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APPRAISAL ANALYSIS OF ANGER MOBILIZATION IN A VIRAL NEPALI POLITICAL SPEECH

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ABSTRACT

This study explores how the speech of a 16-year-old student, Avishkar Raut, triggered public anger in the 2025 Nepal protests. The study aims to explain how Attitude, Engagement, and Graduation interact in the speech to transform public dissatisfaction into a call for collective action. In doing so, it addresses a gap in understanding the rhetoric of politically unaffiliated speakers, whose speeches have rarely been examined in Appraisal research. It also compares inscribed (explicit) and invoked (implied) Attitude to show how much of the speech's evaluation is left for the audience to infer. By employing Critical Discourse Analysis, the study analyzes the full English transcript of the speech (about 350 words, 53 clauses) through systematic manual coding and quantification of its Appraisal resources. The results inform a distinct rhetorical trialectic. First, Attitude, which is mostly positive and largely invoked, constructs a capable and virtuous in-group set against a corrupt political elite and a dark present: the speaker condemns the elite explicitly but builds up the in-group through metaphor. Second, Engagement presents most of these evaluations as monoglossic, undeniable facts, and its questions leave only one acceptable answer. Third, Graduation, realised entirely through Force, intensifies these meanings through infused metaphors such as "fire" and "storm" and through repetition. These results imply that modern political mobilization often prioritizes emotional intensity to command action. Consequently, this research offers a practical trialectic model for analyzing how language drives contemporary social and political dynamics.

Keywords: *Appraisal theory; political mobilization; viral discourse; systemic functional linguistics.*

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INTRODUCTION

The use of digital media, such as Instagram, can rapidly mobilize public anger toward political protest and social change (Hansson et al., 2022). This phenomenon may be driven by unaffiliated actors whose criticism goes viral, rather than by institutional leaders (Tufekci, 2017). In this context, political discourse is an important means of influencing power relations, building societal agreement, and mobilizing coordinated action (Al-Khawaldeh et al., 2023; Hamed & Alqurashi, 2025; Zhu, 2024). Particularly in situations involving widespread corruption and political instability, speech that

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criticizes political elites and the government can drive public mobilization (van Dijk, 2008; Gabsi, 2025; Harbi, 2024; Jones & Chau, 2022; Tufekci, 2017).

This study investigates how the speech of a 16-year-old student, Avishkar Raut, triggered public anger in Nepal in 2025. Despite being unaffiliated with any official organization, Raut delivered a speech that gained widespread attention and was associated with intense, violent protests in Nepal (J. Koirala, 2025; S. Koirala et al., 2026). Due to its effect on public anger, Raut's speech requires systematic analysis to understand the linguistic strategies used to translate public dissatisfaction into immediate collective action. This study specifically investigates Raut's speech using Appraisal theory within Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). It addresses an important gap in understanding how linguistic strategies can transform anger into a call for public mobilization (Rouabhia, 2024). The Appraisal framework provides a careful method for analyzing how speakers embed emotions and attitudes in their discourse to shape listeners' perceptions and behaviors of the listeners (Alhabib, 2020; Hansson et al., 2022; Martin & White, 2005). In addition, this framework is suitable to analyse how speakers communicate their perspectives and manage solidarity(Cabrejas-Peñuelas & Díez-Prados, 2014).

Appraisal research on political discourse has shown how politicians use Attitude to express strategic positions, ideological stances, and moral convictions (Daulay, 2010; T. Li & Zhu, 2020; Ross & Caldwell, 2020), and how they use Engagement to open or close the dialogic space for other voices (Ademilokun, 2016; E. S. Li et al., 2019; Alshammari & Alyousef, 2025). Almost all of this work, however, examines well-known politicians in formal, institutional settings such as inaugurations, debates, and election campaigns, and Graduation has received less attention than the other two systems. Little is therefore known about how the three systems work together in the speech of a speaker outside the established power system who seeks urgent, mass mobilization. These studies are reviewed in more detail in the Literature Review.

The aim of this study is therefore to explain how Attitude, Engagement, and Graduation interact in Raut's speech to construct public anger as a call for collective action. In particular, it compares inscribed and invoked Attitude, since evaluations that the audience must infer from metaphor may draw listeners more deeply into the speaker's stance than evaluations stated outright. It addresses the following question: How do the dominant systems of Appraisal (Attitude, Engagement, and Graduation) interact to construct a persuasive rhetorical strategy that successfully mobilizes public anger in Avishkar Raut's viral speech, and how are inscribed and invoked Attitude distributed across these strategies?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Appraisal, outlined in the system network shown in Figure 1, is a branch of Interpersonal Metafunction of Systemic Functional Linguistics that examines how evaluation is expressed in texts (Martin & White, 2005). The framework consists of three subsystems. First, the Attitude deals with expressing personal feelings, including emotional responses, assessments of

people, and evaluations of things. The Engagement subsystem focuses on how writers or speakers position themselves in relation to other viewpoints. In the Engagement, the speakers acknowledge multiple voices (heterogloss) or present statements as unchallenged facts (monogloss). The Graduation subsystem explains how language can intensify or soften both attitude and engagement meanings. To sum up, Appraisal theory provides a classification of linguistic resources that reflect emotions, opinions, the way authors interact with readers and other voices, and the degree of intensity behind those evaluations.

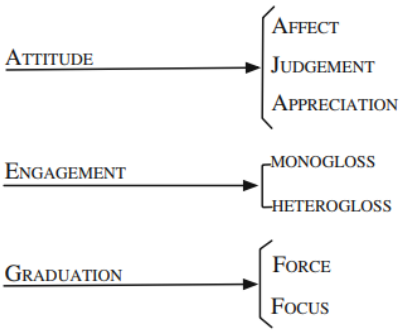


Figure 1: Appraisal Theory (Martin & White, 2005)

The Attitude subsystem describes how language expresses personal feelings across three domains: emotion, ethics, and aesthetics. As we can see Figure 2, the three domains can appear in positive or negative forms (Ngo & Unsworth, 2015). The Affect covers emotional responses, including desire (inclination), mood (happiness), feelings of safety or stability (security), and fulfilment of goals (satisfaction). The Judgement refers to evaluations of people, divided into *esteem*-normality, capacity, tenacity, and *sanction*, which assess a person's honesty (veracity) and ethical behaviour (propriety). Appreciation involves aesthetic evaluations of things, ranging from instinctive reactions (impact and quality) to perceptions of structure (balance and complexity), to cognitive assessments of worth (valuation), with the latter often shaped by the specific context or discourse field. Attitude can be inscribed, that is, stated through explicitly evaluative wording (e.g., selfish, honest), or invoked, that is, implied through ideational meaning that the reader is expected to evaluate. Invoked attitude may be provoked through metaphor, flagged through intensification or counter-expectation, or afforded by ideational content alone (Martin & White, 2005, pp. 61–68). Because invoked meanings depend on the reader sharing the writer's values, they are particularly relevant to discourse that seeks to align an audience.

