

*The Language of the Right-wing Populism:  
A Lexical Analysis of the Texts by the Freedom Party of Austria*

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**Abstract**

The goal of the study is the analysis of the specific lexis based on the research of representative text corpora, exemplified on the party programs and advertising materials of the Freedom Party of Austria. First of all, for the right-wing populism typical lexis will be identified, furthermore, characteristic high-value words, especially flag words and stigma words, which are of particular importance in political discourse, are determined. The deconstruction of right-wing populist language can also generally contribute to a deeper understanding of political action and culture. The eminent importance of this is especially evident against the background of the currently discussed legitimacy deficits of political actors, especially within the framework of the European Union. In this respect, the study also represents a reaction to the currently often latent distance and skepticism towards pluralistic democracy.

Keywords: right-wing populism, lexical analysis, language.

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## Introduction

Language is a means, a tool, a weapon... Where it is used, who is posting the message and who is receiving it and what happens, his or her intentions behind the actual use of the language – all of this determines its status in communication and interaction. It can be communicated either to function as the neutral interposition of information or knowledge, or as an instrument that can lead to fatal consequences.

The use of the language analysed here and indeed of public policy, is both specific and concurrently remarkable as language and its usage distinguished by the presence of diverse vocabulary and from the perspective of its position within the language diasystem. It covers the incidence of expressions specific to it, suggesting some type of specialisation and also terms ordinarily communicated, which in a certain context acquire the nature of political discourse. The choice of a language apparatus and the prevalence of certain language units in public policy depend on the corresponding situation. They are determined by several factors such as the specific matter which is the subject of political interest, the intent meant when a particular issue is addressed, to whom it is addressed, the event and whether the opinions and attitudes expressed are localised. Each of the factors can be viewed separately, but often enough when analysing the language apparatus it is critical to consider or seek the motivation behind using an expression in multiple factors.

In light of the above statements, this paper focuses on the language apparatus used by the Freedom Party of Austria (*Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs* or FPÖ). A starting point for empirical material would be journalistic style, specifically what the party presents in its official magazine *Neue Freie Zeitung* (NFZ) (<http://nfz.fpoe.at>) in the interval between 2013 and 2018. Articles from the magazine have been collected and entered into a database maintained by the eponymous language corpus, accessible through the corpus manager, *SketchEngine* (<https://app.sketchengine.eu>). Any lexical analysis seeks to point out the prevalence of the predominating language units in articles published by the party magazine and their meaning in context, which would be the baseline factor in any adequate interpretation of an expression, in particular when it concerns written linguistic communications. A significant incidence can be perceived as a prerequisite for any exceptional interest or special relationship to a thereby represented area and is also an indicator of preference for discussing the areas it covers, and therefore is seen as a critical aspect in our research. Because the magazine is intended for the general public and, in particular, FPÖ supporters, there probably will be a lower incidence of technical terms used in policy and individual sectors and as such the vocabulary will not cause difficulties in comprehension due to frequent themes in a broader context. Simultaneously, frequent occurrence is expected of language units related to one of the most recent, problematic areas not only in the time frame in question but also at present, namely the refugee issue.

When considering the theoretical starting points for conducting empirical research, it is necessary to emphasise that the individual chapters here present knowledge relevant primarily to an analysis of the research, with the aim not to provide exhaustive characteristics and a description of all the points. This can be found in the bibliographic data.

## **The theoretical and methodological base for lexical analysis – *langue* and *parole***

“*Die Bedeutung eines Wortes ist sein Gebrauch in der Sprache.*“ (The meaning of a word is its use in the language.)(Wittgenstein, 1958 as cited in Adler, 1976, p. 80)

The vocabulary of a language is a set of units, called a lexeme, whose complexity is characterised by dynamism and, in close connection therewith, variation. The lexical units which are the individual components have the same characteristics, but should be viewed from a different perspective, not isolated from the entire vocabulary system. The dynamics of vocabulary are understood as constant movement accompanied by changes in the lexis conditioned by one or another user needing to relate verbally to objective reality. The notion of dynamics relative to lexical units should be viewed from the contextual variation.

