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# Investigating the Rhetorical Strategies and the Argumentative Structure Used in Political Discourse

The Case of Theresa May Brexit Speech in January 17<sup>th</sup>, 2017

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## **Dedication**

*We dedicate this work to our parents who supported us and were patient with us till we  
finished our educational path*

*To our brothers and their wives and*

*sisters and their husbands*

*To our nephews and nieces*

*To our best friends without exception*

*To our English teachers at Larbi-Tébessi-Tébessa*

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## **Abstract**

This study aims to analyse the different rhetorical, linguistic, and argumentative strategies used in one of the speeches delivered by the previous British Prime Minister (PM) Theresa May in January, 17th 2017 concerning Brexit issue to persuade Irish people of her plan. The objectives behind this analytical study are to emphasize the importance of Toulmin's Model of Argumentation (TMA) in political discourse analysis, and to examine PM Theresa May use of linguistic strategies along with the argumentative structure of Toulmin's model and Aristotle's rhetorical strategies. The research main question is that did Theresa May apply the rhetorical strategies and argumentative structure in her Brexit speech. The sub questions which are: what is the structure of May's Brexit speech using Toulmin's Model? How are Aristotle rhetorical strategies used and applied in her speech? What are the linguistic argumentative strategies used in the speech? What the functions of the linguistic strategies in the speech? This study is conducted qualitatively and it is composed of two chapters. The first chapter is the theoretical part about argumentative strategies and political discourse. The second chapter is the field work that includes the methodology and the methods of analysis, the sample, the analysis, and the discussion of findings, The methods used in the analysis which are TMA, rhetorical analysis of Aristotelian strategies along with the linguistic features of political speech. The speech was chosen because it was introduced to its public for the purpose of persuasion so that it is full of arguments and reasons. The findings reveal that Theresa used logos and ethos as rhetoric strategies. The TMA elements were found, and the linguistic features used were first plural personal pronoun and first singular personal pronoun.

## **List of Abbreviations**

**AS:** Argumentative Strategies

**EU:** European Union

**FPPPs:** First Plural Personal Pronouns

**GB:** Great Britain

**FSPPs:** First Singular Personal Pronouns

**PD:** Political Discourse

**PM:** Prime Minister

**TMA:** Toulmin's Model of Argumentation

**UK:** United Kingdom

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## **General Introduction**

During their speeches, politicians are mostly like in a battle in which they fight tightly to win. The goals behind that battle are to gain a high status, popularity, and audience supports. This goal can be accomplished if the politicians develop their use of rhetorical strategies to be able to stimulate a targeted audience emotionally and mentally through the ability and creativity in selecting the appropriate linguistic features of persuasion. Rhetoric is one of the characteristics in political discourse, and as Aristotle defines it, it is the art of persuasion. That is why most politicians depend on rhetoric and argumentation to persuade audience, as Stuckey (2010) states, “Presidents use rhetoric for instrumental purposes. They speak because they think that speaking will accomplish something that silence would not. They believe speech will help them motivate voters to support them, donors to finance their campaigns, or policymakers to approve their programs.”(p, 293) cited in Cilya Boucherak, 2017, p.22). Accordingly, presidents are well effective users of language. They do so intelligently, powerfully to tell about different subject matters, events, accomplishments, and so on.

### **. 1. Background of the Study**

Argumentation and rhetoric in political discourse is discussed among many authors and discourse analysts. Woods. J, Irvin. A & Walton. D (1937, p. 3) state that argument is a logical support of certain claim, it is a tool that strengthens the position where a claim or a conclusion has been built in a discourse. Argumentation is often linked with politics precisely in political discourse. Politicians base their rhetoric on different strategies for the sake to be enough persuasive and strongly influence their audience.

Aristotle’s persuasion is connected rhetoric to the modes of persuasion, he means that persuasion is a type of establishing a point of view among members of society. (Aristotle. 1998, p. 5). He proposes three modes of persuasion. First, the speaker builds his arguments credible depending on his personal character (ethos). Second, persuasion bases on the use of

emotions, and feelings to affect the listener's (Pathos). The last mode is based on the persuasion that achieved through the use of truth, and logical arguments (Logos). (Aristotle. 1998, p. 5). As a development to the Aristotle's rhetorical strategies, Toulmin in his book *The Uses of Argument* (2003), introduces a new model of argumentation that consists of six elements: claim, ground, warrant, backing, rebuttal, and qualifier. It is considered as a useful tool for assessing and understanding an argument logically, and to identify the argument components (Khoirunisa & Indah. 2017). In addition to the Toulmin model, Reed and Walton (2003) have proposed the Argumentation Scheme. It is emphasized on the description of the argument structure that is used to explain and argue about certain a point of view. This model based on the use of critical questions to evaluate the content of the argument (Bentham. J. Moline. et al 2005). The third model is proposed by Ancombre and Ducrot (1983), which studies the relationship between the conclusion and propositions through using the argumentative connectors, such as: but, and however.

Other rhetorical features of persuasion have been presented in Charteris-Black, *Politicians and Rhetoric* in 2005. He argues that successful speech writers depend on certain linguistic devices in order to strongly build their arguments. He suggests that politicians have to adequately choose their statements and parts of speech because even if the argument is convincing, it requires a proper style of communication. He says that, "Style is created through metaphor and without it politicians would lack the hallmarks of charismatic leadership such as passion, energy and conviction." Charteris-Black (2005, p. 312). He meant that without using metaphor in their speeches, politicians are in a way to lose their persuasive power and their status in front of their audience.

## **9. The Statement of The problem**

Politicians in their speeches face problems to persuade their audience. These problems can be solved through the use of Aristotle's rhetorical strategies. Moreover, those strategies

are supported by the structural, and the linguistic analysis which is applied in Theresa May Brexit speech.

## **2. Aims of the study**

The aim behind this study is to identify and examine the different rhetorical strategies, the argumentative structure, and the linguistic features applied in Theresa May Brexit speech

## **3. Objective**

The study's purpose is to reach the following objectives:

- 1- To emphasize the importance of Toulmin's model in political discourse analysis.
- 2- To examine Theresa May discourse use of the linguistic strategies along with Toulmin's model structure and the rhetorical strategies Ethos, Pathos, and Logos that are introduced by Aristotle .

## **4. Research Questions**

The research aims at answering the following questions :

1. What is the structure of May's Brexit speech?
2. How are Aristotle rhetorical strategies used and applied in her speech?
3. What are the linguistic argumentative strategies used in her speech?
4. What are the functions of the linguistic strategies in her speech?

## **5. The Statement of the Hypothesis**

Theresa May used rhetorical strategies to convince audience. She applied some linguistic features to affect them; and the argumentative structure of the speech includes all Toulmin's Model elements.

## **6. Assumptions**

This study is based on the following assumptions

1. The structure of May's Brexit speech using Toulmin's Model is composed of many claims, and each claim is supported by a many grounds. There are no rebuttals, and there are few number of warrants and backings.
2. Her main claims are :
3. Aristotle rhetorical strategies are applied implicitly
4. The linguistic argumentative strategies used in the speech are likely metaphors, metonymies, variation between both First Plural Personal Pronouns and First Singular Personal Pronounss
5. The main functions of using the linguistic strategies are persuasive, aesthetic, communicative, and sharing the same interests with the audience

## **7. Research Method and Methodology**

In order to answer the research questions and to check whether the assumptions stated above are true, this study follow qualitative method which is done through the analysing May's Brexit speech by applying the Toulmin's Model of Argumentation to set her main claims and evidence. The other method is the rhetorical analysis of Aristotle three strategies ethos, pathos, and logos with the integration of analysing the linguistic features of persuasion like metaphors, metonymies, pronouns.

## **8. Structure of the Dissertation**

The actual work is divided into general introduction, two chapters, and general conclusion. The first chapter is a theoretical background that presents an overview about the meaning of both concepts political discourse and argumentative strategies. The chapter is practical word that describes the sample of the analysis which Theresa May Brexit speech and the methods used to analyse it. In addition, the second part of the research gives the purpose behind choosing each of the sample and the methods

# **Chapter one: Political Discourse, Rhetorical Strategies and Argumentative structure**

## **Introduction**

Politics is one of the fields where differences of opinions occur. Political discourse is the key that permits politicians to convey their messages to people. It is the channel that connects politicians with the society. This chapter is a mirror that will reflect the meaning of political discourse as well as the meaning of argumentative strategies used in political discourse.

The chapter starts by the definition and some genres in political discourse. The second point is the definition of TMA. The following presented element is the definition argumentative in strategies moving to types of those strategies including are as follows: Aristotle's rhetorical strategies logos, ethos, and pathos in addition to the linguistic strategies of persuasion.

### **1.1. Political Discourse**

Discourse is the general or the broad sense that integrates all types of language use in different situations and contexts. Richard, J& Schmidt, R (2010, p. 174) state that, "discourse is a general term for example of language use, i.e. language which has been produced as a result of an act of communication." Moreover, in 1997; Fiarclough and Wodak note that the discourse treats the social problems and issues through presenting the situations, and objects that form knowledge. In addition, it is used to constitute the social identities and their relationships by using language (p. 258).

Political discourse is a particular use of language in relation to political context discussing different social issues whether in its spoken or written form. It is defined as a set of communicative behaviours used to describe and identify people's social identity, nationality,

culture, ethnicity, traditions, and gender under the use of language. Sternin. I. A(2003, p.106-110). Similarly, Schaffner (1997) defined political discourse as the study of language beyond the sentence that manipulates the historical and the cultural situations (Schaffner. 1997, p. 199-200).

Van Dijk (1998, p. 01) states that “Political discourse is a class of genres restricted by the social sphere, and particularly by the sphere of politics”. He believes that political discourse contains any genre which is restricted by the political domain. In other words, it is the way politicians can present social issues that are presented in the political text.

In order to analyse the message behind the discourse, Researchers provide a new method of analysis which is known as the discourse analysis. Johnson (2008) believes that "people in variety of academic department and disciplines use the term "discourse analysis" for what they do, how they do it, or both". He assumes that the use of the term discourse analysis in the academic disciplines refers to understanding and identifying the implicit meaning that motivate the researchers to look for. ( p. 01)

## **1.2. Genres in Political Discourse**

A genre is a specific discursive aspect and way of acting and interacting in social events. It is distinct in its linguistic structure and characterised by particular linguistic features. Those special categories that characterise a genre as an aspect of acting and interacting associates it with a certain communicative purpose and a particular social or nstitutional context. For instance, conducting a political interview is not the same as giving a political speech because an interview necessitates the presence of the speaker together with his interlocutor (s), unlike the speech which requires only the presence of the speaker. Moreover the genre of political debate has its typical structure and features that distinguishes it from other types of political discourse (Fairclough, 2003. p.65, 2006. p.32).