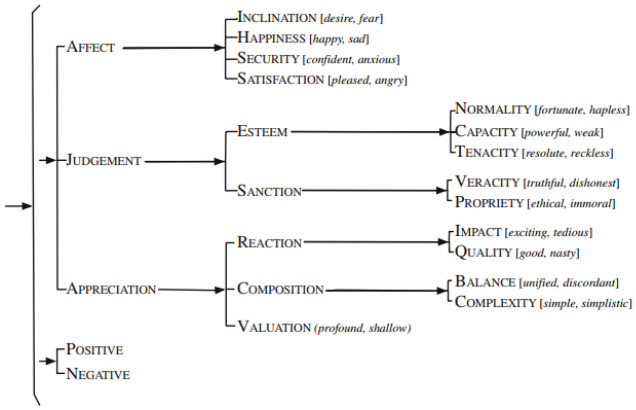


Figure 2: The Attitude Subsystem (Martin & White, 2005)

The Engagement subsystem explains how writers position themselves in relation to other viewpoints. The Engagement assumes that all texts express opinions and respond, whether explicitly or implicitly, to previous or anticipated perspectives. It distinguishes between monoglossic and heteroglossic statements. The monoglossic statements present unchallenged assertions. The heteroglossic statements incorporate multiple voices and either expand or contract dialogue. Dialogic expansion opens space for alternative views through entertainment (e.g., modals, hedges, cognitive verbs acknowledging possible alternatives) or attribution, where propositions are assigned to other sources either neutrally (acknowledgement) or with clear authorial distance. Dialogic contraction reduces alternative viewpoints through disclaiming and proclaiming. Disclaiming rejects positions via denial or counter-expectation. In proclaiming, authors assert strong alignment with a view by concurring, endorsing external claims as valid, or pronouncing their stance with emphatic expressions. Together, these resources describe how authors negotiate, acknowledge, challenge, or restrict competing voices within a discourse(See Figure 3).

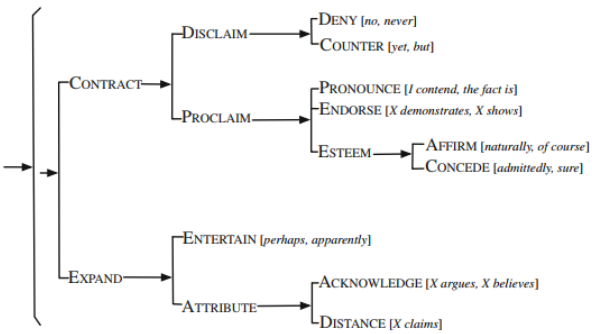


Figure 3: Engagement Subsystem (Martin & White, 2005)

The Graduation subsystem describes how writers adjust the strength of their evaluations by scaling both attitude and engagement, either intensifying or softening the force of what they express (Martin & White, 2005). It consists of Focus and Force (See Figure 4). Focus grades meanings

that are not normally considered scalable by sharpening or softening category boundaries (e.g., *real jazz*, *sort of jazz*). Force modifies the intensity or quantity of an evaluation. Force can heighten or diminish qualities, processes, and modal meanings through adverbs, repetition, or metaphor (e.g., *very foolish*, *laughed and laughed*, *ice cold*). Force can be realized through infused lexical choices that inherently encode different degrees of intensity (e.g., *disquieted → startled → frightened → terrified*). Quantification likewise scales attitudes by indicating number, size, proximity, or distribution (e.g., *few/many*, *large/small*, *near/far*, *widespread/limited*), using either standalone quantifiers or infused expressions such as *a mountain of a man* versus *a slip of a girl*.

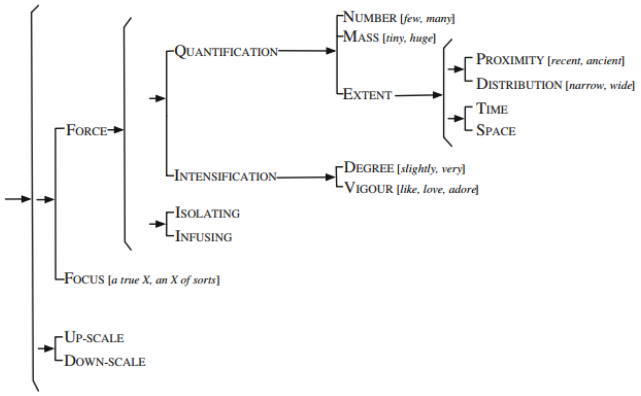


Figure 4: Graduation Subsystem (Martin & White, 2005)

Related Studies

To comprehend rhetorical aim in political discourse, the analysis of evaluative language is essential. Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) serves as the foundation for Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal framework. According to Cabrejas-Peñuelas and Díez-Prados (2014), the framework is an effective approach to analyzing how speakers communicate their perspectives and manage solidarity. It is also suitable for analyzing evaluative language. A primary focus of political discourse research is politicians' use of Attitude, Engagement, and Graduation to appeal to audiences (Sornig, 1989).

Prior research on the Attitude system (Affect, Judgement, and Appreciation) has demonstrated that, particularly in formal institutional settings, Attitude is used to express politicians' strategic positions, ideological stances, and moral convictions. First, Daulay (2010) discovered that American presidents' speeches used Appreciation more frequently than Affect and Judgement while assessing the country's economic problems and policies during their inaugurations. However, according to T. Li and Zhu (2020), attitude was primarily used in Chinese political discourses that addressed ideological opposition to show division by maintaining a negative Attitude for external criticism and positive Attitude for self-representation. Furthermore, in their analysis of Donald Trump's speech, Ross and Caldwell (2020) found that Trump used negative Judgement resources (Propriety and Veracity) against his opponent. Rahmaida and Cahyono (2022) found that Trump and Biden used completely different strategies to emphasize the opposing ideas of

both parties when the polarity is shared. The aforementioned research demonstrates that the Attitude system is employed to emphasize a morally divided world. Nonetheless, these studies mostly concentrate on its use by well-known political figures in formal institutional contexts.

Research on the Engagement system focuses on how politicians position themselves within the dialogic space, revealing varied patterns depending on the speaker's political goals. According to E. S. Li et al. (2019), a chief secretary deliberately alternated between Expanded expressions (to appear open-minded) and Contracted statements (to assert authority). Zhang and Pei (2018), who examined Xi Jinping and Donald Trump, also observed this contextual variability and discovered that political leaders favored contraction when presenting a cohesive national vision in an international forum. A similar preference was found in Prabowo Subianto's 2025 address to the UN General Assembly, where Contraction made up 23.9% of all appraisal instances, against 4.5% each for Expansion and Monogloss (Nainggolan et al., 2025). In analyzing concession speeches, Ademilokun (2016) found that monoglossia, which presents opinions as facts, was commonly employed as a tactic to support the speaker's ultimate view. In addition, more recent studies, such as Alshammari and Alyousef (2025) on the 2024 US presidential campaign, have also shown that Engagement resources are used to align and disalign audiences (see also Aljuraywi & Alyousef, 2022).