Lexical units (linguistic characters: signifier + signified) are characterised in most cases by an asymmetric dualism, reflected in the ambiguity of their lexical meaning in the language system (*langue*) and in the earlier mentioned dynamics of real use (*parole*). (Brügger and Vigsø, 2008; Albrecht, 2000) Just putting one or another lexeme into real contexts, where it enters into a variety of syntagmatic relationships with other language units, turns the lexeme from a lexical unit of a polysemous nature to a monosemous lexical unit with a specific meaning. Therefore the context, depending on whether the particular lexeme is narrower or wider, acts as a disambiguating factor. On the other hand, a lexical unit may also acquire new dimensions within a realistic context and new qualities worthy of attention which move toward lexicographically capturing or impressively documenting in the corresponding area of current usage. (Bierwisch, 2010; Blanár, 1984; Dolník, 1990) In the context of grasping a language unit at the level of the linguistic system and in its objective use in context, Löbner (2003, p. 4-13) speaks of three levels of language:

- Level of expressive meaning (Ebene der Ausdrucksbedeutung): the general expression taken out of context;
- Level of utterance meaning (Ebene der Äußerungsbedeutung): likewise the meaning of the term, although resulting from its use in a particular context, in a particular situation, and interpreted against all aspects relevant to it;
- Level of communicative meaning (Ebene des kommunikativen Sinns) taking into account the intentions implied in the statement, and thus the pragmatic aspect, which is intrinsically linked to the act of communication.

All three levels are present in communication, but in the position of individual components and actors, and not in the least also in the process of selecting and initially understanding the expression, how it is uttered and the thought behind it, while on the other hand its conventional and correct understanding in context is often automatic, caught in a fast cycle of ongoing processes.

When lexically analysing language units, attention has to be paid to all three levels, starting with a grasp of the corresponding language unit out of context as a complex of semantic signs forming its semantic structure, especially if it is a polysemant, and then subsequently delimiting such a meaning based on usage in a particular context. The last step involves exploring for the presence of a possible connotation from the term either implied in the entire context or provided by another accompanying term.

The relevance of the last step lies precisely in the possibility of better understanding the meaning behind the author's use of the expression and his or her adequate understanding of it at all.

### **Political language or political use of language**

The potential use of language in social interactions has been and remains a subject of interest among researchers. As an integral component and a basic building block of communication, language is simultaneously a part of human existence in a comprehensive social and cultural context, where its functions are fulfilled and some are more dominant, depending on the specific situation and the other participants. Our paper is a lexical analysis of a specific political party's means of expressing itself, so it is not essential to examine in greater detail the evolution of the language's function. However, two inspiring linguists can be particularly mentioned in terms of relevance. They are Karl Bühler and Roman Jakobson. Ultimately, the functional concept of the language from both authors can also be seen in the many works focusing on specific areas of communication and so also policy.

*Political language, language in politics, political use of language, use of language for political purposes* are the names encountered in literature analysing the use of language in the sphere of politics. (Niehr, 2017; Girth, 2015) If you are talking about political language, the existence of a political lexis is naturally assumed. There is no doubt that such a lexis will be found, although even political linguists themselves are inclined to believe that there is a more or less clearly defined political vocabulary that could be classified in terms of a professional language. (Niehr, 2017, p. 150) Likewise, the inability to perceive the political sphere in isolation from historical and cultural-social events should be noted. On the contrary, the direct link thereto can be seen even in the lexis used. It is about the vocabulary of everyday contact, which in its own sense is not political, but in an appropriate context, it has acquired a political character in public-political communication. Therefore, many words used in common communication may acquire either a new meaning (expanding the semantic structure) or an additional connotation, depending on the particular positive or negative context. Based on the mixed nature of the vocabulary, it seems most appropriate to speak about the *political use of language* and the *use of language for political purposes*, where Dieckmann (2005; cf. also Niehr, 2017, p. 150f.) defines the following political lexis categories:

- Institutional vocabulary: mainly used in internal communication and communication between officials and ordinary people. As a rule it refers to political facts and topics related to institutions, political offices and staff working in those offices;
- Ministerial vocabulary: Generally comprehensible only in a particular sector covered by the department and by specialists educated in the sector and including communication of professional and scientific terms germane to the sector;
- Ideological vocabulary: used in public policy discussions to depict controversial facts, while building or reinforcing the political party's ideology. It reflects the sense and meaning bound into the ideology and also the distinctive presence of its elements;

- General interaction vocabulary: other language units that cannot be included in any of the previous categories, but which are part of political communication. These terms may also be present in normal communication, even though they may give the impression of being unusual.