Wodak (2012) lists different genres as he pens:

In our daily lives we are confronted with many genres of political discourse: political speeches of all kinds, televised press conferences, broadcast or televised interviews with politicians, snippets on the Internet (e.g. YouTube) or reports on political events in the press.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, slogans and advertisements confront us when we are walking down the street, leaflets from political parties or interest groups are delivered by mail and during election campaigns, we are able to listen to politicians campaigning at election rallies. Political parties have their own home pages, logos and brands; we are thus able to download relevant documents and photos as well as party programmes

(Wodak 2012 p.552)

The listed genres of political discourse are either written or spoken. They are displayed on the road or on internet pages. Among the genres of political discourse are political interviews and political speeches. The next paragraphs will deal with both of them.

### **1.2.1. Political Interviews**

A political interview is a political activity that consists of communication and interaction between two participants or more. The main communicative purpose of this dialogical genre is to convince and persuade the audience by using conventionalized ways. In political interviews, the institutional actors participate to give comments on a specific subject and their talk is managed by media experts. (Moghadam & Bekineh. 2014, p. 49)

Since any conversational situation consists of interaction between interlocutors, a political interview is also a kind of social interaction in which the role of the interviewer is to ask questions about political issues and the role politician is to provide answer (Bhatia, 2006, p. 177). Moreover, Kibrik (2013) divides the process of communication in political interview into three roles. He states that "an interview inherently implies three roles: Interviewer (Ir), respondent (Rt) (two interlocutors roles), and presupposed audience" (p. 4). Accordingly,

each interview entails three roles. The role of the interviewer is to address the questions which are of the audience interest. The role of the respondent is to provide an answer to the questions, and the role of the presupposed audience which is to direct the interviewer's questions to issues that are of their concerns.

Simply, almost all types of political interviews share the same features in having first the argumentative structure. They are also in the form of questioning and answering. In all interviews, the interviewers are the monitoring side who ask challenging questions and represent the opinion of the audience. The interviewee(s), on the other hand, is (are) expected to express and defend their beliefs

### **1.2.2. Political Speeches**

Political speeches have been defined as an oral political action in which the language plays an important role to influence and manipulate the audience. It is an attempt to transmit an idea or an opinion via a spoken material. A political speech is characterised by the certainty, clarity, and directness of political data, unlike political articles in newspapers for instance which can be modified by journalists in order to gain more popularity. (Fairclough. 2006, p. 35-36)

Norman Fairclough re-identifies four genre features of political speech, those four features are:

- 1) An appeal to legitimate power source that is external to the orator, and which is presented as inherently good (e, g., God, or the nation).
- 2) An appeal to the historical importance of the culture in which the discourse is situated.
- 3) The construction thoroughly evil other (e, g., terrorism).
- 4) An appeal for unification behind the legitimating external power source. (2006, p. 35)



Fairclough (2006, p. 35) also adds, "A different approach to the analysis of political speeches is based on 'functional pragmatics' which aims at reconstructing the 'deep' actional structure of texts through analysis of their textual 'surface'. Fairclough states that, "Sauer (2002, p. 131) analyses one of the series of commemorative speeches (British Prime Minister John Major's speech) given by senior politicians on the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the allied victory in World War II. One focus of his analysis is the 'importation' of textual elements into this primarily epideictic addresses (eulogy), which gives it a heterogeneous character, including a mixture of genres. Specifically, these are the elements of Conservative Party neoliberal ideology that introduce the genre of party political speech. Sauer (p.131) also notes a 'populist' element that enters through" the classical rhetorical techniques of contrasting the sublimity with popular expressions" (e. g., "We are, as it were, still rubbing our eyes after 1989 wondering if it can be real")

Accordingly, after the analysis of such speech, Sauer found that political speech has other characteristics. Those characteristics which belong to the Conservative Party's political speech include textual, heterogeneous character, and a mixture of genres. Sauer also has noticed another feature which is 'populist' that refers to the combination of both rhetorical strategies and popular expressions (Sauer, 2002, p. 131)

### **1.3. Toulmin's Model of Argumentation**

Stephen Toulmin is an English Philosopher who has proposed a new method of analysing the argument. Wodak (2015) discussed different approaches to argumentation and argumentation analysis. He further states that "The most frequently used argumentation scheme has been suggested by Toulmin" (Wodak, 2015, p.3). Toulmin states that an argument is like an organism. The components of the organism are measured in terms of space or time. Moreover, an argument moves from an uncertain statement to supported conclusion. Toulmin (2003, p. 4) pens it as follows.

It has both a gross, anatomical structure and a finer, psychological one. When set out explicitly in all its detail, it may occupy a number of printed pages or take perhaps a quarter of an hour to deliver; and within this time or space one can distinguish the main phases marking the progress of the argument from the initial statement of an unsettled problem to the final presentation of a conclusion. These main phases will each of them occupy some minutes or paragraphs, and represent the chief anatomical units of the argument- its 'organs' so to speak. But within each paragraph, when one gets down to the level of individual sentences, a finer structure can be recognized, and this is the structure with which logicians have mainly concerned themselves. It is at this psychological level that the idea of logical form has been introduced and here that the validity of our arguments has ultimately to be established or refuted"

Toulmin (2003) discusses the different elements that constitute an argument. He decomposes an argument into six elements: claim, evidence, warrant, qualifier, backing, and rebuttal. He indicates that claim, evidence and warrant are essential elements, while qualifier, backing and rebuttal are optional. A *claim* is defined as "Conclusions whose merits we are seeking to establish"(Toulmin. 2003, p 90). In other words, claim is the main point, and the controlling idea through asking the question "What is your idea?" Generally, it is stated directly. The second major element is the *ground*, or it is known also *as support, data, reasons, evidence, and argument*. Toulmin believes that grounds are "The facts we appeal to as a foundation for the claim"(Toulmin.2003, p. 90). A ground is a reason that is used to prove the claim. It can be identified through answering the question "what does the author said to convince the reader of the claim?" The Third element is the warrant which is defined by Toulmin as" Propositions of a rather different kinds: rules, principles, inference-licences"(Toulmin. 2003, p. 91). He claims that warrant is the part of argument that connects the claim and the ground. It is the statistics, values; hypothesis used to strength the argument.

The three optional elements in Toulmin's model are: First, *backing*. According to Toulmin it is "other assurance, without which the warrant themselves would possess neither authority nor currency" (Toulmin. 2003, p. 96). This element is defined as a set of statements used to support the warrant. Moreover, it is used to justify the reliability of the warrant. In addition, Toulmin claims that, "Rebuttal is circumstances in which the general authority of the warrant would have to be set aside"(Toulmin. 2003, p.94). In other words, it is a set of conditions, circumstances, and results used when the claim doesn't hold true. The last component in this model is *qualifier*; Toulmin notes that, "It is the strength conferred by the warrant"(Toulmin. 2003, p.94). Qualifier is a statement that limits the strength of the argument, and to check to what extent the speaker is sure that the claim is true.

Freeman (2011) notes that Toulmin model starting by asserting conclusions and information to the audience (Claim), which is proved by facts and reasons (Ground). Those two components are related logically by the (warrant). To emphasize it Toulmin proposed the backing which makes the warrant true and acceptable. The claim also needs to be clear and certain, limiting it by the Qualifier. Finally the rebuttal plays the role of an exception and condition in the argument. (Freeman, p.11)

Toulmin (2003, p. 97) gives this example to support his model of argumentation:

**Qualifier:** Presumably

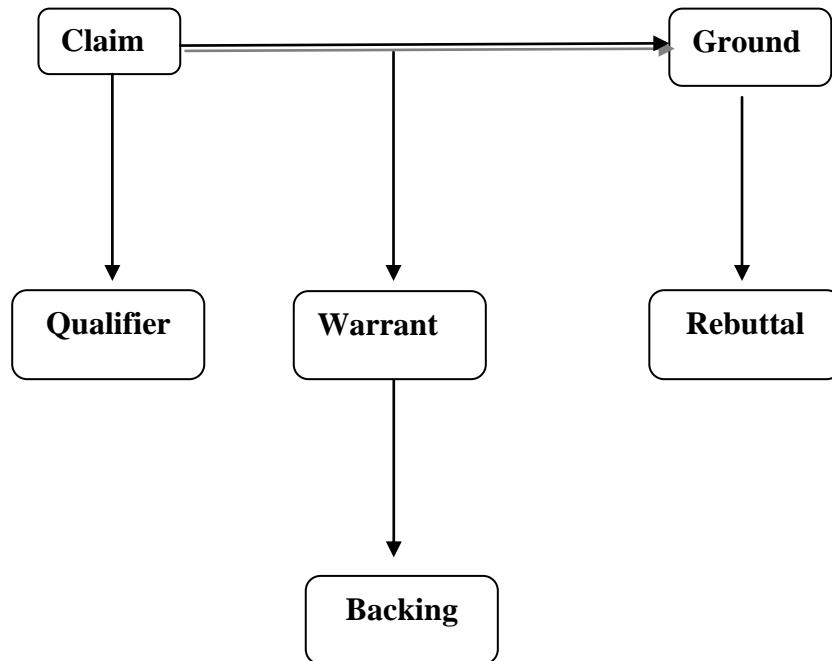
**Claim:** Harry is a British subject

**Ground:** Harry was born in Bermuda

**Warrant:** A man was born in Bermuda will generally be a British Subject.

**Backing:** here are statutes and other legislation substantiating that people born in Bermuda are generally British citizens

**Rebuttal:** Both his parents were a liens, he has become a naturalized American.



**Figure (1) : The Toulmin’s Model of Argumentation (2003, p. 97)**

#### **1.4. Argumentative Strategies**

Any given discourse, either in its spoken form or in its written version, is a transmission of a message. Politicians tend to introduce a particular sort of discourse that is characterized by the use of rhetorical language that aims at persuading the audience. They use different argumentative strategies to serve different functions. Mariana Totescu (1998, p.223) defines argumentative strategies as, “A set of speech acts based on a discursive logic and underpinned by a force and an argumentative purpose.” In other words, argumentative strategies used in political discourse are mainly the different acts performed by politicians through the effective use of language to convince the audience. The act of persuasion can also be realized through the effective use of reliable arguments presented by the speaker and in the reasonable proofs given in the speech.

Another definition of argumentative strategies is given by Isabella Fairclough and Norman Fairclough (2012). They rely on Aristotle’s conception of political discourse to

define them. They state that the argumentative strategies used in political discourse are related to the use of language of this discourse, this language is based on argumentation that allows politicians to play with words in a persuasive manner. This is accomplished in order to gain audience support. From Faircloughs' connection of meanings, the argumentative strategies are embedded in any political discourse as the acts that political language plays in political discourse through which speakers attempt to provide strong evidence that supports their views and serve their objectives. Additionally, they claim that argumentative strategies in political action are like speech acts which occur not within the discourse itself, but rather they can be recognized and understood as a plan of action for achieving a particular goal. Politically speaking, they add that this goal is a future state of affairs to be accomplished by means of action, starting from an actual situation which is usually perceived as a problem to be solved (2012, p. 23-24).

