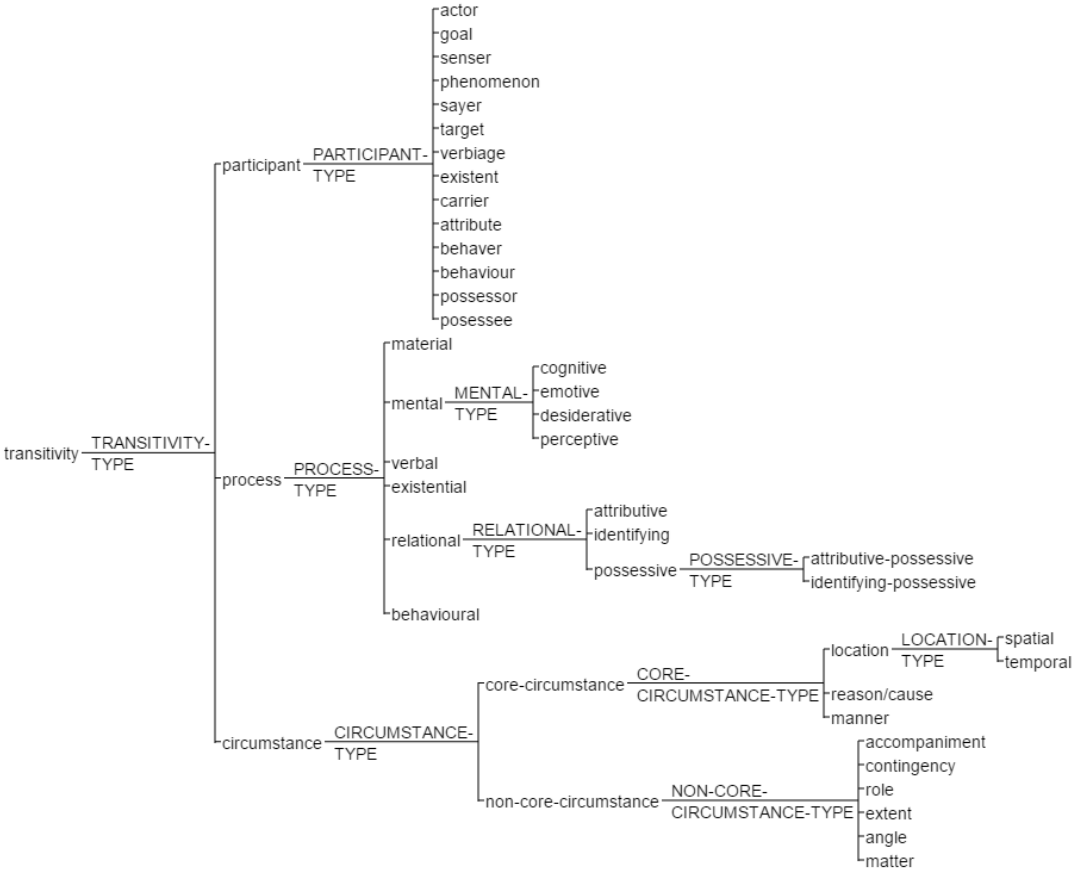
Process type	Process subtypes	Possible participants	Examples
Material	n/a	Actor Goal Scope	*…should poach…* *…are celebrating…* *….must set…*
Mental	Cognitive Emotive Desiderative Perceptive	Senser Phenomenon	*…thought…* *…I want a Europe…* *…always believed…* *…no one knows…*
Verbal	n/a	Sayer Receiver Target	*…were told…* *…we say…* *…started to talk…*
Behavioural	n/a	Behaver Behaviour	*…we behave differently…* *…stopped laughing…*
Relational	Attributive Identifying	Carrier Attribute	*…It's genius, isn't it…* *…We are a nation that…* *…That is the future…*
Existential	n/a	Existent	*…There are those who say we can't go it alone…*

As we can see from Table 2, material processes are processes of 'doing.' Material processes necessarily involve an Actor, though the Actor may by elided in imperatives and passive constructions. Optionally, material processes may have one or more Goals which are entities that are affected by the Actor. Instead of a Goal, some processes may have Scope, which are entities that are involved in the processes in some way but are not affected by the Actor.

Due to a dearth of tokens in this corpus, the participant categories of Scope, Client, and Recipient are eschewed in favour of Actor and Goal. Furthermore, each of these participants are generally found to be in the grammatical object position, and as such, they

are most often found in the Rheme. Since this project focuses on Theme, it seems reasonable to focus less on distinctions found most commonly in the Rheme. The full annotation scheme for the TRANSITIVITY system is found in Figure 5.

Figure 5 Transitivity annotation scheme



Mental processes are processes that occur in the mind and include the subcategories mental cognitive, mental emotive, mental desiderative, and mental perceptive. Mental processes involve a Senser, the one experiencing the mental process, and a Phenomenon, the thought, feeling, desire, or perception that the Senser is experiencing. Mental cognitive processes include verbs such as *thinking, wondering, believing, know, being sure*, etc. Mental emotive processes involve *feeling, liking, enjoying, loving, hating*, etc. Mental desiderative processes involve verbs like *want, need, used to worry* (desiderative in the negative sense)*, hope,* and also *need.* While it could be argued that *need* could fit into a different category as well, *need* is analyzed as a mental

desiderative process because, intuitively, *need* seems like it could be an intensive or superlative form of *want*. Treated this way, we can account for instances of *need* that are used figuratively, such as in the statement *I absolutely need this handbag*. Lastly, mental perceptive processes include verbs such as *see, look, hear, listen, experience* (e.g., *London is already experiencing a Romanian crime wave* (2013 09 UKIP conference)), *feel* (in the tactile sense, not the emotive sense), etc.

Verbal processes involve communicative verbs such as *say, tell, talk, suggest, speak, demand*, *ask, argue, proclaim,* and, depending on the context, may include verbs such as *be like* or *go* (as in "*don't go 'are you thinking what I'm thinking?'"* (2013 09 UKIP conference)). Verbal processes may include a Sayer, a Receiver, a Target (what the message is about), and Verbiage (the message itself).

Existential processes generally involve either the verb *to be* or *to exist*. Existential processes have only one argument, the Existent, since the Subject in clauses involving existential processes is generally an expletive Subject (*there/it*). An example of an existential process follows:

Example 36

But	there	is	perhaps	an opportunity.
		Existential		Existent

-2012 05 09 Parliamentary speech

In Example 36 we can see the existential process *is* indicates that there is something, in this case an opportunity, that exists. There are three unanalyzed elements in this clause: *But* is a Conjunction which is a part of the textual metafunction and is thus not analyzed in the TRANSITIVITY system; *there* is an expletive Subject because it has no referent, and thus does not receive a Transitivity label; and *perhaps*, which is an interpersonal element and, as such, does not receive a Transitivity label either.

Relational processes necessarily have two participants and can either be relational attributive, relational identifying, or relational possessive processes. Attributive relational processes ascribe a quality to an entity. On the other hand, identifying relational processes equate two entities with each other. Both relational attributive and relational identifying processes generally involve the verb *to be* and their corresponding participants are the

Carrier and the Attribute. In attributive relational clauses, the Carrier is the thing to which the Attribute is ascribed. In identifying relational clauses, the linearly first participant receives the Carrier label and the linearly second participant receives the Attribute label. It is possible to tell whether a relational clause is attributive or identifying; if a Relational clause is reversible, that means it is identifying (*My aim in being in politics was to get Britain out of the European Union == To get Britain out of the European Union was my aim in being in politics*), whereas a relational clause that is not reversible indicates that the relational process is attributive (*But they are interested* =/= **But interested are they*). Relational possessive processes indicate ownership or possession of an entity. Relational possessive processes are usually indicated by the verb *have*, *have got*, or the contraction *'ve* in British English.

Lastly, behavioural processes involve involuntary bodily actions and are usually represented by verbs such as *laugh*, *hiccup, behave,* etc. Typically, there is only one participant, the Behaver, in a behavioural process, who undergoes the Behaviour.

For the purposes of this project, processes were analyzed for their 'main' or salient process type rather than analyzing certain processes as hybrid processes belonging to multiple process categories. For example, the process in the clause *I wrote her a letter* could be considered to straddle both material and verbal process spaces. The material part of the process is encompassed in the act of writing, but there is also a communicative element which is encompassed by the communicative potential of the letter. Because of the focus on Theme, in this project only the main or most salient processes type is analyzed. For the previous example, the compositional meaning seems to encompass the material action of writing, whereas the communicative action is contingent on the letter being sent, received, and read. As such, this project analyzes a verb such as *write* as a material process .

Whenever possible, the syntactic meaning of the process was analyzed. For example, in the sentence *They weigh the Labour vote in South Shields…* (2013 09 19 UKIP conference speech), 'weighing' seems to be an emotive cognitive process. However, in this case, *weigh* is analyzed as a material process. The reasoning behind this is that replacing the literal, syntactic meaning of a process with its metaphorical or intended meaning introduces some degree of annotator bias and, by analyzing the syntactic or literal meaning of the process, we can base our analysis on something that is more

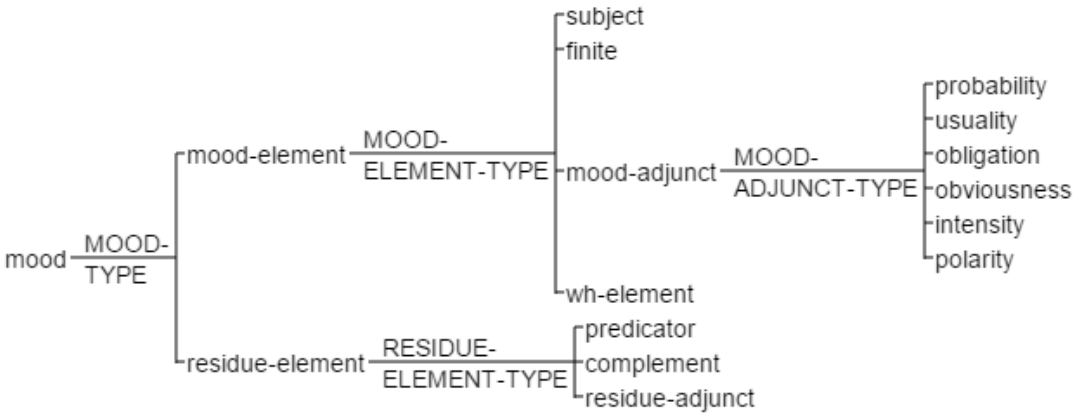
felicitous to the way that Farage frames issues rather than a on an interpretation of his utterances.

Circumstances, which are also part of the THEME system, were discussed in Section 3.2.1. The identification of circumstances in the TRANSITIVITY system follows the same process as it does in the THEME system, excepting that in the TRANSITIVITY system circumstances do not need to be in the thematic position of the clause – they are analyzed as circumstances in the Rheme as well as in the Theme.

3.4. Mood

As discussed in Section 2.2, there are two main components to the MOOD system: the Mood block and the Residue block. The Mood block contains the Subject, the Finite, and optional Mood Adjuncts, while the Residue block contains the Predicator, the Complement, and optional Residue Adjuncts. The annotation scheme for the MOOD system is presented in Figure 6.

Figure 6 Mood annotation scheme



The Subject of a clause can be identified by tag questions. The Subject can simply be a pronoun, as seen in Example 37:

Example 37

We	must	break up	the Euro zone
Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement
Mood		Residue	

-2012 05 09 Parliamentary speech

Here, the Subject can be identified by asking ***Who*** *must break up the Euro zone? (****We*** *must break up the Euro* zone). Alternatively, the Subject can be an abstract, non-physical entity, as seen in Example 38:

Example 38

The establishment	has	been closing down	the immigration debate for 20 years
Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement
Mood		Residue	

-2013 09 19 UKIP conference

Here, again, the Subject can be picked up by the tag question ***Who*** *has been closing down the immigration debate for 20 years? (****The establishment*** *has been closing down the immigration debate for 20 years*).

Wh-elements can also assume the role of Subject. Wh-elements can either be conflated with the Subject (as part of the Mood block) or be conflated with another element in the Mood/Residue structure. The following Example 39 shows an instance of a Wh-element conflated with the Subject:

Example 39

What	‘s	going on	here?
Wh-element/Subject	Finite	Preidcator	
Mood		Residue	

-2019 05 21 Brexit Party rally

Here, we can tell that What is conflated with the subject because the grammaticality of the clause remains intact if we replace the conflated Wh-element/Subject with a pronoun: *This*

is what's going on here. Wh-element are sometimes fused with the Completement. If this is the case, they are part of the Residue. This is shown in Example 40.

Example 40

What	we	are	celebrating is…	…another attempt…to smash democracy across Europe.
Wh-element/ Complement	Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement
Residue…	Mood		…Residue	

-2012 05 09 Parliamentary speech

This example shows that *What* is conflated with the Complement *another attempt…to smash democracy across Europe*. We can tell that these two elements are fused because they are the same referent. This is recoverable from the probing question and its answer: ***What** are we celebrating? We are celebrating **another attempt to smash democracy across Europe***. This makes it clear that these two elements corefer, and thus that the Wh-element is conflated with the Complement. Wh-elements can also be conflated with a circumstantial Adjunct, as shown in Example 41:

Example 41

Why	do	n't	we	be	grown up, pragmatic, sensible, realistic
Wh-element	Finite	Polarity	Subject	Predicator	Complement
Residue…	Mood			…Residue	

-2016 06 28 Parliamentary victory speech

We can be se what *Why* is conflated with the circumstantial Adjunct by providing the full answer to the question in Example 41: *We are grown up, pragmatic, sensible, realistic **because**…* . In this full answer, we can see that the Wh-element *Why* is preposed from its original position (beginning with *because…*). The *because…* part of the clause outlines a Cause/Reason, and as such is considered a Residue Adjunct in the MOOD system. We may take note here that two of the three previous examples of Wh-elements constitute rhetorical questions.

As mentioned in Section 2.2, there can only be one Finite per clause. The Finite, in English, is always the first verbal element in the clause. This can be seen in Example 42:

Example 42

We	‘ve	given	them hope, optimism, and belief in their country.
Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement
Mood		Residue	

-2019 05 21 Brexit Party rally

In both Example 41 and Example 42, since there are multiple verbs in these clauses, the Finite and the Predicator are separate elements. If this is the case, then each verbal element after the Finite is considered to be a Predicator. This is not always the case, though, as clauses often have only a single verbal element. In this case, the Finite and the Predicator are said to be fused. This is illustrated in Example 43:

Example 43

And,	two weeks ago,	the electoral commission	gave		official designation to the leave and the remain side.
		Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement
	Residue…	Mood		…Residue	

-2016 04 29 Immigration and Brexit

In such cases, we can see that the verb *gave* functions as a fused Finite and Predicator, and thus it straddles the Mood and the Residue blocks. The unanalyzed component in Example 43, *and*, is not analyzed because it is part of the textual metafunction which operates outside of the MOOD system

The Complement of a clause is an argument of the verb, usually a direct object or an indirect object. For the purposes of this project, Complements were analyzed as a single block (rather than identifying, for example, one Complement for a direct Object and

one Complement for an indirect Object) because Complements generally fall in the Rheme of the clause—and such a level of detail is not crucial to this investigation.

The last two Mood elements that were analyzed are Mood Adjuncts and Residue Adjuncts. Mood Adjuncts include probability, usuality, obligation, obviousness, intensity, and polarity, but this project only took into account intensity and polarity, as there were too few tokens of probability, usuality, obligation, and obviousness represented to provide any meaningful insight. The polarity Mood Adjunct is represented in Example 44 and Example 45:

Example 44

We	may	not	have	MPs…
Subject	Finite	Polarity	Predicator	Complement
Mood			Residue	

-2013 09 19 UKIP Conference

Example 45

I	did	n't	trust	the mainstream parties to do it
Subject	Finite	Polarity	Predicator	Complement
Mood			Residue	

-2021 01 31 Brexit Anniversary

While negation is usually expressed as *not* or the contraction *n't*, there are elements that can express negation, as seen in Example 46:

Example 46

So	I	never	imagined		I would be standing in elections
	Subject	Polarity	Finite	Predicator	Complement
	Mood			Residue	

-2019 05 21 Brexit Party rally

In this example we can see that polarity can also be expressed by adverbs such as *never*. *So* is not analyzed in the MOOD system because it is a continuative that is part of the textual metafunction (THEME system).

This chapter has presented and discussed the corpus this project is based on and provided the annotation scheme and methodological decisions that were made for this project. There were two notable methodological decisions made for this project, including allowing multiple ideational Themes and the categorization of formulaic expressions that convey epistemic information to be categorized as circumstances of Angle. The decision to allow for multiple ideational Themes was made in line with (Downing, 1991) and is based on the observation that sometimes the first ideational element in the clause lines up with the topic, but only necessarily so if both of those are represented by a single element. In other cases, it was deemed worthwhile to be able to identify both ideational circumstantial Themes as well as topical Themes. Additionally, the decision to categorize formulaic statements that express epistemic information as circumstances of Angle was made in line with S. A. Thompson (2002), who argues that their formulaic nature (as observed in child speech) and their expression epistemic/evidential/evaluative information indicates that they function as a single element and thus should be analyzed independently.