Building upon the dynamic nature of the previously mentioned language units alongside expressions reflecting expertise and whose significance is well-placed, words from all walks of life can gain political importance as soon as they come to the forefront in politics and become the subject of controversial discussions. Many words may be semantically “charged” in certain contexts to acquire an evaluative element bound nevertheless to a specific context. Words that in the strictest sense are not political are “transformed” by actors communicating public policy to their advantage, in order to manipulate and ultimately achieve their own objectives. This aspect plays an important role in examining the use of language units in politics. It is here where the dominance is evident of one of the functions of language in politics, the significance of language in and for policy itself.

The central function of political language is to win over potential voters, exploiting a deliberately selected language apparatus and “adequately” using it to induce them to think the same way in order for them to understand the “correct” meaning of the language used. *Persuasion*, the focal point any informative-*persuasive* function, “*is the use of appeals to reasons, values, beliefs and emotions to convince a listener or reader to think or act in a particular way.*” (Nordquist 2017) When communicating public policy, this function dominates and the language here is put in the position of an instrument not only to gain power, but also to secure, act and ultimately control it. It is important to emphasise that the function must be seen in conjunction with a democratic political system, and therefore the active position of the other actor, in this case the people, is anticipated. Communication is not one-way. In addition to the function above, other functions are encountered, namely a *regulative function* direction the relationships between public authorities and the people, dominating in communication oriented toward one-way “public authority → people, an *integrative function* serving to delimit groups (voting for a defined political ideology) both outwardly and at the same time having the individual members internally unifying, stabilising and identifying themselves within a certain group, and an *instrumental function* as opposed to a regulatory function that takes individual citizens, groups and organised societies into account, presenting their wishes and requirements as the actor initiating communication. These short characteristics of language functions in politics imply the dominance of one or another function primarily tied to specific types of texts or expressions which can be determined in this respect (e.g. the integrative function dominating in political platforms). Notwithstanding, another language function may be fulfilled in certain types of text alongside the corresponding dominant function. (Grünert, 1984 as cited in Girth, 2015, p. 47f.)

The empirical analysis will not include, as a focal point of research, an examination of how any of these functions of language are applied, although to obtain an understanding of the use of linguistic resources in examining the empirical base, such knowledge is considered by us to be desirable.

## **What is hidden behind well-conceived texts? (Right-wing) populism and its fundamental features**

The scientific characterisation of populism (as opposed to the layman's idea of it) starts almost everywhere with reference to the Latin expression *populus*, which is the baseline element for any movement both from the perspective of the expression and an ideological central element that can be translated as *people*. Populism is inherently connected with the notion of living a "good life", where values such as honesty, decency, diligence, thrift, reliability and a sense of belonging dominate and come ahead of individual self-realisation. (Priester, 2019, p. 14) Anybody with these moral qualities would be exactly the kind of "homogeneous" person with whom anyone speaking of someone morally worthwhile would be pleased to identify. In another study (2012, p. 4), the author highlights just the *common sense* ordinary people have, a so-called "healthy", instinctive approach to the truth and law, similarly stressing it to other theorists as opposed to the elite.

Anti-elitism is another constitutive element of populism reflecting the attitude of a movement or corresponding political party and emphasising the determination of who should receive the message and whether it applies or not to them ideologically or politically. In contrast to "ordinary people", the elite is a concept covering movements, groups of people and even individuals and may consist of specific political parties and politicians as well as other "corrupt representatives in power" from different areas of social life (such as bankers, bureaucrats, technocrats and scientists). An important aspect here is timeliness, since the anti-elitist attitude found in populists is especially directed toward the current ruling elite, yet it is rather a tool for constantly amplifying the aversive attitude among supporters of populism towards the elite. (2019, p. 15; 2012, p. 4) A frequently used method to construct the image of the enemy is to incorporate them as the cause of all negative facts, events and conditions directly touching upon the part of population they affect.

The (governing) elite include also intellectual groupings in a broader sense. However, this segment of the elite cannot be condemned in all respects. With regard to populism, it is necessary to clarify how aversion to intellectualism is understood and hence anti-intellectualism advocated by repeatedly referring to "ordinary people" or "healthy/common sense", which is *"not just equal, but superior to, the reflective knowledge of intellectuals because it is based on specific experiences from living in the world and has not yet been infected by the virus of modern scepticism, so there is still an unadulterated, "healthy" access to law and the truth."* (2012, p. 4).