Moreover, Faircloughs argue that argumentation strategies are verbal, social, and political activities done by the defender to influence his audience seeking directly or indirectly for completely changing their minds to accept his standpoint. Both writers arrive to suggest that what is going to be said concerning what is already said above can be summarized as, "in arguing, as in other simple speech acts (assertions, directives, and so on), people refer to individuals and objects and predicate properties of them: speech acts have a propositional content as well as having an illocutionary force" Consequently, according to the point of view of Fairclough, what is acted in any persuasive political speech beyond its linguistic structure is not far from being strategies of argumentation and predication. (Isabella & Norman Fairclough. p.23-24)

#### **1.4.1. Aristotle's Rhetorical Strategies**

Tamar Mshvenieradze (2013, p. 1939) claims that Aristotle "The greatest scientist proved that the rhetoric method was the "art of persuasion" thus "the ability, in each particular

case, to see the available means of persuasion». In other words, he believes that Aristotle explains rhetoric as the ability to convince the audience in an artistic way using any possible technique in every situation to convince the other in any given situation .Aristotle wrote about rhetoric, and he identified three strategies of argumentation which are logos, pathos, and ethos.

#### **1.4.1.1. Logos**

Logos refers to the logic of an argument. Speakers employ logos by presenting credible information as supporting material and verbally citing their sources during their speech (Aristotle.2005, p. 08). He shows that messages are more persuasive when an argument is introduced logically by presenting logical relationships between the claim and the evidence (James & Mongeau. 2003). Moreover, Cooper & Nothstine (1996) state to be clear and logical in proving a certain point of view is through indicating assertive sources that strength the speaker's situation In addition, speakers can also appeal to logos by using their personal experiences, facts, and statistics as a support to their claims (as cited in Argyropoulou, p. 06).

#### **1.4.1.2. Pathos**

Aristotle (2005) claims that pathos refers to persuasion by appealing to the reader's emotions, and it is automatically related to language choice (p. 08). In other words, pathos generally appeals with the audience's identity and their self-interest. Aristotle was suspicious of emotional appeal because it is more acceptable in public speaking. In order to convince the audience, the speaker tends to involve them emotionally. James, Stiff & Mongeau (2003) argue that emotional appeals are considered as an effective method used to convince the audience through providing effective words or expressions that touch their feelings (as cited in Argyropoulou, p. 07).

### **1.4.1.3. Ethos**

Aristotle defined ethos as the degree of credibility of the speaker's arguments that reflects a good intention on him. To convince audience, the speaker appeals to logos through proving the truth to the audience in order to gain respect and reflect their attention ( 2005, p. 08). Ethos contains three dimensions which are: competence, trustworthiness, and dynamism (James, Stiff & Mongeau 2003). They add that competence is the speaker's knowledge about the content of his discourse. In addition, they state that trustworthiness refers to how the speaker presents his information in a balanced and organized way though citing credible sources, and following the principles of communication ethics. The third characteristic is dynamism which is defined as the degree to which audience members perceive the speaker as an active and clubbable character. James, Stiff and Mongeau explain that dynamism is also based on two other important characteristic of ethos which are charisma and energy. Those two characteristics refer to the physical and psychological characteristics of the speaker and to his ability to attract his attention (as cited in Argyropoulou, p. 07).

### **1.4.2. Linguistic Strategies of Persuasion**

Democratic societies are characterised by having the option to choose their leaders. They are often able to do so when they go to the ballot boxes on election days to vote for one person or one party. Their decision is not likely linked to a self-conviction of that person being elected or chosen, but rather it is based on communication through language. Charteris-Black (2005, p.1) states that," Within all types of political system, from autocratic, through oligarchic to democratic; leaders have relied on the spoken word to convince others of the benefits that arise from their leadership." Charteris-Black (2005) assumes that the best way to convince people of a certain point of view is to choose appropriate spoken materials. A political speaker need to prepare a well-structured speed before he spell to his audience in order to be sure that his speech include persuasive language. A persuasive language in a

political speech plays a great role to attract audience's support and gain their conviction and advocacy. When speaking about persuasive language in political speech, it is necessary to take into consideration how perception, conviction, and identities are influenced by language (Beard, 2000, P.18.)

Linguistic strategies of persuasion are also called rhetorical devices. Charteris-Black (2005) argues that successful speakers need to convince their audience ethically and emotionally through the effective use of language (p. 11). There are different linguistic features that maybe found in political discourse and help politicians to make their speeches more persuasive through the different social values they raise. Examples of those features or strategies listed in Lina Kulo (2009) are: 1) Metaphors, 2) Metonymies, 3) Pronouns and voice.

#### **1.4.2.1. Metaphors**

Metaphors are defined in different perspectives linguistically artistically, literarily, and rhetorically. As a rhetorical device, it is defined as, "the metaphor as a rhetorical figure in fact urges the hearer or reader to understand one concept "in terms of" the other concept (Burkholder & Henry, 2009, p, 98 cited in Hanne Penninck, 2014, p, 21). Burkholder & Henry suggests that for example, "the flow of credit is the **lifeblood** of our economy". This metaphor has a resounding effect because people would not normally see the economy as a physical body. Particularly because of this image that is evoked, hearers of the speech are invited to compare the flow of credit to lifeblood. This makes them perceive the economy as an important and critical living being that needs to be taken care of attentively. Consequently, they will perceive the economy in a different way and even their actions in everyday life may have changed because of it (Burkholder & Henry 2009, p. 98).

Davidson (1978) compares understanding of metaphors to the perception of dreams while arguing it both involves imagination and creativity ( p, 31 as cited in Hanna Páralová, 2017, p, 27)



Kovecses (2010) introduces another understanding of metaphor. He understands it in terms of domains. He recognizes two domains which need to participate in helping the receiver of the text to understand one idea in terms of the other. Kovecses (2010) claims that “These domains are so called ‘source’ and ‘target’. According to Kovecses (2010), the source domain provides the expression which is being comprehended in the target domain. He illustrates this on the example: Love is a journey, explaining that love serves as a target domain and journey as a source domain which contributes to the understanding of the whole concept of love”. (p. 4, 6 cited in Hanna Páralová, 2017, p, 26, 27)

Metaphors are linguistic features and symbols of talk which offer a concrete meaning to abstract ideas. This is possible because of the similarity between objects and concepts as regards particular features that one wants to convey. The sunshine of smile is an example of a metaphor, where it is understood that a smile brings out the same feelings of warmth and well-being as sunshine does ( Lena Kulo, 2009, p,3).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) hold that, “The conceptual system of human beings is metaphorical.” They add that “metaphors are merely linguistic instruments. They actually permeate perception, thought and behaviour.” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p, 3 cited in Lina Kulo, 2009, p, 3).

#### **1.4.2.2. Metonymies**

Another device of persuasion is called metonymy. It usually occurs in the text together with a metaphor. Gribbs (1993) explains that “a metonymy is when an idea or a concept is replaced by a single word or a feature that is connected to it. The foundation of metonymies is conceptual as is also the case with metaphors.” (p. 259). Metonymies can be useful in political speeches as they reduce or increase the responsibility. “For instance using the metonymy The White House instead of the President’s name reduces the President’s personal responsibility.” (Beard, 2000. p. 26) In contrast, the personal responsibility is increased by using a ruler of a

state's name when referring to the government or all the citizens in a country. Subsequently, "The boundaries between leader and nation is removed as that the views of the leader become the voice of the nation." (Charteris-Black, 2005, p. 35.) In both Gulf crises the name of Saddam Hussein was often used to refer to Iraq, Lakoff calls this THE RULER STANDS FOR THE STATE metonymy.

### **1.4.2.3. Personal Pronouns and Voice**

"Linguistic elements are clearly not for clarification reasons only, on the contrary, they may be used to conceal elements in situation. As it is also the case of metonymies, the use of pronouns may tell us a lot about how much responsibility a speaker wants to assume for an idea." (Beard, 2000, p, 24). "The first singular pronoun 'I', for instance, clearly declares who is responsible while the first person plural pronouns 'we' makes the status of responsibility more unclear." ( Jones and Wareing, 1999, p, 46). "First person plural in the introduction of a speech aim at an appeal to the *sharing of interests* between speaker and audience." (Charteris-Black, 2005, p, 4). According to Charteris-Black, "The first person plural pronouns was effectively taken into use by Winston Churchill when he described Britain's military politics as if they were his personal views." (Charteris-Black, 2005, p, 34).

"Furthermore, to what degree a speaker wants to be related to various ideas may also be shown by putting sentences in the active or passive voice. The active voice demands an actor, or an active subject, while the actor does not have to be mentioned in a sentence with the passive voice." (Beard, 2000, p, 30). Charteris-Black exemplifies this when he quotes Bill Clinton using the passive voice of the transitive verb 'tear' in the statement: "All over the world people are being torn asunder by racial, ethnic, and religious conflicts that fuel fanaticism and terror" (Charteris-Black, 2005, p, 125). Charteris-Black claims that in this quote, the responsible actors are not animate but 'racial', ethnic and religious 'conflicts'. In a later speech, Clinton combined the first person plural possessive pronoun 'our', with the

active voice of the same transitive verb. “Our purpose must be bring together the world around freedom and democracy and peace and to oppose those who would tear it apart.” (Charteris-Black, 2005, p, 125). Charteris-Black says that in this statement the ‘tearing apart’ is done by animate actors, ‘those who’. Thus, in both statements it is implicitly stated that the ones who are responsible for the ‘tearing apart’ and “tearing asunder’ are others than Clinton himself and that the one who ‘must’ do the ‘bringing together’ include himself.

#### **1.4.2.4. Three parts lists**

Lina Kulo states that,” Jones and Wareing (1999) argue that repeating certain phrases contribute towards making the ideas contained in them seem ‘common sense” (p. 39).

Three parts lists is another linguistic feature that is defined by Beard as follows “In long speeches word-repetition can be used to hold the speech together, but also to emphasize moral values.” (Beard, 2000, p, 39) Beard means that three parts lists characterises long speech where new ideas or information are presented in a particular variant of repetition Beard, 2000, p. 38). According to Charteris-Black (2005, p. 6), three-parts lists are suggested to be three new ideas are presented in the speech. The first is an initiation to the argument while he second is an emphasis to the first one, and the third is a reinforcement of the two and an indication of the completeness of the argument. (Lina Kulo, 2009, p. 7)

#### **Conclusion**

To bring this chapter to its conclusion, argumentative strategies, argumentation, or argumentative structure are parts that cannot be apart from the entity of political discourse. Politicians need to integrate different strategies to persuade audience. They are required to pay attention to word choice and the necessity to appeal for logic, ethic, and emotions in order to impose different values on people. The also should follow TMA in order to shape a well-organized political discourse.