However, this research primarily focuses on institutional or formal campaign rhetoric where deliberation is presumed. Crucially, little research has been done on the Graduation system, which scales the power of meanings using Force and Focus. Although Graduation provides emotional depth and focus, its crucial role in generating the affective saturation necessary for widespread, non-institutional collective action has not been systematically incorporated into mobilization models.

Previous research has confirmed that Appraisal provides powerful tools for assessing political speech; nonetheless, there is a significant research gap regarding non-institutional, viral political discourse. Current frameworks effectively describe rhetoric based on formal policy and negotiation, but they do not take into consideration the distinctive linguistic approach of a speaker seeking urgent, high-stakes mobilization from outside the established power system. Specifically, it is crucial to explore the synergistic coupling of the three Appraisal systems: the integrated role of high Graduation (amplification of crisis), polarized Attitude (moral certainty), and aggressively Contractive Engagement (monologic command). Nainggolan et al. (2025) show why such coupling matters. They argue that Appraisal research is largely divided into separate Attitude and Engagement studies, and their co-instantiation analysis of Prabowo Subianto's UN address found that Judgement, Contraction, and Force were bundled into a single "rhetorical trialectic." Their speaker, however, was a head of state addressing an institutional forum; how the three systems combine in the speech of someone outside the power structure has not yet been examined. By examining a powerful, viral speech, this study seeks to address this gap. It is important to examine the language's ability to trigger emotional saturation and construct a non-negotiable call for collective action in contexts of contemporary social and political instability. The effectiveness

of such discourse may depend less on institutional legitimacy or reasoned debate than on its linguistic capacity to elicit intense emotional responses and construct a compelling call for collective action, and understanding this mechanism is important for examining contemporary social and political dynamics. This study focuses on the linguistic strategies used in such discourse that encourage rapid, mass mobilization, expanding beyond analyses of formal political speeches (Hamed & Alqurashi, 2025).

METHOD

This study employs a Critical Discourse Analysis method, based on Systemic Functional Linguistics principles (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014), with the Appraisal framework serving as the key analytical instrument. The corpus includes a full and authentic transcription of Avishkar Raut's viral 2025 speech. The transcription's source video originated on TikTok.

During the analysis, the video went viral and was watched by more than 960,000 views . It also received approximately 18,000 comments. The video transcriptions were cross-checked against a publicly available version on Republic World. The speech was delivered in English, so the analysis is of the speaker's own wording, not of a translation. The transcript contains about 350 words, which form 53 ranking clauses (C001–C053). Two words that appear to be transcription errors, insource (C018) and outh (C021, probably youth), were kept as transcribed and were not coded for Attitude.

Analytical Procedure and Unit of Analysis

The speech was first segmented into ranking clauses; embedded clauses were kept within the clause they belong to. Attitude and Graduation were then coded for each appraising item, so that one clause could contain several items, whereas Engagement was coded once for every clause, since every clause is either monoglossic or heteroglossic. Each Attitude item was coded for its appraiser, its appraised target, its polarity, and whether it was inscribed (explicitly evaluative wording) or invoked (evaluation implied by ideational meaning).

Invoked items were further classified as *provoked* (through metaphor), *flagged* (for example, through intensification or counter-expectation), or *afforded* (through ideational meaning alone) (Martin & White, 2005, pp. 61–68). An item coded in more than one system was counted once in each system, and percentages are reported within each system rather than as shares of a combined total. Decisions on unclear cases, such as whether a metaphor evaluates a person or a thing, were recorded in coder notes.

When a metaphor appraised a human participant, it was coded as Judgement if it construed the participant through a human role or as the agent of an action (e.g., *torchbearers of change*; *We will burn every despair away*) and as Appreciation if it identified the participant with a natural force or object (e.g., *We are the fire; We are the storm*). A non-human entity personified in a human role, such as *Nepal as our mother who gave us birth*, was coded as Judgement. Metonymies that stand for people, such as *futures for the students* (C005-1), were treated as references to human participants and coded as Judgement. Each invoked item was recorded with its trigger and the co-text that supports the reading (Supplementary Table S1). There were four stages

in the analysis: segmentation, manual coding, quantification, and subsequent functional interpretation. The clauses were later divided into smaller groups to reflect the type of evaluative position (Ahmad & Talaat, 2023; Xu et al., 2021). By breaking down these specific language choices, we can see exactly how the speech drives its persuasive power and why it continues to resonate so deeply (Macken-Horarik & Isaac, 2014; Tan, 2022).

To ensure analytical rigor, data preparation followed a systematic, multi-stage process. First, the core definitions and subsystems of the Appraisal framework were mapped out to establish an objective coding baseline for all lexico-grammatical expressions. Second, the transcript underwent ten consecutive, close readings to firmly grasp both its immediate semantic context and its deeper sociopolitical undertones. Finally, any idiomatic or context-specific phrases were cross-verified using external reference materials to secure an accurate, credible interpretation of the source text.

Systematic Appraisal Coding

To ensure a methodical coding process, we sequentially annotated the three Appraisal subsystems across the corpus. First, we began by identifying and highlighting every lexical item, phrase, or clause expressing Attitude, systematically categorizing them into subcategories of Affect, Judgment, and Appreciation. Second, we mapped the speech's Engagement strategies to determine how the speaker positioned their claims against alternative perspectives, identifying shifts between monoglossic assertions and heteroglossic alignment. Finally, we isolated all instances of Graduation, marking the linguistic resources used to adjust the intensity (Force) or categorical boundaries (Focus) of the evaluated meanings.

This methodology guaranteed thorough coverage of every evaluative language, enabling a sophisticated examination of its role and contribution to the speech's overall persuasive power (Etaywe, 2024; Tan, 2022).

Intrarater Reliability and Quantification

Intrarater reliability was carefully checked in order to verify the stability and dependability of the subjective coding procedure. After the completion of the initial round of coding, the researcher imposed a two-week interval, during which no analysis of the corpus was undertaken. After this break, the researcher went through the full coding process again on the corpus.

The outcomes of the first and second coding cycles were then compared, and any differences found were noted. The researcher spent an extra week focusing merely on the confusing segments and using the Martin and White taxonomy to determine the most reliable and contextually suitable final category assignment in order to reconcile these discrepancies and complete the corpus of evaluation items.

