

Attitude Patterns And Ideological Stance In Presidential Discourse: An Appraisal Analysis Of President Prabowo Subianto's National Cooperative Day Address

M. Asril Marpaung ^{a,1,*}, Fuziarnisa Fahmi ^{b,2}

^aSTAI Nurul Ilmi Tanjungbalai, Indonesia;

^bSTAI Nurul Ilmi Tanjungbalai, Indonesia;

¹ m.asrilmarpaung@staini.ac.id; ² m.asrilmarpaung@staini.ac.id;

*Correspondent Author; m.asrilmarpaung@staini.ac.id

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ABSTRACT

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This study aims to identify the distribution of Attitude resources and examine how evaluative language constructs ideological stance and leadership ethos in President Prabowo Subianto's address at the 79th National Cooperative Day in 2026. The study employs a descriptive-qualitative, corpus-based discourse analysis grounded in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal framework, focusing on the Attitude subsystem of Affect, Judgement, and Appreciation. The corpus comprises the complete official presidential address, which was cross-checked against an official secondary transcript and audiovisual recording. The transcript was systematically segmented into 680 Hallidayan ranking clauses and coded according to Attitude domain, sub-category, polarity, and mode of realization. The analysis identified 457 evaluative clauses (67.2%), comprising Judgement (54.3%, n = 248), Appreciation (32.2%, n = 147), and Affect (13.6%, n = 62). Within Judgement, Social Sanction: Propriety was the most frequent resource (n = 135), followed by Social Esteem: Tenacity (n = 55) and Capacity (n = 53). Appreciation was predominantly realized through Valuation (n = 133). Positive evaluations accounted for 73.3% (n = 335), compared with 26.7% (n = 122) for negative evaluations, while inscribed realizations constituted 91.0% (n = 416) and invoked realizations 9.0% (n = 41). The findings indicate that evaluative resources are primarily used to construct ethical legitimacy, articulate an anti-corruption stance, and position cooperatives as instruments of economic democracy and public welfare. The study contributes empirical evidence on contemporary Indonesian presidential discourse and demonstrates the applicability of Appraisal theory to the analysis of ideological and interpersonal meaning in political rhetoric.

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Introduction

Presidential discourse occupies a central position in political communication because presidential speeches do more than transmit information about government programs and national affairs. As institutional forms of political discourse, presidential addresses provide a discursive space in which leaders construct relationships with citizens, evaluate social actors and institutions, articulate political values, and establish particular representations of national interests. Through language, presidents may position themselves as legitimate representatives of the public, characterize particular behaviors as desirable or undesirable, and frame policies or institutions as beneficial, necessary, or problematic. Consequently, presidential discourse needs to be examined not only in terms of what political leaders say, but also in terms of how linguistic choices express evaluation, stance, alignment, and ideological positioning. From the perspective of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), language simultaneously realizes ideational, interpersonal, and textual meanings, with the interpersonal metafunction being particularly relevant to the negotiation of attitudes, social relationships, and speaker identities (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014).

The interpersonal dimension is especially significant in presidential discourse because political leaders must continuously negotiate their relationship with multiple audiences while presenting particular interpretations of social and political reality. Evaluative language enables speakers to express approval or disapproval, attribute qualities to individuals and institutions, construct moral distinctions, and invite audiences to share particular attitudes toward political issues. In this respect, political discourse is inherently evaluative rather than merely descriptive. Presidential rhetoric can, for example, portray government officials as competent, citizens as resilient, particular institutions as valuable, or certain social practices as morally unacceptable. Such evaluations contribute to the construction of political authority and ideological positioning because they establish what the speaker presents as legitimate, desirable, responsible, or problematic.

Appraisal Theory is therefore particularly appropriate for analyzing presidential discourse because it provides a systematic linguistic framework for identifying how interpersonal evaluation is constructed and negotiated in discourse. Developed by Martin and White (2005) within the broader framework of SFL, Appraisal Theory conceptualizes evaluative meaning through three interconnected systems: Attitude, Engagement, and Graduation. Attitude identifies how speakers express feelings and evaluate human behavior and entities through Affect, Judgement, and Appreciation; Engagement examines how speakers position their propositions and viewpoints in relation to alternative voices and perspectives; and Graduation accounts for the scaling of interpersonal meanings in

terms of force and focus (Martin & White, 2005). Among these systems, Attitude is particularly relevant to the present study because presidential speeches frequently depend on explicit and implicit evaluations of people, conduct, institutions, policies, and social phenomena. The framework also distinguishes between positive and negative polarity and between inscribed and invoked realizations, enabling researchers to examine not only the presence of evaluation but also the linguistic manner through which evaluation is explicitly stated or indirectly evoked. Thus, Appraisal Theory offers analytical categories that are more specific to evaluative and interpersonal meaning than a general content analysis of political speeches.

Previous studies have demonstrated the usefulness of Appraisal Theory for examining political and presidential discourse. At the international level, appraisal-based research has shown that political leaders strategically employ evaluative resources to construct legitimacy, express ideological positions, and influence audience alignment. Fajri et al. (2022), for instance, examined Joe Biden's political rhetoric and demonstrated how Attitude resources contribute to the construction of particular political positions. In studies of presidential discourse, Rohmawati (2016) identified the role of Judgement in constructing public trust, while other research has shown that Affect, Judgement, and Appreciation can operate together to establish political identities and shape audience responses. These studies indicate that Appraisal Theory is capable of revealing interpersonal meanings that may remain less visible when political speeches are examined solely through thematic or content-based approaches.