## Chapter Two: The Analysis of the Speech

### Introduction

This chapter is the practical part of the study. It starts with a brief summary of Theresa May's biography. After that, it moves to talk about what is Brexit and in what context May's chosen speech for this study as a sample to be analyzed had been delivered. The following three titles are the analysis of Theresa May Brexit speech using each of TMA, Aristotle's rhetoric strategies, and analysing the linguistic features in the speech. Finally, the chapter includes a discussion of the findings of the speech analysis.

### 2.1. Theresa May

Barry Austin (2016) states that,

“In October, 1<sup>st</sup> 1956 Mrs. May was born in a seaside village to a vicar.” (p.1)

When David Cameron became prime minister in 2010, she was named secretary of state for the home department. At that time Cameron was opposing Brexit and she stood with him. When Cameron announced his resignation after the national referendum of June, 23rd 2016, it seemed likely to stand for the Brexit with the coming of the new conservative leader Boris Johnson. May has been elected among four candidates to be the new conservative leader and the new prime minister of GB in July 13, 2016. She started to see Brexit as a powerful point for Britain, but her efforts to realize it faces many obstacles. All of that pushed her to start the negotiation with the EU to defend it without an approval to do so from Parliament. Her attempt to convince the EU with her opinion was failed rejected in January 2017. (Retrieved from: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Theresa-May> )

Theresa May is the only British women who get the opportunity to be a prime minister. She delivered

## **2.2. Defining Brexit:**

Brexit is an abbreviation for "British exit," referring to the U.K.'s decision in a June 23, 2016 referendum to leave the European Union. It refers to the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union. The result of the referendum was somehow equal between both yes and no for Brexit. 56% was for Brexit and 42% remaining percentage was against it. (BBC News 2016).

## **2.3. Theresa May's January 17<sup>th</sup> 2017 Brexit Speech, 47 minutes**

In January 17<sup>th</sup>, 2017, Theresa May delivered a speech about Brexit. She presented a well-constructed plan that represents the future of UK after Brexit. Theresa May in her speech expresses the intended direction with a view to persuade the general public that everything is under control. Her plan is structured in twelve objectives. The speech included promises for further collaboration as well as warning. She attempted the most to be tolerant and logical when presenting her arguments. Lilian Alic (2018. p. 231, 232).

The main topic of May's speech is Brexit. It about how Britain is going to get the possible deal for the future. From scanning the speech, it seems that its main idea is the negotiation with the EU. It present a kind of plan that serves both UK and the EU at all sides. Three main ideas can be identified in the speech. First, May addressed the British people. Second, she addressed the EU nations. Third introduced her plan and explained the twelve objectives.

## **2.4. Method and Methodology**

The method used in this study is qualitative which is textual analysing of the speech. The speech is analysed using Toulmin's model of Argumentation, Aristotle's Rhetorical strategies, and the linguistic features of persuasion. The purpose behind choosing those methods is that political discourse is one of the complicated types of discourse. It need to be

analysed from various points of view and different linguistic approaches because it concerns attitudes, opinions, strategies, and word or statements presented by people who possess the political power like Prime ministers, Presidents of countries, or members of parliament.

Toulmin model is used to identify the structure of the different arguments in the speech. The language of the discourse is analysed to identify the different elements of persuasion.

## **2.4. The Analysis of Theresa May Brexit Speech**

### **2.4.1. Analysing Three Arguments from Theresa May's Brexit Speech Using the**

#### **Toulmin's Model:**

The speech's main claims are three. The first one is about the vote of British people to shape a brighter future. The second is to leave the EU. The third claim is the plan of negotiation with the EU that has twelve objectives.

#### **2.4.1.1. First Argument**

**Claim:** *British voted to shape brighter future for our country.*

#### **Grounds of the claim**

**G1.** *My answer is clear. I want this United Kingdom to emerge from this period of change stronger, fairer, more united and more outward-looking than ever before.*

**G2.** *I want us to be a secure, prosperous, tolerant country - a magnet for international talent and a home to the pioneers and innovators who will shape the world ahead.*

**G3.** *I want us to be a truly Global Britain - the best friend and neighbour to our European partners, but a country that reaches beyond the borders of Europe too.*

**G 4:** *A country that goes out into the world to build relationships with old friends and new allies alike. .*

**G5.** *I want Britain to be what we have the potential, talent and ambition to be. A great, global trading nation that is respected around the world and strong, confident and united at home.*

**Warrant:** *That is why this Government has a Plan for Britain. One that gets us the right deal abroad but also ensures we get a better deal for ordinary working people at home*

**Backing :** *It's why that plan sets out how we will use this moment of change to build a stronger economy and a fairer society by embracing genuine economic and social reform.*

*Why our new Modern Industrial Strategy is being developed, to ensure every nation and area of the United Kingdom can make the most of the opportunities ahead. Why we will go further to reform our schools to ensure every child has the knowledge and the skills they need to thrive in post-Brexit Britain. Why as we continue to bring the deficit down, we will take a balanced approach by investing in our economic infrastructure - because it can transform the growth potential of our economy, and improve the quality of people's lives across the whole country.*

In her argument here, Theresa May claimed that British people voted to shape a brighter future. All the grounds which are as follows: She ensured that by encouraging the pioneers and innovators to come Britain. In addition, she emphasized on the importance of the trade in developing Britain economically. Between both claim and ground there is a relationship mentioned in the warrant that is explicit which is the plan proposed in her speech. Logically, since she is interested in reaching the stage where her country becomes like her people want to it to be, she prepared for a plan which goal is to get a better deal for ordinary working people at home. In this argument Theresa supported her reasons by a qualifier which confirms on the necessity of the industrial, economic, social, and genuine development of Britain.

This argument misses the rebuttal because the grounds said by Theresa are reliable and persuasive for the claim.

#### **2.4.1.2. Second argument**

**Claim:** *They voted to leave the European Union and embrace the world.*

**Grounds :** *There are other reasons :*

**G1.** *Our political traditions are different. Unlike other European countries, we have no written constitution.*

**G2.** *The public expect to be able to hold their governments to account very directly, and as a result supranational institutions as strong as those created by the European Union sit very uneasily in relation to our political history and way of life.*

**G3.** *The European Union has struggled to deal with the diversity of its member countries and their interests. It bends towards uniformity, not flexibility.*

**G4.** *It was a vote to restore, as we see it, our parliamentary democracy, national self-determination, and to become even more global and internationalist in action and in spirit.*

**G5.** *We will continue to be reliable partners, willing allies and close friends. We want to buy your goods and services, sell you ours, trade with you as freely as possible, and work with one another to make sure we are all safer, more secure and more prosperous through continued friendship.*

**Warrant:** *And that is why we seek a new and equal partnership - between an independent, self-governing, Global Britain and our friends and allies in the EU.*

The prime minister Theresa May has supported her claim by six grounds. Firstly, she shows that Britain has an unwritten institution the thing that lead them to be diverse from other EU nations. Secondly they want to be global through the vote for to restore their parliamentary and national self-determination. Theresa is addressing the EU by appeal for preserving Britain's relationship with it and its prosperous friendship with allies too through the desire of dealing with them safely and securely at the level of trade.

#### **2.4.1.3. Third Argument**

**The Claim:** *we will seek to avoid a disruptive cliff-edge, and we will do everything we can to phase in the new arrangements we require as Britain and the EU move towards our new partnership.*



**Grounds:** are the twelve objectives behind this claim which are set in the speech in details which are: certainty, control of our own laws, strengthen the Union, maintain the common travel area with Ireland, control of immigration, rights for EU nationals in Britain, and British nationals in the EU, protect workers' rights, free trade with European markets, new trade agreements with other countries, the best place for science and innovation, cooperation in the fight against crime and terrorism, a smooth, orderly Brexit.

**Warrant :** *From that point onwards, we believe a phased process of implementation, in which both Britain and the EU institutions and member states prepare for the new arrangements that will exist between us will be in our mutual self-interest. This will give businesses enough time to plan and prepare for those new arrangements.*

**Backing** *This might be about our immigration controls, customs systems or the way in which we cooperate on criminal justice matters. Or it might be about the future legal and regulatory framework for financial services. For each issue, the time we need to phase-in the new arrangements may differ. Some might be introduced very quickly, some might take longer. And the interim arrangements we rely upon are likely to be a matter of negotiation.*

**Qualifiers :** There are two qualifiers for this claim

**Q.1.** *I am confident that a deal - and a new strategic partnership between the UK and the EU - can be achieved.*

**Q.2.** *And I am confident that the objectives I am setting out today are consistent with the needs of the EU and its Member States*

**Rebuttal :** *But I must be clear. Britain wants to remain a good friend and neighbour to Europe. Yet I know there are some voices calling for a punitive deal that punishes Britain and discourages other countries from taking the same path.*

In this argument, Theresa May claimed that she will work on keeping Britain in the same level of stability and avoiding any obstacle that may be like a disruptive cliff edge for

her country. She stated also that she will work on building a good partnership between UK and the EU. She confirmed her claim by setting her plan's twelve objectives and principals. Each principle serve an important area of development like trade, economy, travel, medicines, security, jobs, science and innovation, rights and laws, and so on.

She pronounced a statement that logically links her claim to her grounds which are the principals of her plan. She states that since those principals serve all the sides between UK and other EU members, they will obviously give time to provide a good future partnership and arrangement between both of them at the level of all interests. She supported her warrant by an additional explanatory statement in which she states again the importance of the twelve principals in controlling immigration, cooperating on criminal justice matters, or seeking to a legal future and regulatory framework for financial services. She qualified her claim by a high degree of certainty when she declares that she is confident of the success of her plan and reaching all objectives. However, she was hesitated from any other voices that may call for punitive deal to Britain and discourages other EU nations to follow the same path of UK, the thing that may threaten her plan to reach its intent.

#### **2.4.2. The Rhetorical strategies Sample of Analysis**

The second part which entitled "the rhetorical strategies" is going to analyse Aristotle's strategies used in Theresa May's Brexit speech and how she used them to convince her audience.