Agreement between the two coding rounds was calculated before any difference was resolved (Table 1). Items were paired across rounds within each clause by their wording, and an item identified in only one round was counted as a disagreement against no code. Agreement was very high for Engagement (96.2%, $\kappa = .94$) and for the polarity (98.0%, $\kappa = .95$) and the

inscribed or invoked status of Attitude (100%, κ = 1.00), and high for the type of Attitude (88.5%, κ = .82). It was lower for the specific Attitude category (78.8%, κ = .74) and for Graduation (69.4%, κ = .58). Most Attitude differences concerned the subcategory of Appreciation in metaphors of darkness and confinement (Reaction: quality or Valuation) and whether the metaphors evaluating corruption were Judgement or Appreciation. Most Graduation differences concerned items identified in only one round, particularly where a repeated pattern was marked as repetition. All differences were resolved in a third reading, and the resolved codes form the final dataset reported in Table 2.

Table 1: Intra-coder agreement between the two coding rounds

Dimension	**n**	**Agreed**	**%**	**κ**	**Main sources of disagreement**
Engagement (per clause)	53	51	96.2	.94	Monogloss vs Disclaim–counter for Just (C015); Proclaim–endorse vs Attribute–acknowledge for said (C045)
Attitude: type	52	46	88.5	.82	Judgement vs Appreciation in metaphors evaluating corruption (C020); items coded in one round only (C041, C043)
Attitude: category	52	41	78.8	.74	Reaction: quality vs Valuation in metaphors of darkness and confinement (C009, C017, C029, C044); Judgement subtypes (C016, C034)
Attitude: polarity	49	48	98.0	.95	lose it (C034)
Attitude: inscribed / invoked	49	49	100.0	1.00	—
Graduation: category	36	25	69.4	.58	Items coded in one round only (9), mainly where repetition was marked (C025, C027, C028); infused vs quantification (C011, C018)

Note. *Agreement was calculated before differences were resolved; n = paired units, with items coded in only one round paired with no code. κ = Cohen's kappa.*

The third step involved quantitative analysis to establish the evaluative profile of the speech. The raw occurrences for each Appraisal category and subcategory were totaled. This quantitative foundation directly informed the subsequent functional interpretation of the text's rhetorical strategies. Through this methodical, multi-stage coding and reconciliation procedure, we established a reliable framework of annotations. This internal consistency was vital for the subsequent interpretation of the speaker's evaluative choices (Geng & Wharton, 2019). This dual approach guarantees that the qualitative findings are connected to empirical patterns that offer a comprehensive view of the speech's persuasive mechanisms (Xu et al., 2021).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

This section presents the findings in relation to the following research question: "*How do the dominant systems of Appraisal interact to construct a persuasive rhetorical strategy that successfully mobilizes public anger in Avishkar Raut's viral speech, and how are inscribed and invoked Attitude distributed across these strategies?*"

This analysis is presented in three steps. First, it begins by establishing the quantitative trends of the three Appraisal systems and connecting them to current research. Next, it explores the qualitative interactions between these appraisal systems by analyzing specific clauses from the speech. It concludes by synthesizing these insights to reveal how Attitude, Engagement, and Graduation collaborate to generate and drive public anger. Sample excerpts are cited with their clause numbers (C001–C053) and followed by their coding.

Table 2 summarises the coding. Because Engagement was coded for every clause and Attitude and Graduation for each appraising item, the three systems are reported separately. The speech contains 49 Attitude items and 34 Graduation items in only 53 clauses, so it is densely evaluative: on average, almost every clause carries an attitudinal meaning. Three patterns stand out. First, Attitude is mostly positive (33 of 49 items, 67.3%) and mostly invoked (31 items, 63.3%), so the speaker evaluates largely through metaphor and implication rather than through explicitly evaluative words. Second, more than half of the clauses are monoglossic (30 of 53, 56.6%). Third, all Graduation is Force, and almost all of it raises intensity (33 of 34 items).

The Attitude

Within Attitude, Appreciation (21 items, 42.9%) and Judgement (19 items, 38.8%) are almost equally frequent, and Affect is the least frequent (9 items, 18.4%). Appreciation is therefore the largest type, as in the US inaugural addresses analyzed by Daulay (2010), but its function is different. Where Daulay argued that political speakers use Appreciation as a safe, detached choice to avoid provoking controversy, Raut uses it to build a charged contrast between what Nepal could be and what it has become. The ranking also depends on one coding decision. The metaphors fire and storm (C029, C030, C035) construe the youth as natural forces and were coded as Appreciation; read instead as tokens of the youth's capacity, they would make Judgement the

largest type (22 items against 18). Either way, the speech evaluates people about as often as it evaluates things. The profile also differs from that of a head of state in a multilateral forum: in Prabowo Subianto's 2025 address to the UN General Assembly, Judgement accounted for 26.9% of all appraisal instances and Appreciation for only 2.4% (Nainggolan et al., 2025). Prabowo judged the moral character of nations, whereas Raut divides his evaluation between the people and the condition of the nation.

Most of this Attitude is positive (33 of 49 items), and its most frequent target is the audience itself: the youth are appraised 17 times, 14 of them positively, and Nepal a further seven times, six of them positively. By contrast, corruption, the political parties, unemployment, and the present condition of the country together attract only nine items, all negative. The speech thus follows the familiar pattern of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (T. Li & Zhu, 2020), but with a clear imbalance: it spends far more evaluation on building up the in-group than on attacking the out-group.

Table 2: Distribution of Appraisal resources in the speech (percentages within each system)

System	**Category**	**+**	**−**	**n**	**%**
Attitude	Affect: un/happiness	1	3	4	8.2
	Affect: in/security	0	1	1	2.0
	Affect: dis/inclination	4	0	4	8.2
	Affect (subtotal)	**5**	**4**	**9**	**18.4**
	Judgement: capacity	7	0	7	14.3
	Judgement: tenacity	3	0	3	6.1
	Judgement: veracity	1	0	1	2.0
	Judgement: propriety	3	5	8	16.3
	Judgement (subtotal)	**14**	**5**	**19**	**38.8**
	Appreciation: reaction (quality)	0	4	4	8.2
	Appreciation: composition (complexity)	0	1	1	2.0
	Appreciation: valuation	14	2	16	32.7
	Appreciation (subtotal)	**14**	**7**	**21**	**42.9**
	Total Attitude (items)	**33**	**16**	**49**	**100.0**
	of which inscribed / invoked			18 / 31	36.7 / 63.3
Engagement	Monogloss	–	–	30	56.6
	Contract: Disclaim–deny	–	–	8	15.1
	Contract: Disclaim–counter	–	–	4	7.5
	Contract: Proclaim–endorse	–	–	1	1.9
	Expand: Entertain	–	–	10	18.9
	Total Engagement (clauses)	**–**	**–**	**53**	**100.0**
Graduation	Force: intensification–infused	–	–	17	50.0
	Force: intensification–repetition	–	–	7	20.6
	Force: quantification–number	–	–	3	8.8
	Force: quantification–mass	–	–	2	5.9
	Force: quantification–extent	–	–	5	14.7