Chapter 4.

Analysis

Chapter 4 presents the results and discussion of the annotation carried out on the corpus. The results of the Theme analysis is discussed in Section 4.1, Transitivity in Section 4.2, and Mood in Section 4.3. The corpus was annotated according to the methodology laid out in Chapter 3. The findings are presented in number of tokens (N) and percentage of total tokens of each type. This percentage reflects the proportion of tokens in their local group. For example, the TRANSITIVITY system includes participants, processes, and circumstances. As such, the percentage of participants, for example, represents the proportion of participants out of the total number of participants, processes, and circumstances, and the percentage of, circumstances of Location are calculated as a proportion of the total number of circumstances, including Angle, Contingency, Location, Matter, etc. This is because SFL captures local choices that are made by the speaker.

The number of tokens per speech type was calculated by dividing the total number of tokens in each speech type by the number of speeches in that type. For example, there are a total of 149 tokens of thematic circumstance in the rally speech category. Since there are 3 speeches in this category, the average number of tokens per speech is 49.3. The percentage of total tokens of each type is calculated by dividing the number of tokens (N) for the label in question by the total number of labels in that local group. As such, the percentage of circumstance of Angle is calculated by dividing the number of circumstances of Angle by the number of total circumstances (per speech type). Thus, the percentage of thematic circumstances of Angle in the EP speech category is calculated by dividing the average number of circumstances of Angle in the rally category, 14.67, by the average number of circumstances in the rally category, 46.33, equaling 31.7%. This percentage is pertinent to the analysis because it allows us to compare proportions of token types across speech categories that consist of different length speeches. This data can be found in Table 3 in Section 4.1.1.

4.1. Theme

This section provides an overview of Theme types. Each of the three Theme types discussed in this section will be expanded upon in subsequent sections – the internal breakdown of ideational Themes is discussed in Section 4.1.1, textual Themes in section 4.1.2, and interpersonal Themes in section 4.1.3.

The Theme of a clause encompasses every element leading up to the first participant – the topical Theme. For the purposes of this project and in line with Downing (1991), a decision has been made to allow for multiple ideational Themes. This decision stems from the notion that the Theme of a clause only captures what the clause is about if the first ideational element and the topical Theme happen to coincide.

Since every clause has one topical Theme, we calculate the breakdown of THEME differently from other systems in order to capture the fact that each clause must have an ideational Theme (more specifically, each clause must have a topical Theme). Because of this, we are not interested what percentage of ideational Themes we have vis-à-vis textual and interpersonal Themes. Rather, we want to know what percentage of clauses (which contain one topical Theme each) have additional Themes (including ideational Themes of circumstance, textual Themes, and interpersonal Themes). Calculating Themes in this manner was deemed appropriate so that we may compare the number of clauses in which other, non-topical Themes, occur and identify the type of these other non-topical Themes. This is of advantage to the analysis because we are able to find out how interpersonal and textual elements are added to clauses, which can enlighten us as to how they connect to each other and how their meanings are realized. The resulting percentages of ideational Themes (circumstance), textual Themes, and interpersonal Themes represent the proportion of clauses containing additional, non-Topical Themes. Table 3 provides an overview of these Theme types:

Table 3 Theme type by metafunction

Theme type	Speech type			
	EP	Rally	Public	MSM
Ideational (circumstance)	8.4 (23.4%)	49.67 (28.3%)	23.75 (32.6%)	52 (41.3%)
Textual	11.2 (18.9%)	55 (18.1%)	37.75 (26.8%)	65 (25%)
Interpersonal	3.2 (5.4%)	23.67 (7.8%)	6.75 (4.8%)	17 (6.5%)
Average tokens per speech	22.8	128.34	68.25	134

From Table 3 we see that the speech category EP (23.4%) has the lowest proportion of additional, non-topical ideational Themes, followed by rally (28.3%), public (32.6%), and MSM (41.3%). Ideational (circumstance) Themes are the most prevalent type of non-topical Theme in the corpus. Circumstantial Themes can be used to foreground contextual information regarding the Location, Manner, Angle, etc., of an utterance. A discussion about different types of circumstances found in the corpus follows in Section 4.1.1.

The highest proportion of textual Themes was found in the speech categories public (26.8%) and MSM (25%), while the speech categories EP (18.9%) and rally (18.1%) contain a lower relatively proportion of interpersonal Themes. Textual Themes are devices that provide cohesion to a text by making logical connections and helping the text unfold coherently. A discussion about the breakdown of different types of textual Themes follows in Section 4.1.2.

Interpersonal Themes are the least prevalent type of Theme throughout the THEME system in this corpus. The highest proportion of interpersonal Themes was found in the rally speech category (7.8%). The MSM speech category contains the second highest proportion of interpersonal Themes (6.5%), followed by EP (5.4%) and public (4.8%). Interpersonal Themes encode the relationship and power dynamics between the orator and the audience. From this, we can infer that Farage asserts closeness towards his audience more when his audience is his supporters at a rally speech than he would towards an audience of the public, the mainstream media, or in the European Parliament. A discussion on the details and breakdown of interpersonal Themes follows in Section 4.1.3.

4.1.1. Ideational Theme

Ideational Themes can be of two kinds: topical Themes, which include participants and expletive Subjects, and circumstances. Since grammatical clauses all generally include a participant (a topical Theme), looking at the frequency of participants (topical Themes) in thematic position is not a useful metric to provide a general overview of Farage's speeches. This metric is not useful because this number would (for the vast majority of clauses which are complete clauses) to a large extent be equal to the number of clauses. Circumstances in thematic position, however, do provide a valuable metric for a general characterization of Farage's speeches because thematic Circumstances are an optional, rather than obligatory, rhetorical choice that the orator can make. As such, the following table, Table 4, provides an aggregate overview of circumstances across all speech types:

Table 4 Overview of thematic circumstance type

Thematic circumstance type	N	% of all circumstances
Location	62	19.3%
Cause/Reason	19	5.9%
Extent	20	6.2%
Manner	12	3.7%
Matter	31	9.6%
Angle	129	40.1%
Contingency	49	15.2%
TOTAL	322	100%

From Table 4 we can see that the Angle circumstance is the most commonly found circumstance in the corpus (40.1%). As we will see later in this section, the Angle circumstance is generally used to provide epistemic information about the speaker's stance towards the utterance, usually in the form of hedges, or to attribute statements to someone of either dubious or reputable credibility (Martin & White, 2005, p. 116). Martin & White (2005, p. 16) state that different forms of attribution, including the circumstance of Angle, constitute mechanisms "by which the reader is covertly position to regard the

attributed material as either highly credible and warrantable, or alternatively, as dubious and unreliable." From this, we can infer that Farage uses a considerable number of Angle circumstances to lessen the contentiousness of some of his statements, to imply credibility of the following statement, or to do both simultaneously.

The second most commonly found thematic circumstance is Location, which includes temporal Location (72.1% of all thematic Location circumstances) and spatial Location (27.9% of all thematic Location circumstances). The temporal Location circumstance can be used, for example, to make reference to a time when things were perceived to be better or how, under the current state of affairs, things could be worse in the future. Alternatively, the temporal Location circumstance can be, as Krzyżanowski (2019) points out, a device that can be used to signal how much better the state of affairs will be under Brexit – that leaving the EU is the only thing that can avert crisis. So, as we a can see, the temporal circumstance of Location is a tool that populist politicians can use to arouse nostalgia, fear, or hope, and seemingly it can mobilize people to affect political change. The spatial Location circumstance is a device that can divide the perceived world into 'here' and 'there,' and as such can be used as a divisive tool for Othering. This can be done by referring to migrant's place of origin (*Romanian crime wave* -2013 09 20 UKIP)

The Contingency circumstance is the third most commonly found in the corpus (15.2%). Among other things, this circumstance can be used to frame things in terms of their cost to, for example, the British people. In the corpus, this cost is often portrayed as unreasonable, and the implication is that immigrants or 'economic migrants' should not be afforded support at the expense of the British taxpayer.

Next, we will look at the breakdown of thematic elements by speech type. Since every clause contains a topical Theme, it does not make sense to present the proportion of topical Themes vis-à-vis circumstances. Instead, this section jumps straight into the breakdown of topical Themes, which is followed by a breakdown and discussion of circumstantial Themes.

There are two types of Topical Themes: participants and Expletive Subjects. Topical Themes are the grammatical Subject of the clause. When the grammatical Subject of the clause is referential, it is labelled as a participant. On the other hand, Expletive

Subjects are non-referential pronouns (including non-referential *it* and *there* which are counted separately from topical Themes.

Expletive Subjects can be used as a tool to deflect responsibility for an opinion (e.g., *It seems that…* vs. *I think that…*) or, more innocuously, to posit the existence of something (e.g., *there is even less of a debate on some of these issues* – 2017 05 21 Speech to mainstream media). Expletive Subjects are mainly found as Subjects of existential or relational identifying processes (e.g., *It's been the most fantastic uplifting amazing year* – 2017 05 21 Speech to mainstream media).

On average, each speech in the EP speech category contains 2 expletive Subjects, each speech in the rally category contains 14.67 Expletive Subjects, each speech in the public speech category contains 9.25, and the MSM speech contains 26 Expletive Subjects.

The following table, Table 5, shows the proportion of clauses with circumstances in the thematic position:

Table 5 Ideational Theme by speech type

Ideational Theme type	Speech type			
	EP	Rally	Public	MSM
Percentage of clauses with Circumstantial Theme	25.7%	28.1%	32.4%	41%
Total average N= per speech	9.2	49.3	23.5	52

From Table 5, we can see that the speech category MSM has the highest proportion of clauses that contain a thematic circumstance (41%), followed by public (32.4%), rally (28.1%), and EP (25.7%). The proportion of circumstances in thematic position tells us how many circumstantial, non-core elements are foregrounded in the orator's speeches. Circumstantial Themes provide contextual information about utterances including temporal or spatial Location, Cause or Reason, Contingency, perceptual information, etc. Generally, the standard, unmarked position of a circumstance would be at the end of the

clause. Example 47 illustrates this – note that the middle line of this example is from the TRANSITIVITY system and is included to illustrate circumstances in non-initial position; in English, thematic circumstances only occur in the thematic position, before the topical Theme:

Example 47

But	I	'm	here	today	to talk more about the referendum campaign
	Carrier	Attributive	Attribute	**Temporal**	**Cause/Reason**
Textual	Topical				
Theme		Rheme			

-2016 04 29 Immigration and Brexit

In Example 47, we see two circumstances (bolded) in their unmarked position in the clause. Because they are in the Rheme, we can see that these circumstances are not analyzed in the THEME system (bottom line), even though the same circumstances are analyzed in the TRANSITIVITY system (middle line). Circumstances that are preposed to the Theme of the clause are more salient and prominent in the clause. Preposed circumstances are elevated in importance, a fact which orators can leverage to signal emphasis or importance of the circumstance to the audience. In this position, they function as the point of departure of the clause.; Example 48, Example 50, and Example 51 provide instances from the corpus of circumstances in thematic position:

Example 48

For tariff free access to the single-market,	we	have to accept	the free movement of people.
Reason/cause	Topical		
Theme		Rheme	

-2016 04 29 Immigration and Brexit

When we contrast Example 47 with Example 48, we can see that the Cause/Reason circumstance is foregrounded in the Theme. This is an interesting example, because the preposing of the Cause/Reason circumstance presents this concept as salient or important. Additionally, we have seen that the Theme of a clause represents its point of

departure or, in other words, its 'peak of prominence' (Martin & Rose, 2007, pp. 189–190). Hereby, Farage foregrounds *tariff free access to the single-market* and in doing so he implies that it is something positive that is coveted. However, the rest of the clause, *we have to accept the free movement of people*, is presented in a negative light, as a price that has to be paid for *tariff free access to the single-market*. There seems to be an implication here that the United Kingdom should be afforded *tariff free access to the single-market* at no cost, and that the EU is a 'bully' who is using trade to pressure the United Kingdom to accept immigrants en masse. Here, we can see that Farage is using hyperbolic language to instill the fear of mass immigration in order to mobilize his audience who, in this case, is made up of UKIP party members – his supporters. To illustrate the effect that circumstantial Themes can have on the meaning of a clause, let us contrast Example 48 with Example 49 (constructed), where the Cause/Reason circumstance is in its unmarked position:

Example 49 (constructed)

We	have to accept the free movement of people for tariff free access to the single-market.
Topical	
Theme	Rheme

In this constructed example, it seems like there is an additional change in meaning beyond just emphasis or foregrounding of the Cause/Reason circumstance. Here, it seems as though there is no evaluative stance towards *the free movement of people*. Rather, it seems to be stated as a Contingency without evaluation or even as a tacit endorsement of the value of this exchange. These examples show us how the positioning of the Cause/Reason circumstance can affect the pragmatic meaning while leaving the semantic meaning intact.

The following examples, Example 50 and Example 51, show how multiple circumstances (bolded) can occur in the Theme position:

Example 50

So,	I found	from the start that	it	was very, very difficult
Textual	**Angle**	**Extent**	Topical	
Theme				Rheme

-2017 05 21 Speech to mainstream media

Example 51

I never thought I'd say this,	but	I think	you	have got to be more responsible
Angle	Conj.	**Angle**	Topical	
Theme				Rheme

-2017 05 21 Speech to mainstream media

Example 50 contains an Angle circumstance and an Extent circumstance, and Example 51 shows two conjoined Angle circumstances. Even though *I found* in Example 43 constitutes a matrix clause, this project analyzes it as a circumstance of Angle because of the formulaic nature of the phrase and its proximity in meaning to *I think*. For more discussion, please refer to 3.2.1. Further discussion of circumstance types will follow later in this section.

Circumstances are non-essential elements that provide additional, circumstantial, or contextual information to a clause. The following table, Table 6, shows the proportion of circumstances in thematic position arranged by speech type:

Table 6 Thematic circumstance by speech type

Circumstance type	Speech type			
	EP	Rally	Public	MSM
Location	1.2 (14.2%)	10.67 (23%)	4 (17.8%)	7 (13%)
Cause/Reason	0.8 (9.6%)	1.67 (3.6%)	2 (8.9%)	1 (2%)
Extent	0.2 (2.4%)	3.67 (7.9%)	0.75 (3.3%)	5 (10%)
Manner	0.4 (4.8%)	2 (4.3%)	1 (4.4%)	1 (2%)
Matter	0.6 (7.1%)	3.67 (7.9%)	2.25 (10%)	9 (17%)
Angle	3.2 (38.1%)	14.67 (31.7%)	11 (48.9%)	25 (48%)
Contingency	2 (23.8%)	10 (21.6%)	1.25 (5.6%)	4 (4%)
Total average N=	8.4	46.33	22.25	52

As we can see from Table 6, the circumstance of Location represents the highest proportion of circumstances in the rally speech category (23%), followed by public (17.8%), EP (14.2%) and MSM (13%). The circumstance of Location includes temporal and spatial Location and has the function of anchoring utterances in physical or metaphorical time and space. Circumstances of Location are a device that can be used to project a dichotomy between ‘us’ and ‘them’ by making reference to ‘here’ and ‘there’ or to ‘now’ and ‘then.’ Additionally, the circumstance of Location can arouse some feelings of nostalgia among voters by referring to ‘the good old times,’ or to insinuate that a crisis may be averted if Farage achieves his policy goals. One particularly successful invocation of this occurred in the American 2016 presidential election where Donald Trump’s campaign slogan was “Make American Great Again,” implying simultaneously that America was once great, that it is no longer great, and that it is possible to go back ‘to the way things were.’ As such, we can see that circumstances of Location are another device that orators can use to portray the world as being divided along arbitrary lines. Circumstance of Location subtypes will be discussed after the discussion of the other circumstances.

The Cause/Reason circumstance is most common in the speech category EP (9.6%), followed by public (8.9%), rally (3.6%), and MSM (2%).The Cause/Reason circumstance, as the name implies, conveys the Cause of or the Reason for something. Example 52 shows how this circumstance was analyzed.