Research in the Indonesian context has similarly demonstrated the analytical value of appraisal-based approaches. Megah et al. (2021) examined President Joko Widodo's political speeches and identified the prominent use of positive Judgement, particularly Capacity, in representing Indonesian citizens as capable and resilient social actors. Sekarsari et al. (2024) showed that presidential discourse can combine Affect, Judgement, and Appreciation to construct diplomatic consensus and shared national commitments. Putri and Widhiyanto (2025) further demonstrated the prominence of inscribed Judgement in Indonesian diplomatic discourse, particularly in articulating national positions on international issues. Research concerning President Prabowo Subianto has also examined his political and institutional communication. Abbas et al. (2021), for example, identified expressive and evaluative dimensions in Indonesian presidential election debates, while Mubarok et al. (2026) examined the construction of legitimacy in Prabowo's address at the World Economic Forum. Collectively, these studies establish that evaluative language is an important resource for understanding Indonesian political discourse and that Appraisal Theory provides a productive framework for investigating such meanings.

Nevertheless, the existing literature leaves several aspects insufficiently addressed. First, previous studies of Indonesian presidential discourse have predominantly examined electoral debates, general political speeches, diplomatic communication, inaugural or international addresses, rather than institutionally specific domestic commemorative speeches concerned with economic and social policy. Although these studies have identified important patterns of Judgement, Affect, Appreciation, and ideological positioning, they have not systematically examined how evaluative resources operate in a

presidential address delivered specifically within the context of National Cooperative Day (Hari Koperasi Nasional). This genre is analytically significant because a commemorative economic address simultaneously combines ceremonial communication, national economic discourse, moral evaluation, and policy-oriented argumentation. The absence of systematic Appraisal analysis in this particular context leaves unanswered how a presidential speaker evaluates economic institutions, social actors, public conduct, and competing economic orientations through interpersonal linguistic resources.

Second, existing studies have not sufficiently connected the distribution and realization of Attitude resources with the ideological and leadership stance constructed within a contemporary Indonesian presidential address. Earlier research has generally identified dominant appraisal categories, but less attention has been given to the interaction among Attitude subcategories, polarity, and realization modes as a means of explaining how a president constructs moral authority and presents particular economic values as legitimate. This is particularly relevant to President Prabowo Subianto's discourse because his presidential communication provides an opportunity to examine evaluative language within a new administration and a distinct domestic policy context. Rather than assuming that the communicative patterns identified in earlier administrations or diplomatic settings apply equally to domestic commemorative discourse, the present study investigates how evaluative resources are configured within this specific speech and communicative situation.

Third, there remains a methodological gap concerning the systematic corpus-based examination of the Attitude subsystem at the clause level in contemporary Indonesian presidential discourse. While previous studies have contributed valuable qualitative interpretations, the present study combines systematic clause segmentation with quantitative distribution and qualitative interpretation of Affect, Judgement, and Appreciation. This approach makes it possible to identify not only which evaluative categories occur, but also their relative frequency, polarity, and mode of realization. Such a combination provides a more detailed account of how evaluative meanings are patterned across the speech and how these linguistic patterns contribute to the construction of ideological stance and leadership ethos.

The present study addresses these gaps by conducting a corpus-based Appraisal analysis of President Prabowo Subianto's official address at the 79th National Cooperative Day on July 12, 2026. The study focuses specifically on the Attitude subsystem of Appraisal Theory and examines a corpus of 680 Hallidayan ranking clauses. It investigates three dimensions of presidential evaluation: the distribution and configuration of Affect, Judgement, and Appreciation; the distribution of positive and negative polarity and the realization of attitudes as inscribed or invoked; and the ideological and leadership meanings constructed through these evaluative choices. By focusing on a domestic commemorative address that links cooperative economics, public welfare, moral conduct, and national economic policy, the study extends existing appraisal research beyond the predominantly examined contexts of electoral, inaugural, and diplomatic presidential discourse.

The contribution of this study is therefore threefold. Theoretically, it extends the application of Appraisal Theory to contemporary Indonesian presidential discourse by demonstrating how Attitude resources can be used to investigate interpersonal evaluation and ideological positioning within a domestic economic context. Empirically, it provides a systematic account of evaluative patterns in President Prabowo Subianto's National Cooperative Day address, a speech genre that has received limited attention in previous appraisal research. Methodologically, it integrates corpus-based clause analysis with qualitative interpretation of appraisal categories, polarity, and realization, thereby providing a more systematic account of how evaluative meanings are distributed and function in presidential rhetoric. In this way, the study contributes to the broader field of political discourse analysis by showing how linguistic evaluation provides a means of examining the construction of political authority, moral positioning, and economic ideology in contemporary presidential communication.

Accordingly, this study addresses the following research questions: 1) What is the frequency distribution and categorical configuration of the Attitude subsystems (Affect, Judgement, and Appreciation) deployed in President Prabowo Subianto's 79th National Cooperative Day address?. 2) How do positive and negative polarity and inscribed and invoked realizations operate in structuring the President's evaluative stance?. 3) What ideological stances and leadership ethos are constructed through these evaluative linguistic choices in the presidential address?