##### **2.4.2.1. Logos**

This research is started by analyzing first the logos strategy and how it is intellectually involved in the speech. She mostly appealed to logos in the arguments where she is addressing the EU nations. It appeared in the following instances:

*The result of the referendum was not a decision to turn inward and retreat from the world.*

*Because Britain's history and culture is profoundly internationalist.*

*"We are a European country - and proud of our shared European heritage - but we are also a country that has always looked beyond Europe to the wider world. That is why we are one of the most racially diverse countries in Europe, one of the most multicultural members of the European Union, and why - whether we are talking about India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, America, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, countries in Africa or those that are closer to home in Europe - so many of us have close friends and relatives from across the world"*

In this argument, May's application of the logos strategy is interpreted in the use of explicit warrant. She explains the Britain status in the world historically and culturally when she wants to convey a message that Brexit is not for Britain detachment from its origins and tight ties with its neighbours. It is used to convince the European Union that Britain belongs to them and they are proud of it

Moreover and as a fact that specifies Britain solely, Theresa May appeal to logos here is understood through the uncommon point between it and the other EU nations in having an unwritten constitution saying that, *"Our political traditions are different. Unlike other European countries, we have no written constitution, but the principle of Parliamentary Sovereignty is the basis of our unwritten constitutional settlement. We have only a recent history of devolved governance - though it has rapidly embedded itself - and we have little history of coalition government"*

Theresa May tries to convince her audience by supporting her speech that Britain has an unwritten constitution. This logical statement is used as a specific category in the Britain country. In addition, she addresses her audience in order to make a good image about the British future

The fourth statement that indicates logos is *" Because while controlled immigration can bring great benefits - filling skills shortages, delivering public services, making British*

*businesses the world-beaters they often are - when the numbers get too high, public support for the system falters".* Theresa suggests this objective in order to emphasize on the danger on the uncontrolled immigration, furthermore, She shows the benefits behind that control and its impact on developing Britain economically, and make its business international.

#### **2.4.2.2. Pathos**

Theresa May attempts to stir the audience feelings in order to affect her audience emotionally. She indicates her emotions. "*My answer is clear. I want this United Kingdom to emerge from this period of change stronger, fairer, more united and more outward-looking than ever before*". Theresa gives the reason to portraying the future United Kingdom out of the EU using emotional words such as stronger, fairer, united to attract their attention, and addressed directly their feelings in order to show that Britain may be more united and stronger if it leaves the EU. Theresa tends to use pathos strategy to strength her argument and she had chosen her words carefully to achieve her goal.

The second pathos argument used in this speech is "*The decision to leave the EU represents no desire to become more distant to you, our friends and neighbours*".

*"I want us to be a truly Global Britain - the best friend and neighbour to our European partners"*

The Prime Minister wants to prove that EU countries do not be afraid of being far from them, it means to leave the EU didn't affect their relation with them and she used the words friends and neighbours to show love and them.solidarity between

#### **2.4.2.3. Ethos**

In this strategy Theresa appeals in her speech her ethos as a Prime Minister. She said "*this Government has a Plan for Britain. One that gets us the right deal abroad but also ensures we get a better deal for ordinary working people at home*". She indicates her position as a strong leader, and has the authority to the audience to take her speech into consideration.

In addition, showing morals and values which are applied in her respect and careful for the working people.

The following ethos strategy is appeals in *"The same rules and laws will apply on the day after Brexit as they did before"*.

*" We will take back control of our laws and bring an end to the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice in Britain"*

Theresa emphasizes on the importance of keeping the laws shared between them, whether the Brexit accepted or no. Theresa provide this evidence to make the audience trust and they are working on applying the justice

Furthermore, Theresa declares her position as a leader, in addition to show his charisma and personality, and make herself the responsibility about her speech. She said *"As Prime Minister, I take that responsibility seriously. I have also been determined from the start that the devolved administrations should be fully engaged in this process"*

Another point that indicates appeal to ethos in the speech is the use of FSPPs 'I' which underlines her individual responsibility to shape the future of Brexit like in the example mentioned above.

### **2.4.3. The Analysis of Linguistic Features in Theresa May Brexit Speech**

#### **2.4.3.1. Metaphors:**

The first rhetoric strategy used by Theresa May in her speech is metaphor. She said *" I want us to be a secure, prosperous, tolerant country - a **magnet** for international talent and a **home** to the pioneers and innovators who **will shape the world** ahead. I want us to be a truly Global Britain - the best friend and neighbour to our European partners, but **a country that reaches beyond the borders of Europe too.**"*

She referred to the concept '**tolerance of British people**' towards strange innovative people and pioneers by the word '**magnet**'; she stresses the importance of building good relationship and friendships with their neighbours and other European partners.

*while I know Britain might at times have been seen as an awkward member state, the European Union has struggled to deal with the diversity of its member countries*

'**A country that reaches the borders of Europe**' is a metaphor that refers to the development and

The second quote said by Theresa is "*....we will put the preservation of our precious Union at the **heart** of everything we do*". she used this metaphor in order to show the importance of the Union to Britain, and she emphasized to remember it in everything they do. The aim behind using the word "**heart**" is that the union is a principle cannot be broken, in addition the use of that word strength Theresa's situation to be accepted by the audience.

The next quote is "*.....while I know Britain might at times have been seen as an **awkward member state.***" . Theresa used this metaphor by describing Britain as if it is a person who seems ungraceful and uncomfortable. The word "awkward" used in this context to present the position of Britain in the word through giving the Brexit plan. Theresa uses this metaphor to ....

In the following quote is "*A stronger Britain demands that we do something else - **strengthen the precious union** between the four nations of the United Kingdom.*" Theresa compares the union which is an abstract word by something concrete that can be strengthen such as person, She used the word "**strengthen**" in order to give an importance to the union between the four nations.

Finally, this quote "*.... the right powers are **passed** to the devolved administrations of Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland*". Theresa I this quote emphasized on the role of the

union between the three nations in order to be powerful . She used the word "**passed**" to show the good relationship between the three nation

The purpose behind using this metaphor is to make yje audience trust her that comparing powers by something passed from one to another.

The purpose behind using metaphors in Theresa's speech is to express her attitudes toward politics, and transmit her messages, beliefs, and goals to be achieved.

#### **2.4.3.2. Metonymy**

Theresa May's used metonymy in her speech. She said "*European leaders have said many times that membership means accepting the "four freedoms" of goods, capital, services and people.*" She used the word four freedoms to stand the concepts goods, capital, services, and people furthermore, this word is used to present the importance of those three freedoms in improving people's life. The aim of using this metonymy is to create a vivid image can make the speech strong and believed by the audience.

#### **2.4.3.3. Pronouns:**

According to Gocheco, personal pronouns help speakers to establish contact with the audience and also distance themselves from their opponents. (Gocheco , 2012, 5) In her speech, Theresa May varied between using the first singular personal pronouns (FSPPs) 'I' and 'My' and the first plural pronouns (FPPPs) like 'We' and 'Our'. Sometimes, she uses FPPPs to show that she belongs to the government or she is the government itself. It means she left a distance between her and her public when she listed her different reasons behind her plan of the negotiation with the EU to be accepted. Her plan in Ireland is to make a deal between Britain and the EU in which she tries to come up with solutions that may satisfy all the sides. Because after British people voted for Brexit in June,23<sup>rd</sup> 2016, the EU replied by a list of conditions under which British can leave the 28 nations officially. Among those

conditions, one of them is that Brexit must be accepted by the rest 27 other nations like Ireland. She presents twelve objectives to justify her different plan in which she defend the Brexit and describes the future of GB after it. She used the FPPPs many times. For example, in her fourth objective or reason, when she suggested a lot of ideas related to maintain the common travel area with Ireland, she said:

*We cannot forget that, as we leave, the United Kingdom will share a land border with the EU, and maintaining that Common Travel Area with the Republic of Ireland will be an important priority for the UK in the talks ahead.*

*There has been a Common Travel Area between the UK and the Republic of Ireland for many years. Indeed, it was formed before either of our two countries were members of the European Union.*

*And the family ties and bonds of affection that unite our two countries mean that there will always be a special relationship between us.*

*So we will work to deliver a practical solution that allows the maintenance of the Common Travel Area with the Republic, while protecting the integrity of the United Kingdom's immigration system.*

*Nobody wants to return to the borders of the past, so we will make it a priority to deliver a practical solution as soon as we can.*

*The third principle is to build a fairer Britain. That means ensuring it is fair to everyone who lives and works in this country.*

The use of FPPPs here also indicates another meaning or function which is conveying the message of the shared interests between the Prime Minister Theresa May and the audience. She wants to show them that she is the voice that tells their desires and connects their ambitions to the world by focusing on the importance of keeping the tight relationship between British and Irish people.



The use of FSPPs as mentioned in Chapter one refers to the total responsibility that the speaker holds as it is mentioned in the analysis of ethos previously. Here Theresa May used the personal pronoun 'I' at the beginning of her speech in order to clarify that she is responsible of what she is claiming. For example:

*I want Britain to be what we have the potential, talent and ambition to be. A great, global trading nation that is respected around the world and strong, confident and united at home.*

Here also, the 'I' of Theresa show how much she cares about the destiny and the situation of her population and county. She wants to spread the sense of strength and solidity inside people's minds.

## **2.5. Discussion of Findings**

On the basis of the analysis of Theresa May Brexit speech, the hypothesis has been confirmed. The results of the analysis showed that Theresa depends on argumentation and rhetoric to convince her audience. In order to answer the main question and the sub questions, those results has been come up from applying discourse analysis on Theresa Brexit speech, it is based on three methods of analysis which are TMA, Aristotle's rhetorical strategies, and the linguistic features of persuasion.

First, concerning Toulmin's model of argumentation, the analysis of the three selected arguments showed that the main three elements which are claims, their grounds, and the logical warrants are present. Each claim from each arguments supported by a variety of grounds, that is to justify her claim clearly, to explain the consequences behind each claim, and to motivate her audience to follow her path, and accept her plan. However, the other three optional elements backings, rebuttals, and qualifiers are used diversely. This used in order to make her speech more organized and believable.

Second, this research also tackled the Aristotle's rhetorical strategies as means of persuasion; logos, pathos, and ethos. Through the analysis of the chosen arguments, Theresa May built her speech on the logos and ethos strategies. This connotes that she provides her audience with a logical and credible arguments which made her speech strong and believable. However, the pathos strategy is rarely found because Theresa May's situation push her to prove her opinions based on an argument rather than emotions. This combination of logos and ethos are used to make a reasonable and logical arguments through imposing moral and ethical values.

Finally, concerning the linguistic strategies, the analysis of the selected arguments finds that Theresa May's speech was characterised by the considerable use of both metaphors, FSPPs, and FPPPs. The use of metaphors was to strengthen her in presenting a well-significant reasons behind her claims and to adduct the meaning of her arguments to the public. The use of such pronouns also makes her more near from her audience because for instance, when she used the pronoun 'we', she showed how much she is interested in what her people wants her to do for them. She also tries to preserve the relationship between Britain and the other EU member as it was before voting for Brexit. She does not want to lose their friendship with them.

## **2.6. Recommendations and limitations**

### **A. Recommendations**

This research conducts the rhetorical strategies of Aristotle in addition to the study of the arguments structure applying the Toulmin model, and the linguistic features used in Theresa May Brexit speech 17<sup>th</sup> January, 2017. This discourse analysis has suggested further researches which are:

A critical discourse analysis of Theresa May Brexit speech and identify the ideological strategies

A comparative study between Theresa May Brexit speech and Donald .Trump's speech through the analysis of the rhetorical strategies

Applying a comparative study between other models of argumentation .and the Toulmin model

Depend just on the analysis of the linguistic features of Theresa May Brexit speech

## **B. Limitations**

This research is accomplished with some obstacles. One of those obstacles is time pressure. This matter permits only the analysis of the speech to be textually rather than doing further analysis to examine if it was persuasive or not. This further analysis had to be done intertextually and ideological through the analysis of the reaction of people after the speech announcement.

