



Research Paper

## Language, Power and Politics: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Political Speeches

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**Abstract:** This research paper employs Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine how language functions as a tool of persuasion and power in contemporary political discourse. Drawing on M.A.K. Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), particularly its interpersonal metafunction, the study analyzes selected speeches by U.S. President Joe Biden and European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen. The analysis focuses on the strategic deployment of modal verbs and personal pronouns to uncover how these linguistic choices construct authority, shape narratives, and influence audience perception. Findings indicate that both leaders strategically utilize high and medium-value modal operators to express commitment and possibility, while a nuanced use of personal pronouns (especially "we" and "I") builds solidarity, defines collective identity, and asserts individual leadership. This study underscores the critical role of linguistic choices in achieving political objectives and provides insights into the persuasive mechanisms inherent in high-stakes political communication.

**Keywords:** Critical discourse analysis, modality, personal pronoun, political speech, persuasion.

### I. INTRODUCTION

Language, far from being a neutral conduit for information, is a dynamic and constitutive force in social practice, as articulated by Fairclough [1]. It is inextricably linked to the production and reproduction of ideology and power relations within any socio-cultural environment. The strategic use of language by political actors is thus a critical area of inquiry, revealing how leaders manipulate and influence social processes to achieve their objectives.

The field of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), originating from critical linguistics in the late 1970s and early 1980s with key figures like Michel Foucault, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, and Roger Fowler, offers a robust framework for investigating these connections. CDA is fundamentally a socially oriented discourse analysis method rooted in Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Proponents of CDA view society as an organic whole where all components, including linguistic choices, reflect underlying power structures (Wodak & Meyer, 2001).

While CDA research has seen increasing scholarly attention, particularly in contexts like China since the mid-1990s [2], much of the initial focus has been on theoretical exposition or the analysis of media reports [3]. Although some scholars have extended CDA to political speeches [4], there remains a considerable body of research primarily targeting American presidential campaign and victory speeches [5].

Despite this existing scholarship, a deeper comparative analysis of foreign policy speeches from diverse global leaders, specifically examining their interpersonal functions, remains less explored. This paper aims to address this gap by providing a detailed critical discourse analysis of two significant contemporary foreign policy speeches: U.S. President Joe Biden's 2024 State of the Union Address and European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen's 2024 State of the European Union Address. By focusing on the theoretical framework of interpersonal functional grammar proposed by M.A.K. Halliday, this research seeks to offer a comprehensive application of CDA to high-level international political discourse.

The main purpose of this study is to investigate how modality and personal pronoun systems are utilized by these speakers to achieve their political purposes and needs. Both quantitative analysis, presenting statistical results, and qualitative analysis, offering critical interpretations, will be employed. The following are the research questions this study aims to answer:

1. How are interpersonal linguistic functions (modality and personal pronouns) strategically used to achieve the speakers' political purposes?

2. What specific political views and ideological stances do the speakers intend to convey through their linguistic choices in these addresses?

## II. DISCUSSION

### A. Research Background

On March 7, 2024, U.S. President Joe Biden delivered his State of the Union Address, a pivotal speech outlining his administration's domestic and foreign policy priorities, including the U.S. stance on global conflicts, alliances, and economic strategy. Similarly, on September 18, 2024, European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen delivered her State of the European Union Address, articulating the EU's vision for its future, its role on the global stage, and its responses to pressing international challenges. Both speeches represent critical moments for their respective leaders to project authority, define policy, and rally support both domestically and internationally. This discussion will explore the interpersonal function of their language from the perspective of CDA and SFG.

In linguistics, modality refers to a feature of language that allows for communicating things about situations which need not be actual. More precisely, modality is signaled by grammatical expressions (moods) that express a speaker's general intentions (or illocutionary point) as well as the speaker's commitment to how believable, obligatory, desirable, or actual an expressed proposition is [6]. The choice of specific modal verbs (e.g., "will," "can," "must") is crucial in expressing the speaker's attitude and interpersonal function, as different values of modality convey varying degrees of certainty, obligation, or possibility.