Method

Research Design

This study employed a descriptive-qualitative, corpus-based discourse analysis design grounded in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014) and the Appraisal framework proposed by Martin and White (2005). The study focused specifically on the Attitude subsystem, comprising Affect, Judgement, and Appreciation. A corpus-based design was selected because the analysis required an exhaustive examination of the complete presidential address rather than a selective analysis of isolated quotations. The analysis combined systematic quantitative counting of evaluative clauses with qualitative interpretation of their linguistic and interpersonal meanings.

The analytical procedure consisted of five sequential stages: (1) corpus selection and textual verification, (2) clause segmentation and identification of ranking clauses, (3) identification of evaluative versus non-evaluative clauses, (4) Appraisal coding of evaluative clauses, and (5) quantitative distribution and qualitative interpretation of the coded data. This procedure was applied consistently to the entire speech corpus.

Corpus Selection and Data Source

The corpus consisted of the complete official presidential address delivered by President Prabowo Subianto at the commemoration of the 79th National Cooperative Day (Hari Koperasi Nasional ke-79) on July 12, 2026. The speech was

selected purposively because it represents a complete and bounded presidential discourse event directly related to the institutional and ideological framing of cooperatives, economic governance, public welfare, and national development.

The primary textual data were obtained from the official transcript issued by the Press, Media, and Information Bureau of the Presidential Secretariat (Biro Pers, Media, dan Informasi Sekretariat Presiden). To ensure textual accuracy, the primary transcript was cross-checked against the official record published by the Ministry of State Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia and synchronized with the audiovisual recording of the speech broadcast by Kompas TV. Discrepancies involving punctuation, repetitions, or spoken constructions were resolved by referring to the actual spoken delivery rather than relying exclusively on written punctuation.

The entire speech was treated as the corpus population. No sampling was performed because the study aimed to analyze the complete bounded discourse event. Consequently, all clauses meeting the operational definition of a ranking clause were included in the corpus. The final corpus contained 680 ranking clauses, which were assigned sequential identification codes from C001 to C680.

Clause Segmentation and Identification of the 680 Ranking Clauses

The ranking clause served as the basic unit of analysis. Following Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), a ranking clause was operationalized as an independent major clause or a dependent hypotactic clause that realizes its own experiential Process. The transcript was segmented manually by examining clause complexes, verbal groups, projection, embedding, coordination, subordination, ellipsis, and spoken discourse features.

The identification of the 680 ranking clauses followed a systematic procedure. First, the complete transcript was read from beginning to end to identify clause complexes and potential clause boundaries. Second, each clause was examined for its experiential Process and its relationship to other clauses within the clause complex. Third, each candidate clause was assigned a unique Clause ID in chronological order. Fourth, the segmentation was checked against the spoken recording whenever punctuation or syntactic boundaries in the written transcript were ambiguous. Finally, the complete list of clause units was reviewed to ensure that no ranking clause was inadvertently omitted or counted more than once.

Ten operational rules were applied consistently during segmentation:

1. Independent and hypotactic ranking clauses were treated as separate units when each realized its own experiential Process.
2. Projected and quoted clauses were separated when both the projecting clause and the projected proposition or proposal constituted independent ranking clauses.

3. Embedded qualifiers introduced by *yang* ('who/which/that') were not separated when functioning as rank-shifted modifiers within a nominal group.
4. Integrated verbal group complexes sharing the same Subject remained within one clause unless a separate ranking Process and clause structure were realized.
5. Dependent adverbial clauses introduced by subordinators such as *kalau*, *supaya*, *sehingga*, *sesudah*, *waktu*, and *walaupun* were segmented separately when they contained their own Process.
6. Elliptical structures were retained when an independent proposition or proposal could be functionally recovered.
7. Minor clauses and formulaic expressions, including greetings, religious formulas, and vocatives, were retained as functional minor units where they contributed to the discourse, whereas abandoned false starts and non-functional fragments were excluded from the ranking-clause count.
8. Extended nominal listings and coordinated complements remained within their governing clause when they did not introduce a separate ranking Process.
9. Spoken repetitions and rhetorical restarts were retained when they were part of the delivered speech; only accidental transcription duplication was removed.
10. Punctuation ambiguity was resolved by referring to acoustic pauses, intonation, and the syntactic structure of the spoken delivery.

After these procedures were completed, the corpus was locked at 680 ranking clauses, designated C001–C680. Thus, the number 680 represents the total population of ranking clauses in the complete speech rather than a sample or an estimate.

Identification and Classification of Evaluative Clauses

After segmentation, the 680 ranking clauses were examined individually to determine whether each clause contained an evaluative meaning within the Attitude subsystem of Appraisal Theory. The classification was performed at the clause level, while the specific lexical or grammatical realization carrying the evaluation was identified as the appraisal item.

Each clause was first assigned to one of two mutually exclusive preliminary categories: 1) Evaluative clause: a ranking clause containing an attitudinal meaning that expresses or invokes Affect, Judgement, or Appreciation toward an identifiable target. 2) Non-evaluative clause: a ranking clause that primarily performs experiential, procedural, informational, protocol, or discourse-organizational functions without an identifiable Attitude resource.

A clause was classified as evaluative only when its linguistic realization could be interpreted systematically within Martin and White's (2005) Attitude taxonomy. The classification therefore did not depend merely on the presence of emotionally charged words. Context, grammatical function, the entity being

evaluated, and the semantic orientation of the expression were considered before assigning an Attitude category.