System	Category	+	−	n	%
	Focus	–	–	0	0.0
	Total Graduation (items)	**–**	**–**	**34**	**100.0**

Note. *Attitude and Graduation are counted per appraising item and Engagement per clause; an item coded in more than one system is counted once in each. Polarity (+/−) applies to Attitude only.*

Inscribed and invoked Attitude are used for different purposes. Affect is mostly inscribed (seven of nine items): the speaker states his own feelings outright (*my heart is heavy, a dream of building a new Nepal*). Judgement and Appreciation, by contrast, are mostly invoked (14 of 19 and 15 of 21 items). The evaluation of the out-group is explicit, since its negative Propriety is inscribed (*selfish games, corruption, injustice*), whereas the evaluation of the in-group is implicit: all seven Capacity items are invoked (*torchbearers of change, who will?, its future is in our hands*), as are the metaphors *fire* and *storm*. The speaker thus names the enemy directly but leaves the audience to infer its own strength, an inference that may commit listeners more firmly to the stance than an explicit claim would.

Table 3: Invoked Attitude by type and invocation strategy (n = 31)

Attitude type	Provoke	Flag	Afford	Total	Example triggers
Affect	1	0	1	2	*trapped; shall my country live on?*
Judgement	6	5	3	14	*torchbearers of change, in our hands; who will? (×3), Even if I die; nurtured us, sell it*
Appreciation	13	0	2	15	*chains, web, shackles, fire, storm; to give us this nation, lose it*
Total	**20**	**5**	**6**	**31**	

Note. *Provoke = metaphor or other figurative wording; Flag = counter-expectation or rhetorical question; Afford = ideational content alone. The full list with co-textual evidence is given in Supplementary Table S1.*

Table 3 shows how the invoked items are distributed across invocation strategies. Invoked Appreciation is realized almost entirely through metaphor (13 of 15 items): the state of Nepal is evaluated through images of chains, a web, shackles, and fire. Invoked Judgement uses all three strategies and is the only type that is flagged: the rhetorical who will? and the counter-expectation in Even if I die lead the audience to evaluate people, themselves and the king, without the evaluation being stated. Affect is hardly ever invoked, which is consistent with the speaker stating his own feelings outright.

Excerpt 1 (C017–C020)

We are bounded by the chains of unemployment, (C017)
seeing a broad insource of opportunities. (C018)
We are trapped by the selfish games of political parties. (C019)

Corruption has woven a web that is extinguishing the light of our futures. (C020)

Coding: chains of unemployment = Appreciation: reaction (quality) −, invoked (Provoke), with infused Force; trapped = Affect: insecurity −, invoked, with infused Force; selfish games and Corruption = Judgement: propriety −, inscribed; has woven a web = Appreciation: composition (complexity) −, invoked (Provoke); extinguishing the light of our futures = Appreciation: valuation −, invoked, with infused Force; broad = Force: quantification (mass). Engagement: Monogloss in all four clauses.

Positive Valuation (14 of the 16 Valuation items) constructs an idealized vision of the nation and its future through items such as monumental change, prosperity, and engrave a monument of change. Negative Appreciation is less frequent (seven items) but more vivid. It is realized mainly as Reaction: Quality through metaphors of darkness and confinement (*the dark limbus*; *the chains of unemployment* in Excerpt 1; *burn away the darkness* in Excerpt 5; *remain in shackles* in Excerpt 6) and as Composition: Complexity in the *web woven by corruption* (Excerpt 1, C020). In Excerpt 1, these images cluster in four consecutive clauses, where they are combined with explicit negative Judgement of the political actors (*selfish games, Corruption*). Unlike the going negative strategy reported by Ross and Caldwell (2020), which targets an individual (for example, 'crooked Hillary'), Raut directs this negative Appreciation at a condition rather than a person. The conflict is presented not as a personal disagreement but as a struggle between a hopeful future and a dark present.

Judgement (38.8%) appraises the human participants, and here the imbalance between Self and Other is sharpest: 14 of the 19 Judgement items are positive. The positive Self is constructed mainly through Capacity (seven items, all positive and all invoked): the youth are the futures of the nation and the torchbearers of change, the only ones who can raise their voices (who will?), and the people who hold the nation's future in our hands (Excerpts 2 and 5). As Excerpt 2 shows, none of these evaluations is stated outright: the audience's capacity is implied by a metaphor of leadership (C022) and by a question repeated three times that leaves only one answer, namely that no one else will act (C024, C026, C028). Tenacity (hard work in Excerpt 3, and the ancestors who shed their blood in Excerpt 7) and Veracity (honesty, Excerpt 3) add moral worth to this capacity. The use of positive Judgement to build a shared ideological identity reflects the findings of Rahmaida and Cahyono (2022).

Excerpt 2 (C021–C028)

Youth, rise! (C021)
We are the torchbearers of change. (C022)
If you do not raise our voices, who will? (C023–C024)
If you do not raise our voices, who will? (C025–C026)
If you do not build this nation, who will? (C027–C028)

Coding: torchbearers of change = Judgement: capacity +, invoked (Provoke); who will? (×3) = Judgement: capacity +, invoked (Flag); Engagement: Monogloss (C021–C022), Contract: Disclaim–deny in the conditional clauses (not) and in the rhetorical questions, which imply the answer no one; Graduation: Force: repetition (×3).

The negative Other is formed through negative Propriety (five items), realized by *selfish games* and *corruption* (Excerpt 1) and *injustice* (Excerpt 5). This is consistent with the going negative strategy that Ross and Caldwell (2020) found in Trump's rhetoric, but Raut does not target an individual. He targets a systemic idea (*corruption*) and an abstract collective (*political parties*), which allows him to present the antagonists as a class lacking moral integrity rather than as personal rivals. Two of the negative Propriety items, however, are directed at the youth themselves (*But what are we doing?* in Excerpt 3 and *We cannot sell it* in Excerpt 7). Excerpt 3 shows how this self-reproach is prepared: Nepal is first personified as *a mother who gave us birth and nurtured us* and asked for *Just our honesty*, *our hard work, our contribution* (C012–C015), so that the counter-question *But what are we doing?* (C016) reads as a judgement of the audience's failure to give even that. This self-reproach turns criticism into an obligation to act.

Excerpt 3 (C012–C016)

Nepal, our mother, this country gave us birth, (C012)
nurtured us. (C013)
But what did it ask in return? (C014)
Just our honesty, our hard work, our contribution. (C015)
But what are we doing? (C016)

Coding: our mother … gave us birth and nurtured us = Judgement: propriety + (Nepal, personified), invoked (Afford); our honesty = Judgement: veracity +, inscribed; our hard work = Judgement: tenacity +, inscribed; our contribution = Judgement: propriety +, invoked; what are we doing? = Judgement: propriety − (the youth), invoked; Just = Force: quantification, lowering. Engagement: Contract: Disclaim–counter (But) in C014 and C016; Monogloss elsewhere.