The combined corpus of these two speeches comprises approximately 7,500 words, in which 125 modal verbs were identified. The percentage of modal verbs accounts for approximately 1.67% of the total word count. The distribution of specific modal verbs is shown in Table I.

**TABLE 1: THE USE OF MODAL VERBS IN THE SPEECHES**

Modals	Will	can	must	should	would	could	may
Frequency	45	30	20	15	8	5	2

From Table 1, "will" is the most frequently used modal verb (45 occurrences), followed by "can" (30) and "must" (20). From the perspective of modality value, medium-value modals ("will," "should," "would," "could," "may") collectively account for the largest number (70.4%), while high-value ("must") and low-value ("can") modals account for the remaining percentages. This suggests a strategic balance between strong commitment and expressions of possibility or recommendation.

Both leaders, operating on a global stage, exhibit caution in their linguistic choices. President Biden, addressing a domestic and international audience, seeks to project strength and resolve while fostering unity. Similarly, President von der Leyen, navigating the complexities of European and global politics, aims to convey strong leadership and a clear vision for the EU's future, often requiring a nuanced approach to gain broad support. The prevalence of medium-value modals allows them to express determination and future plans without appearing overly prescriptive or rigid, thereby facilitating broader acceptance of their messages.

### B. Analysis of Modality

The word "will" is the most frequently used modal verb. In President Biden's address, "will" often signals firm commitment and future action:

- "We will continue to stand with Ukraine as they defend their sovereignty."
- "America will lead the world not by the example of our power, but by the power of our example."

In these instances, "will" functions to project unwavering resolve and define the future trajectory of U.S. foreign policy. It serves to reassure allies and signal deterrence to adversaries, constructing an image of a decisive and predictable leader.

President von der Leyen similarly employs "will" to articulate the EU's strategic direction and commitments:

- "The European Union will invest more in renewable energy and green technologies."
- "We will ensure that our single market remains the engine of our prosperity."

Here, "will" underscores the EU's determination to pursue specific policy goals, fostering a sense of progress and stability within the Union and projecting a proactive stance to the international community. Both leaders use "will" to build a positive and forward-looking image of their respective entities.

The modal verb "can," a low-modality value indicator, suggests possibility or capability. In President Biden's speech, "can" is often used to inspire and highlight potential:

- "Together, we can build an economy that works for everyone."
- "We can solve these challenges if we work together."

This use of "can" serves an inclusive and optimistic purpose, inviting collaboration and emphasizing shared capacity. It makes requests or proposals more indirect and therefore more palatable, fostering a sense of collective agency.

President von der Leyen's use of "can" also focuses on potential and collective achievement:

- "Europe can be a leader in the digital and green transitions."
- "Through unity, we can overcome any crisis."

This emphasizes the EU's capacity and potential for global leadership, framing challenges as surmountable through collective effort. The low modality softens the assertion, making it more persuasive by suggesting a shared journey towards common goals.

"Must," a high-modality verb, conveys strong obligation or necessity. President Biden uses "must" to highlight critical imperatives:

- "We must protect our democracy at all costs."
- "Nations must uphold the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity."

These instances of "must" convey a sense of urgency and non-negotiable principles. As a leader, Biden uses this to assert the gravity of certain issues and to rally support for decisive action, reflecting a strong belief in the necessity of these measures.

President von der Leyen also employs "must" to emphasize crucial obligations for the EU:

- "We must strengthen our defense capabilities."
- "Europe must lead by example in addressing climate change."

Her use of "must" underscores the critical nature of these actions for the EU's future security and global standing. It reflects a strong conviction in the necessity of these policies, aiming to mobilize member states and citizens towards common, urgent objectives.

According to Halliday [7], modality reflects the speaker's stance on an idea or proposal, representing their attitude, viewpoint, and opinion. The strategic choice between low-valued "can" (indicating approachability and possibility), medium-valued "will" (expressing willingness and prediction, fostering involvement), and high-valued "must" (conveying strong belief and necessity) allows these leaders to finely tune their persuasive messages and achieve specific political aims.