The people targeted by populist efforts are primarily simple-minded, uneducated and in essence an instinctively decisive anti-political part of the population. If the ruling elite were to be the counterpart of those people with moral qualities and a homogeneous people, then they would be characterised as a group with opposing values such as dishonesty, unreliability, extravagance, self-interest and a sense of individualism instead of belonging to a group. Such elites stand out as spoiled in the eyes of populists and supporters of populism, with the need to be moralised. Who else other than ordinary people can be a model of moral values?

In the earlier mentioned definition of the space occupied by ordinary people, whether by establishing or excluding specifically objectionable minorities (whether

bureaucratic, ethnic, cultural, religious or other grouping), the concept of polarisation has emerged in the forefront both as a way of separating themselves from other movements or groups and to present their own attitudes and opinions against the backdrop of the opposition's opposing opinions. Populism finds polarisation to be an effective tool for reinforcing the interests of its followers, often enough that supporters of the movement or the political party lose an objective and critical view of the issue and how the adversary operates where it acts, which can ultimately strengthen the aversion and even build up a hostile attitude towards the opponent. (Balász, 2017; Priester, 2012, p. 5)

Not in the least, a characteristic feature needs to be highlighted which takes the formal point of view into account, namely a charismatic leader for the movement and its adherents which represents them externally in the position of a so-called "mouthpiece for the people". He or she is a personality who is an outsider, both politically and in terms of corruption. The charismatic leader has moral qualities, is admired by supporters and "ordinary people" can identify with him or her. On the other hand, negatives in the principle of the charismatic leader also need to be seen, where (potential) supporters are often unable to move beyond the leader's "appealing" personality traits and participate in socio-political events with sound judgement. (Priester, 2017 p. 8; Spier, 2010 as cited in Becher, 2013, p. 20, Spier, 2006, p. 37f)

Right-wing and left-wing populism have slowly separated to become different factions with either all or most of their features perceived as a shift toward an ideological foundation. Because this empirical research concentrates on the FPÖ, an Austrian right-wing populist political party including the features of such an ideology, left-wing populism will not be discussed here, but rather additional relevant features of right-wing populism. At the same time, it should be once more emphasised, even with regard to empirical research, that our objective is not to present the historical background behind the emergence of the right-wing populist FPÖ, nor is it considered important to examine the entire social process in detail. Whenever the selected text material requires an analysis in that aspect of the language used by the FPÖ, it will be incorporated there.

Along with the above features, there is a tendency among right-wing populist parties to present themselves with a strong ideological element and a patriotism regularly highlighted against the backdrop of constantly creating the image of the enemy. In the intertwining of social affairs, other religious and cultural groups – immigrants and refugees seeking a new home – are especially understood to pose a direct threat, both of seizing "foreign" territory for themselves and profiting from the country's better developed socioeconomic system. The image of these groups as the enemy is constructed from the advantage these groups enjoy in areas perceived particularly sensitively by ordinary people, such as the social system and the abuse of it and encouraging employment for immigrants. Simultaneously, such an enemy is characterised as a threat to internal and national security, with several adverse events caused by members of these groups as evidence. Right-wing populists not only rely on this evidence, but explicitly stress the consequences of the negative acts.

In conjunction with the earlier mentioned anti-elitism at the level of supranational institutions, it is important to especially underscore the critical attitude they express toward the European Union and its decision-making, reinforced to a large extent by

moves toward immigrant quotas, which among other developments point toward deepening scepticism by its citizens about political events.

These ideological elements do not constitute a closed complex characterising (right-wing) populism in its entirety, but these are core elements from our point of view. This analysis focuses mainly on their presence in source material, whether they are thematic and how they are “served” to recipients of it.

### **A corpus-based analysis of lexical items used in the party magazine *Neue Freie Zeitung***

A language unit as a combination of form and content occupies a certain position in the language vocabulary system, predetermining it relative to other language units with which it enters into a variety of syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships. Their use in specific linguistic/communicative situations reflects both the potential and the boundaries for entering them into these relationships.

The lexical analysis of language units realised in empirical research concentrates on their true use and application in relation to extra-lingual reality, which reflect verbally in specific linguistic/communicative situations. The initial empirical material has already been expressed in the introductory texts of *Neue Freie Zeitung*, functioning as a right-wing populist party magazine and the main party organ. In this respect, it summarises news on current foreign policy issues, about Austria and Vienna, as well as what FPÖ representatives are doing, in particular those in the Austrian Parliament and supranational institutions.