Example 52

With an explosion in the birthrate from newly arrived people,	we	estimate that we're going to have to find another 200, 000 primary school places by 2020.
Cause/Reason	Topical	
Theme		Rheme

-2016 04 29 Immigration and Brexit

Example 52 provides an instance of the Cause/Reason circumstance because it frames the need *to find another 200,000 primary school places by 2020* as being in a causal relationship with *an explosion in the birthrate from newly arrived people.* Additionally, we can tell that *with an explosion in the birthrate from newly arrived people* is a Cause/Reason circumstance because it answers the question *for what reason do we have to find another 200, 000 primary school places by 2020*? This example shows how Farage presents negatively framed information in a circumstantial Theme, while the consequence of the negative circumstance is found in the Rheme. The bearer of the negative (in this case, monetary) consequence is the topical Theme, *we*. We can tell that an *explosion in the birthrate* is negatively framed because the implication is that it is the cause for additional spending required for primary school places, without acknowledging the economic and social benefits that an increased birthrate provides. Additionally, the word *explosion* implies something that is uncontrolled and destructive. In this case, it is clear that *newly arrived people* is a euphemism Farage employs to mean unwanted immigrants. The following example from earlier in the same speech, Example 53, further illustrates this point:

Example 53

But	as a result of this remorseless torrent,	the Leave campaign, the official Leave campaign	has effectively spent the last fortnight defending its own goal: doing their best to stop the other side putting the ball into the net.
Conj.	Cause/Reason	Topical	
Theme			Rheme

-2016 04 29 Immigration and Brexit

The *remorseless torrent* Farage is referring to is about *a remorseless torrent of propaganda, scaring us and warning us, that if we weren't part of this European Union, our economy would be in dire trouble* (2016 04 29 Immigration and Brexit). Again, here, we see that Farage is relegating negative information to the circumstantial Theme, while the consequences that are presented appear in the Rheme. In this example, the point of departure and the peak of prominence of the clause consists of negative imagery, where Farage labels the warnings of economic consequences the Remain side as a 'remorseless torrent of propaganda.' Foregrounding such imagery primes his audience to the following information regarding the defensive stance the Leave side has had to assume.

It is not the case, though, that every Cause/Reason circumstantial Theme presents something that is framed negatively. Example 54 illustrates a different use of Theme for Farage:

Example 54

As I say,	27 years of my life fighting for this,	some people	said I was obsessive,	others	said I was a fanatic
Angle	Cause/Reason	Topical		Topical	
Theme			Rheme	Theme	Rheme

-2021 01 31 Brexit anniversary

In this example, we see the Cause/Reason circumstantial Theme *27 years of my life fighting for this* which serves as a reason for *some people* having called Farage *obsessive*, while *others* called him *a fanatic*. In this case, Farage is using the Cause/Reason

circumstantial Theme to provide context for what he claims others said about him. It would be possible to analyze this circumstance as a circumstance of Extent, but in this construction it is presented as the Cause/Reason for what *some people* and *others* have said more so than it is presented as just an Extent. This speech takes place a few days after the Brexit referendum on June 23rd, 2016. In this example, Farage is using the Cause/Reason circumstantial Theme to draw attention to his perseverance in the face of critique, portrays him as being dedicated and tenacious.

The Cause/Reason circumstantial Themes are found most commonly in the EP and public speech categories, whereas the rally and MSM speech categories have a substantially lower prevalence of the Cause/Reason circumstantial Themes. This could be because Farage intends to foreground negative Causes or Reasons more (e.g., *with an explosion in the birthrate from newly arrived people*/*as a result of this remorseless torrent*) when speaking to a broader audience in the EP and public speech categories. Conversely, in the rally and MSM speech categories, Farage's relatively lower use of the Cause/Reason circumstance may indicate that he is less willing to foreground and elevate such negative circumstances to these more specific audiences.

The circumstantial Theme of Extent was found most commonly in the MSM speech category (10%), followed by rally (7.9%), public (3.3%), and EP (2.4%). The circumstance of Extent delineates periods of time. When Extent circumstances are found in the Theme, this means that the orator is presenting the delineated period of time with emphasis and as the point of departure of the clause. From this, we can infer that it is most important for Farage to construe the world as being delineated by increments of time when speaking to the media and to his own supporters. Mention of such delineated periods of time can be used by politicians in a positive sense to the effect of 'look how much I've done in this period of time,' or, on other hand, in a negative sense to the effect of 'look to how little my opponents have done in this period of time.' The circumstantial Theme of Extent can encompass the past, present, or future. As such, it can be also used to discuss the way things used to be better or worse, how they are now, or how things may improve or worsen in the future. Example 55 demonstrates a use of the circumstantial Theme of Extent:

Example 55

And,	I will say this, that	throughout the referendum campaign itself this year,	the BBC	did everything it possibly could to make sure there was fair and balanced coverage.
Textual	Angle	Extent	Topical	
Theme				Rheme

-2017 05 21 Speech to mainstream media

This example shows Farage conceding that *the BBC did everything it possibly could to make sure there was fair and balanced coverage*, though he restricts this comment to the Extent *throughout the referendum campaign itself this year*. Here, Farage uses the circumstantial Theme of Extent to narrow the scope of a positive concession he made towards the BBC. In likeness to the Cause/Reason circumstantial Theme, it seems like Farage also uses the Extent circumstantial Theme to express sentiments that he deems are concessive or contentious.

The circumstantial Theme of Manner is most prevalent in the EP speech category (4.8%), followed by public (4.4%), rally (4.3%), and MSM (2%). The circumstance of Manner conveys information about the way an action or process happened. In other words, Manner has the function of modifying the verb of a clause. This is shown in the following example, Example 56:

Example 56

But	like communism,	this	has all gone badly wrong.
Conjunction	Manner	Topical	
Theme			Rheme

-2012 05 09 Parliamentary speech

In Example 56, we can see that the Manner circumstance is used negatively, as *like communism* explains in what way the process *has…gone badly wrong*. Here, Farage equivocates the, in his view, failed implementations of communism with the course of the EU, going on to say that *…the EU Titanic has now hit the iceberg*. It seems that Farage is

using the perceived failure of communism to invoke fear in his followers that the EU would meet the same fate. Example 57 shows the Manner circumstance being used positively:

Example 57

And,	I think	in the shape of Henry Bolton,	we	must have the best-qualified candidate for police & crime commissioner for any party in the entire United Kingdom.
Conj.	Angle	Manner	Topical	
Theme				Rheme

-2016 04 29 Immigration and Brexit

Here we see that *in the shape of Henry Bolton* is given as an exemplar for being *the best-qualified candidate*. Henry Bolton was to become a future leader of the UKIP party (September 2017 – February 2018), indicating that Farage evaluates him positively. Additionally, the circumstance of Manner can be used in a neutral, non-evaluative way by describing how an action or process is carried out without evaluation. This is shown in Example 58:

Example 58

Increasingly,	people	are beginning to see them as one and the same
Manner	Topical	
Theme		Rheme

-2016 06 29 Immigration and Brexit

Example 58 shows how the Manner circumstance *Increasingly* is used as an observation rather than as an evaluation. When Farage says *beginning to see them as one and the same*, he is talking about his conception that *the European question has been over here, and the immigration question has been over here* (2016 06 29 Immigration and Brexit). While there is no evaluative component to the Manner circumstance *Increasingly,* Farage's assertion that *people* are *increasingly* conflating the *European question* with *immigration* clearly has a political, ideological underpinning. In some way, the veracity of this statement is irrelevant to Farage, as it becomes true in virtue of his statement – his supporters are likely to believe his statements, thus they incorporate these sentiments into

their world view, which causes an increase in *people* who *are beginning to see them as one and the same*.

As we can see, the circumstance of Manner can be used positively, negatively, or in a non-evaluative way. Manner circumstances can be used to equate, compare, or evaluate processes or actions with each other. However, due to a dearth of tokens, no generalizations will be drawn about how circumstance of Manner is used differently across speech types. The next circumstance that was analyzed for this project was the circumstance of Matter.

The circumstantial Theme of Matter can be used to express what a clause is about. The circumstantial Theme of Matter was found most prominently in the mainstream media speech category (17%), followed by public (10%), rally (7.9%) and EP (7.1%). The following example, Example 59 shows one instance of the Matter circumstance:

Example 59

As a policy to impose poverty on Greece and the Mediterranean,	you	've done very well
Matter	Topical	
Theme		Rheme

-2016 06 28 Parliamentary victory speech

In Example 59, Farage is lambasting the European Parliament for their economic policies and decisions surrounding the financial crisis in Greece and other places. Even though this clause has positive evaluative valence (*you've done very well*), it is clear that this sentiment is not sincere because *a policy to impose poverty* is not the type of thing at which it is commendable to have *done well*. It is interesting to note Farage's foregrounding of this circumstance of Matter, while his faux praise is found in the Rheme. This is another instance of Farage making use of circumstances to indirectly berate European policy makers and the EU itself. In Example 60 Farage takes a more direct approach at criticism – this time, towards the mainstream media:

Example 60

And	finally	I have to say that	on Trump,	it	wasn't just you that was wrong-	everybody	was wrong
Conj.	Mood adj.	Angle	Matter	Expletive. Sub.		Topical	
Theme					Rheme	Theme	Rheme

-2017 05 21 Speech to mainstream media

In this example, we can see that the Matter circumstance *on Trump* is foregrounded. Farage's claim that *it wasn't just you who was wrong – everybody was wrong* presents a criticism of the mainstream news media by implying that they and others underestimated the persuasiveness of right-wing populism, both in the UK and in America.

Example 61

And	in electoral terms,	well,	the party	now has built up a very loyal following of people who want to go out and vote UKIP at every given opportunity.
Conj.	Matter	Cont.	Topical	
Theme				Rheme

-2016 07 04 UKIP resignation speech

Example 61 presents an instance of Farage using the circumstance of Matter in the thematic position to contextualize the way in which *the party…has built up a very loyal following of people* – namely, *in electoral terms*. Since this is Farage's resignation speech from UKIP, it seems like he may be establishing UKIP (and its successes) as part of his political legacy, while at the same time trying to bolster confidence in the party even after he has left it.

These examples each contain a foregrounded thematic circumstance of Matter. These circumstances have a greater prominence or focus than if they were in a different clausal position. We can see that Farage uses circumstances of Matter to establish the point of departure of the following clause or as a way set up negative statements without fully committing to them in a declarative clause.

The MSM speech category contains the highest proportional instances of the circumstance of Matter. This in itself does not seem to be particularly noteworthy. It could be speculated, because Farage is speaking to an audience of journalists, that foregrounding the topic in a circumstantial Theme might serve as a way to more directly assert, in Farage's view, the complicity of journalists in the national debate regarding Brexit and immigration.

The next circumstantial Theme that was investigated in this project is the circumstance of Angle. The thematic circumstance of Angle was most pervasive in the public speech category (48.9%), followed by MSM (48%), EP (38.1%) and rally (31.7%). Circumstantial Themes of Angle express information about whose point of view the clause is about. Example 62 provides an instance of a circumstantial Theme of Angle:

Example 62

So,	I think	the internet	can be very liberating.
Continuative	Angle	Topical	
Theme			Rheme

-2017 05 21 Speech to mainstream media

Example 62 is taken from Farage's 2017 Speech to mainstream media. Here he is suggesting that *the internet can be very liberating*. The context of this statement, however, is important. Farage is praising alternative forms of sharing information (i.e., *the internet*) over the traditional news media. By doing so, Farage is brazenly attempting to erode trust in the news media directly to their faces while simultaneously promoting alternate sources of information (i.e., social media, blogs, etc.). To some Extent, this sentiment echoes that of Trump's 'fake news media.' For example, The Washington Post suggested that "[Trump's] constant disparagement of the traditional news media has been a key element of that loyalty: Journalists are the enemy. They are to be hated, not believed" (Sullivan, 2020).

Turning now to the circumstantial Theme of Angle foregrounded in this clause: Rather than making a declarative statement about how liberating the internet can be, Farage makes use of the Angle circumstance (CTP) *I think* as a way to hedge his utterance and make it less contentious. This is significant because it gives him some degree of

plausible deniability; He does not state that this is the case – he merely suggests that this is his opinion. It seems that, in this case, the circumstantial Theme of Angle serves as a way to temper negative statements such that they can be said with less fear of reprisal for comments that could potentially be seen as provocative. The benefit of this is twofold: Farage runs less of a risk of alienating his supporters and by tempering or masking such statements he also has a greater chance of convincing non-supporters to agree with him.

This instance of the circumstance of Angle can be seen as a form of hedging. Partington (2003) suggests that expressions such as *I think* "are examples of hedges used to mitigate the responsibility for truth," also noting that "[t]hey are very common in these [political] texts and other kinds of dialogue" (p. 80) to the extent that "[t]hier use is so common the [press secretary's] part as to be practically habitual" (p. 148). The reason that constructions such as *I think* exhibit a hedging function is that, to the hearer, they imply something to the effect of "I am not *telling* you this, I merely think or believe it to be so" (p. 148). The findings of the current project reflect the findings of Partington (2003), namely that constructions like *I think* are used to hedge utterances and that they are common in political discourse.

Example 63 presents another instance of the thematic circumstance of Angle:

Example 63

I believe	the other big effect of this election	is not what's happened in Britain, but what will happen in the rest of Europe.
Angle	Topical	
Theme		Rheme

-2016 06 23 Post Brexit vote speech

Here, Farage uses *I believe* to imply that, in his opinion, the sentiments that contributed to Brexit will be echoed by other members of the EU. In contrast to the previous example, *I believe* seems to make a stronger assertion than *I think*, which seems to mean that Farage takes relatively more responsibility for this comment (a positive comment about the spread of anti-EU sentiments) when compared to his comment regarding the liberating power of the internet (a tacit negative comment about the news media). Example 64 contains another instance of the circumstance of Angle.

Example 64

It	‘s been a difficult decision to make,	but	I have to say that	last night	for the first time	I	saw something since…
Expl.		Conj.	Angle	Temporal	Mood-adj.	Topical	
Theme	Rheme	Theme					Rheme

-2019 11 11 Brexit Party will not contest seats

In this example, the circumstance of Angle is expressed as *I have to say (that)*. This is an interesting case of the Angle circumstance because it seems to, in contrast to the previous example, deflect responsibility rather than assert endorsement of the following clause. This seems to be the case because there is an element of involuntariness included in the statement *I have to*. It is as if Farage is implying that he is compelled to say what comes after *I have to say*… rather than implying that he has come to this decision freely and of his own volition. We could compare *I have to say* with, for example, *I should say* – the latter clearly seems to have a similar but weaker implication than the former.

The last thematic circumstance that was investigated in this project is the Contingency circumstance. The Contingency thematic circumstance covers *if…then…* statements, varying Contingencies or conditionals, as well as less typical constructions that imply Contingency.

The Contingency circumstance was found most prominently in the EP speech category (23.8%), followed by rally (21.6%), public (5.6%), and MSM (4%). There seems to be a stark difference between the EP & rally speech categories (21.6% - 23.8%) and the public & MSM speech categories (4% - 5.6%). This observation will be addressed following discussion of some examples.

Example 65 provides a prototypical instance of the Contingency thematic circumstance:

Example 65

If the coalition wants to save their electoral skins,	they	must, before January 1st, tell Brussels that we will not unconditionally open our door to Bulgaria and Romania.
Contingency	Topical	
Theme		Rheme

-2013 09 19 UKIP conference

In this example, Farage is providing the conditions under which *the coalition* can *save their electoral skins* – namely, by *tell[ing] Brussels that we will not unconditionally open our door to Bulgaria and Romania*. The Contingency circumstance in this example takes the form of a simple conditional (with an elided *then*). Now, despite this being framed as 'advice,' the purpose of the Contingency circumstantial Theme seems to be to serve as a way for Farage to conceal or somehow temper his statement, which is rather xenophobic. So, here we see an example of the Contingency circumstantial Theme being used to mask a statement that, if made more directly, may have incurred political consequences on Farage.

Example 66 shows an instance of the Contingency circumstance in thematic position that has a different effect; Here, the clause seems to be something which Farage would approve of – Boris Johnson voting for Theresa May's Brexit withdrawal deal.

Example 66

Despite all he'd said and all he's done,	he	voted for it
Contingency	Topical	
Theme		Rheme

-2019 05 21 Brexit Party rally

Here we see that Farage does not offer unmitigated praise to Boris Johnson; Instead, Farage presents this happening as a surprise (which it was to many[6]) by foregrounding the Contingency circumstance *Despite all he'd said and all he's done*. Since the statement made in the main clause has a positive connotation, it is clear that the circumstantial

[6] https://ig.ft.com/brexit-exit-deal-vote - Last accessed September 13 2022.

Theme *Despite all he'd said and all he's done* sets up a contrast – this effectively blames Boris Johnson for *all he'd said and all he's done*, then promptly praises him for voting with Farage on May's Brexit withdrawal deal anyways.

Example 67 presents another instance of the Contingency circumstantial Theme:

Example 67

And	under the deal	the Italians	have to lend to the Spanish banks at 3 per cent…
Conj.	Cause/Reason	Topical	
Theme			Rheme

…but	to get that money	they	have to borrow on the markets at 7 per cent.
Conj.	Contingency	Topical	
Theme			Rheme

-2012 06 13 European Council meeting

In this example, we see the Contingency thematic circumstance in the second clause. We can ascertain that this is a Contingency by inserting the elided parts (in parentheses): *…but (if they want) to get that money, (then) they have to borrow on the markets at 7 per cent.* This particular Contingency thematic circumstance points out a perceived injustice that *the Italians have to lend to the Spanish banks at 3 per cent*, despite the fact that *they have to borrow on the markets at 7 per cent*. Here, Farage is foregrounding the contingency *to get that money* to the thematic position of the second clause. This foregrounding has the effect of presenting the Contingency as the point of departure of the clause – showing something positive in the thematic position (getting money) which is contrasted by the perceived injustice done to *the Italians*, and by extension, implicates the EU as the perpetrators of this injustice. This is meant to bolster Farage's argument that Britain should leave the EU.