Affect is the least frequent type (18.4%). It frames the speech at the beginning and the end, with the speaker's own desire and sadness (*a dream of building a new Nepal, a fire of hope and passion, my heart is heavy*; Excerpt 4) and with the alternatives the audience must choose between (*drown in the darkness of despair or rise as the sun of hope*; Excerpt 6). In the opening (Excerpt 4), the speaker's desire is immediately countered by his sadness (*But my heart is heavy*, C003), and the threat to the dream is entertained rather than asserted (*seems to be slipping away*, C004). This ranking agrees with the hierarchies reported for institutional speeches (Alshammari & Alyousef, 2025; Aljuraywi & Alyousef, 2022; Daulay, 2010). Rather than relying on sustained displays of personal emotion, Raut places most of his evaluation in Judgement and Appreciation, so that anger appears as a response to the state of the nation rather than as the speaker's private feeling.

Excerpt 4 (C001–C004)

Today I stand here, (C001)
stand here with a dream of building a new Nepal, with a fire of hope and passion burning within me. (C002)
But my heart is heavy (C003)
because this dream seems to be slipping away. (C004)

Coding: a dream of building a new Nepal and a fire of hope and passion burning within me = Affect: desire +, inscribed (the second with infused Force); my heart is heavy = Affect: misery −, inscribed; slipping away = Appreciation: valuation −, invoked; stand here, stand here = Force: repetition. Engagement: Monogloss

(C001–C002), Contract: Disclaim–counter (But, C003), Expand: Entertain (seems, C004).

In sum, the Attitude system in this speech functions as a calculated sequence, and most of it works by implication: almost two-thirds of the items (63.3%) are invoked, mostly provoked through metaphor (20 of 31 invoked items), so the audience must supply the evaluation themselves from images such as *fire*, *chains*, and *shackles*. Raut begins by establishing a broken structural reality through Appreciation, passes moral judgment on the institutional actors responsible through Judgment, and anchors the collective experience using Affect. By minimizing purely subjective, individualized emotion, Raut successfully frames the public's anger not as a volatile, temporary impulse, but as a rational, morally bound reaction to an amoral, systemic crisis.

The Engagement

Engagement was coded for each of the 53 clauses. Monogloss is the most frequent option (30 clauses, 56.6%), so more than half of the speech is presented as bare assertion or as direct command; imperatives such as *Youth rise*! were treated as monoglossic, since they direct the audience without acknowledging alternatives. This contrasts with research on deliberative political genres, including the debates investigated by E. S. Li et al. (2019), the economic forum speeches reviewed by Zhang and Pei (2018), and the campaign rhetoric studied by Alshammari and Alyousef (2025), all of which found Heterogloss to be the main strategy.

Even though it is dominant, this Monoglossic dominance directly corresponds with the results of Ademilokun (2016) regarding non-deliberative concession speeches. Ademilokun (2016) contended that Monogloss was employed to present views as factual, a tactic that accurately reflects Raut's use of powerful statements (see Excerpt 5). In this respect, the speech is not deliberative. As described by E. S. Li et al. (2019), these statements are intended to motivate and bring together a singular, factual perspective, rather than to investigate different viewpoints.

Excerpt 5 (C029–C030, C050–C051)

We are the fire that will burn away the darkness. (C029)
We are the storm that will sweep away injustice and bring prosperity. (C030)
Nepal is ours (C050)
and its future is in our hands. (C051)

Coding: fire and storm = Appreciation: valuation + (the youth), invoked (Provoke), with infused Force; burn away the darkness = Appreciation: reaction (quality) − (the present condition), invoked, with infused Force; sweep away injustice = Judgement: propriety −, inscribed, with infused Force; prosperity = Appreciation: valuation +, inscribed; its future is in our hands = Judgement: capacity + (the youth), invoked. Engagement: Monogloss in all four clauses; no modal, source, or concession qualifies the claims.

When the speaker does engage other voices (23 clauses, 43.4%), Contraction (13 clauses, 24.5%) is somewhat more frequent than Expansion (10 clauses, 18.9%). Contraction is realized mainly through Disclaim: Deny (eight clauses), as in the threefold *If you do not raise our voices, who will?*

(Excerpt 2) and in *We cannot sell it. We cannot lose it* (Excerpt 7), and through Disclaim: Counter (four clauses), as in *But my heart is heavy* (Excerpt 4) and *But what did it ask in return?* (Excerpt 3). The single attribution, *King Birendra once said* (Excerpt 6, C045), was coded as Proclaim: Endorse, because the speaker explicitly adopts the quoted words (*carry these words in your heart*). This preference for Contraction agrees with Zhang and Pei (2018), who found that Xi and Trump favoured Contraction to project a united national vision. Expansion, however, is not marginal. It is realized entirely through Entertain, mostly in the closing questions (*Now we must decide. Will we? … Will we drown in the darkness of despair or rise as the sun of hope?*; Excerpt 6, C039–C044). As Excerpt 6 shows, Expansion and Contraction alternate in this closing sequence. These questions open the dialogic space only formally: the alternatives they offer are evaluated so unequally that only one answer is acceptable.

Excerpt 6 (C039–C048)
Now we must decide. (C039)
Will we drown in the darkness of despair (C040)
or rise as the sun of hope? (C041)
Will we? (C042)
Will we change the fate of this nation (C043)
or will we let it remain in shackles? (C044)
King Birendra once said, (C045)
'Even if I die, (C046)
shall my country live on?' (C047)
All the youths, carry these words in your heart (C048)
Coding: Engagement: Expand: Entertain (must, C039; the alternative and yes/no questions, C040–C044, C047); Contract: Proclaim–endorse (King Birendra once said, C045); Contract: Disclaim–counter (Even if, C046); Monogloss (C048). Attitude: drown in the darkness of despair = Affect: misery –, inscribed; rise as the sun of hope = Affect: desire +, inscribed; remain in shackles = Appreciation: reaction (quality) –, invoked (Provoke); Even if I die = Judgement: tenacity + (King Birendra), invoked (Flag); carry these words in your heart = Appreciation: valuation + (the King's words), invoked. Graduation: Force: repetition (Now we must decide, Will we?); infused Force (drown, rise as the sun, shackles).

The Graduation

All 34 Graduation items are Force, and 33 of them raise rather than lower intensity; Focus does not occur. This matters because much of the existing literature (e.g., Daulay, 2010; Ross & Caldwell, 2020; E. S. Li et al., 2019) has concentrated on what is evaluated (Attitude) or how it is sourced (Engagement), with less attention to how evaluation is amplified.