The classification procedure involved four steps. First, the clause was read in its immediate discourse context. Second, potential evaluative expressions were identified. Third, each expression was tested against the definitions of Affect, Judgement, and Appreciation. Fourth, the clause was coded as evaluative only when the expression fulfilled the relevant semantic function.

For example, expressions evaluating a person's emotional state or reaction were classified as Affect; expressions assessing human behavior, character, morality, competence, or perseverance were classified as Judgement; and expressions evaluating objects, institutions, processes, ideas, or phenomena in terms of their quality, composition, impact, or social value were classified as Appreciation. When no such attitudinal meaning was identified, the clause was coded as non-evaluative.

Applying this procedure to all 680 ranking clauses resulted in 457 evaluative clauses (67.2%) and 223 non-evaluative clauses (32.8%). The 457 evaluative clauses therefore represent the subset of the complete 680-clause corpus that contains identifiable Attitude resources; they were not independently sampled from the corpus.

Coding Procedures for the 457 Evaluative Clauses

The 457 evaluative clauses were subsequently coded using the Attitude taxonomy of Martin and White (2005). Coding was conducted clause by clause using a structured coding matrix. Each evaluative clause was assigned the following analytical parameters:

1. Clause ID – the sequential identification number from C001 to C680.
2. Appraised Target – the person, group, institution, behavior, policy, object, process, or phenomenon being evaluated.
3. Appraisal Item – the lexical, grammatical, metaphorical, or contextual realization that carries the evaluative meaning.
4. Attitude Domain – Affect, Judgement, or Appreciation.
5. Sub-category – the more specific category within the selected Attitude domain.
6. Polarity – positive (+) or negative (–).
7. Mode of Realization – inscribed or invoked.

For Affect, the coding distinguished emotional states and reactions according to categories such as Un/happiness, In/security, and Dis/satisfaction. For Judgement, the analysis distinguished Social Esteem (Normality, Capacity, and Tenacity) from Social Sanction (Veracity and Propriety). For Appreciation, the coding distinguished Reaction, Composition, and Valuation.

Polarity was determined according to whether the evaluation construed the target positively or negatively. Inscribed realizations were coded when the

attitudinal meaning was explicitly expressed through evaluative lexical choices, whereas invoked realizations were coded when the evaluative meaning arose indirectly through ideational description, metaphor, contextual association, or rhetorical framing.

Where a clause contained more than one potentially evaluative expression, the analysis considered the semantic function and discourse context of each expression. The coding unit remained the ranking clause, and the dominant or analytically relevant Attitude realization was recorded according to the coding framework. This procedure ensured that the reported total of 457 evaluative clauses remained consistent across the Attitude, polarity, and realization analyses.

Analytical Stages and Data Verification

The analysis proceeded in three main stages. In the first stage, the 680 ranking clauses were counted and classified into evaluative and non-evaluative categories. In the second stage, the 457 evaluative clauses were coded according to Attitude domain, sub-category, polarity, and realization mode. Frequency and percentage distributions were then calculated for each category. Percentages were calculated by dividing the frequency of each category by the relevant analytical denominator, namely 680 for the overall evaluative profile and 457 for the distribution of Attitude categories, polarity, and realization modes.

In the third stage, representative clauses were selected for qualitative interpretation. Selection was based on their representativeness of the dominant Attitude categories and their relevance to the ideological and interpersonal themes emerging from the quantitative distribution. Each illustrative example retained its original Clause ID and was accompanied by the Indonesian wording, English translation, appraised target, appraisal item, and Appraisal classification.

To improve analytical consistency, the coding results were reviewed against the original transcript and audiovisual recording. Particular attention was given to borderline cases involving embedded clauses, metaphorical expressions, contextualized evaluations, spoken repetition, and ambiguity between Judgement and Appreciation. The final dataset was then checked to ensure that the frequencies reported in the tables corresponded to the locked corpus of 680 ranking clauses and the 457 evaluative clauses.

Results and Discussion

The empirical findings are presented systematically in five subsections, corresponding to the quantitative distribution patterns and qualitative linguistic evidence observed in the 680-clause corpus of President Prabowo Subianto's 79th National Cooperative Day address. All illustrative Indonesian clauses are provided with verbatim transcripts, Clause IDs, and idiomatic English translations to facilitate international scholarly reading.

3.1 Overall Evaluative Profile of the Corpus

The quantitative analysis of the 680 ranking clauses reveals a decisive orientation toward evaluative discourse. Table 2 summarizes the primary distribution of evaluative versus non-evaluative clauses across the entire corpus.

Table 2. *Overall Clause Distribution in the 79th National Cooperative Day Address*

Clause Status	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)	Communicative & Rhetorical Function
Evaluative Clauses	457	67.2%	Construing attitudinal stances (<i>Affect, Judgement, Appreciation</i>)
Non-Evaluative Clauses	223	32.8%	Procedural protocols, ritual greetings, and ideational reporting
Total Ranking Clauses	680	100.0%	Full locked corpus population

As delineated in Table 2, more than two-thirds of the address (67.2%, $n = 457$) performs an evaluative function, whereas non-evaluative clauses account for less than one-third (32.8%, $n = 223$). The non-evaluative clauses are primarily concentrated in the introductory greetings, formal protocol recognitions, and neutral procedural links. This statistical imbalance demonstrates that the presidential address is fundamentally structured not as an informational or administrative briefing, but as a persuasive, ideologically loaded oration designed to shape collective values and policy consensus.