The entire magazine text uses the same corpus under the eponymous *Neue Freie Zeitung* (<https://app.sketchengine.eu>), enabling frequency analysis tools to analyse it and also target searches for particular words, word forms, phrases and specific lemmas, words and phrases defined in the Corpus Query Language (CQL).

A sequence of two steps is followed for text material analysed in this case study:

1. Taking language units based on frequency criteria
2. Lexically analysing the language units used in content-related, right-wing populism elements

### **Language units and their incidence in the *Neue Freie Zeitung* corpus by frequency**

In general, a high incidence rate can be seen as indicating some dominance, preference, relevance, or increased interest. When examining language units, their high incidence is reflected in all aspects and in the dominance of themes represented by (highly) frequented language units, preferences in the use of certain expressive means and in relevance and related increased interest in areas of extra-linguistic reality which verbally name (highly) frequented language units. At the same time, however, it should be emphasised that not all aspects of any (highly) frequented language unit need to be applied concurrently, especially if based on the language’s lexical system in its entire breadth.

Taking the frequency criterion into consideration, the frequency of all words occurring in the initial empirical material was analysed for the language units used in

the text of the *Neue Freie Zeitung* without defining the CQL. Statistical evaluation shows the high-ranking positions (for the first 20 positions other than the negation “*nicht*”, 16 of them are occupied by synsemantic words) with a high frequency to be primarily composed of synsemantic words, namely nouns, prepositions and conjunctions, characterised by obligatory contextual binding of varying magnitude. Nouns display in isolation minimum explanatory value and at most might be subject to vague assumptions about the gender of the nouns following them. Prepositions are also semantically well-marked even outside the context, yet in many cases they are polysemous and only in the context consisting at least of obligatory members do they delimit this ambiguity and define the syntactic position of the prepositional phrase in the current context. Similarly, conjunctions could more or less in advance define syntactic equivalence/non-equivalence between sentences, the relationship between sentences from a semantic perspective (in complex sentences with an independent clause and a subordinate clause), although beyond the specific context leading only to conceivable and quasi-units devoid of content in the complex sentence. The particle “*auch*” (also) is a very frequently used synsemantic word that appears among the first forty words.

When looking at language units as an indicator of trends in certain topics, phenomena and matters, it is necessary to focus attention on those language units directly related to them, name them and determine whether they are not synsemantic. In the framework of communication, this function is performed by primary nouns which can be specified by the attribute of a different nature and to varying degrees. Frequency evaluation of the incidence of (only) substantial names in the corpus texts enables targeted CQL searching. In order to obtain a more comprehensive picture of the incidence of nouns in the corpus, we work with a basic formula with no explicit conditions for occurrence. The graph below shows an example of frequency analysis for the incidence of nouns with no definition of additional conditions in terms of form, position in the sentence structure and other criteria.

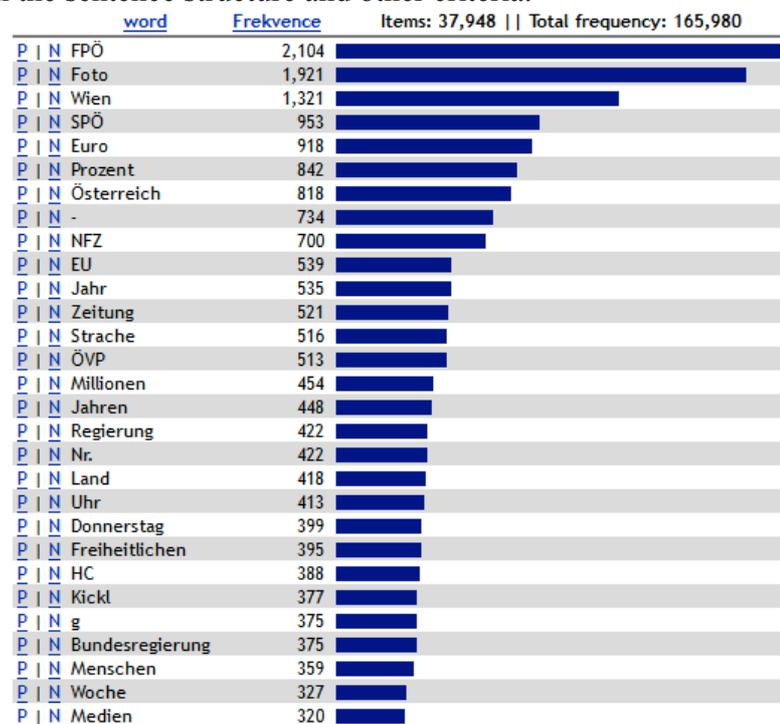


Figure 1: Frequency analysis of nouns in the *Neue Freie Zeitung* corpus automatically processed based on CQL: [tag="N.\*"]

It is clear from the graph that frequency analysis is a gateway to creating a preliminary idea of the lexica used, where the next step requires a particular context in varying degrees. This is confirmed by Table 1, which shows the frequency evaluation covering the incidence of nouns in the corpus where the number of occurrences is less than 200.