The most frequent category is infused intensification (17 items, 50.0%), and isolated intensifiers such as very do not occur at all. Raut does not amplify through separate grammatical modifiers but builds intensity into the wording itself, mostly through metaphorical processes and things: *fire, storm, piercing, chains, trapped, extinguishing, burn away, sweep away, drown, and shackles* (see Excerpts 1, 5, and 6). Studies such as Ademilokun (2016) and Zhang and Pei (2018) acknowledge Graduation in political discourse but rarely distinguish infused from isolated intensification; in this speech, the distinction is decisive.

Infused Force frames the central themes as elemental, unstoppable forces and so legitimizes an equally intense response.

Repetition is the second intensifying resource (seven items, 20.6%): the opening *stand here, stand here* (Excerpt 4), the threefold *If you do not …, who will?* (Excerpt 2), the paired *We cannot sell it. We cannot lose it* (Excerpt 7), the repeated *Now we must decide and Will we?* (Excerpt 6), and the closing *Jai Yuga! Jai Nepal!* Quantification (ten items, 29.4%) completes the picture. It scales extent in time (*everlasting, immortalize, engrave a monument, live on, now*), number (*every* in Excerpt 7, *all* in Excerpt 6), and mass (*monumental, broad*), and so gives the speaker's claims an absolute and lasting scope. Excerpt 7 shows how these resources accumulate within six clauses: infused Force (*shed their blood, fire, burn … away*), repetition (*We cannot … it ×2*), and quantification (*every despair*). Its only lowering item, just (*Just our honesty, our hard work, our contribution*; Excerpt 3), minimizes what the nation asks of its people and so makes their failure to give it more striking.

Excerpt 7 (C031–C036)

Our ancestors shed their blood (C031)
to give us this nation. (C032)
We cannot sell it. (C033)
We cannot lose it. (C034)
We are the fire. (C035)
We will burn every despair away. (C036)

Coding: shed their blood = Judgement: tenacity + (the ancestors), invoked, with infused Force; to give us this nation = Appreciation: valuation + (Nepal), invoked; We cannot sell it = Judgement: propriety −, invoked; We cannot lose it = Appreciation: valuation + (Nepal), invoked, with Force: repetition (×2); fire = Appreciation: valuation + (the youth), invoked, with infused Force; every despair = Affect: misery −, inscribed, with Force: quantification (every); burn … away = Judgement: capacity + (the youth), invoked, with infused Force. Engagement: Contract: Disclaim–deny (cannot, C033–C034); Monogloss elsewhere.

The absence of Focus is as telling as the dominance of Force. Instead of the nuance or category sharpening (*sort of, a real …)* often found in the deliberative genres discussed by E. S. Li et al. (2019), the speaker relies on direct and energetic amplification, which heightens emotional impact and presents the message as urgent and unquestionable.

The Attitude-Graduation Interaction

A clear target is required in mobilizing anger. In Raut's speech, the target is constructed not just by *what* is evaluated (Attitude) but *how intensely* (Graduation). The speaker's negative evaluations are amplified by high-Force Graduation, as seen in the clauses: "*Corruption has woven a web that is extinguishing the light of our futures*." (C020; Excerpt 1). In this clause, Raut evaluates *Corruption* (inscribed negative Judgement: Propriety) through the metaphor of *a web* (invoked negative Appreciation: Composition, provoked by the metaphor). This is then coupled with the process of *extinguishing* (invoked negative Appreciation: Valuation), which is itself a lexical item of infused high Graduation (Force: infused intensification)**.** What is extinguished, the light of our futures, is not evaluated in its own right but supplies the contrast against which the web and its effect are judged. This interaction transforms a simple

political grievance into an elemental, existential struggle. The speaker does not say "*corruption is very bad*" (a simple, gradable Intensification). However, he claims it is an active, malevolent force (*web*, *extinguishing*) destroying a pure entity (*light*).

This strategy successfully exemplifies the "negative other-representation" strategy identified by T. Li and Zhu (2020). They used negative attitudinal resources to criticize the political establishment. This finding is also in line with "going negative" strategy by Ross and Caldwell (2020) in Trump's speech. In their study, Ross and Caldwell (2020), Trump used *Negative Judgement* to undermine Clinton's character (e.g., "*crooked Hillary*"). In this analysis, Raut's strategy is more abstract and totalizing by focusing on *Negative Appreciation* (such as, "*darkness, shackles, web*") to attack *the system*. Raut frames the problem as a widespread, systemic, and corrupt *state of being* that justifies revolutionary anger.

The Attitude-Engagement Interaction

Anger in this speech is not as something negative, but rather as a force driven by a virtuous collective, the "in-group", which is positioned as morally superior to the "out-group" it challenges. This collective identity is realized through positive Attitude and dominant Monogloss "*We are the fire that will burn away the darkness* (C029; Excerpt 5)." This clause clearly shows how Attitude and Engagement interact. Here the youth (We) are construed as fire, a natural force. Following the coding rule, the metaphor was coded as invoked positive Appreciation (Valuation) of the youth, and its power to burn away the darkness provokes negative Appreciation (Reaction: Quality) of the present condition. Neither evaluation is stated outright: the audience must infer both its own strength and the darkness of the present from the metaphor.

What makes the statement (C029) powerful is its Monoglossic strategy. Instead of employing soft claims through Heterogloss: Entertain, such as "*I believe we are the fire* or *We can be the fire*", Raut says "*We are the fire*". By avoiding Heterogloss, Raut leaves no room for doubt and presents the group's strength and moral position as absolute. This way actually aligns with the way to present views as factual of Ademilokun's (2016).

Raut constructs a strong, heroic identity by combining positive Judgement with Monogloss. This way, he portrays the audience as righteous agents of change. This is crucial as it can transform anger into something justified, not just a complaint, but a moral responsibility. This strategy is totally different from the concept of "other-ing", yet it mirrors what T. Li and Zhu (2020) term as "positive self-representation." It seems to be supported by Rahmaida & Cahyono (2022), who found that speakers often use Positive Judgement to express their ideological stance. In Raut's, the speaker creates a clear moral contrast: *the honest*, *hard work* (Positive Judgement) of *the people* versus *the selfish games* (Negative Judgement) of the political elite.

The Rhetorical Force of Dialogic Contraction

Despite the dominant use of Monogloss, Heterogloss is used equally strategically. When the speaker acknowledges alternative viewpoints, it is

mainly to reject them. Contraction (24.5% of clauses) outweighs Expansion (18.9%), and the expanding questions themselves leave only one acceptable answer. The speaker is therefore not opening a conversation but closing one. This is most evident in the use of Disclaim (Deny): *"We cannot sell it. We cannot lose it (C033–C034; Excerpt 7)." In these clauses,* the speaker rejects any alternatives. The modal "*cannot*" removes any possibility of negotiation. This pattern is also repeated in rhetorical questions like "*If you do not raise our voices, who will? (Excerpt 2)".* This constructs a strong sense of urgency by presenting a false choice: either take action or face complete loss. In this way, it functions as a coercive strategy (Taiwo, 2008, as cited in Ademilokun, 2016), guiding the audience by effectively eliminating all passive or neutral positions.