3.2 Distribution of Attitude Subsystems and Sub-categories

Within the 457 evaluative clauses, all three primary domains of the Attitude system (*Judgement, Appreciation, and Affect*) are activated. However, their frequency distributions exhibit pronounced asymmetry. Table 3 presents the granular breakdown of Attitude subsystems and their respective sub-categories.

Table 3. *Distribution of Attitude Subsystems and Sub-categories (n = 457)*

Attitude Subsystem	Sub-Category	Frequency (n)	Domain %	Overall Attitude %
Judgement	Social Sanction: Propriety	135	54.4%	29.5%
	Social Esteem: Tenacity	55	22.2%	12.0%
	Social Esteem: Capacity	53	21.4%	11.6%

Attitude Subsystem	Sub-Category	Frequency (n)	Domain %	Overall Attitude %
	Social Sanction: Veracity	7	2.8%	1.5%
	<i>Subtotal Judgement</i>	248	100.0%	54.3%
Appreciation	Valuation	133	90.5%	29.1%
	Composition: Complexity	7	4.8%	1.5%
	Composition: Balance	4	2.7%	0.9%
	Reaction: Quality	1	0.7%	0.2%
	Reaction: Impact	1	0.7%	0.2%
	<i>Subtotal Appreciation</i>	147	100.0%	32.2%
Affect	Un/happiness: Affection	19	30.6%	4.2%
	In/security: Quiet	10	16.1%	2.2%
	In/security: Confidence	10	16.1%	2.2%
	In/security: Disquiet	8	12.9%	1.8%
	Un/happiness: Misery	6	9.7%	1.3%
	Dis/satisfaction: Pleasure	4	6.5%	0.9%

Attitude Subsystem	Sub-Category	Frequency (n)	Domain %	Overall Attitude %
	Dis/satisfaction: Displeasure	3	4.8%	0.7%
	Un/happiness: Happiness	1	1.6%	0.2%
	<i>Subtotal Affect</i>	62	100.0%	13.6%
Total Evaluative		457	—	100.0%

As documented in Table 3, Judgement constitutes the undisputed dominant evaluative domain, accounting for over half of all evaluative instances (54.3%, $n = 248$). Within Judgement, *Social Sanction: Propriety* is overwhelmingly prevalent ($n = 135$, representing 29.5% of all attitudes in the speech), followed by *Social Esteem: Tenacity* ($n = 55$, 12.0%) and *Social Esteem: Capacity* ($n = 53$, 11.6%).

Appreciation forms the second largest category (32.2%, $n = 147$), heavily dominated by *Valuation* ($n = 133$, comprising 90.5% of all Appreciation choices). Evaluative resources evaluating compositional structure and aesthetic reaction occur only marginally ($n = 14$ combined).

Affect comprises the smallest proportion of the Attitude system (13.6%, $n = 62$), led by expressions of interpersonal deference (*Un/happiness: Affection*, $n = 19$) and assertions of governmental assurance versus national vulnerability (*In/security*, $n = 28$ across quietude, confidence, and disquiet).

3.3 Polarity Configuration and Cross-Tabulation

Polarity analysis provides critical insights into the affective and evaluative orientation of the speaker's stance. Across the 457 evaluative clauses, positive polarity markedly surpasses negative polarity. Table 4 displays the cross-tabulation between Attitude domains and polarity values.

Table 4. Cross-Tabulation of Attitude Domains by Polarity ($n = 457$)

Attitude Domain	Positive Polarity (+)	Negative Polarity (-)	Total Clauses	Domain Share (%)
Judgement	174 (70.2%)	74 (29.8%)	248	54.3%
Appreciation	114 (77.6%)	33 (22.4%)	147	32.2%

Attitude Domain	Positive Polarity (+)	Negative Polarity (-)	Total Clauses	Domain Share (%)
Affect	47 (75.8%)	15 (24.2%)	62	13.6%
Total Distribution	335 (73.3%)	122 (26.7%)	457	100.0%

Overall, positive evaluations constitute nearly three-quarters of the evaluative corpus (73.3%, $n = 335$), while negative evaluations represent 26.7% ($n = 122$). A critical qualitative pattern emerges from this cross-tabulation:

- In **Judgement**, the 174 positive tokens (38.1% of all attitudes) are deployed to construct patriotic devotion, civic obedience, ministerial competence, and historical perseverance, whereas the 74 negative tokens (16.2%) are wielded as aggressive rhetorical strikes against corrupt elites, state asset thieves, and opportunistic political actors.

- In **Appreciation**, positive evaluations (77.6%, $n = 114$) valorize cooperatives (*koperasi*), collective mutual cooperation (*gotong royong*), the Sovereign Wealth Fund, and domestic economic self-sufficiency, while negative evaluations (22.4%, $n = 33$) severely deprecate neoliberal economic dogma, trickle-down economic fallacies, and inefficient bureaucratic procedures.

- In **Affect**, positive evaluations (75.8%, $n = 47$) convey institutional respect and project security (*jangan khawatir* / 'do not worry'), while negative affect (24.2%, $n = 15$) articulates visceral moral anguish over national suffering (*sedih, merasa dihantam di ulu hati* / 'hit in the solar plexus').