Table 1: Incidence of nouns in the *Neue Freie Zeitung* where the frequency is less

Incidence of nouns in the *Neue Freie Zeitung* corpus

<b>Substantívum / výskyt v korpuse <i>Neue Freie Zeitung</i></b>			
FPÖ / 2104	Jahren / 448	Partei / 314	Österreicher / 233
Foto / 1921	Regierung / 422	Europa / 306	Mindestsicherung / 229
Wien / 1321	Nr. / 422	ORF / 283	Milliarden / 224
SPÖ / 953	Land / 418	Beginn / 283	Salzburg / 223
Euro / 918	Uhr / 413	Koalition / 282	Innenminister / 222
Prozent / 842	Donnerstag / 399	Jahre / 281	Länder / 220
Österreich / 818	Freiheitlichen / 395	Asylwerber / 279	Personen / 219
- / 734	HC / 388	Herbert / 276	Sicherheit / 215
NFZ / 700	Kickl / 377	Politik / 275	Kritik / 215
EU / 539	g / 375	S. / 268	Christian / 212
Jahr / 535	Bundesregierung / 375	Ende / 262	Stadt / 211
Zeitung / 521	Menschen / 359	Parlament / 244	Brüssel / 204
Strache / 516	Woche / 327	Kinder / 244	Bild / 204
ÖVP / 513	Medien / 320	Deutschland / 244	Zeit / 203
Millionen / 454	Österreichs / 319	Vizekanzler / 239	FPÖ-Klubobmann / 202

Preliminary knowledge should indicate the possibility, based on specific data, of language units naming components of the political sphere occurring frequently with a different intention background (e.g. FPÖ (2104)/SPÖ (953)/ÖVP (513)/Koalition (282) /Opposition (157) > EU (539)/Asylwerber (279) – an *assumed* close link to targeted polarisation of attitudes versus Innenminister /Parlament /Partei/ Regierung /Wirtschaft – words outside the contextual setting – *assumed* to be used neutrally to provide information about political facts). In addition, language units covering geographically and precisely defined boundaries frequently occur (e.g. Europa (306)/Deutschland (244)/Italien (122)/Kärnten (125)/Österreich (818)/Wien (1321)/Salzburg (223)/ Tirol (145)) may be differently thematised in context (neutral object/event localisation, dominance sequence in a geographically defined area, a certain geographically defined area as the originator/receiver of actions). There is also a significant incidence of everyday language units with different intention backgrounds (e.g. Jahr (535)/Millionen (454)/Uhr (413)/Beginn (283)/Ende (262)/Frau (109)/ Mann (85) – *assumed* to be more generally indicative of usage often as part of a more complex phrase versus Land (418)/Sicherheit (215)/Kritik (215)/Schutz (144)/Problem (113)/Heimat (85) – *assumed* to tend toward emphasising content in expressions also by other explicit, expressive means than reflecting the presentation of the movement's ideological base. A more detailed characterisation of the language used, based on a frequency evaluation of the occurrence of words in text material, should be seen with a certain precaution as a kind of *assumption*. Indications from frequency analysis can confirm or disprove the contextual framework determining how the word is construed.

## **Lexical analysis of the language units used in content-related, (right-wing) populism elements**

From an ideological perspective, the following features are characteristic particularly of (right-wing) populism: common sense, patriotism, anti-elitism, anti-intellectualism, moralisation of the governing elite, polarisation, Islamophobia, negative attitudes toward supranational institutions. Formally, the “sympathetic leader” of the movement takes the dominant position. Whichever of the above and more closely characterised features are thematised in the context of verbal communication is indicated by the usage of specific expressions or language units that name the circumstances associated with them.