The dominance of Contraction over Expansion mirrors Zhang & Pei's (2018) analysis of the world's leaders. Usually, politicians rely on contractive language when they want to project an unshakeable, unified national vision. Nainggolan et al. (2025) found the same pattern in Prabowo Subianto's UN address, where Contraction (23.9% of appraisal instances) far outweighed Expansion (4.5%). The two speeches differ, however, in Monogloss: it accounts for only 4.5% of the instances in Prabowo's address, which argues against alternative views rather than simply asserting, whereas more than half of Raut's clauses are bare assertions. Because the two studies count different units (appraisal instances and clauses), this comparison indicates direction rather than exact proportion. However, this study is different from political debates where Expansion was strategically used to project an image of being "*open-minded*" and "*welcoming*" to public opinion (E. S. Li et al., 2019). In their study, E. S. Li et al. (2019) observed that their speaker shifted to Dialogic Contraction when addressing issues of "*law and order*," to "*prevent anyone from challenging... authorial standards*." This is exactly the approach taken by Raut. He frames the national crisis as an issue of absolute moral "*law and order*," thereby legitimizing the contraction of dialogic space (White, 2003) and constructing a single, urgent course of action.

Rhetorical Strategy of Mobilizing Anger

Raut's speech is persuasive through a kind of "trialectic," where all three Appraisal systems interact to achieve a single, unified purpose. The term follows Nainggolan et al. (2025), who described a trialectic of Judgement, Contraction, and Force in Prabowo Subianto's UN address. Raut's trialectic is built from different resources: Appreciation and Judgement, Monogloss reinforced by Contraction, and infused Force. In that speech, Raut does not rely on emotion by chance. He carefully and systematically builds his audience's anger through linguistic choices. First, he uses Attitude (Appreciation/Judgement) to provide the content of the anger. His speech constructs a clear, black-and-white worldview in which a virtuous dream (Valuation +) and honest people (Judgement +) are being destroyed (Valuation -) by selfish (Judgement -) actors. This reflects the well-known strategy of "positive self-presentation and negative other-representation" in political discourse (T. Li & Zhu, 2020).

Second, he uses Graduation (Force: infused intensification and repetition), which adds emotional intensity. His speech transforms what could

be a simple political issue into a dramatic, almost epic struggle through powerful, infused metaphors such as *fire, storm, darkness, and shackles (Excerpts 1, 5, and 6)*. As a result, his audience seems to feel that any calm or neutral response is not sufficient.

Third, he employs Engagement (Monogloss/Contraction) to establish the ideological position. His speech presents this highly intensified, black-and-white perspective as an unquestionable "truth" (as also noted by Ademilokun, 2016). At the same time, his speech refuses alternative viewpoints (Zhang & Pei, 2018; E. S. Li et al., 2019) and closes down dialogic space (White, 2003).

In conclusion, Raut's speech has affected his audience into a specific emotional stance. Graduation raises the emotional stakes (through Appreciation), Engagement removes alternative interpretations (through Monogloss and Deny), and Attitude identifies who is right and who is to blame (through Judgement). In this way, anger is not just expressed. However, it is constructed as the only logical, morally justified, and inevitable response to the reality created by the speech.

CONCLUSIONS

This study has explored how Attitude, Engagement, and Graduation interact in Avishkar Raut's viral speech to construct public anger as a call for collective action. The three systems do not work separately; they co-pattern in a single strategy, described here as a rhetorical trialectic.

The central finding is that the speech persuades less by expressing emotion than by building a world in which anger appears to be the only reasonable response. Attitude, mainly through Appreciation and Judgement, supplies the moral content of that world. Two-thirds of it is positive and directed at the audience itself: a capable and honest 'Us' (the youth, the torchbearers of change) is set against a smaller but vivid negative 'Them' (self-interested political actors) and a failed state of affairs (the 'darkness' and 'shackles' of the present). Most of this Attitude is invoked through metaphor, and the two sides are treated differently: the speech names its enemy explicitly but invokes the strength of its audience, so that listeners complete the most mobilizing evaluations themselves. Graduation, realized entirely through Force, mainly infused intensification and repetition, raises this opposition to the scale of an elemental struggle. Engagement, dominated by Monogloss and supported by Contraction, then presents the intensified picture as fact, and even its questions leave only one acceptable answer.

Each system depends on the others. Without Graduation, the moral contrast would read as ordinary political criticism; without Contraction, the intensified contrast could still be contested; and without the polarized Attitude, the intensity would have no target. What distinguishes the speech from the institutional political discourse studied so far is therefore not any single Appraisal resource, since Appreciation, negative Judgement, and Monogloss have all been reported in formal speeches, but their combination in the voice of a speaker with no institutional standing, and its emphasis on empowering the in-group rather than only condemning the out-group.

IMPLICATIONS

The study has several important implications. First, it challenges the idea that political speeches are usually open and balanced. Instead, it highlights a different style, more forceful and one-sided, that aims to unite people around a single viewpoint rather than invite discussion.

Second, it shows that Appreciation, often thought to be more neutral, can actually carry a lot of emotional weight. When paired with strong Graduation, words like "*darkness*" or "*fire*" become powerful tools for expressing shared frustration or anger.

On a practical level, this study also offers a useful way to analyze similar speeches. The trialectic model can help researchers, journalists, or even everyday listeners better understand how language is used to persuade and mobilize people.

LIMITATIONS

This study focuses on just one speech, so we cannot assume the same patterns apply everywhere. It also looks only at the written transcript, which means it does not capture things like tone of voice, gestures, or audience reactions, all of which likely add to the speech's emotional impact. Finally, while the study explains how anger is built into the speech, it does not directly examine how people actually responded to it.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Based on the findings and limitations, this study opens several directions for future research. First, a comparative corpus study is needed. This could take two forms: (a) replicating this study across a larger corpus of speeches from other political figures (both in Nepal and internationally) to determine if the high Monogloss, high Contraction, high infused Force profile is a stable and defining feature of this genre; and (b) conducting an intra-speaker comparison of Raut's rallying speech compared with his deliberative or interview speech-acts to see if he demonstrably shifts his Appraisal profile (e.g., towards more Heterogloss-Expansion) as the context changes, as suggested by E. S. Li et al. (2019).

Second, a multimodal Appraisal analysis would directly address this study's text-only limitation. A follow-up study could integrate this verbal analysis with a multimodal framework (e.g., Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006; Zappavigna, 2018) to analyze how prosody (e.g., *rising intonation*, *staccato rhythm*) and gesture (e.g., *a raised fist*, *a pointed finger*) function as forms of Graduation (Force) or Engagement (Proclaim) that amplify, co-perform, or even contradict the linguistic message.

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