3.4 Realization Modes: Inscribed vs. Invoked Attitude

The realization analysis investigates whether evaluations are encoded overtly through explicit evaluative lexis (*inscribed*) or implicitly provoked through ideational cues, metaphors, and narrative tokens (*invoked*). Table 5 details the distribution of realization modes across each attitude domain.

Table 5. *Distribution of Realization Modes across Attitude Domains ($n = 457$)*

Attitude Domain	Inscribed Realization (n , %)	Invoked Realization (n , %)	Total Domain Count
Judgement	224 (90.3%)	24 (9.7%)	248
Appreciation	134 (91.2%)	13 (8.8%)	147
Affect	58 (93.5%)	4 (6.5%)	62

Attitude Domain	Inscribed Realization (n, %)	Invoked Realization (n, %)	Total Domain Count
Total Realization	416 (91.0%)	41 (9.0%)	457 (100.0%)

As demonstrated in Table 5, the President's discourse is overwhelmingly realized through **inscribed attitudes (91.0%, $n = 416$)**, with **invoked attitudes accounting for only 9.0% ($n = 41$)**. Across all three subsystems, inscribed realizations consistently exceed 90%. This quantitative finding is empirically profound: it reveals a rhetorical style that systematically avoids euphemistic ambivalence, cautious hedging, or diplomatic circumlocution. Instead, the President communicates through direct, unvarnished evaluative propositions, explicitly naming virtues and vices in categorical lexical terms.

3.5 Linguistic Evidence and Bilingual Analysis of Key Attitude Domains

To illustrate how these evaluative patterns materialize in spoken discourse, representative clauses from the corpus are analyzed below across four principal thematic clusters. Each example is presented with its verified Clause ID, original Indonesian transcript, idiomatic English translation, appraised target, lexical appraisal item, and taxonomic classification.

3.5.1 Moral Judgement and Social Sanction: The Anti-Corruption Imperative

The largest single attitudinal category in the corpus is *Social Sanction: Propriety* ($n = 135$), where the President draws an absolute moral divide between public servant integrity and predatory elite corruption.

(1) Clause C029

Indonesian: "Karena saya patuh sama rakyat."

English Translation: "Because I am obedient to the people."

Appraised Target: Speaker's moral leadership stance (*Sikap moral kepemimpinan penutur*)

Appraisal Item: *patuh sama rakyat* ('obedient to the people')

Category: Judgement (Social Sanction: Propriety) [+] | Realization: Inscribed

In (1), the President defines his democratic legitimacy not in terms of bureaucratic hierarchy or legal authority, but through moral submission to popular sovereignty (*patuh sama rakyat*). This positive self-judgement of Propriety establishes ethical authority (*ethos*) early in the address. Conversely, in (2) and (3), the President shifts to explicit negative Propriety, launching a direct attack on structural graft:

(2) Clause C187

Indonesian: "Semua partai banyak bajingannya juga."

English Translation: "All political parties have many scoundrels in them as well."

Appraised Target: Corrupt elements within political parties (*Oknum perusak di partai politik*)

Appraisal Item: *banyak bajingannya* ('many scoundrels in them')

Category: Judgement (Social Sanction: Propriety) [-] | Realization: Inscribed

(3) Clause C298 & C303

Indonesian (C298): "Selama ini BUMN-BUMN itu sumber korupsi."

English Translation: "All this time, those state-owned enterprises have been sources of corruption."

Appraisal Item: *sumber korupsi* ('sources of corruption') | Category: Judgement: Propriety [-] (Inscribed)

Indonesian (C303): "Hei, para koruptor, sadar diri."

English Translation: "Hey, you corruptors, examine your conscience / come to your senses."

Appraised Target: Corrupt actors (*Para koruptor*) | **Appraisal Item:** *koruptor, sadar diri*
Category: Judgement (Social Sanction: Propriety) [-] | Realization: Inscribed

The use of highly informal, abrasive lexical items such as *bajingan* ('scoundrels / bastards', repeated across C198, C199, C200) and direct vocative confrontations (*Hei, para koruptor, sadar diri* in C303) demonstrates the extreme inscription of negative Propriety. Rather than adopting institutional sanitization, the President invokes the populist register of moral indignation.

3.5.2 Social Esteem: Capacity and Tenacity in State Governance

Beyond moral propriety, the President heavily activates *Social Esteem*, configuring *Tenacity* ($n = 55$) and *Capacity* ($n = 53$) to project governmental resolve and technical capability:

(4) Clause C017

Indonesian: "Ini, kabinet saya ini orang-orang hebat, putra-putri terbaik di Indonesia, putra-putri terbaik Indonesia."

English Translation: "Look, my cabinet consists of extraordinary people, the finest sons and daughters of Indonesia, Indonesia's very best."

Appraised Target: Red and White Cabinet Ministers (*Menteri Kabinet Merah Putih*)

Appraisal Item: *orang-orang hebat, putra-putri terbaik* ('extraordinary people, finest sons and daughters')

Category: Judgement (Social Esteem: Capacity) [+] | Realization: Inscribed

(5) Clause C050 & C415

Indonesian (C050): "Cukup lama kita berjuang untuk mengembalikan arah pembangunan ekonomi ke arah yang dirancang oleh pendiri-pendiri bangsa kita."

English Translation: "For quite a long time we have struggled to steer the direction of economic development back toward what was conceived by our nation's founders."