Overall, it seems that the Contingency circumstantial Theme seems to be generally used in conjunction with some negative implications – these may happen either in the thematic circumstance itself, or in the main part of the clause. Farage's relatively higher

use of the Contingency circumstance in the EP and rally speech categories seems to show that Farage feels most free to assign blame to the EU or his political rivals domestically in these speech categories.

Lastly, the subtypes of the thematic circumstance Location, temporal Location and spatial Location, will be discussed. Table 7 presents the proportion of temporal and spatial Location in thematic position across speech types:

Table 7 Thematic Location by speech type

Location type	Speech type			
	EP	Rally	Public	MSM
Temporal	0.8 (66.7%)	6.33 (59.3%)	3.5 (87.5%)	7 (100%)
Spatial	0.4 (33.3%)	4.33 (40.6%)	0.5 (12.5%)	0 (0%)
Total average N=	1.2	10.67	4	7

As we can see from Table 7, the temporal Theme of Location is more commonly found in the Theme than the spatial Theme of Location in every speech category. Interestingly, the MSM speech category has the highest proportion of temporal Location (7 tokens) vis-à-vis spatial Location (0 tokens) in thematic position. The public speech category has the second highest proportion of temporal Location (average of 3.5 tokens per speech) vis-à-vis spatial Location (average of 0.5 tokens per speech) in the thematic position, followed by the EP speech category (average of 0.8 tokens per speech for temporal Location vis-à-vis average of 0.4 tokens per speech for spatial Location), and lastly the rally speech category (average of 6.33 tokens per speech for temporal Location vis-à-vis average of 4.33 tokens per speech for spatial Location).

From these results, we can infer that, at least in foregrounded circumstances, Farage seems to place a higher emphasis on the temporal dimension as opposed to the spatial dimension. The following examples illustrate instances of Farage's use of temporal and spatial thematic circumstances.

Example 68 presents an instance of a spatial temporal thematic circumstance:

Example 68

In eight months' time	there	are the European elections and the Council elections
Temporal	Expletive	
Theme		Rheme

-2013 09 19 UKIP conference

Here, we can see Farage reference a point in time eight months from the time of speaking, a point in time at which the European and Council elections were to take place. Example 69 presents a more general spatial temporal thematic circumstance:

Example 69

If we don't get a good Brexit deal, then	in 2020	watch	this space
Contingency	Temporal	Topical	
Theme			Rheme

-2016 07 04 UKIP resignation speech

In this example, *in 2020* is more general than *In eight months' time* from the previous example. This example is interesting because it comes from Farage's UKIP resignation speech. Farage is stressing the importance of getting a *good Brexit deal*, and he is foreshadowing (or inciting) some unrest among his party's supporters if the *Brexit deal* is not 'good.' However, what a 'good' Brexit deal looks like is only vaguely addressed by Farage by saying there needs to be *some reform of its management structures*, and that there needs to be *further professionalism* (2016 07 04 UKIP resignation speech). This vagueness seems to be intentional on Farage's part – by not specifying what *a good Brexit deal* looks like, he may freely move the goalposts to continue his criticism of his political opponents.

The previous two examples have clearly been thematic temporal circumstances because they clearly reference to a set point or in time. The following example, Example 70 uses *now* as a temporal circumstance:

Example 70

They	‘ve acted slowly,	they	‘ve got things wrong,	now	they	‘re lashing out
Topical		Topical		Temporal	Topical	
Theme	Rheme	Theme	Rheme	Theme		Rheme

-2021 01 31 Brexit anniversary

We can clearly tell that *now* is a temporal circumstance because of the use of tense in these three clauses: The first two clauses use the present perfect tense (*‘ve acted*, *‘ve got things wrong*) to indicate a completed action that happened in the past, while the third clause uses the present progressive (*‘re lashing out*) to talk about an ongoing action. The temporal circumstance *now* indicates the change in aspect – from completed events that happened in the past we have moved to ongoing events in the present. Furthermore, it answers the question *when?* And it clearly has a deictic function, indicating that *they’re* currently *lashing out*, thus serving a deictic function. Farage here is conveying the prior inaction of the ‘useless, bureaucratic, European commission’ (31 01 2021 Brexit anniversary), implying that what they are doing now, *lashing out*, is even worse.

Example 71

When we signed up to government from the continent,	most Britons	didn’t know what they were letting themselves in for.
Temporal	Topical	
Theme		Rheme

-2013 09 UKIP conference

Example 71 shows a temporal circumstance of Location. Farage here is referring to a time that he implies was better for *most Britons*, a time before they were beholden to EU regulations. In this sense, Farage is stating that the UK is worse off than they were in the past. In sentiment, this is reminiscent of the (at this time, not-yet-existent) Donald Trump slogan “Make American Great Again.” Similarly, Trump’s slogan also refers back in time to a time when things were perceived as being ‘better,’ at least for certain a certain segment of the population. In fact, as Crick (2021, p. 42) points out, there is some independent evidence that Farage seems to have his own nostalgia for the 1980s. As

Steven Spencer, a fellow trader who knew him well before his entry into politics stated about their time working together,

> It was great fun. The brokers made money. The world was happy. Regulation hasn't started yet. It was free. It was the Wild West. We had the best time of our careers from the late '70s to the early '90s. There was a lot of money to be made, with deals to be done everywhere and it as highly competitive.

Spencer referred to these times as 'the good old days,' and it can be assumed that Farage shared Spencer's enthusiasm for the lack of regulation. Against this backdrop, we can see how Farage developed his disdain for the EU, and how he uses the temporal circumstance of Location to express his preference for a time when things were 'better' – a time before regulation.

The following example, Example 72, shows an instance of a thematic circumstance of spatial Location:

Example 72

Throughout Europe,	England	was known as the land of liberty.
Spatial	Topical	
Theme		Rheme

-2013 09 19 UKIP conference

Here, the spatial Location *Throughout Europe* is foregrounded in thematic position. Foregrounding *Throughout Europe* places emphasis on England's status – namely that it was *known as the land of liberty*. Technically, this would be a good thing – to be *known as the land of liberty*; however, Farage makes use of the past tense to imply that it is no longer *known as the land of liberty* – and, by implication, that this is the fault of the European Union. The following example, Example 73, similarly foregrounds the spatial Location circumstance in the Theme of the clause:

Example 73

In Bulgaria and Romania	average earnings	are a fifth of ours.
Spatial	Topical	
Theme		Rheme

-2013 09 UKIP conference

In this example, Farage foregrounds the spatial Location for the sake of emphasis. In this instance, he is highlighting that wages are lower in Bulgaria and Romania than they are in the UK, and by implicature, he is saying that they are undeserving of the opportunity to achieve upward mobility – and moreover, that the residents of the UK should be afraid or disdainful of residents of Bulgaria and Romania who come to the UK to seek a higher wage. By setting up *In Bulgaria and Romania* as the point of departure of the clause, Farage manages his audience's expectations that a negative statement will follow. Farage seems to deem this a useful strategy when talking to his supporters at a rally – a strategy that likely would find less success in the other speech forums.

The last example we are going to look at, Example 74, uses a more abstract type of spatial Location:

Example 74

And,	as Minford said,	outside of this single market	we	'll be better off
Conjunction	Angle	Spatial	Topical	
Theme				Rheme

-2016 04 29 Immigration and Brexit

Here, the spatial Location that Farage is foregrounding in the thematic position is *outside of this single market*. The single market here refers to the EU, and Farage is echoing Patrick Minford's sentiment that the UK will be better off not being part of this single market. The point of departure of the clause here is an appeal to authority (Minford was a professor of economics at Cardiff University) and also invokes a sort of 'negative' space– a trading zone which is 'outside' of the EU—wherein (or where*out*) the UK will *be better off*. These examples have shown how spatial and temporal circumstances of Location can be foregrounded in the Theme to achieve emphasis and salience.

This concludes the ideational Theme section. This section has shown, among other things, how expletive Subjects can deflect responsibility or posit the existence of something; how foregrounded circumstances can add emphasis or make constituents more salient and how they function as points of departure of a clause; how this foregrounding of circumstances can be used for pragmatic effect to, for example, tacitly endorse or repudiate statements; how the circumstance of Angle can be to either lessen the combativeness of a statement or to attribute a statement to somebody else; how circumstances of Location can be used for the purposes of Othering by either pointing to a different place or a different time or to evoke nostalgia or fear; and how the Cause/Reason circumstance can be used to imply rather than state why a situation is the way it is or how a situation may develop.

With regards to RQ1, this section has shown us how Farage generally makes ample use of foregrounded circumstances of Angle, Location, and Contingency. Circumstances of Angle can be used to hedge his statements so that they may seem less contentious, spatial circumstances of Location can be used to Other by pointing to a different place, and temporal circumstances of Location can be used to refer to a time when things were perceived by some as being better, how things might be better in the future under Farage's proposal, or to warn of a future crisis if the current state of affairs continues.

The foregrounding of these circumstances is meaningful for characterizing Farage's rhetoric as it shows us what his point of departure is. As a general characterization of his rhetoric (RQ1), we can see how, through the use of the circumstance of Angle, Farage choses the point of departure for his clauses to hedge his statements or attribute propositions to others, and how he uses the circumstance of temporal Location to refer to a time when things were perceived by him as being better for the UK – a time before they joined the EU. As it turns out, he seems to do make most use of the Angle circumstance in the public speech category (RQ2), where tempering his negative statements might seem most useful, and he most prominently make use of the temporal Location circumstance in the rally speech category, where he might expect to find the most support for his evocation of nostalgia as well as his fearmongering regarding the UK's continued EU membership. Additionally, he makes more frequent use of the spatial Location circumstance in this speech category, a rhetorical device that can be used for Othering. Since Farage makes most use of the circumstance of Location in the rally

speech category, it seems like Farage uses this evocation of nostalgia and Othering to construct a relationship with his supporters (RQ3).

The next section looks at textual Themes in Farage's speeches.

4.1.2. Textual Theme

Three types of textual Themes were analyzed for the purposes of this project: continuatives, conjunctions, and conjunctive Adjuncts. Textual elements "are elements which do not express any interpersonal or experiential meaning, but which are doing important cohesive work in relating the clause to its context" (Eggins, 1994, p. 281). Eggins (1994, p. 281) posits two types of interpersonal Theme: Continuity Adjuncts, which this project refers to here as Continuatives, and conjunctive Adjuncts, which this project splits into Conjunctions and conjunctive Adjuncts. It may be noted at this point that, since we are looking at textual Themes in this section, there will be no instances of clause-internal conjunctions, as each thematic conjunction is necessarily at the beginning (in the thematic position) of the clause. Conjunctions and conjunctive Adjuncts have been separated with the anticipation that their proportions would illuminate some interesting differences between speech categories. However, due to a dearth of tokens, there do not seem to be any conclusions that can be drawn from these data points. Also, an aggregate overview of the textual Theme does not seem to be particularly enlightening as to Farage's ideological stance, and as such we will move straight into the breakdown of textual Themes by speech type.

The following table, Table 8, presents the average number and proportion of interpersonal Themes per speech type:

Table 8 Textual Theme by speech type

Textual Theme type	Speech type			
	EP	Rally	Public	MSM
Continuatives	1.2 (10.7%)	6.33 (11.5%)	8.5 (22.5%)	16 (24.6%)
Conjunctions	9.2 (81.8%)	46.67 (84.9%)	28 (74.1%)	49 (75.4%)
Conjunctive Adjuncts	0.8 (7.1%)	2 (3.6%)	1.25 (3.3%)	0 (0%)
Total average N=	11.2	55	37.75	65

As we can see from Table 8, Conjunctions are the most common type of textual Theme in each speech type, followed by Continuatives and conjunctive Adjuncts. The most common type of textual Theme found in the corpus are Conjunctions, making up 84.9% of textual Themes in the rally speech category, 81.8% of textual Themes in the EP speech category, 75.4% of the textual Themes in the MSM speech category, and 74.1% of textual Themes the public speech category. The second-most common type of interpersonal Theme across speech types are Continuatives. They were found most commonly in the public speech category (22.5%), followed by MSM (24.6%), rally (11.5%), and EP (10.7%). Conjunctive Adjuncts only ever make up a small portion of the interpersonal Themes in each speech category, ranging from 0% (MSM), to 3.3% (public), 3.6% (rally), and 7.1% (EP).

Continuatives are “used in spoken dialogue to indicate that the speaker’s contribution is somehow related to (continuous with) what a previous speaker has said in an earlier turn” (Eggins, 1994, p. 281). In this case, however, there is only one speaker. This means that continuatives, rather than relating an utterance to a different speaker’s utterance, serve to relate the current utterance to a previous utterance by the same speaker or to another element present in the discourse context. Conjunctions and conjunctive Adjuncts on the other hand “are elements which serve to link clauses or sentences together” (Eggins, 1994, p. 281). This indicates that Conjunctions that function as linking elements between clauses must necessarily occur in first position, while conjunctive Adjuncts may occur in other positions in the clause.

Schiffrin (1987) addresses the function and prevalence of discourse markers in a corpus of sociolinguistic interviews. The corpus consists of text transcribed from group interviews from spontaneous conversation. Political speeches are somewhat different

from natural conversation as they straddle the boundary between written text and conversation – they are, like written text, monologic in nature, but, unlike written text, they often carry a more conversational, informal tone. As such, Schiffrin's extensive work on discourse markers is a valuable point for comparison.

Schiffrin (1987, p. 128) found that *and* was the most common conjunction in her corpus, where 1002 clauses were prefaced by *and*, compared to 440 that were prefaced by *but*, 206 by *so*, and 53 by *or*. We will consider 'clauses prefaced by' to be synonymous with 'in thematic position.' In our corpus, we have found 252 clauses with *and* in the thematic position, 89 clauses with *but* in the thematic position, 50 clauses with *so* in the thematic position, and only a single clause with *or* in the thematic position.

The proportion of conjunctions and continuatives is relatively similar between Schiffrin (1987) and the current corpus, where she has found that *and* and *but* are the most prevalent discourse markers. This might suggest that Farage is using more of a 'conversational' oratory style rather than a written oratory style (since speeches are the type of text that often exhibit characteristics of both conversational and written communication). Farage, in the current corpus, seems to make more frequent use of the conjunction *and* in thematic position vis-à-vis Schiffrin's corpus (64% vs. 59%), while Schiffrin's corpus seems to make more use of *but* (26% vs. 23%). The usage of *so* is very similar between Schiffrin's corpus (12%) and the current corpus (13%). The two corpora vary considerably in their prevalence of *or* in thematic position: out of all thematic conjunctions in Schiffrin's corpus, 3% are represented by *or* while there is only a single instance of *or* in thematic position in the current corpus, amounting to about 0.3%.

According to Schiffrin (1987, p. 128), the conjunction *and* has two functions in discourse: (1) coordinating units of ideas and (2) continuation of a speaker's action, or both. Additionally, Schiffrin has confirmed the contrastive meaning of *but* – finding that *but* can signal contrast in terms of reference, function, as well as interactional knowledge and expectations (1987, p. 189).

There has been some work done on continuatives specifically regarding their function as discourse markers in text under the framework of Rhetorical Structure Theory. Under this framework, it has been found that, in terms of rhetorical relations, the continuative discourse marker *and* can function "as a signal for *Elaboration, List*, and

Consequence relations" (Das & Taboada, 2018, p. 2). In this corpus, we can find examples of each of these functions for the discourse marker *and*.

Example 75

By any objective criteria	the Euro	has failed,	and	in fact,	there	is a looming, impending disaster.
Angle	Topical	Rheme	Conj.	Angle	Topical	
Theme						Rheme

-2012 06 13 European Council meeting

Example 76

Whatever we've said in the past	is irrelevant	we	need to be together.	and	I	would love myself and UKIP to work with you …
Topical	Rheme	Topical		Conj.	Topical	
Theme			Rheme	Theme		Rheme

-2016 04 29 Immigration and Brexit

Example 77

But,	like communism,	this	has all gone badly wrong,	and	the EU Titanic	has now hit the iceberg
Conj.	Manner	Topical		Conj.	Topical	
Theme			Rheme	Theme		Rheme

-2012 05 09 Parliamentary speech

These examples show how the conjunction *and* can fulfill different functions as a discourse marker. Example 75 shows the consequence relation – the second part, *there is a looming, impeding disaster*, provides the outcome of the first part, *the Euro has failed*, where the discourse marker *and* implies that there is a causal relationship between these two clauses. Example 76 provides an instance of the list relation since the first clause *we need to be together* is in an additive relationship with the second clause *I would love myself and UKIP to work with you…,* where the conjunction *and* marks the additive 'list' relation between these two clauses. Example 77 embodies the elaboration relation as the first

clause *this has all gone badly wrong* is explained (metaphorically) by the second clause *the EU titanic has now hit the iceberg*, where *and* marks the elaborative relationship of the second clause in relation to the first.