## **Conclusion**

To sum up the discussion of this chapter, which based on the analysis of Theresa May's Brexit speech , showing the argumentative structure of her arguments. In addition to identifying the rhetorical strategies which are supported by the linguistic features applied in her speech to show the political language has been use. In the light of the analysis the hypothesis has been confirmed that Toulmin model elements are used clearly to form the arguments to the reason providing the audience with a strong arguments, in addition, Theresa May mostly depends on of

ethos and logos strategies to convince the audience. Furthermore, she used Metaphors and pronouns as an artistic method to attract the audience attention through the figurative use of language.

### **General Conclusion**

This research holds a study related to the field of discourse analysis in order to investigate the rules of persuasion in political discourse applied in Theresa May Brexit speech. This dissertation discussed the linguistic strategies that can be used in political discourse to convince the audience. Moreover, it highlighted the rhetorical strategies of Aristotle which are logos, pathos, and ethos. As far as the structure of arguments is concerned Toulmin model that is composed of six elements was discussed the claim, ground, warrant, backing, qualifier, and rebuttal.

In the practical part of the dissertation Theresa May's speech was textually analysed to identify the strategies. Three major arguments was analysed to identify the structure of the arguments and the elements were used by the Prime minister. The findings of the study revealed that Theresa May used ethos and logos as a rhetorical strategies rather than pathos in order to convince her audience logically. In addition to the use of the main elements of toulmin model; claim, ground, and warrant, however, the optional elements; backing, qualifier, and rebuttal are used differently. Moreover, the use of linguistic features are presented in the use of metaphors and pronouns to make the speech powerful and logic. The conclusion to be drawn from this research is that Theresa May's Brexit speech has been considered as an artistic piece covers the rhetorical strategies to fascinate her audience.

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## الملخص

تهدف الدراسة إلى تحليل مختلف الاستراتيجيات الخطابية واللغوية والجدلية المستخدمة في إحدى خطابات رئيسة الوزراء البريطانية السابقة تريزا ماي في 17 يناير 2017 بشأن قضية البري كسيت أي خروج بريطانيا من الاتحاد الأوروبي لإقناع الشعب الإيرلندي بمخططها. تتمثل الأهداف من هذه الدراسة التحليلية في التأكيد على أهمية نموذج تولمين المستعمل لتحليل الحجة في تحليل الخطاب السياسية، وكذا دراسة استخدام تريزا ماي للاستراتيجيات اللغوية جنباً إلى جنب مع نموذج تولمين و استراتيجيات أرسطو الخطابية. السؤال الرئيسي هنا هو هل قامت تريزا ماي بتطبيق الاستراتيجيات البلاغية والبنية البلاغية في خطابها عن البري كسيت؟ . أما الأسئلة الفرعية فتتمثل في ما هو هيكل خطاب تريزا باستخدام نموذج تولمين؟ كيف يتم استخدام إستراتيجيات أرسطو الخطابية في خطاب تريزا؟ ما هي الإستراتيجيات اللغوية المستخدمة وما هي وظائف كل منها؟ يتم إجراء الدراسة نوعياً باستخدام طرق تحليل الخطاب المتمثلة. تنقسم الدراسة إلى فصلين. الفصل الأول نظري ويبرز كل من مفهومي الخطاب السياسي والاستراتيجيات الخطابية المستخدمة فيه. الفصل الثاني تطبيقي والذي يتضمن منهجية وطرق التحليل، العينة التحليل، ومناقشة النتائج. تم اختيار خطاب تريزا حو البري كسيت نظراً لغرضه في الإقناع ومنه احتوائه على الحجج والبراهين. تكشف نتائج تحليله أن تريزا استخدمت الشعارات و الأخلاق كاستراتيجيات أرسطو البلاغية كما تم العثور على جميع عناصر نموذج تولمين، أما بالنسبة للاستراتيجيات اللغوية المستخدمة فقد تمثلت في كل من الضمائر والاستعارات .



## Résumé

Les objectifs de cette étude analytique sont de souligner l'importance du paradigme politique et l'étude de l'utilisation du premier ministre britannique Theresa May pour les stratégies linguistiques ainsi que le modèle de Tolman et les stratégies rhétoriques de 'Aristote. Cette étude vise à analyser les différentes stratégies rhétoriques et linguistiques et la dialectique utilisée dans l'un des discours du premier ministre britannique Theresa May le 17 janvier 2017 sur la question de la sortie du Royaume-Uni de l'union européenne pour convaincre le peuple irlandais de son plan. La question principale est de savoir si Theresa May a appliqué des stratégies rhétoriques et une structure dialectique dans son discours sur la sortie de la Grande - Bretagne de l'UE Les sous -questions sont .Quelle est la structure de la lettre de sortie du Royaume-Uni de l'UE utilisant le modèle de Tolman? Comment les stratégies rhétoriques d'Aristote sont -elles utilisées et appliquées dans son discours? Quelles sont les stratégies linguistiques dialectiques utilisées dans le discours ?Quelles fonctions stratégies linguistiques pour parler ? Cette étude est menée qualitativement et comprend deux chapitres ..le premier chapitre est la partie théorique sur les stratégies dialectiques et le discours politique .Le deuxième chapitre est le travail de terrain qui inclut la méthodologie et les méthodes d'analyse, échantillon ,analyse et discussion des résultats. Les méthodes utilisées dans l'analyse ,qui sont un modèle d'arguments de Tolman ,et l'analyse de la rhétorique des stratégies du langage aristotélicien et du vocabulaire linguistique du discours politique. Le discours a été choisi parce qu'il a été présenté à l'auditoire dans un but de persuasion afin qu'il soit plein d'arguments et de raisons . Les résultats révèlent que Theresa a utilisé les logos et l'éthique comme stratégies d'éloquence . Tous les éléments du modèle de Tolman ont été retrouvés et les caractéristiques linguistiques utilisées étaient à la fois des métaphores et des pronoms.

## **Appendix**

### **Full text of Brexit speech by Prime Minister Theresa May in 17<sup>th</sup> January 2017.**

#### **Delivered from Sky News**

"A little over six months ago, the British people voted for change.

They voted to shape a brighter future for our country.

They voted to leave the European Union and embrace the world.

And they did so with their eyes open: accepting that the road ahead will be uncertain at times, but believing that it leads towards a brighter future for their children - and their grandchildren too.

And it is the job of this Government to deliver it. That means more than negotiating our new relationship with the EU. It means taking the opportunity of this great moment of national change to step back and ask ourselves what kind of country we want to be.

My answer is clear. I want this United Kingdom to emerge from this period of change stronger, fairer, more united and more outward-looking than ever before.

I want us to be a secure, prosperous, tolerant country - a magnet for international talent and a home to the pioneers and innovators who will shape the world ahead. I want us to be a truly Global Britain - the best friend and neighbour to our European partners, but a country that reaches beyond the borders of Europe too.

A country that goes out into the world to build relationships with old friends and new allies alike.

I want Britain to be what we have the potential, talent and ambition to be. A great, global trading nation that is respected around the world and strong, confident and united at home.

That is why this Government has a Plan for Britain. One that gets us the right deal abroad but also ensures we get a better deal for ordinary working people at home.

It's why that plan sets out how we will use this moment of change to build a stronger economy and a fairer society by embracing genuine economic and social reform.

Why our new Modern Industrial Strategy is being developed, to ensure every nation and area of the United Kingdom can make the most of the opportunities ahead. Why we will go further to reform our schools to ensure every child has the knowledge and the skills they need to thrive in post-Brexit Britain.

Why as we continue to bring the deficit down, we will take a balanced approach by investing in our economic infrastructure - because it can transform the growth potential of our economy, and improve the quality of people's lives across the whole country.

It's why we will put the preservation of our precious Union at the heart of everything we do. Because it is only by coming together as one great union of nations and people that we can make the most of the opportunities ahead.

The result of the referendum was not a decision to turn inward and retreat from the world.

Because Britain's history and culture is profoundly internationalist.

We are a European country - and proud of our shared European heritage - but we are also a country that has always looked beyond Europe to the wider world. That is why we are one of the most racially diverse countries in Europe, one of the most multicultural members of the European Union, and why - whether we are talking about India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, America, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, countries in Africa or those that are closer to home in Europe - so many of us have close friends and relatives from across the world.

Instinctively, we want to travel to, study in, trade with countries not just in Europe but beyond the borders of our continent. Even now as we prepare to leave the EU, we are planning for the next biennial Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in 2018 - a reminder of our unique and proud global relationships.

And it is important to recognise this fact. June the 23rd was not the moment Britain chose to step back from the world. It was the moment we chose to build a truly Global Britain.

I know that this - and the other reasons Britain took such a decision - is not always well understood among our friends and allies in Europe. And I know many fear that this might herald the beginning of a greater unravelling of the EU.

But let me be clear: I do not want that to happen. It would not be in the best interests of Britain. It remains overwhelmingly and compellingly in Britain's national interest that the EU should succeed. And that is why I hope in the months and years ahead we will all reflect on the lessons of Britain's decision to leave.

So let me take this opportunity to set out the reasons for our decision and to address the people of Europe directly.

It's not simply because our history and culture is profoundly internationalist, important though that is.

Many in Britain have always felt that the United Kingdom's place in the European Union came at the expense of our global ties, and of a bolder embrace of free trade with the wider world.

There are other important reasons too.

Our political traditions are different. Unlike other European countries, we have no written constitution, but the principle of Parliamentary Sovereignty is the basis of our unwritten constitutional settlement. We have only a recent history of devolved governance - though it has rapidly embedded itself - and we have little history of coalition government.

The public expect to be able to hold their governments to account very directly, and as a result supranational institutions as strong as those created by the European Union sit very uneasily in relation to our political history and way of life.

And, while I know Britain might at times have been seen as an awkward member state, the European Union has struggled to deal with the diversity of its member countries and their interests. It bends towards uniformity, not flexibility.

David Cameron's negotiation was a valiant final attempt to make it work for Britain - and I want to thank all those elsewhere in Europe who helped him reach an agreement - but the blunt truth, as we know, is that there was not enough flexibility on many important matters for a majority of British voters.

Now I do not believe that these things apply uniquely to Britain. Britain is not the only member state where there is a strong attachment to accountable and democratic government, such a strong internationalist mindset, or a belief that diversity within Europe should be celebrated. And so I believe there is a lesson in Brexit not just for Britain but, if it wants to succeed, for the EU itself.

Because our continent's great strength has always been its diversity. And there are two ways of dealing with different interests. You can respond by trying to hold things together by force, tightening a vice-like grip that ends up crushing into tiny pieces the very things you want to protect. Or you can respect difference, cherish it even, and reform the EU so that it deals better with the wonderful diversity of its member states.