Appraisal Item: *cukup lama kita berjuang* ('for quite a long time we have struggled') |
Category: Judgement: Tenacity [+]

Indonesian (C415): "Dengan menteri-menteri kita kebut swasembada pangan."

English Translation: "Together with the ministers, we are accelerating food self-sufficiency at full throttle."

Appraised Target: Work ethic of the cabinet (*Etos kerja percepatan kabinet*)

Appraisal Item: *kebut* ('accelerate at full throttle / speed up') | Category: Judgement: Tenacity [+]

In (4) and (5), positive Capacity (*orang-orang hebat*) and Tenacity (*berjuang, kebut swasembada pangan*) are utilized to generate public confidence in executive competence. Governance is framed not as passive administrative management, but as an arduous, tenacious struggle (*perjuangan*) aligning the present administration with the founding fathers (*pendiri-pendiri bangsa*).

3.5.3 Appreciation: Revalorizing Cooperatives and Denouncing Neoliberal Dogma

The Appreciation domain is dominated by *Valuation* ($n = 133$, 90.5% of Appreciation), establishing a stark ideological contrast between the constitutional cooperative model and free-market capitalism:

(6) Clause C021 & C022

Indonesian (C021): "Jadi semua kegiatan manusia adalah kegiatan kerja sama."

English Translation: "Therefore, all human activity is essentially cooperative activity."

Indonesian (C022): "Arti koperasi adalah kerja sama."

English Translation: "The meaning of cooperative is cooperation."

Appraised Target: The essence of cooperatives (*Hakikat Koperasi*)

Appraisal Item: *kerja sama* ('cooperation / working together')

Category: Appreciation (Valuation) [+] | **Realization:** Inscribed

(7) Clause C049 & C060

Indonesian (C049): "Kita melihat ekonomi Indonesia dikuasai oleh paham ekonomi neoliberal yang sesungguhnya adalah bertentangan dengan Undang-Undang Dasar 1945."

English Translation: "We observe that Indonesia's economy has been dominated by neoliberal economic ideology, which in truth stands in direct contradiction to the 1945 Constitution."

Appraisal Item: *dikuasai paham neoliberal, bertentangan dengan UUD 1945* | **Category:** Appreciation: Valuation [-]

Indonesian (C060): "Bahwa paham kapitalisme neoliberal tidak akan berhasil."

English Translation: "That the doctrine of neoliberal capitalism will never succeed."

Appraised Target: Neoliberal capitalism (*Kapitalisme neoliberal*)

Appraisal Item: *tidak akan berhasil* ('will never succeed') | **Category:** Appreciation: Valuation [-]

Through repeated ontological definitions in (6), cooperatives are evaluated as universally indispensable to human civilization. Conversely, in (7), neoliberalism and trickle-down economics (C230: *Trickle-down effect*) are assigned sharp negative Valuation as unconstitutional and functionally unviable (*tidak akan berhasil*). This evaluative groundwork justifies concrete state intervention, such as the establishment of a one-trillion-dollar Sovereign Wealth Fund (C292: *seribu miliar Dolar, satu triliun Dolar Amerika*) and national food self-sufficiency (C273: *sudah swasembada pangan*).

3.5.4 Affect: Emotional Solidarity, Moral Anguish, and Strategic Reassurance

Although constituting 13.6% of the evaluative tokens, *Affect* plays a crucial interpersonal bridging function between the President and his audience:

(8) Clause C080 & C081

Indonesian (C080): "Tetapi saya juga sedih."

English Translation: "However, I am also deeply saddened."

Appraisal Item: *sedih* ('deeply saddened') | Category: Affect (In/security: Disquiet) [-]

Indonesian (C081): "Saya juga merasa dihantam di ulu hati saya."

English Translation: "I also feel as though I have been struck in the solar plexus."

Appraised Target: Speaker's visceral reaction to national leakage (*Kondisi batin penutur*)

Appraisal Item: *merasa dihantam di ulu hati* ('struck in the solar plexus')

Category: Affect (In/security: Disquiet) [-] | Realization: Inscribed

(9) Clause C127

Indonesian: "Jangan khawatir."

English Translation: "Do not worry / Have no fear."

Appraised Target: Anxiety of the cooperative community (*Kecemasan masyarakat koperasi*)

Appraisal Item: *Jangan khawatir* ('Do not worry')

Category: Affect (In/security: Quiet) [+] | Realization: Inscribed

In (8), the President employs raw somatic metaphors (*merasa dihantam di ulu hati*) to articulate visceral grief over national wealth expropriation, transforming personal emotion into collective solidarity with disadvantaged social groups. Having established empathetic disquiet, he immediately follows with paternalistic reassurance in (9) (*Jangan khawatir*), shifting negative disquiet into positive tranquility (*Quiet*), thereby cementing his role as a protective leader.

4. DISCUSSION

The empirical findings from the 680-clause corpus illuminate how President Prabowo Subianto strategically deploys evaluative resources within the Attitude subsystem to negotiate interpersonal relationships, construct executive legitimacy, and assert an ideological vision for national economic governance. To address the study's central research questions, this discussion interprets the linguistic evidence through three critical analytical axes: the hegemonic activation of Social Sanction (*Propriety*) in articulating an anti-corruption imperative, the ideological revalorization of cooperatives (*Valuation*) against neoliberal orthodoxy, and the construction of leadership ethos through direct, unhedged inscribed evaluation and tenacity.