While there do not seem to be large differences in Farage's use of Conjunctions across speech categories, we do see that he makes most use of Conjunctions in the rally speech category. This could indicate that, in the rally speech category, he uses a more ambiguous form of the consequence and elaboration relations with the use of *and*, rather than making these relations more explicit through the use of the Cause/Reason circumstance or conjunctive Adjuncts (RQ2). This could also signal a strategy that he uses to foster closeness with his supporters (RQ3), as the relatively lower level of explicitness may cause his supporters to feel like they are on the same page as him and doing so may give his speeches in this speech forum a more conversational tone.

There is a dearth of conjunctive Adjunct tokens in thematic position in the current corpus, totaling 14 tokens: *because* (6), *although/though* (4), *yet* (2), *similarly* (1), and *then* (1). Because of the low number of tokens of conjunctive Adjuncts, no conclusions will be drawn from these data points.

4.1.3. Interpersonal Theme

Interpersonal Themes occur when an element to which a mood label would be given occurs before the topical Theme. There are two main categories that were investigated as interpersonal Themes: Mood elements and Fronting. Mood elements include Wh-question words, Mood Adjuncts, and Vocatives, while Fronting includes fronted verbs and fronted Mood Adjuncts. Since the breakdown of Mood Adjuncts has been left to Section 4.3, an aggregate characterization of Farage's speeches with regards to Mood Adjuncts will be given in that section rather than here. Instead, we will begin with the proportions of interpersonal Theme types, as shown in Table 9:

Table 9 Interpersonal Theme by speech type

Theme type	Speech type			
	EP	Rally	Public	MSM
Mood element	2.8 (87.5%)	16.3 (69.1%)	6 (88.8%)	17 (100%)
Fronting	0.4 (12.5%)	7.3 (30.9%)	0.75 (11.2%)	0 (0%)
Total average N=	3.2	23.6	6.75	17

From Table 9 we can see that every speech category contains more cases of Mood elements as interpersonal Theme than cases of Fronting as interpersonal Theme. The rally speech category has the highest proportion of Fronting (30.9%) vis-à-vis other speech categories, which come in at 12.5% (EP), 11.2% (public), and 0% (MSM). Because of a scarcity of tokens, fronted elements in the speech categories EP, public, and MSM will not be discussed. There only seem to be enough tokens of Fronting in the rally speech category, which will be discussed shortly. Interestingly, the rally and MSM speech categories have decidedly higher average numbers of interpersonal Themes than the EP and public speech categories.

Wh-question words, Mood Adjuncts, and Vocatives will be discussed as types of Mood Elements. Wh-question words include *what* (10 tokens total), *how* (5 tokens), *who* (3 tokens total), and *why* (2 tokens total). The following table, Table 10 presents the number of Mood elements found in thematic position in our corpus:

Table 10 Mood element by speech type

Mood Element type	Speech type			
	EP	Rally	Public	MSM
Wh-question words	0.2 (7.1%)	4.67 (28.6%)	1.75 (29.2%)	0 (0%)
Mood Adjunct	1.4 (50%)	7.67 (47%)	2.75 (45.8%)	11 (64.7%)
Vocative	1.2 (42.9%)	4 (24.5%)	1.5 (25%)	6 (35.3%)
Total average N=	2.8	16.33	6	17

As we can see from Table 10, Wh-question words are most prevalent in the public and rally speech categories, where they make up 29.2% and 28.6% of Mood Elements respectively. There is only 1 token of a Wh-question word in thematic position in the EP speech category, and there are no tokens found in the MSM category.

The relatively higher number of Wh-question words in the rally and public speech categories vis-vis the EP and MSM speech categories is noteworthy. Since this is a speech, not a conversation, we can deduce that there is no expectation of an answer to questions posed (i.e., questions are posed for rhetorical effect). The following examples, Example 78 - Example 81, provide instances of Wh-question words used in the corpus:

Example 78

So,	who	are we?	Who	is the typical UKIP voter?
Continuative	Wh-question word	Rheme	Wh-question word	Rheme

-2013 09 UKIP conference

Example 79

But	how	can you plan forwards for public service provision when you have open-door immigration?
Conj.	Wh-question word	Rheme

-2016 04 29 Immigration and Brexit

Example 80

So,	what	happens now?	What	happens next?
Continuative	Wh-question word	Rheme	Wh-question word	Rheme

-2016 06 23 Post Brexit vote speech

Example 81

And	how	do you think the rest of the world now sees us?
Conjunction	Wh-question word	Rheme

-2019 05 21 Brexit Party rally

Looking at the previous examples, we can see that, indeed, the use of Wh-question words seems to coincide with rhetorical questions – questions that are posed to rhetorical effect where the answer is either implied, provided by the speaker, or assumed from the discourse context. Rohde (2006, p. 134) asserts that, if rhetorical questions are to be used felicitously, then "the Speaker and Addressee must share prior commitments to similar and obvious answers." She goes on to state that "the obviousness of a particular answer implies the bias of an assertion." Consideration of these two points can help us to understand why Farage makes more extensive use of rhetorical questions in the rally speech category and the public speech category.

To make sense of Farage's use of rhetorical questions in the rally and public speech categories, we should consider what these two categories have in common that the EP and MSM speech categories do not. We have seen that Farage tries to position himself as being 'of the people' (i.e., not belonging to 'the elite). It seems prima facie reasonable to assume that, when Farage is speaking in a rally or public forum, that he feels he is addressing 'the people' more so than the audiences of the EP and MSM speech categories, whose audiences Farage portrays as being part of the elite. As such, it makes sense that he makes use of rhetorical questions in the rally and public speech categories, since he is trying to position himself ideologically as being 'together with' the audience of these speeches. Contrastingly, when Farage is speaking either to the EP or the MSM, he seems to want to be seen as though he is 'fighting against' the 'elite' institutions of government and the media.

By posing rhetorical questions in the rally and public speech forums, Farage is able to establish common ground with his audience by showing his audience that they share common opinions and a lived experience. Leaving the answers to rhetorical questions down to implication may also make the audience feel like they are part of the in-group, whereas he makes no such effort with the audiences of the EP and MSM speech categories. By posing fewer rhetorical questions in the EP and MSM forums, Farage is making less of an effort to establish common ground, the result of which perhaps fosters a more contentious, ideologically opposed positioning vis-à-vis his audience.

Mood Adjuncts were found most frequently in the MSM speech category (representing 64.7% of Mood elements), followed by EP (50%), rally (47%), and public (45.8%). Mood Adjuncts are called such because they "are closely associated with the

meaning construed by the MOOD system" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 126) in that they provide the speaker a chance "to add his/her judgement of probability/likelihood to [the] proposition" (Eggins, 1994, p. 167). As such, we can see that Mood Adjuncts can provide information about the ideological positioning of the orator. The following examples, Example 82 - Example 85, provide instances of Mood Adjuncts in the corpus:

Example 82

And	frankly,	If we are prepared to accept, or if Germany and Sweden are prepared to accept, unlimited numbers of young males from countries and cultures where women are at best second-class citizens,	frankly,	what	do you expect?
Conj.	Mood Adjunct	Contingency	Mood Adjunct	Topical	Rheme

-2016 04 29 Immigration and Brexit

Example 83

In fact, in fact,	it	happens in politics too:	Dear Hillary	couldn't even bring herself to say radical Islam
Mood Adjunct	Topical	Rheme	Topical	Rheme

-2017 05 21 Speech to mainstream media

Example 84

Actually,	the national broadcasters	are becoming and the rest of the media too are being, I'm afraid, viewed in the same way.
Mood Adjunct	Topical	Rheme

-2017 05 21 Speech to mainstream media

Example 85

Happily,	the two-party system	doesn't work anymore.
Mood Adjunct	Topical	Rheme

-2019 05 21 Brexit Party rally

In these examples we can see that Farage uses Mood Adjuncts to comment about his certainty towards the proposition (*In fact, Actually*), to heighten the intensity of a proposition (*frankly)*, or to convey approval (*Happily*).

It is noteworthy that Farage makes most use of Mood Adjuncts in the MSM speech category. It seems as though he has more of an inclination to assert his ideological positioning with regards to propositions in this forum than in other forums. The EP speech category contains the second highest proportion of Mood Adjuncts, though the overall number of tokens is quite low, at an average of 2.8 tokens per speech. There is a higher average number of tokens of Mood Adjuncts per speech in the rally speech category (N=16.33), including a considerable number of tokens of intensity and modality. However, this may also be attributable to relative speech lengths.

Vocative elements have the highest proportionate representation in the EP speech category (42.9%), followed by MSM (35.3%), public (25%), and rally (24.5%). Vocative elements generally include names of people Farage is addressing (e.g., *Mr. Cameron, Clegg, and Milliband; Gordon Brown, along with Tony Blair; Ms. Von der Leyen; Mr. President*), expressions of thanks (e.g., *Thank you*; *Thank you very much indeed everybody, thank you*), as well as affirmative and negative indications (e.g., *Yes, No, yeah*) and interjections (e.g., *sorry, hey, Ahm*). It might be the case that the EP And MSM speech categories have markedly more Vocatives over the public and rally speech categories because Farage makes reference to specific politicians' perceived shortcomings or mistakes in these speech forums. As mentioned in Section 2.2, when Vocatives take the form of names of specific people, this can signal that the speaker is claiming superior status or power over the person mentioned (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 159). As such, it stands to reason that the most frequent use of Vocatives is found in the EP and MSM speech categories, since we would expect to find that Farage's relationship with these audiences is the most contentious, and consequently that Farage feels the most need in these speech forums to assert his anti-establishment stance.

The next element that was analyzed for this project is Fronting type, a subset of interpersonal Theme. There are two types of fronting: fronted verbs and fronted Mood Adjuncts. Since there is a dearth of tokens of fronted Mood Adjuncts, these will not be discussed. The following table, Table 11, presents the proportion of Fronting type of the interpersonal Theme:

Table 11 Fronting by speech type

Fronting type	Speech type			
	EP	Rally	Public	MSM
Fronted verb	0.4 (100%)	6.33 (86.3%)	0.5 (66.7%)	0 (0%)
Fronted Mood Adjunct	0 (0%)	1 (13.6%)	0.25 (33.3%)	0 (0%)
Total average N=	0.4	7.33	0.75	0

In terms of Fronted verbs, Table 10 shows us that the only speech category that has more than an average of one token per speech is the rally speech category. Fronted verbs can be used to introduce imperatives and questions. Fronted verbs in the rally speech category include *is* (5 tokens), *would* (4 tokens) *are* (3 tokens), *do* (3 tokens), *doesn't* (1 token), *have* (1 token), and *look* (1 tokens). Of these constructions, only the Fronted verb *look* functions as an imperative – the other verbs introduce rhetorical questions. Farage seems to make use of a considerable number of rhetorical questions in the rally speech category. This, as mentioned, seems to invite audience participation – but, because of the nature of political speeches, does not actually do so. As such, this confirms the notion that Farage uses rhetorical questions especially when addressing his supporters to imply that they are in some way closer to him, that they share his beliefs, and that he values their opinion over the opinion of the other audiences.

This concludes the discussion of interpersonal Theme. We have seen that Farage uses interpersonal Theme to manage his relationship with his audience and that he employs different strategies depending on his audience – for example, Farage poses more rhetorical questions (either using Wh-question words or Fronted verbs) when he is speaking to audiences to which he wants to appear to belong ('the people,' i.e., in the rally and public speech categories), while he uses more Mood Adjuncts and Vocatives when he is speaking to audiences from which he wants to distance himself ('the elite,' i.e., in the EP and MSM speech categories).

4.1.4. Theme summary

This concludes our discussion of Theme. We have looked at ideational Themes, textual Themes, and interpersonal Themes. In this section, we have seen how the choice of Subject can be used to deflect or highlight responsibility; how foregrounded circumstances of Angle can be used to lessen the combativeness or attribute statements to others, and how the foregrounded circumstance of Location can be used to engage in *Othering* or to arouse feelings of nostalgia (the 'good old days'); how Farage uses textual Themes in the EP and rally speech categories to mimic a more conversational style (as opposed to a written style); and how the MOOD system is leveraged to pose more rhetorical questions in the rally & public speech categories, where Farage expects to find more agreement with his views, while more Mood Adjuncts were used in the EP & MSM categories to indicate Farage's ideological stance towards his statements, perhaps in an attempt to avoid leaving his intentions up for interpretation.

The following sections will look at the entirety (not just the thematic parts) of the experiential metafunction through the lens of the TRANSITIVITY system and the interpersonal metafunction through the lens of the MOOD system.

4.2. Transitivity

The experiential metafunction encompasses tangible things in the world, which includes participants processes, and circumstances. Observation and linguistic theory and analysis show us that the units of language are clauses, and that every clause has at least a verb (process), and that the verb must be accompanied by a Subject participant and potentially one or more Object participants (Goals). Optionally, a clause may contain additional information about the content of the clause (circumstances). Circumstances are "classed [as] a peripheral, supplying additional information or meaning" (Bartley, 2019, p. 140). Table 12 depicts the overall proportion of process types across all speech categories:

Table 12 Process types across all speeches

Process type	N=	Percentage of all process types
Material	422	34.4%
Mental	275	22.4%
Verbal	98	8%
Existential	46	3.7%
Relational	383	31.2%
Behavioural	4	0.3%
TOTAL	1228	100%

As we can see from Table 12, material processes are the overall the most prevalent process type in the corpus. This is somewhat expected as human cognition is attuned to the happenings in the physical world, which are the types of things that are expressed through material processes.

Interestingly, relational processes are the second most commonly found process type in the corpus. Of these, 228 (62.3%) are instances of attributive relational processes, 97 (26.9%) are instances of identifying relational processes, and 36 (10%) are instances of possessive relational processes. This indicates that Farage tends to focus his speeches on attributing characteristics or value judgements on people, things, and events over equating two entities with one another or indicating possession.

The third most commonly found process type in the corpus are mental processes. Of these, cognitive mental processes were the most common with 132 (52.8%) instances, followed by desiderative with 43 (20.4%) instances, perceptive with 43 (17.2%) instances, and emotive with 24 (9.6%) instances. This shows us that Farage places most importance on people's thoughts and opinions, while he places relatively less importance on their needs or desires, their sensory perceptions, and least of all their emotions.

Next, we will look at the overall proportion of circumstances across all speech types in the corpus. These datapoints are displayed in the following table, Table 13:

Table 13 Circumstance type across all speeches

Circumstance type	N=	Percentage of all circumstance types
Location	155	24.3%
Cause/Reason	72	11.3%
Manner	49	7.7%
Accompaniment	18	2.8%
Contingency	58	9.1%
Role	2	0.3%
Extent	59	9.2%
Angle	172	26.8%
Matter	54	8.5%
TOTAL	639	100%

From Table 13 we can see that the Angle circumstance is the most commonly found circumstance in the corpus, making up 26.8% of all circumstances over 172 tokens. This shows us that Farage places considerable importance on the point of view of utterances. However, the Angle circumstance can also be used to hedge statements to decrease their contentiousness (Partington, 2003). Additionally, we can see that the circumstance of Location is the second most common circumstance in the corpus. Circumstance of Location includes spatial Location with 50 tokens (32.3%) and temporal Location with 105 (67.7%). This shows us that Farage tends to portray things in terms of when things happened or how things used to be or how things may be in the future. As mentioned in Section 2.7, the temporal circumstance of Location can be used to invoke feelings of nostalgia for a time ‘when things were better’ or as a warning to how things may end up in the future. The rest of the circumstance types will be discussed as they are broken down by speech type, where the relatively lower number of tokens can be looked at in greater detail. The following table, Table 14, presents the breakdown of Transitivity elements by speech type:

Table 14 Transitivity role by speech type

Transitivity role	Speech type			
	EP	Rally	Public	MSM
Participant	69.8 (54.8%)	355.7 (54.5%)	142.8 (54.5%)	256 (53.8%)
Process	30.4 (30.9%)	192.3 (29.5%)	77.5 (29.6%)	145 (30.5%)
Circumstance	18.2 (14.2%)	104.3 (16.1%)	41.5 (15.9%)	75 (15.8%)
Total average N=	127.4	652.3	261.8	476

As Table 14 shows, the proportions of participants, processes, and circumstances is relatively uniform across speech categories. This is somewhat expected, as participants and processes are mandatory elements of a clause, excepting of course omitted/elided participants (which are still annotated) in, for example, imperative constructions. The real point of interest in Table 14 is the relative proportion of circumstances across speech categories. The breakdown of participants and processes is also of interest and will be discussed shortly.