So to our friends across Europe, let me say this.

Our vote to leave the European Union was no rejection of the values we share. The decision to leave the EU represents no desire to become more distant to you, our friends and neighbours. It was no attempt to do harm to the EU itself or to any of its remaining member states.

We do not want to turn the clock back to the days when Europe was less peaceful, less secure and less able to trade freely.

It was a vote to restore, as we see it, our parliamentary democracy, national self-determination, and to become even more global and internationalist in action and in spirit.

We will continue to be reliable partners, willing allies and close friends. We want to buy your goods and services, sell you ours, trade with you as freely as possible, and work with one another to make sure we are all safer, more secure and more prosperous through continued friendship.

You will still be welcome in this country as we hope our citizens will be welcome in yours.

At a time when together we face a serious threat from our enemies, Britain's unique intelligence capabilities will continue to help to keep people in Europe safe from terrorism.

And at a time when there is growing concern about European security, Britain's servicemen and women, based in European countries including Estonia, Poland and Romania, will continue to do their duty.

We are leaving the European Union, but we are not leaving Europe.

And that is why we seek a new and equal partnership - between an independent, self-governing, Global Britain and our friends and allies in the EU.

Not partial membership of the European Union, associate membership of the European Union, or anything that leaves us half-in, half-out. We do not seek to adopt a model already enjoyed by other countries. We do not seek to hold on to bits of membership as we leave.

No, the United Kingdom is leaving the European Union. And my job is to get the right deal for Britain as we do.

So today I want to outline our objectives for the negotiation ahead. 12 objectives that amount to one big goal: a new, positive and constructive partnership between Britain and the European Union.

And as we negotiate that partnership, we will be driven by some simple principles: we will provide as much certainty and clarity as we can at every stage. And we will take this

opportunity to make Britain stronger, to make Britain fairer, and to build a more Global Britain too.

## **1. Certainty**

The first objective is crucial. We will provide certainty wherever we can.

We are about to enter a negotiation. That means there will be give and take. There will have to be compromises. It will require imagination on both sides. And not everybody will be able to know everything at every stage.

But I recognise how important it is to provide business, the public sector, and everybody with as much certainty as possible as we move through the process.

So where we can offer that certainty, we will do so.

That is why last year we acted quickly to give clarity about farm payments and university funding.

And it is why, as we repeal the European Communities Act, we will convert the "acquis" - the body of existing EU law - into British law.

This will give the country maximum certainty as we leave the EU.

The same rules and laws will apply on the day after Brexit as they did before. And it will be for the British Parliament to decide on any changes to that law after full scrutiny and proper Parliamentary debate.

And when it comes to Parliament, there is one other way in which I would like to provide certainty. I can confirm today that the Government will put the final deal that is agreed between the UK and the EU to a vote in both Houses of Parliament, before it comes into force.

A Stronger Britain

Our second guiding principle is to build a stronger Britain.

## **2. Control of our own laws**

That means taking control of our own affairs, as those who voted in their millions to leave the European Union demanded we must.

So we will take back control of our laws and bring an end to the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice in Britain.

Leaving the European Union will mean that our laws will be made in Westminster, Edinburgh, Cardiff and Belfast. And those laws will be interpreted by judges not in Luxembourg but in courts across this country.

Because we will not have truly left the European Union if we are not in control of our own laws.

### **3. Strengthen the Union**

A stronger Britain demands that we do something else - strengthen the precious union between the four nations of the United Kingdom.

At this momentous time, it is more important than ever that we face the future together, united by what makes us strong: the bonds that unite us as a people, and our shared interest in the UK being an open, successful trading nation in the future.

And I hope that same spirit of unity will apply in Northern Ireland in particular over the coming months in the Assembly elections, and the main parties there will work together to re-establish a partnership government as soon as possible.

Foreign affairs are of course the responsibility of the UK Government, and in dealing with them we act in the interests of all parts of the United Kingdom. As Prime Minister, I take that responsibility seriously.

I have also been determined from the start that the devolved administrations should be fully engaged in this process.



That is why the Government has set up a Joint Ministerial Committee on EU Negotiations, so ministers from each of the UK's devolved administrations can contribute to the process of planning for our departure from the European Union.

We have already received a paper from the Scottish Government, and look forward to receiving a paper from the Welsh Government shortly. Both papers will be considered as part of this important process. We won't agree on everything, but I look forward to working with the administrations in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland to deliver a Brexit that works for the whole of the United Kingdom.

Part of that will mean working very carefully to ensure that - as powers are repatriated from Brussels back to Britain - the right powers are returned to Westminster, and the right powers are passed to the devolved administrations of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

As we do so, our guiding principle must be to ensure that - as we leave the European Union - no new barriers to living and doing business within our own Union are created,

That means maintaining the necessary common standards and frameworks for our own domestic market, empowering the UK as an open, trading nation to strike the best trade deals around the world, and protecting the common resources of our islands.

And as we do this, I should equally be clear that no decisions currently taken by the devolved administrations will be removed from them.

#### **4. Maintain the Common Travel Area with Ireland**

We cannot forget that, as we leave, the United Kingdom will share a land border with the EU, and maintaining that Common Travel Area with the Republic of Ireland will be an important priority for the UK in the talks ahead.

There has been a Common Travel Area between the UK and the Republic of Ireland for many years. Indeed, it was formed before either of our two countries were members of the European Union.

And the family ties and bonds of affection that unite our two countries mean that there will always be a special relationship between us.

**So we will work to deliver a practical solution that allows the maintenance of the Common Travel Area with the Republic**, while protecting the integrity of the United Kingdom's immigration system.

Nobody wants to return to the borders of the past, so we will make it a priority to deliver a practical solution as soon as we can.

The third principle is to build a fairer Britain. That means ensuring it is fair to everyone who lives and works in this country.

## **5. Control of immigration**

And that is why we will ensure we can control immigration to Britain from Europe.

We will continue to attract the brightest and the best to work or study in Britain - indeed openness to international talent must remain one of this country's most distinctive assets - but that process must be managed properly so that our immigration system serves the national interest.

So we will get control of the number of people coming to Britain from the EU.

Because while controlled immigration can bring great benefits - filling skills shortages, delivering public services, making British businesses the world-beaters they often are - when the numbers get too high, public support for the system falters.

In the last decade or so, we have seen record levels of net migration in Britain, and that sheer volume has put pressure on public services, like schools, stretched our infrastructure, especially housing, and put a downward pressure on wages for working class people.

As Home Secretary for six years, I know that you cannot control immigration overall when there is free movement to Britain from Europe.

Britain is an open and tolerant country. We will always want immigration, especially high-skilled immigration, we will always want immigration from Europe, and we will always welcome individual migrants as friends. But the message from the public before and during the referendum campaign was clear: Brexit must mean control of the number of people who come to Britain from Europe. And that is what we will deliver.

## **6. Rights for EU nationals in Britain, and British nationals in the EU**

Fairness demands that we deal with another issue as soon as possible too. We want to guarantee the rights of EU citizens who are already living in Britain, and the rights of British nationals in other member states, as early as we can.

I have told other EU leaders that we could give people the certainty they want straight away, and reach such a deal now.

Many of them favour such an agreement - one or two others do not - but I want everyone to know that it remains an important priority for Britain - and for many other member states - to resolve this challenge as soon as possible. Because it is the right and fair thing to do.

## **7. Protect workers' rights**

And a fairer Britain is a country that protects and enhances the rights people have at work.

That is why, as we translate the body of European law into our domestic regulations, we will ensure that workers rights are fully protected and maintained.

Indeed, under my leadership, not only will the Government protect the rights of workers' set out in European legislation, we will build on them. Because under this Conservative Government, we will make sure legal protection for workers keeps pace with the changing labour market - and that the voices of workers are heard by the boards of publicly-listed companies for the first time.

But the great prize for this country - the opportunity ahead - is to use this moment to build a truly Global Britain. A country that reaches out to old friends and new allies alike. A great, global, trading nation. And one of the firmest advocates for free trade anywhere in the world.

### **8. Free trade with European markets**

That starts with our close friends and neighbours in Europe. So as a priority, we will pursue a bold and ambitious Free Trade Agreement with the European Union.

This agreement should allow for the freest possible trade in goods and services between Britain and the EU's member states. It should give British companies the maximum freedom to trade with and operate within European markets - and let European businesses do the same in Britain.

But I want to be clear. What I am proposing cannot mean membership of the Single Market.

European leaders have said many times that membership means accepting the "four freedoms" of goods, capital, services and people.

And being out of the EU but a member of the Single Market would mean complying with the EU's rules and regulations that implement those freedoms, without having a vote on what those rules and regulations are.

It would mean accepting a role for the European Court of Justice that would see it still having direct legal authority in our country.

It would to all intents and purposes mean not leaving the EU at all.

And that is why both sides in the referendum campaign made it clear that a vote to leave the EU would be a vote to leave the Single Market.

So we do not seek membership of the Single Market. Instead we seek the greatest possible access to it through a new, comprehensive, bold and ambitious Free Trade Agreement.

That Agreement may take in elements of current Single Market arrangements in certain areas - on the export of cars and lorries for example, or the freedom to provide financial services

across national borders - as it makes no sense to start again from scratch when Britain and the remaining Member States have adhered to the same rules for so many years.

But I respect the position taken by European leaders who have been clear about their position, just as I am clear about mine.

So an important part of the new strategic partnership we seek with the EU will be the pursuit of the greatest possible access to the Single Market, on a fully reciprocal basis, through a comprehensive Free Trade Agreement.

And because we will no longer be members of the Single Market, we will not be required to contribute huge sums to the EU budget.

There may be some specific European programmes in which we might want to participate. If so, and this will be for us to decide, it is reasonable that we should make an appropriate contribution. But the principle is clear: the days of Britain making vast contributions to the European Union every year will end.

### **9. New trade agreements with other countries**

But it is not just trade with the EU we should be interested in. A Global Britain must be free to strike trade agreements with countries from outside the European Union too.

Because important though our trade with the EU is and will remain, it is clear that the UK needs to increase significantly its trade with the fastest growing export markets in the world.

Since joining the EU, trade as a percentage of GDP has broadly stagnated in the UK. That is why it is time for Britain to get out into the world and rediscover its role as a great, global, trading nation.

This is such a priority for me that when I became Prime Minister I established, for the first time, a Department for International Trade, led by Liam Fox. We want to get out into the wider world, to trade and do business all around the globe.

Countries including China, Brazil, and the Gulf States have already expressed their interest in striking trade deals with us.

We have started discussions on future trade ties with countries like Australia, New Zealand and India.

And President Elect Trump has said Britain is not "at the back of the queue" for a trade deal with the United States, the world's biggest economy, but front of the line.