### C. Analysis of Personal Pronoun

Halliday [7] posits that interpersonal meanings are significantly embodied in the personal system, including pronouns and possessives. These elements represent the world from the speaker's perspective within a speech exchange, directly involving the listener's knowledge, interests, and emotions [8]. The use of personal pronouns in the two speeches is shown in Table 2.

**TABLE 2: THE USE OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS**

Personal Pronoun	I, me, my	we, us, our, ourselves	you, your	he, she, it, they, them, their, themselves
Frequency	35	160	12	80

Personal pronouns were used 287 times in the combined speeches, accounting for approximately 3.83% of the total words. The second-person pronoun "you" appears least frequently (12 times), primarily addressing the direct audience or citizens. For example, President Biden's "I speak to you tonight as your President."

First-person pronouns are the most frequent. The singular "I" (35 occurrences) refers directly to the speaker, while the plural "we" (160 occurrences) refers to various collective groups. The high frequency of first-person pronouns, particularly "we," warrants detailed analysis.

The use of "I" in political speeches, while less common than "we," is strategically deployed to assert individual leadership, personal commitment, and direct responsibility.

- President Biden: "As Commander-in-Chief, I will not hesitate to protect our troops."
- President von der Leyen: "I believe Europe's future is green and digital."

In these instances, "I" functions to personalize the message, conveying the leader's direct involvement and conviction. This can shorten the perceived distance between the leader and the audience, fostering a sense of trust and direct accountability, a "craft way to persuade the audience to accept his opinions" [9].

The first-person plural "we" is overwhelmingly dominant, used to construct a collective identity and foster solidarity. Its referent can be fluid, encompassing different groups depending on the context:

- **Inclusive "we" (leader + audience/nation):**
  - President Biden: "We are building a future where everyone has a fair shot." (Refers to the American people and government)
  - President von der Leyen: "We must work together to strengthen our Union." (Refers to EU institutions, member states, and citizens) This inclusive "we" creates a sense of shared purpose and responsibility, inviting

the audience to identify with the speaker's vision and goals. It minimizes potential opposition by framing initiatives as collective endeavors.

- **Exclusive "we" (leader + specific group, excluding others):**

- President Biden: "We, the United States, will not tolerate aggression." (Refers to the U.S. government/military, implicitly excluding adversaries)

- President von der Leyen: "We, the Commission, have put forward ambitious proposals." (Refers to the European Commission, distinct from other EU bodies or external actors) This exclusive "we" defines boundaries and asserts the actions or positions of a specific entity, often in contrast to others. The nuanced shift between inclusive and exclusive "we" allows leaders to strategically manage group identity and delineate responsibilities or oppositions.

The strategic deployment of personal pronouns, especially "we," is a powerful tool for building consensus, mobilizing support, and shaping collective identity in political discourse.

### III. CONCLUSION

From this discussion, it is evident that linguistic features are not merely decorative but serve crucial social and political functions within contemporary political speeches. The language employed by leaders like President Biden and President von der Leyen is meticulously determined by their political aims within specific social and international contexts. The ideologies and political attitudes are clearly reflected through their linguistic choices, and in turn, language actively helps to strengthen these ideologies, demonstrating the dialectical relationship between language and ideology [10].

Specifically, the analysis of modality revealed that both speakers strategically balance high-value modals like "must" to convey strong conviction and necessity, with medium-value "will" to express commitment and future plans, and low-value "can" to foster a sense of possibility and collective agency. This nuanced deployment allows them to project authority, inspire action, and maintain an approachable stance. Furthermore, the examination of personal pronouns underscored the pervasive use of the inclusive "we" to build solidarity and define collective identity, while the strategic use of "I" asserts individual leadership and accountability. The subtle shifts between inclusive and exclusive "we" enable leaders to navigate complex political landscapes, distinguishing their actions from those of others while simultaneously fostering unity.

Critical Discourse Analysis, as demonstrated, provides an invaluable perspective for studying political discourse [11]. By exploring the relationship between discourse and its social factors, CDA allows us to uncover *how* and *why* a particular discourse is produced and presented in a specific manner. This deepens our understanding of the persuasive mechanisms at play in political communication and enhances our critical awareness of the power of language in shaping public perception and political reality.

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