The highest proportion of circumstances was found in the rally speech category (16.1%), followed by public (15.9%), MSM (15.8%), and EP (14.2%). These proportions are partially mirrored by the thematic circumstances we encountered in Section 4.1.1, where the MSM speech category contained the highest proportion of thematic circumstances (29.2%), followed by public (24.6%), rally (22%), and EP (20.1%). The most notable difference here is that the rally speech category has the highest proportion of circumstances overall, while having only the third highest proportion of thematic circumstances. From this, we can infer that Farage provides a seemingly high amount of circumstantial information about processes in the rally speech category, but it is interesting that, proportionally, relatively smaller number of these circumstances are foregrounded in the Theme. The breakdown of circumstances (which follows shortly) will discuss this further.

Under SFL, each type of process can only take certain types of participants as its argument. For example, material processes, which are processes of doing or creating, take Actors and Goals as participants; mental processes take Sensers and Phenomena; verbal processes take Sayers, Receivers, Verbiage, and Targets; existential processes take the Existent as their singular participant; relational processes take Carriers and

Attributes; and behavioural processes take Behavers and Behaviours.[7] As such, we would expect to find that, for example, the number of material processes in each speech type should be similar to the number of Actors, and, furthermore, that this number should be slightly larger than the number of Goals. This is because one Actor may take more than one material Process. This can be because of expletive Subjects (which do not get assigned a Transitivity label) or having one Actor taking part in two material processes, for example:

Example 86

Boris Johnson	stayed	inside number 10	and	sort of banged	a gong	when the note of 11 o'clock came along.
Actor	Material	Goal		Material	Goal	Temporal

-2021 01 31 Brexit anniversary

Here, in Example 86 we can see how a single Actor, in this case Boris Johnson, is involved in two processes, namely *stayed* and *sort of banged*. And, in fact, we do find that these expectations are borne out: for example, the EP speech category contains an average of 15 material processes, 13.6 Actors, and 12.8 Goals per speech on average. This pattern stays consistent throughout speech types and across process types as well, where the most common participant for each process type is as or nearly as prevalent as the process itself.

Now, we will move on to the breakdown of Transitivity elements by speech type. The following table, Table 15, presents the breakdown of process types across speech categories:

[7] These processes and participants are the ones used for this project; other researchers may choose more or less refined categories to fit their research goals.

Table 15 Process type by speech type

Process type	Speech type			
	EP	Rally	Public	MSM
Material process	15 (38.1%)	75.33 (39.2%)	20.5 (26.5%)	39 (27%)
Mental process	8.6 (21.8%)	39 (20.3%)	19.75 (25.5%)	36 (24.8%)
Verbal process	1.2 (3%)	15.33 (8%)	7.75 (10%)	15 (10.3%)
Existential process	1 (2.5%)	6.67 (3.5%)	3 (3.9%)	9 (6.2%)
Relational process	13.4 (34%)	55.33 (28.8%)	26 (33.5%)	46 (31.7%)
Behavioural process	0.2 (0.5%)	0.33 (0.2%)	0.5 (0.6%)	0 (0%)
Total average N=	39.4	192	77.5	145

The highest proportion of material processes is found in the rally speech category (39.2%), followed closely by the EP speech category (38.1%). The MSM speech category (27%) has a somewhat lower proportion of material processes and is followed closely by the public speech category (26.5%). Material processes are “outward actions that require some input of energy to occur and where one participant is likely to undergo a change” (Koller, 2020, p. 59). The following examples, Example 87 - Example 89, each provide an instance of material processes in the corpus:

Example 87

I think	we	are celebrating	the wrong day
Angle	Actor	Material	Goal

-2012 05 09 Parliamentary speech

Example 88

We	may not have	MPs,	but	we	‘re changing	the face of British politics.
Possessor	Possessive	Possessee		Actor	Material	Goal

-2013 09 19 UKIP conference

Example 89

If we get this issue right,	we	‘ll win	the referendum
Contingency	Actor	Material	Goal

-2016 04 29 Immigration and Brexit

Each of the processes in these examples, *are celebrating, 're changing,* and *'ll win* talk about physical actions or transformations in the world.

Contrastingly, the public and MSM speech categories have highest proportions of mental processes (25.5% and 24.8%, respectively) and the EP and rally speech categories have the lowest (21.8% and 20.3%, respectively). Mental processes typically "involve a participant endowed with consciousness and typically a participant entering into or created by that consciousness, such as a sight, an idea, a wish, or an emotion" (Koller, 2020, p. 59). Based on this, we can see that Farage represents the world in terms of physical actions and transformations more in the EP and rally speech categories than he does in the public and MSM speech categories, where he uses more mental and verbal processes. This seems to have the effect of anchoring his rhetoric in the EP and rally speech categories in the concrete, physical world while focusing more on the abstract lived experience and what was said in the public and MSM speech categories.

For the rally speech category, where Farage might expect to find the most support for his viewpoints, his focus on material processes makes sense as he can trust his audience to share his sentiment with regards to happenings in the world. For example, the following passage comes from the rally speech category, exemplifying how, in this speech category, material processes invite the audience to feel a certain way (material processes bolded): "*And what support we **find** out there. What eclectic support. Look at you! You **did** it. We **did** it"* (2013 09 UKIP conference). Here, we can see that Farage intends to praise the efforts of his audience, and he does so through material processes. Instead, Farage could have said something along the lines of "*I appreciate/like the efforts you have made"* (constructed), but rather than presenting his appreciation in terms of mental emotive processes (*appreciate/like*), he uses Material processes presented as facts and lets his audience do the work of filling in the intended positive affect.

On the other hand, the relative abundance of mental and verbal processes in the public and MSM speech categories is also illuminating with regards to Farage's rhetorical style. In the MSM speech category, we may consider the composition of the audience Farage is addressing – journalists. Journalists make careers out of communication. In some way journalism can be looked at as a verbal process itself – journalism portrays the world and happenings within it – and the medium through which they do this is verbal processes (interviews, articles, news reports, etc. are all verbal in nature). As such, it is

possible that Farage assumes that representing the world relatively more in terms of verbal processes would have a greater effect in this speech forum.

So far, we have seen that Farage represents the world more in terms of physical actions and transformations in the EP and rally speech categories, and places relatively more weight on the internal world of thoughts, emotions, and sensations in the public and MSM speech categories.

The following table, Table 16, presents an overview of mental processes across speech types.

Table 16 Mental process type by speech type

Mental process type	Speech type			
	EP	Rally	Public	MSM
Cognitive	2.4 (30%)	23.33 (62.5%)	8.5 (54%)	16 (45.7%)
Emotive	0.6 (7.5%)	2.67 (7.1%)	1.25 (7.9%)	8 (22.9%)
Desiderative	2.6 (32.5%)	6.67 (17.9%)	3.5 (22.2%)	4 (11.4%)
Perceptive	2.4 (30%)	4.67 (12.5%)	2.5 (15.9%)	7 (20%)
Total average N=	8	37.33	15.75	35

As Table 16 shows, cognitive mental processes are most commonly found in the rally speech category (62.5%), followed by public (54%), MSM (45.7%), and EP (30%). Mental processes refer to mental states and generally include processes such as *know, be sure, wonder, understand, think* etc. The construction *I think* is often subsumed under the Angle circumstance when it signals that the following statement represents a point of view rather than a mental state. The following examples provide instances of cognitive mental processes.

Example 90

Everybody	speculated	that it would allow Corbyn to win.	I	don't	believe	that.
Senser	Cognitive	Phenomenon	Senser		Cognitive	Phenomenon

-2019 11 11 Brexit Party will not contest seats

Example 91

You	cannot	trust	the political class in this country.
Senser		Cognitive	Phenomenon

-2019 05 21 Brexit Party rally

Example 92

I	totally	agree	that the British people have voted.
Senser		Cognitive	Phenomenon

-2016 06 28 Parliamentary victory speech

These examples contain cognitive mental processes. It is clear that these are cognitive mental processes rather than Angle circumstances because the content of the propositions represents contentful mental states rather than an epistemic information towards a proposition. It is also interesting to note that each of these contains a Mood Adjunct, either polarity (*don't*, *cannot*) or intensity *(totally*). These are, however, not analyzed in the TRANSITIVITY system because they provide interpersonal, rather than experiential meaning.

There is a considerable difference in the proportion of cognitive mental processes between the rally and EP speech categories. It may be the case that Farage assumes that his supporters (in the rally speech category) place greater importance on his thoughts and beliefs than his audience in other speech categories. If this is the case, then it would stand to reason that Farage expresses closeness to his audience through cognitive mental processes. It is possible that Farage feels closest to his audience when they are his supporters at a political rally, and it would stand to reason that the next closest audience is the general public, as this group likely includes some supporters as well. This might mean that, in Farage's opinion, these two groups value his opinion more than his audiences in the MSM and EP speech categories.

The category of emotive mental processes includes emotional type processes including *like*, *admire*, *feel*, *enjoy*, *love, hate*, etc.

Example 93

We	love	Europe,	we	just	hate	the European Union.
Senser	Emotive	Phenomenon	Senser		Emotive	Phenomenon

-2020 01 29 Farewell speech at the European Parliament

Example 93 sets up a contrast using the emotive cognitive processes *love* and *hate*. Farage is using emotionally-laden terms seemingly to gloat to the EP that he finally managed to withdraw the UK from the EU. The word *just* is not analyzed here as it is a Mood Adjunct, and thus it does not receive a Transitivity label.

Desiderative mental processes include processes such as *want*, *need* (a superlative form of want)*, hope,* and *look forward to*. Desiderative mental processes are found most commonly in the EP speech category (32.5%), followed by public (22.2%), rally (17.9%), and MSM (11.4%). It seems to be the case that, when speaking in the EP forum, Farage speaks in terms of what he or his party/country *need*, *want*, and *hope/look forward to*. The following examples, Example 94 through Example 98, are all successive clauses from Farage's final speech at the European parliament, each containing a desiderative mental process:

Example 94

I	want	Brexit to start a debate across the rest of Europe.
Senser	Desiderative	Phenomenon

-2020 01 29 Farewell speech at the European Parliament

Example 95

What	do	we	want	from Europe?
Phenomenon		Senser	Desiderative	Accompaniment

-2020 01 29 Farewell speech at the European Parliament

Example 96

If we don't trade friendship, cooperation, reciprocity,	we	don't need	a European Commission
Contingency	Senser	Desiderative	Phenomenon

-2020 01 29 Farewell speech at the European Parliament

Example 97

We	don't need	a European Court.
Senser	Desiderative	Phenomenon

-2020 01 29 Farewell speech at the European Parliament

Example 98

We	don't need	these institutions and all of this power.
Senser	Desiderative	Phenomenon

-2020 01 29 Farewell speech at the European Parliament

In these examples, Farage uses desiderative mental processes in the EP speech category to try to cast further doubt on the EU in a number of different sentence constructions. For example, he uses declarative clauses, rhetorical questions, and conditionals containing desiderative mental processes to try to garner support from other countries' leaders and population for his anti-EU stance.

Example 99

We	want	to be an independent, self-governing, normal nation.
Senser	Desiderative	Phenomenon

-2016 06 28 Parliamentary victory speech

There are a few instances of negation in the desiderative mental processes, but this does not seem to be too consequential as negated desiderative mental processes are often similar in semantic meaning to when the object is negated (*I do not want those young men…to be able to come to our country* (2016 04 29 Immigration and Brexit) vs. *I want those young men not to come to our country* (constructed)).

Verbal processes were most common in the public and MSM speech categories, representing 10% and 10.3% of processes respectively, followed by rally (8%) and EP (3%). Some potential reasons for this were previously discussed.

Existential processes were most common in the MSM speech category (6.2%), followed by public (3.9%), rally (3.5%), and EP (2.5%). Because of the low number of tokens and relatively equal proportion, no conclusions will be drawn from these datapoints.

Relational processes were found most commonly in the EP speech category (34%), followed by public (33.5%), MSM (31.7%), and rally (28.8%). Overall, there is no strong contrast between speech categories in terms of the proportion of relational processes. The rally speech category has the lowest proportion of relational processes, which may be a result of the relatively higher number of mental processes in this category, which was discussed previously. The breakdown of relational processes by speech type is provided in Table 17:

Table 17 Relational process type by speech type

Relational process type	Speech type			
	EP	Rally	Public	MSM
Attributive	9 (68.2%)	36.67 (68.3%)	14.25 (63.3%)	16 (36.4%)
Identifying	3.2 (24.2%)	9.33 (17.3%)	7 (31.1%)	25 (56.8%)
Possessive	1 (7.6%)	7.67 (14.3%)	1.25 (5.6%)	3 (6.7%)
Total average N=	13.2	53.67	22.5	44

From Table 17 we see that attributive relational processes are relatively uniform across the EP, rally, and public speech categories (between 63.3% - and 68.3%). The MSM speech category contains a considerably smaller proportion of attributive relational processes (36.4%). Attributive relational process ascribe attributes to entities. This is shown in the following example:

Example 100

It	is	totally irrelevant to this industry whether we have a Labour or a Tory government...
	Attributive	Attribute

-2013 09 19 UKIP conference

Here we see the attributive relational process *is* states that it is irrelevant to the industries of *Financial services* and *insurance* whether *a Labour or a Tory government* is in power. It seems like Farage uses fewer attributive relational processes to ascribe qualities in the MSM speech category, which might be explained by the relatively higher prevalence of identifying relational processes. The MSM speech category contains the highest proportion of relational identifying processes (56.8%) compared to the public (31.1%), EP (24.2%), and rally (17.3%) speech categories. An example of a relational identifying process follows:

Example 101

What we don't get told	is	that actually wind energy and renewables has led to one of the greatest transfers of wealth form the poor to the rich that we've seen in modern times.
Carrier	Identifying	Attribute

-2017 05 21 Speech to mainstream media

This example shows us how Farage uses identifying relational processes to attack *wind energy and renewables* as being the cause of *one of the greatest transfers of wealth from the poor to the rich that we've seen in modern times*. Farage seems to expect the MSM audience to value equation of two entities to have a greater rhetorical effect than ascribing qualities to entities.

There are too few instances of possessive relational processes to draw any conclusions, so no attempt to do so will be made.

Also, because of a dearth of tokens (between one and two tokens per speech category), Behavioural processes will not be discussed.

The following table, Table 18, presents the breakdown of circumstances by speech type. Since the characteristics and use of each circumstance is discussed in detail in Section 4.1.1, only some general comments will be provided in this section.

Table 18 Circumstance type by speech type

Circumstance type	Speech type			
	EP	Rally	Public	MSM
Location	4.6 (28.8%)	26.3 (24.7%)	10 (24.2%)	13 (17.3%)
Cause/Reason	1.6 (10%)	13 (12.2%)	5 (12.1%)	5 (6.7%)
Manner	1 (6.3%)	9.3 (8.7%)	3.25 (7.9%)	3 (4%)
Accompaniment	0.6 (3.6%)	3.3 (3.1%)	0.25 (0.6%)	4 (5.3%)
Contingency	2.2 (13.8%)	10.7 (10.1%)	3 (7.3%)	3 (4%)
Role	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0.25 (0.6%)	1 (1.3%)
Extent	0.8 (5%)	11.7 (11%)	3.25 (7.9%)	7 (9.3%)
Angle	4.2 (26.3%)	22.3 (21%)	13.25 (32%)	31 (41.3%)
Matter	1 (6.3%)	9.7 (9.1%)	3 (7.2%)	8 (10.7%)
Total average N=	16	106.3	41.25	75

Generally, the patterns found in Table 18 are similar to the patterns found in Table 6 in Section 4.1.1. By comparing Table 6 to Table 18, we can see that, in thematic position, there are proportionally more non-thematic circumstances of Location and fewer non-thematic circumstances of Angle. This is interesting but also understandable since the Angle circumstance includes hedges (prototypically *I think*), and hedges often seem to be foregrounded as the point of departure in thematic position. This finding is confirmed by Partington (2003), who notes that, in political discourse, hedges often come at the beginning of utterances.

Additionally, the Cause/Reason circumstance seems to be more commonly found in non-thematic, non-foregrounded positions. This may be the case because Farage places less emphasis on the justification of certain actions rather than the action itself. An example of this follows:

Example 102

None of this	is going to get	better	because the EU now are in negotiations with Turkey.
Carrier	Attributive	Attribute	Reason/cause

-2016 04 29 Immigration and Brexit

Example 102 shows an instance of the Cause/Reason circumstance in non-thematic position. Here, the sole Theme of the clause is *None of this*. The choice not to foreground

the Cause/Reason circumstance has the effect of placing greater focus on ‘all the things that are bound to not improve under the current circumstances.’

Next, we will look at the breakdown of Location type across speech categories.