The next step concentrates on the language units in *Neue Freie Zeitung*'s texts, especially in relation to the typical features found in right-wing populism, partly following up on frequency analysis as an indicator of the preference of certain expressions and so also the thematisation of certain issues. Because of space constraints, we must confine ourselves to a more general interpretation of the results from empirical research associated with the exemplification of documents from the analysed text material.

An analysis of language units automatically evaluated for their incidence in the source text material showed the thematisation of the refugee issue to be a significant item, if not the most significant, in the documents. It should be emphasised that the issue of refugees in its entirety does not necessarily have to be referenced only by terms with a direct bearing on the thematised element expressed, such as actors like (Asylant(en)/Asylwerber/Flüchtling(e)/ Asylsuchende(n)/Migranten... Syrer...), or either the actual process itself or components of it (Asyl/Asylantrag(äge)/Einwanderung/Migrationswelle...Burka/Islam(ismus)/Kopftuch...), and words from a common vocabulary can also name facts, events, and consequences pertaining to the subject, while some are themselves negative in meaning (e.g. *Gewalt/Krise/Maßnahmen/Problem(e)/Schutz...*), others involve names of countries, supranational institutions and representatives involved in some way in refugee issues (e.g. EU/Österreich/ Syrien/Türkei/Ungarn...Merkel/Orbán...). These are relevant indicators of the thematisation of one of the ideological elements of right-wing populism found in the text material. The following table includes the corpus documents exemplifying the contextual framework of some of the terms it shows.

Table 2: Exemplification of the contextual framework of selected terms covering the thematisation of the refugee issue in the *Neue Freie Zeitung* corpus

1.	Innenminister Herbert Kickl hat am Mittwoch die steigende Kriminalität bei <b>Flüchtlingen</b> beklagt und ein <b>schärferes Vorgehen der Regierung</b> angekündigt.
2.	Hubert Kickl und <b>Viktor Orbán</b> : Einigkeit bei der Einwanderungspolitik. In all diesen Fragen ist <b>Ungarn</b> ein Partner für <b>Österreich</b> .“
3.	Die ausufernde <b>Gewalt</b> durch "Flüchtlinge" oder Migranten wird in den Medien sehr selektiv wahrgenommen, oft auf eine Nennung der Nationalität verzichtet - angeblich, um "Vorurteile" gegen Fremde nicht zu schüren.
4.	Aber diese <b>Probleme</b> wie <b>Islamismus</b> oder organisierte Kriminalität hat die <b>EU</b> schon längst importiert, ohne dass diesen Ländern damit geholfen wurde.
5.	"Das <b>Kopftuch</b> ist eindeutig ein Ausdruck des politischen Islam, dessen Einfluss wir in Österreich wieder zurückdrängen wollen und müssen.
6.	<b>Schutz</b> und Sicherung unserer Grenzen.
7.	Dass <b>Merkel</b> stets von einer „europäischen Lösung“ schwadroniert, ist absurd. Sie war es, die im Alleingang die <b>Migrationswelle</b> zur europäischen <b>Krise</b> eskalieren ließ.

Taking into account the wider contextual framework of language units such as those earlier mentioned here, it is often noted that other ideological elements are highlighted, in particular the sceptical attitude towards supranational institutions (EU) and the anti-elitism in relation to other cultural and religious minorities, when pointing out these minorities profit by “remaining” in Austria (8), along with the ruling elites (9), while the polarisation of attitudes to relevant issues created by highlighting the opposing opinion to the same issue by adversaries (10) and patriotism is expressed in the true usage of the language by joining nouns such as *Heimat/Land/Österreich* and the possessive pronoun *unser/unsere/unsere* to any additionally attributed adjective (11), or, as the case may be, contextually linked to a reference to ordinary people’s *common sense*.

Table 3: Exemplification of the contextual framework suggesting verbalisation of certain ideological elements from the right-populist FPÖ against the background of thematising the refugee issue in the *Neue Freie Zeitung* corpus