I know my emphasis on striking trade agreements with countries outside Europe has led to questions about whether Britain seeks to remain a member of the EU's Customs Union. And it is true that full Customs Union membership prevents us from negotiating our own comprehensive trade deals.

Now, I want Britain to be able to negotiate its own trade agreements. But I also want tariff-free trade with Europe and cross-border trade there to be as frictionless as possible.

That means I do not want Britain to be part of the Common Commercial Policy and I do not want us to be bound by the Common External Tariff. These are the elements of the Customs Union that prevent us from striking our own comprehensive trade agreements with other countries. But I do want us to have a customs agreement with the EU.

Whether that means we must reach a completely new customs agreement, become an associate member of the Customs Union in some way, or remain a signatory to some elements of it, I hold no preconceived position. I have an open mind on how we do it. It is not the means that matter, but the ends.

And those ends are clear: I want to remove as many barriers to trade as possible. And I want Britain to be free to establish our own tariff schedules at the World Trade Organisation, meaning we can reach new trade agreements not just with the European Union but with old friends and new allies from outside Europe too.

## **10. The best place for science and innovation**

A Global Britain must also be a country that looks to the future. That means being one of the best places in the world for science and innovation.

One of our great strengths as a nation is the breadth and depth of our academic and scientific communities, backed up by some of the world's best universities. And we have a proud history of leading and supporting cutting-edge research and innovation.

So we will also welcome agreement to continue to collaborate with our European partners on major science, research, and technology initiatives.

From space exploration to clean energy to medical technologies, Britain will remain at the forefront of collective endeavours to better understand, and make better, the world in which we live.

## **11. Cooperation in the fight against crime and terrorism**

And a Global Britain will continue to cooperate with its European partners in important areas such as crime, terrorism and foreign affairs.

All of us in Europe face the challenge of cross-border crime, a deadly terrorist threat, and the dangers presented by hostile states. All of us share interests and values in common, values we want to see projected around the world.

With the threats to our common security becoming more serious, our response cannot be to cooperate with one another less, but to work together more. I therefore want our future relationship with the European Union to include practical arrangements on matters of law enforcement and the sharing of intelligence material with our EU allies.

I am proud of the role Britain has played and will continue to play in promoting Europe's security. Britain has led Europe on the measures needed to keep our continent secure - whether it is implementing sanctions against Russia following its action in Crimea, working for peace and stability in the Balkans, or securing Europe's external border. We will continue

to work closely with our European allies in foreign and defence policy even as we leave the EU itself.

## **12. A smooth, orderly Brexit**

These are our objectives for the negotiation ahead - objectives that will help to realise our ambition of shaping that stronger, fairer, Global Britain that we want to see.

They are the basis for a new, strong, constructive partnership with the European Union - a partnership of friends and allies, of interests and values. A partnership for a strong EU and a strong UK.

But there is one further objective we are setting. For as I have said before - it is in no one's interests for there to be a cliff-edge for business or a threat to stability, as we change from our existing relationship to a new partnership with the EU.

By this, I do not mean that we will seek some form of unlimited transitional status, in which we find ourselves stuck forever in some kind of permanent political purgatory. That would not be good for Britain, but nor do I believe it would be good for the EU.

Instead, I want us to have reached an agreement about our future partnership by the time the two-year Article Fifty process has concluded.

From that point onwards, we believe a phased process of implementation, in which both Britain and the EU institutions and member states prepare for the new arrangements that will exist between us will be in our mutual self-interest. This will give businesses enough time to plan and prepare for those new arrangements.

This might be about our immigration controls, customs systems or the way in which we cooperate on criminal justice matters. Or it might be about the future legal and regulatory framework for financial services. For each issue, the time we need to phase-in the new arrangements may differ. Some might be introduced very quickly, some might take longer.

And the interim arrangements we rely upon are likely to be a matter of negotiation.



But the purpose is clear: we will seek to avoid a disruptive cliff-edge, and we will do everything we can to phase in the new arrangements we require as Britain and the EU move towards our new partnership.

So, these are the objectives we have set. Certainty wherever possible. Control of our own laws. Strengthening the United Kingdom. Maintaining the Common Travel Area with Ireland. Control of immigration. Rights for EU nationals in Britain, and British nationals in the EU. Enhancing rights for workers. Free trade with European markets. New trade agreements with other countries. A leading role in science and innovation. Cooperation on crime, terrorism and foreign affairs. And a phased approach, delivering a smooth and orderly Brexit.

This is the framework of a deal that will herald a new partnership between the UK and the EU.

It is a comprehensive and carefully considered plan that focuses on the ends, not just the means - with its eyes fixed firmly on the future, and on the kind of country we will be once we leave.

It reflects the hard work of many in this room today who have worked tirelessly to bring it together and to prepare this country for the negotiation ahead.

And it will, I know, be debated and discussed at length. That is only right. But those who urge us to reveal more - such as the blow-by-blow details of our negotiating strategy, the areas in which we might compromise, the places where we think there are potential trade-offs - will not be acting in the national interest.

Because this is not a game or a time for opposition for opposition's sake. It is a crucial and sensitive negotiation that will define the interests and the success of our country for many years to come. And it is vital that we maintain our discipline.

That is why I have said before - and will continue to say - that every stray word and every hyped up media report is going to make it harder for us to get the right deal for Britain.

Our opposite numbers in the European Commission know it, which is why they are keeping their discipline. And the ministers in this Government know it too, which is why we will also maintain ours.

So however frustrating some people find it, the Government will not be pressured into saying more than I believe it is in our national interest to say. Because it is not my job to fill column inches with daily updates, but to get the right deal for Britain. And that is what I intend to do.

I am confident that a deal - and a new strategic partnership between the UK and the EU - can be achieved.

This is firstly because, having held conversations with almost every leader from every single EU member state; having spent time talking to the senior figures from the European institutions, including President Tusk, President Juncker, and President Schulz; and after my Cabinet colleagues David Davis, Philip Hammond and Boris Johnson have done the same with their interlocutors, I am confident that the vast majority want a positive relationship between the UK and the EU after Brexit.

And I am confident that the objectives I am setting out today are consistent with the needs of the EU and its Member States.

That is why our objectives include a proposed Free Trade Agreement between Britain and the European Union, and explicitly rule out membership of the EU's Single Market.

Because when the EU's leaders say they believe the four freedoms of the Single Market are indivisible, we respect that position. When the 27 Member States say they want to continue their journey inside the European Union, we not only respect that fact but support it.

Because we do not want to undermine the Single Market, and we do not want to undermine the European Union. We want the EU to be a success and we want its remaining member states to prosper. And of course we want the same for Britain.

And the second reason I believe it is possible to reach a good deal is that the kind of agreement I have described today is the economically rational thing that both Britain and the EU should aim for. Because trade is not a zero sum game: more of it makes us all more prosperous.

Free trade between Britain and the European Union means more trade, and more trade means more jobs and more wealth creation. The erection of new barriers to trade, meanwhile, means the reverse: less trade, fewer jobs, lower growth.

The third and final reason I believe we can come to the right agreement is that cooperation between Britain and the EU is needed not just when it comes to trade but when it comes to our security too.

Britain and France are Europe's only two nuclear powers. We are the only two European countries with permanent seats on the United Nations Security Council. Britain's armed forces are a crucial part of Europe's collective defence.

And our intelligence capabilities - unique in Europe - have already saved countless lives in very many terrorist plots that have been thwarted in countries across our continent. After Brexit, Britain wants to be a good friend and neighbour in every way, and that includes defending the safety and security of all of our citizens.

So I believe the framework I have outlined today is in Britain's interests. It is in Europe's interests. And it is in the interests of the wider world.

But I must be clear. Britain wants to remain a good friend and neighbour to Europe. Yet I know there are some voices calling for a punitive deal that punishes Britain and discourages other countries from taking the same path.

That would be an act of calamitous self-harm for the countries of Europe. And it would not be the act of a friend.

Britain would not - indeed we could not - accept such an approach. And while I am confident that this scenario need never arise - while I am sure a positive agreement can be reached - I am equally clear that no deal for Britain is better than a bad deal for Britain.

Because we would still be able to trade with Europe. We would be free to strike trade deals across the world. And we would have the freedom to set the competitive tax rates and embrace the policies that would attract the world's best companies and biggest investors to Britain.

And - if we were excluded from accessing the Single Market - we would be free to change the basis of Britain's economic model.

But for the EU, it would mean new barriers to trade with one of the biggest economies in the world. It would jeopardise investments in Britain by EU companies worth more than half a trillion pounds. It would mean a loss of access for European firms to the financial services of the City of London.

It would risk exports from the EU to Britain worth around £290 billion every year. And it would disrupt the sophisticated and integrated supply chains upon which many EU companies rely.

Important sectors of the EU economy would also suffer.

We are a crucial - profitable - export market for Europe's automotive industry, as well as sectors including energy, food and drink, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, and agriculture. These sectors employ millions of people around Europe.

And I do not believe that the EU's leaders will seriously tell German exporters, French farmers, Spanish fishermen, the young unemployed of the Eurozone, and millions of others, that they want to make them poorer, just to punish Britain and make a political point.

For all these reasons - and because of our shared values and the spirit of goodwill that exists on both sides - I am confident that we will follow a better path. I am confident that a positive agreement can be reached.

It is right that the Government should prepare for every eventuality - but to do so in the knowledge that a constructive and optimistic approach to the negotiations to come is in the best interests of Europe and the best interests of Britain.

We do not approach these negotiations expecting failure, but anticipating success.

Because we are a great, global nation with so much to offer Europe and so much to offer the world.

One of the world's largest and strongest economies. With the finest intelligence services, the bravest armed forces, the most effective hard and soft power, and friendships, partnerships and alliances in every continent.

And another thing that's important. The essential ingredient of our success. The strength and support of 65 million people willing us to make it happen.

Because after all the division and discord, the country is coming together.

The referendum was divisive at times. And those divisions have taken time to heal.

But one of the reasons that Britain's democracy has been such a success for so many years is that the strength of our identity as one nation, the respect we show to one another as fellow citizens, and the importance we attach to our institutions means that when a vote has been held we all respect the result.

The victors have the responsibility to act magnanimously. The losers have the responsibility to respect the legitimacy of the outcome. And the country comes together.

And that is what we are seeing today. Business isn't calling to reverse the result, but planning to make a success of it. The House of Commons has voted overwhelmingly for us to get on

with it. And the overwhelming majority of people - however they voted - want us to get on with it too.

So that is what we will do.

Not merely forming a new partnership with Europe, but building a stronger, fairer, more Global Britain too.

And let that be the legacy of our time. The prize towards which we work. The destination at which we arrive once the negotiation is done.

And let us do it not for ourselves, but for those who follow. For the country's children and grandchildren too.

So that when future generations look back at this time, they will judge us not only by the decision that we made, but by what we made of that decision.

They will see that we shaped them a brighter future.

They will know that we built them a better Britain.”