Table 19 Location type by speech type

Location type	Speech type			
	EP	Rally	Public	MSM
Spatial	1.2 (26.1%)	11 (41.8%)	2.5 (25%)	1 (7.7%)
Temporal	3.4 (73.9%)	15.33 (58.2%)	7.5 (75%)	12 (92.3%)
Total average N=	4.6	26.33	10	13

Table 19 depicts the proportion of Location types across speech types. We can see that temporal Location is more common than spatial Location throughout. This pattern mirrors the pattern found in the thematic circumstances of Location found in Table 19 in Section 4.1.1., where we saw how the spatial Location circumstance can be used as a tool for Othering (Riggins, 1997, for more discussion see Chapter 1 and section 2.8) and how the temporal Location circumstance can be used to talk about how things used to be better or how they may be worse in the future if the current conditions are sustained.

The following table, Table 20, presents the breakdown of participant type across speech categories. Since participant type is closely tied to process type, the data presented in Table 20 is here just for reference, as the significance of these data points has been discussed previously in this section.

Table 20 Participant type by speech type

Participant Type	Speech Type			
	EP	Rally	Public	MSM
Actor	13.6 (19.6%)	71 (20%)	17.75 (12.5%)	38 (15%)
Goal	12.8 (18.4%)	62.67 (17.7%)	18 (12.7%)	32 (12.6%)
Senser	7.4 (10.7%)	37.33 (10.5%)	20 (14.1%)	32 (12.6%)
Phenomenon	6.8 (9.8%)	35.67 (10%)	18.5 (13%)	34 (13.4%)
Sayer	1 (1.4%)	14 (3.9%)	6.75 (4.7%)	14 (5.5%)
Receiver	0.2 (0.3%)	4 (1.1%)	1 (0.7%)	0 (0%)
Target	0.6 (0.9%)	1.33 (0.4%)	1.25 (0.9%)	2 (0.8%)
Verbiage	0.8 (1.2%)	14.67 (4.1%)	7.5 (5.3%)	11 (4.3%)
Existent	1 (1.4%)	6.67 (1.9%)	3 (2.1%)	9 (3.5%)
Carrier	11.2 (16.1%)	45 (12.7%)	21.75 (15.3%)	38 (15%)
Attribute	12.2 (17.6%)	47.67 (13.4%)	23.75 (16.7%)	39 (15.4%)
Behaver	0.2 (0.3%)	0.33 (0.1%)	0.25 (0.2%)	0 (0%)
Behaviour	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0.25 (0.2%)	0 (0%)
Possessor	0.8 (1.2%)	7.33 (2.1%)	1.25 (0.9%)	3 (1.2%)
Possessee	0.8 (1.2%)	7.33 (2.1%)	1.25 (0.9%)	2 (0.8%)
Total average N=	69.4	355	142.25	254

This concludes the discussion of the findings relating to Transitivity. Next, the findings relating to the MOOD system will be discussed in Section 4.3.

4.3. Mood

In addition to the textual metafunction, which is realized by the THEME system, and the experiential metafunction, which is realized by the TRANSITIVITY system, this project also investigates the interpersonal metafunction, which is realized by the MOOD system. The interpersonal metafunction manages the distance and the hierarchical relationship

between the interlocutors, and it also manages the speaker's epistemic or affective stance towards the utterance.

The MOOD system has two main constituent parts: the Mood block and the Residue block. The Mood block contains the Subject, the Finite, Mood Adjuncts, and Wh-elements. Before discussing the Mood breakdown by speech type, we will look at the proportion of Mood Adjuncts across the entire corpus. The rest of the MOOD system will be looked at only by speech type, as these data points tell us little about Farage's general rhetorical style. The following table,

Table 21, presents the proportion of Mood Adjuncts across the entire corpus.

Table 21 Mood Adjunct breakdown

Mood Adjunct type	N=	Percentage of all Mood Adjuncts
Probability	20	8.4%
Usuality	9	3.8%
Obligation	1	0.4%
Obviousness	23	9.7%
Intensity	62	26.1%
Polarity	123	51.7%
TOTAL	238	100%

As we can see from Table 21, the most commonly found Mood Adjunct in the corpus is polarity, which represents 51.7% of all Mood Adjuncts. The second most commonly found Mood Adjunct is intensity (9.7%), followed by obviousness (9.7%), probability (8.4%), usuality (3.8%), and Obligation (0.4%). This shows us that Farage makes ample use of negation (as we will see shortly, mostly through the use of *n't*, *not*, and *never*) and intensity (through the use of words like *just*, *really*, *simply*, *actually*).

The following table, Table 22, shows the proportion of Mood elements and Residue elements by speech type:

Table 22 Mood type by speech type

Mood type	Speech type			
	EP	Rally	Public	MSM
Mood element	91.8 (52.9%)	447.67 (50.9%)	183.75 (51.6%)	371 (52.5%)
Residue element	81.6 (47.1%)	432.67 (49.1%)	172.5 (48.4%)	336 (47.5%)
Total average N=	173.4	880.33	356.25	707

On its own, the proportion of Mood elements to Residue elements does not tell us a great deal about the ideological commitments of the orator. As we can see, the proportion of Mood elements to Residue elements remains relatively stable across speech categories. It stands to reason that these proportions do not differ greatly since most clauses contain a Subject and a Finite (Mood elements) as well as a Predicator and a Complement (Residue elements). The prevalence of all four of these elements means that we need to look further to make assertions about the ideological commitment of the orator. To this end, the following table, Table 23, can inform us about the breakdown of Mood elements and how interpersonal meaning is expressed differently across speech types.

Table 23 Mood element type by speech type

Mood Element type	Speech type			
	EP	Rally	Public	MSM
Subject	40.2 (44.2%)	195 (43.8%)	82.25 (45.1%)	160 (43.2%)
Finite	41.8 (45.9%)	204 (45.8%)	83 (45.5%)	157 (42.4%)
Mood Adjunct	6.6 (7.3%)	36 (8.1%)	14.5 (7.9%)	45 (12.2%)
Wh-element	2.4 (2.6%)	10.33 (2.3%)	2.75 (1.5%)	8 (2.2%)
Total average N=	91	445.33	182.5	370

As we can see from Table 23, the proportions of Subject and Finite are relatively consistent across speech categories. This follows from what we established earlier: that, generally, a clause has one Subject and one Finite. What is especially of interest here to this analysis is the relative proportion of Mood Adjuncts. Mood Adjuncts provide information about the orator's stance or ideological commitments by addressing a proposition's Probability, Usuality, Obligation, Intensity, or Polarity. The breakdown of Mood Adjuncts will be discussed in greater detail subsequently.

In this corpus, Wh-elements are mostly relative pronouns (*when, what, which, how, why*). Percentage-wise, Wh-elements represent a relatively consistent portion of Mood Elements in the speech categories EP (2.6%), rally (2.3%), and MSM (2.2%), with public having a somewhat lower proportion (1.5%). A brief inspection of the types of Wh-elements found in the corpus suggests that, especially in the speech categories EP and rally, the Wh-element *when* seems to be the most common. The following example shows an instance of this from the corpus:

Example 103

But	how	can	you	plan forwards	for public service provision when you have open door immigration?
	Wh-element/ Predicator	Finite	Subject	Predicator	Complement

-2016 04 29 Immigration and Brexit

Here, Farage is using two Wh-elements (*how, when*) to point to the current (perceived) negative state of affairs, namely *open-door immigration*. From a discursive point of view, Wh-elements seem to invite audience involvement, as if Farage is asking the audience a question. However, as previously mentioned, because of the nature of political speeches (as opposed to say, a town-hall style discussion), audience participation is not encouraged. As such, such rhetorical questions might be intended to give the audience the impression of involvement or of belonging despite the monologic nature of the communication.

Because the focus of this project is on the Theme of the clause, the only types of interpersonal Adjuncts that are investigated are Mood Adjuncts, since Mood Adjuncts appear in the Mood part of the clause, which often coincides with the Theme. Residue Adjuncts, on the other hand, often appear in the Residue. These seldom coincide with the Theme of the clause, and as such, they are left unanalyzed. The following table, Table 24, depicts the breakdown of Mood Adjuncts across speech types:

Table 24 Mood Adjunct type by speech type

Mood Adjunct type	Speech type			
	EP	Rally	Public	MSM
Probability	0 (0%)	3.33 (9.6%)	2.25 (16.1%)	1 (0.2%)
Usuality	0 (0%)	1.33 (3.8%)	0.5 (3.6%)	3 (0.7%)
Obligation	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.2%)
Obviousness	0.8 (12.1%)	3.33 (9.6%)	0.75 (5.4%)	6 (1.3%)
Intensity	1.8 (27.3%)	9.67 (27.9%)	3 (21.4%)	12 (26.7%)
Polarity	4 (60.6%)	17 (49%)	7.5 (53.6%)	22 (48.9%)
Total average N=	6.6	34.67	14	45

While there are similar proportions of certain Mood Adjuncts across categories, it is interesting to note that the EP speech categories has overall quite few tokens of Mood Adjuncts. This is certainly partially because the EP speech category contains shorter speeches than the other categories, but it might also indicate that Farage believes the official nature of the EP does not warrant as much modulation as other forums do.

The probability Mood Adjunct only has more than a single token in the speech categories rally (9.6%) and public (16.1%). The Probability Mood Adjuncts *perhaps* is the most common in both of these categories. *Perhaps* has a tempering effect on an orator's epistemic commitment to an assertion. This is illustrated in the following example, Example 104:

Example 104

But, if you're part of the cabinet that has seen net migration running at record levels and running at 10 times the post-war average…

You	're	perhaps	not	best	placed	to make those arguments.
Subject	Finite	Probability	Polarity	Intensity	Predicator	Complement
Mood					Residue	

-2016 04 29 Immigration and Brexit

In Example 104, Farage seems to be reluctant to make the statement that *You're not best placed to make those arguments*, opting instead to add *perhaps* to soften the directness

and to partially shirk responsibility for the statement. In this sense, the probability Mood Adjunct *perhaps* seems to fulfil a similar function to the Angle circumstance *I think* – they can both be used to soften the impact of negative statements on his audience and on the Target of the negative statement. We see two further Mood Adjuncts, *not* and *best*. The polarity Mood Adjunct *not* carries a high functional load in this sentence, flipping its valence from positive to negative. The intensity Mood Adjunct *best*, in its negated form, here implies that there is someone better *to make those arguments*. This chain of Mood Adjuncts is interesting, as each Mood Adjunct functions in a way to soften the directness and contentiousness of this clause.

The usuality Mood Adjunct is found most commonly in the rally speech category (3.8%), followed by public (3.6%), and MSM (0.7%). The usuality Mood Adjunct comments on the frequency of a proposition. The usuality Mood Adjunct *always* is the one found most commonly in this corpus, and it seems to be most commonly used to add emphasis. *Always* functions similarly to the intensity Mood Adjunct, but in this corpus, it gains its emphatic power from the superlative *always* as opposed to, for example, the less emphatic *increasingly*, which is found only once in the corpus. The following example, Example 105, depicts an instance of *always* from the corpus:

Example 105

And that of course is because the Conservative Party was a remain party in the referendum -

it	had	always	been	a remain party.
Subject	Finite	Usuality	Predicator	Complement
Mood			Residue	

-2021 01 31 Brexit Anniversary

In Example 105, *always* is used to add emphasis. Instead of opting for *The Conservative Party is a Remain party*, Farage used a superlative form of a usuality Mood Adjunct to assert to his audience that the conservatives are at odds with him and his base of support by stating that they have consistently and constantly been against Brexit.

While the frequent use of intensity and usually mood Adjuncts may make us consider whether these are characteristic of populist discourse, Hawkins (2009, p. 1049)

and his team of researchers found, after investigating more than 200 speeches, that “the ideas that constitute the content of the discourse are held subconsciously and conveyed as much by the tone and style of the language as the actual words, there is no single word or phrase distinct to populist discourse.”

The obligation Mood Adjunct is poorly represented in the corpus, totaling a single token in the MSM speech category. As such, no meaningful conclusions will be drawn regarding the obligation Mood Adjunct.

The intensity Mood Adjunct makes up a considerable portion of Mood Adjuncts. The proportion of intensity Mood Adjunct does not seem to fluctuate greatly between speech types: The rally speech category has the highest proportion of intensity Mood Adjuncts (27.9%), followed by EP (27.3%), MSM (26.7%), and public (21.4%). There is quite a variety of intensity Mood Adjuncts in the corpus, including *especially, only*, *just*, *even*, *actually*, *absolutely, (and) how*, etc. The following example, Example 106, provides an example of the intensity Mood Adjunct *just*.

Example 106

But	it	is		n’t	just	about terrorism.
	Subject	Finite	Predicator	Polarity	Intensity	Complement
	Mood				Residue	

-2016 04 29 Immigration and Brexit

Generally, *just* would weaken a proposition (i.e., *I just made it* vs. *I made it*). However, in this case, *just* is negated (*isn’t just*) which has the effect of placing greater emphasis on what *it* is *about* – namely, more than *just about terrorism*. Example 107 provides an instance of the intensity Mood Adjunct *even*:

Example 107

Even	no deal	is		better for the United Kingdom,	is	better than the current rotten deal that we've got.
Intensity	Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement	Finite/ Predicator	Complement
Mood			Residue		Mood	Residue

-2016 06 28 Parliamentary victory speech

In Example 107, Farage uses *even* to emphasize how bad he thinks the *current rotten deal* is. *No deal*, which is something Farage is strongly against, is presented favourable to the current situation, and Farage uses *even* to indicate a concession (*no deal is better*) to emphasize the degree to which *the current deal* is *rotten*. These examples show us how intensity Mood Adjuncts can be used to add urgency and importance to Farage's statements. The relatively low number of intensity Mood Adjuncts in the public speech category might imply that, in hopes of gaining supporters, Farage makes less use of intensifiers in an attempt to be less polarizing for the general public. However, the usuality Mood Adjunct seems have some semantic overlap with the intensity Mood Adjunct, and as such this may just indicate that Farage's prefers the usuality Mod Adjunct over the intensity Mood Adjunct to add emphasis.

The last Mood Adjunct type that was analyzed in this project is polarity. The proportions of the polarity Mood Adjunct seem to be relatively consistent across speech categories: Polarity is most prevalent in the EP speech category (60.6%), followed by public (53.6%), rally, (49%), and MSM (48.9%). The Polarity Mood Adjunct encompasses different forms of negation including *not/n't* and *never*. Example 108 provides an instance of a polarity Mood Adjunct:

Example 108

In addition to that, we put a further 10 per cent on Spanish national debt and I tell you, any banking analyst will tell you,

100 billion	does	not	solve	the banking problem.
Subject	Finite	Polarity	Predicator	Complement
Mood			Residue	

-2012 06 13 European Council meeting

In Example 108, Farage is asserting that *100 billion* (Euros) is not enough to fix the Spanish economy. Farage is using negation to express his disagreement with the proposition *100 billion Euros will fix the Spanish banking system*, and he is using this statement as a case against the EU, as just previously he asserted that "By any objective criteria, the Euro has failed, and in fact there is a looming impending disaster" (2016 06 UKIP). The high proportion of polarity Mood Adjuncts in the EP speech category may indicate that Farage tends to focus on things that have failed to take place and things that have not been achieved by the EU in order to paint it as a failed institution.

The Residue block contains all the elements not contained in the Mood block, including the Predicator, Complement, and Residue Adjuncts (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, pp. 121–123). For the purposes of this project, Residue Adjuncts were not further broken down as they are less commonly found in the Theme of the clause, which is our focus. Table 25, provides an overview of the analyzed Residue elements across speech types:

Table 25 Residue element type by speech type

Residue Element	Speech type			
	EP	Rally	Public	MSM
Predicator	40.4 (50.4%)	207.33 (48.1%)	83.25 (48.7%)	168 (50.1%)
Complement	39.8 (49.6%)	214.33 (49.7%)	80.75 (47.2%)	151 (45.1%)
Residue Adjunct	0 (0%)	9.67 (22.4%)	7 (4.1%)	16 (4.8%)
Total average N=	80.2	431.33	171	335

Unsurprisingly, the proportion of Predicators and Complements is relatively stable across speech categories. This is expected since every clause contains a Predicator, and most clauses contain one (or more) Complement. The most notable difference found in Table 25 pertains to the Residue Adjuncts. Residue Adjuncts often provide circumstantial information, much like circumstances do in the TRANSITIVITY and THEME systems. As such, the discussion of these elements will be left to the Theme and Transitivity sections of this chapter.