8.	Asylanten erhalten die gleichen Unterstützungsleistungen wie Österreicher: ein Beweis für die Ungerechtigkeit gegenüber den heimischen Steuerzahlern“, kritisierte FPÖ-Sozialsprecher Marco Triller.
9.	FPÖ-Landtagsabgeordneter Leo Kohlbauer referiert über die "SPÖ-Nähe zum politischen Islam".
10.	Gelebter Islam statt Integration an den Schulen in Wien. Schulrat vollkommen hilflos gegenüber, da er von der rot-grünen Stadtregierung derer "multikultureller Vielfalt" verpflichtet ist.
11.	Nur so können wir jetzt unsere zahlreichen Forderungen unter anderem zu den Themen Zuwanderung und Asyl umsetzen. Denn wir wollen, dass wir Österreicher Herr im eigenen Haus bleiben. Wir bringen Österreich wieder auf die Überholspur. Unsere geliebte Heimat hat sich eine gute Zukunft verdient.
12.	"Wenn für 250 Millionen reisewillige Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge die Grenzen geöffnet werden sollen, dann betreffe das ausnahmslos jeden Bürger in Europa, warnte die freiheitliche Fraktionssprecherin im Südtiroler Landtag: "Es grenzt an Wahnsinn, wenn die staatlichen Vertreter bei der UNO ein Regelwerk unterzeichnen, dass massiv in die weitere Entwicklung unserer Heimat eingreift, ohne vorher das Volk zu befragen.

The political importance of *immigration* and all its aspects is presented as a key element in relation to which other ideological right-wing populism “excel”, even in the text material analysed. Even though they were found to an incomparable lower degree, there were contexts where the presence of key right-wing populism elements can be perceived irrespective of *immigration*. When concentrating on the frequency list of nouns generated by the corpus manager, the indicator of such potential contexts is the positions taken by the SPÖ and ÖVP, which can be exemplify the ideological element of *polarised* opinions and attitudes, as evidenced in specific examples (13-14).

Table 4: Exemplification of the contextual framework suggesting verbalisation of certain ideological elements from the right-wing populist FPÖ with no reference to immigration

13. Konkret gehe es um eine Vielzahl von Mindestsicherungsempfängern, die vergeblich auf die ihnen versprochene Auszahlung der Erhöhung dieser Sozialleistung gewartet und sich als letzten Ausweg an die Medien gewandt hätten, betonte Nepp. SPÖ bricht Versprechen: „Eine Nachzahlung von 60 Euro sowie die Anpassung von monatlich 837 auf 844 Euro blieben ohne Begründung aus.“
14. Die Freiheitlichen fordern den Erhalt der Kinderonkologie. [...] Aber die ÖVP hat nicht nur dem Landtag Sand in die Augen gestreut, sondern auch den an Krebs erkrankten Kindern und deren Angehörigen.

## Conclusion

Every political party and movement, tries to present its own value elements as externally as effectively as possible. Whether to behave more aggressively or moderately depends on the actors themselves, the specific issue, the people receiving them, the media and, not in the least, the intended purpose. This case study lexically analysed the language units used by the right-wing populist FPÖ in its party magazine *Neue Freie Zeitung* between 2013 and 2018, whose texts could be viewed by us from processing the corpus through the Sketch Engine corpus manager in order to glance from the perspective of frequency and their meaning in context, and thus their co-occurrence. The findings below have been identified from empirical research, with respect to the assumptions given in the introduction:

- Initial text material shows a relatively high degree of refugee/immigration issue thematisation;
- From a lexical point of view, the area/issue is linguistically represented by specific terms directly affecting the actors, the process itself and any of its components, while an expressive diversity can be discerned here achieved by the use of synonymous expressions and language units which are construed in close connection with the area from an analysis of their contextual framework and, not in the least, also from language units of their own nouns which evoke a direct link with the subject area;
- The presence of other ideological features can also be perceived against the background of a linguistic presentation of right-wing populist elements, such as a sceptical view of the EU, anti-elitism, polarisation and patriotism;

- Even with the high incidence of party representative names covering different positions, it cannot be linked to the presentation of their own personality qualities. This sphere, as presumed, falls within the scope of personally meeting with representatives and supporters. In the journalistic style, it is more or less about presenting your own opinions, which correspond largely with the party's and which, in the end, may strengthen the sympathy receivers of the message have with its author; Besides the vocabulary types named in relationship to immigration issues, the analysed text material contains a routinely used vocabulary indicating more general facts, with or without extraordinary political importance, common vocabulary used in the context of political facts, professional policy terms that are a regular component in official reports, discussions and forums, all of which should be clear to the ordinary language user (such as Außenpolitik / Außenministerium / Bundesregierung / EU / EU-Kommission / Innenpolitik / Integration / Club-Obmann / Koalition / Landesregierung / Landtag / Landtagswahl / Opposition / Parliament / Reform / Regierung / Stadtregierung / Union / Vizekanzler and similar words).

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## Resources

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