4.4. Results summary

The results of this corpus analysis have uncovered a number of interesting characteristics of Farage's general use of language (RQ1). Generally, Farage makes most ample use of material, relational, and mental processes. It is unsurprising that material processes make up the largest number of processes in the corpus. Interestingly, relational processes come in a close second. This seems to show that Farage generally attaches positive or negative judgements through attributive relational processes and that he equates one entity with another through intensive relational processes. We have seen how Subject choice can be used to highlight or deny responsibility or agency, and how foregrounded circumstances of Angle can be used to appear less contentious or to attribute negative sentiments or statements his to political rivals and the EU governing body. Additionally, the results reveal how the Angle circumstance is also prevalent in the corpus, indicating that including an epistemic frame of reference is important to Farage's rhetorical style, perhaps because it can have a hedging effect on his statement by lessening their contentiousness. We also see how the circumstance of temporal Location is used to talk about past situations that are perceived by Farage to be better than current situations, and about future situations where a (perceived) crisis may emerge if the current status quo is upheld. The spatial circumstance of Location, on the other hand, can be used to for Othering, by pointing out, for example, countries where undeserving (in the portrayal of Farage) migrants are coming from.

From the results, we can see how Farage makes different use of rhetorical devices depending on which audience he is addressing (RQ2). With regards to the prevalence of

different process types, the results revealed that Farage proportionally makes most ample use of material processes in the rally speech category. He perhaps feels less of a need to talk about the world in terms of relational processes or mental processes in this speech category because he believes his supporters' opinions already align with his and, as such, that they understand him implicitly. When he does use mental processes in the rally speech category, a clear majority of these are cognitive mental processes. It could be surmised that, in this speech forum, Farage assumes that his own opinion is of greater value to his audience than it is in other speech forums.

It was found that Farage uses textual Themes in the EP and rally speech categories, which has the effect of making his oratory style sound more conversational in these speech forums. Additionally we have seen how Farage's use of rhetorical questions, especially in the rally and public speech categories, serve to simulate audience involvement and foster closeness to the listeners in these speech categories (RQ3). This also indicates that he relies more on the audience 'filling in' information that he deems implied in these speech categories, whereas he makes more use of Mood Adjuncts in the EP and MSM speech categories, as he perhaps feels it more important to ensure that there is less wiggle room in the interpretation of his statements in these speech forums.

Chapter 5.

Concluding Remarks

This thesis has investigated 13 speeches by Nigel Farage in four different forums using the framework of SFL. SFL allows us to explore how linguistic choices within the three metafunctions (ideational, interpersonal, and textual) help the orator create meaning in the different speeches and forums.

The four forums in which the speeches were delivered include speeches given at the European Parliament, rally speeches, public addresses, and one speech given to mainstream media journalists. The goal of the research was to investigate populist rhetoric in these speeches. To that end, three research questions were presented in the introduction.

The first research question that this project addresses is:

How did Nigel Farage use language to present Brexit as favourable to UK voters?

The following observations address this research question, broken down by metafunction:

Textual metafunction, Theme

The findings indicate that Farage makes ample use of circumstances in thematic position. In the corpus, the most commonly found circumstance in thematic position is the circumstance of Angle. The circumstance of Angle provides epistemic information about the speaker's stance towards an utterance and can be used to hedge utterances so that they are less contentious. As Martin & White (2005) point out, the circumstance of Angle implicates the audience to decide whether the attributed material is either "highly credible and warrantable" or "dubious and unreliable" (pp. 116). Additionally, Downing (1991) states that circumstances of Angle "signal the angle form which the speaker or writer is about to project his message," which consequently "assigns the hearer, in principle, the role of assenting or dissenting" (Downing, 1991, p. 129). So, Farage's use of Angle has

multiple benefits: he can hedge his statements by prefacing them with *I think* so that their contentiousness is lessened, which can be seen as an attempt not to alienate supporters and potential supporters; and he can attribute reliability to certain sources (including himself) and a lack of reliability to others (especially his political opponents and EP politicians).

Other work has been done around constructions such as *I think*, explaining how they can be used as hedges. Partington (2003, p. 148) considers such constructions (in line with Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 145), 'hedged performatives.' As such, these constructions have the effect of modifying the force of a speech act. In contrast to the findings of Partington (2003, p. 148), who found that roughly half of hedged performatives are turn initial in White House press briefings, we found that approximately 75% of the Angle circumstances were found clause initially in our corpus. This suggests that Farage uses fewer circumstances of Angle for the purpose of giving "the speaker a moment's thinking time" (Partington, 2003, p. 148) than Partington found in their data. Rather, it seems like Farage mainly uses this rhetorical device to hedge the following statement. Additionally, by presenting the circumstance of Angle in the Theme of the clause, Farage sets the point of departure of the clause as a hedge, which has the effect of framing the following statement as being 'to the best of his knowledge' or in a way that he isn't claiming that his statement is true; he is merely claiming that he thinks or believes it to be true (Partington, 2003, p. 148). Doing so provides the orator with plausible deniability.

Farage also makes frequent use of the circumstance of Location, which can be used to create a divide in two dimensions – spatial and temporal. The spatial dimension can be used to metaphorically and physically divide an in-group from an out-group. Riggins (1997, p. 8) makes a connection between the 'self' and the 'Others,' where the self is analogized to being 'insiders' while the Others are 'outsiders.' This portrays how the circumstance of Location can be used to divide in both a physical manifestation of space *(In Bulgaria and Romania* -2013 09 19 UKIP conference speech) as well as an abstract manifestation of space, as *outsiders*. However, Farage, when convenient, portrays himself and his supporters and allies as outsiders as well. For example, when speaking to mainstream media journalists, Farage proclaims that *2016 has been the year of political revolution. It's been the year of the outsiders* and *I think, just like politics needed a massive shake up with some outsiders coming into it with different backgrounds who weren't necessarily career politicians* (2017 05 21 speech to mainstream media). There is no other

explicit mention of *outsiders* in the corpus. As such, we can infer Farage uses other rhetorical constructions for the purposes of Othering, while he does a sort of reverse Othering of himself and his supporters by portraying them as being the disadvantaged, neglected minority. This also serves as a way to create distance between himself and the perceived elite establishment of the media.

The temporal dimension, on the other hand, can be used to make reference to a time when 'things were better,' thereby implying that the current state of affairs is bad for Britons and that this is the fault of the governing party, or to instill fear about how things may turn out poorly if the current conditions persist. Other populist politicians also use temporally deictic devices to make reference to a time when 'things were better.' One recent example is Donald Trump and his 2016 campaign slogan 'Make America Great Again.' Here, the word *again* has a temporally deictic role that is similar to the temporal circumstance of Location, and is used in a way that exhibits Trump's "veneration of a past when the American nation and its pure values emerged" (Hidalgo-Tenorio & Benítez-Castro, 2022, p. 104). In our corpus, temporal circumstances of Location are frequently found in the Theme of a clause, which adds emphasis to these utterances and elevates their salience by positioning them as the point of departure of the message.

The Contingency circumstance is also common throughout the corpus, which can be used to convey, for example, the cost of EU membership to the British population, or to forewarn supporters of the consequences of certain actions or inaction. It was found that the Contingency circumstance generally is used to lessen the negative impact of statements by reducing complex issues to simple ones by presenting them as conditionals. As such, circumstances of Contingency can be used to deny other points of view. This is especially the case when the Contingency is foregrounded in the Theme. In this position, it represents the point of departure of a clause and can be used to manage the expectations of the audience.

Farage's use of conjunctions and continuatives seem to imply that he is mimicking a conversational style in his speeches. Speeches, in general, straddle the boundary between spontaneous discourse and written text. Political speeches are conversational in that they are spoken and there is no possibility to edit an utterance once it has been uttered, and they are like written communication in that they are monologic and prepared in advance. We can assert that Farage uses a conversational style by comparing our

results to those of Schiffrin (1987): Compared to Schiffrin's corpus of spontaneous conversation, in thematic position, Farage makes more frequent use of the conjunction *and* (64% vs. 59%), less frequent use of *but* (23% vs. 26%), and an approximately equally frequent use of *or* (13% vs. 12%). The conjunction *or* was only found a single time (0.3%) in our corpus, while Schiffrin found that *or* made up approximately 3% of conjunctions in her corpus. These relative similarities between Farage's speeches and Schiffrin's corpus of spontaneous conversation seem to indicate that Farage does mimic a conversational style in his speeches. This could be a strategy that he uses to sound more colloquial, less formal, which can be used to establish a closer relationship with perceived 'non-elites' in his audience.

Another indication that Farage uses a conversational style in other political contexts (and also the EP) comes from Ekström et al. (2018), who found that Farage uses candidness or frankness towards those he considers 'part of the establishment.' Phrases like "come on let's be honest" (p. 9) exemplify his informality, where in this case he is addressing Members of Parliament in a debate on immigration and free movement. The authors found that other aspects of Farage's rhetorical style include talking bluntly, using hyperbolic language, and articulating strong opinions. These findings relate to the current findings in a number of ways: we also see how Farage construes closeness and distance which changes depending on the audience he is addressing; candidness or frankness seem to generally be frowned upon in institutional contexts, and Farage's conversational oratory style seems to be a performative move to distance himself from these institutions; and we can corroborate his conversational style based on the prevalence of conjunctions in thematic position, especially in the rally speech category.

Interpersonal metafunction, Mood

Mood Adjuncts provide us with information about Farage's ideological stance and commitments. It was found that Farage makes most use of polarity and intensity Mood Adjuncts; Polarity Mood adjuncts are used by Farage to present perceived failings of the EU and how they negatively impact citizens of the UK, and he uses intensity Mood Adjuncts to add urgency and importance to his statements. Wh-elements are also frequently found in the corpus. Wh-elements often introduce rhetorical questions, which is

a device that Farage uses to, despite the monologic nature of political speeches, invite some degree of audience participation.

In contrast to our findings, Baider (2019) found that Marine Le Pen uses a lower frequency of polarity Mood Adjuncts and a higher frequency of intensity Mood Adjuncts. Baider found that Le Pen uses the dialogically expansive Mood Adjunct *d'ailleurs* (by the way/anyways) frequently. It was found that *d'ailleurs* adds an extra element of information and that "this extra information is not or does not seem to be directly essential to the debate, but in our case, plays an important role in the politician's strategy" (Baider, 2019, p. 136). This role seems to be one that fulfills the function of being "an avoidance process (avoiding potentially face-threatening acts by taking the floor or guiding the conversation)" (Baider, 2019, p. 143). In our corpus, the relatively frequent use of *perhaps* seems to fulfill this function by opening the dialogic space and inviting other viewpoints. It may be noted here that the Angle circumstance also has a dialogically expansive function, similar to *perhaps*. This provides further evidence that the Angle circumstance is used to avoid contentious opposition. Also, like Baider found, the use of intensity and obviousness Mood Adjuncts in our corpus often seems to function as a way to prove the competence and credibility of the speaker in that they "contribute to an articulate, clear-headed leadership ethos" (Baider, 2019, p. 143). Specifically, this function seems to be fulfilled by the Mood Adjuncts *indeed*, *actually*, *certainly*, and *of course*.

Another interesting finding that came of the Mood analysis is Farage's frequent use of rhetorical questions, especially towards his supporters in the rally speech category. When posing rhetorical questions, "the obviousness of a particular answer implies the bias of an assertion" (Rohde, 2006, p. 134), and the more ideological overlap in bias between the orator and the audience, the more closeness can be assumed (at least on an ideological level). This is confirmed by the idea that, if rhetorical questions are used felicitously, then "the Speaker and Addressee must share prior commitments to similar and obvious answers" (Rohde, 2006, p. 134). In other words, rhetorical questions presuppose that an answer is obvious or salient from the discourse context or from the broader cultural context. Farage does so despite the fact that political speeches are monologic in nature. As such, these questions are posed without expectation of an answer; posing rhetorical questions can have the effect of making the audience feel included and makes the monologic nature of speeches feel more interactive. By making use of rhetorical questions, Farage places his supporters in a position where they feel

understood and feel like they are ideologically aligned with him, which in turn can make them feel like they are closer to Farage than other politicians. As such, we can infer that rhetorical questions are used by Farage to portray himself as being 'of the people' and ideologically positioned against 'the elite' or 'the establishment,' even though he seems to be both of these things since he is a politician who has come from an upper-class family and attended the prestigious Dulwich College. Contrastingly, Farage uses fewer rhetorical questions when speaking to the mainstream media or the European Parliament, possibly because he wants to be seen as being in a contentious relationship with the 'corrupt elite' to solidify his image of belonging to 'the pure people' (Mudde, 2017).

Ideational metafunction, Transitivity

The prevalence of material processes found in our corpus reflects the findings of Bartley (2019). Bartley investigated populist political discourse in the Labour Manifesto, finding that the most common process categories were Material (58.5% of all processes), Relational (18.8% of all processes), and Mental (11.6% of all processes). In contrast to Bartley (2019), however, the proportion of processes is somewhat different. It was found that, overall, Farage uses considerably fewer material processes (34.4% vs. 58.5%), and considerably more relational (31.2% vs. 18.8%) and mental (22.4% vs. 11.6%) processes. In the Labour Manifesto, the prevalence of material processes "may be explained by the fact that references are commonly made to what the Conservative party have done or, otherwise, failed to do whilst in power" (Bartley, 2019, p. 145). While this certainly also happens in Farage's speeches, the relative abundance of relational processes in our corpus could explain the relative scarcity of material processes. In the Labour Manifesto, relational processes have been used to "persistently challenge the Conservative party, who have seemingly led the country towards a poorer quality of life" (Bartley, 2019, p. 146) as well as to outline "the living situation in Britain and, thus, emphasize the common people's poor quality of life at the expense of a Conservative government's concern for the elite" (Bartley, 2019, p. 148). Farage uses relational processes for similar purposes – to call out his political rivals and to emphasize the poor living conditions of Britons. The relative frequency of relational processes might indicate that Farage does these things to an even greater degree than the Labour Party does in its Manifesto. However, these differences may be attributable to the different mediums of communication; while the

Labour Manifesto is a written document, the speeches analyzed in this thesis are spoken. Additionally, it was found that, in the Labour Manifesto, cognitive mental processes far outweighed other mental process types. It was suggested that, through the use of cognitive mental processes, “Labour successfully remind the public that they, as *Sensers*, are in touch with the people’s ideas regarding how Britain is being run and, thus, what needs to change” (Bartley, 2019, pp. 146–147). This rings true for the current corpus as well, especially since the two speech categories that exhibit the highest proportion of cognitive mental processes are the rally and public speech categories, which target audiences with whom Farage would be interested in fostering closeness.

The second research question that this project addresses is:

How does the rhetoric of Nigel Farage change depending on what type of audience he is addressing?

The results of this analysis indicate that Farage indeed does use various linguistic devices to different degrees depending on who he is addressing. Most notably, Farage uses fronted verbs abundantly in the rally speech category. Fronted verbs are mostly used to introduce rhetorical questions, a rhetorical device that can be used to foster closeness. Additionally, he makes more frequent use of circumstantial Themes and thematic conjunctive Adjuncts when addressing his supporters and the public.

The third and last research question that this project addresses is:

What linguistic features did Nigel Farage employ to construct a relationship between him and his supporters?

This investigation has found that, for the aforementioned reasons, Farage uses rhetorical questions, material processes, mental cognitive process (vis-à-vis other mental processes), and textual Themes to enact relationship building and to foster closeness with his supporters. An interesting aspect of this third question is that the features used to construct a relationship come from different levels of the language, from the choice of processes and Themes at the clausal level to the choice of discourse-semantic devices like rhetorical questions.

In summary, Farage seems to be an adept orator, who is able to deploy multiple linguistic devices to persuade audiences, make them align with him (or not), and to build

relationships with his supporters. The in-depth linguistic analysis in this thesis uncovers how those linguistic devices are used and to what degree, showcasing the applicability of SFL to study persuasion in populist rhetoric.

Further research

This thesis has focused on right-wing populism. Right-wing populism is differentiated from left-wing populism in that left-wing populism seeks to *establish* the conditions that can sustain a good quality of life for 'the people,' which can happen through endeavours such as subsidized food and housing and improving quality and access to education and healthcare, whereas right-wing populism aims to *protect* such conditions, which are framed as being under threat by outside forces, especially immigrants (Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2013, p. 160). Since Hidalgo-Tenorio et al. (2019, pp. 2–3) point out that populism has been labelled a strategy, an ideology, as well as a discursive style, it would be interesting to carry out a direct comparison between left-wing populist speeches and right-wing populist speeches. Illuminating differences between left- and right-wing populist speeches can contribute to our understanding of populism in terms of its application as a strategy, an ideology, and a discursive style. Ultimately, an awareness of populist rhetorical strategies can set the groundwork for identifying and educating people as to the tenets of populism so that we may evaluate propositions based on their merit rather than based on their convincingness derived from their illocutionary style or thinly veiled ideologies. This sentiment has previously been expressed by Hidalgo-Tenorio et al. (2022), who suggest that especially students' attention should be brought to these issues. Students, "as future critical, socially engaged and reflective citizens, may certainly benefit from the close analysis of the communicative intentions behind the melodramatic and overacted spectacles of populist leaders" (p. 105). Additionally, it would be an interesting undertaking to compare populist speeches across different languages to see whether rhetorical devices used by populist politicians transcends language boundaries.

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