4.1 The Dominance of Social Sanction (Propriety) and the Rhetoric of Anti-Corruption

The overwhelming preponderance of *Judgement* (54.3%, $n = 248$), specifically anchored in *Social Sanction: Propriety* (29.5%, $n = 135$), marks a significant departure from conventional presidential oratory. In foundational Appraisal theory, *Judgement* represents the institutionalization of feeling toward human behavior, where *Social Sanction* evaluates conduct against codified legal statutes, civic duties, and moral ethics (Martin & White, 2005). Whereas canonical studies on inaugural addresses and state of the nation speeches typically reveal a primary reliance on *Social Esteem*—specifically *Capacity* to highlight governmental competence and *Normality* to foster collective identity (Fajri et al., 2022; Rohmawati, 2016)—President Prabowo recalibrates the discourse toward ethical propriety and moral accountability.

In this commemorative address, *Propriety* operates through a polarized moral dialectic. On the positive polarity axis (70.2% of *Judgement*), the President mobilizes ethical self-evaluation to establish moral authority (*ethos*). By declaring his absolute deference to

popular sovereignty in C029 (*Karena saya patuh sama rakyat* / 'Because I am obedient to the people'), the speaker circumvents bureaucratic legalism, grounding his political legitimacy in direct moral fidelity to the citizens. This rhetorical grounding functions as an interpersonal warrant, authorizing the President to enforce radical administrative measures.

On the negative polarity axis, *Propriety* is deployed as an aggressive rhetorical weapon against systemic misconduct. The President explicitly labels actors within political parties and state-owned enterprises as morally degenerate (C187: *banyak bajingannya* / 'many scoundrels'; C298: *sumber korupsi* / 'sources of corruption'). The visceral vocative confrontation in C303 (*Hei, para koruptor, sadar diri* / 'Hey corruptors, examine your conscience / come to your senses') strips away the conventional veneer of presidential neutrality. This empirical pattern resonates with the findings of Abbas et al. (2021), who observed that during presidential election debates, Prabowo frequently utilized expressive speech acts and morally charged evaluative choices to challenge political establishments. The present findings demonstrate that rather than moderating this confrontational register upon assuming executive office, President Prabowo institutionalizes it within official state communication.

However, this domestic confrontational style contrasts sharply with the diplomatic communicative profile documented by Mubarok et al. (2026), who analyzed President Prabowo's address at the World Economic Forum (WEF). In that international arena, the President favored formal assertive and declarative speech acts designed to project institutional predictability and international investment confidence. This stylistic divergence underscores a deliberate contextual adaptation: on the global stage, the President presents a statesmanlike persona adhering to diplomatic decorum (Mubarok et al., 2026), whereas in domestic commemorative settings, he activates populist moral indignation to align directly with public disaffection against elite corruption. As theorized by Puspita and Pranoto (2021) in their critical appraisal analysis, the strategic weaponization of negative Judgment functions to demarcate clear in-groups (the virtuous, struggling masses) and out-groups (predatory, corrupt elites), thereby channeling public discontent into institutional support for state-led reform.

4.2 Revalorizing Cooperatives as Constitutional Economic Sovereignty (Valuation vs. Neoliberal Hegemony)

The secondary dominance of *Appreciation* (32.2%, $n = 147$), coupled with the extraordinary concentration of *Valuation* (90.5% of *Appreciation*, $n = 133$), reveals the speech's primary ideological contestation. In Appraisal semantics, *Appreciation* encompasses resources used to evaluate objects, institutional processes, texts, and ideological constructs, with *Valuation* specifically assessing their social significance, systemic utility, and socio-political worth (Martin & White, 2005).

The President's evaluative configuration establishes an explicit ideological antagonism between the cooperative system (*perekonomian berbasis kekeluargaan*) and globalized free-market capitalism. Through positive *Valuation* (77.6% of *Appreciation*), cooperatives are elevated from a micro-economic entity to a civilizational imperative. In C021 and C022, the President defines human civilization ontologically as cooperation (*semua kegiatan manusia adalah kegiatan kerja sama; arti koperasi adalah kerja sama*). By framing cooperatives as the purest realization of the Indonesian constitutional mandate (Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution), the discourse constructs cooperatives as the ultimate institutional vehicle for economic democracy and *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation).

Conversely, negative Valuation (22.4% of Appreciation) is deployed to systematically delegitimize neoliberal economic dogma. The President explicitly denounces free-market supremacy as an alien economic doctrine that violates the 1945 Constitution (C049: *dikuasai oleh paham ekonomi neoliberal yang sesungguhnya adalah bertentangan dengan UUD 1945*) and pronounces its functional bankruptcy (C060: *kapitalisme neoliberal tidak akan berhasil* / 'neoliberal capitalism will never succeed'; C230: denouncing the *trickle-down effect*). This finding enriches the scholarly observations of Megah et al. (2021), who analyzed the political speeches of President Joko Widodo. Megah et al. (2021) identified an ideological stance centered on pragmatic developmentalism, infrastructure expansion, and technological modernization, where citizens were primarily evaluated through positive Judgement (*Capacity*) as capable laborers within global supply chains. President Prabowo's discourse represents a discernible ideological recalibration: economic development is no longer framed merely in terms of technocratic capital accumulation, but as an ideological battle for constitutional sovereignty and wealth redistribution.

Furthermore, as demonstrated by Fajri et al. (2022) in their appraisal study of presidential rhetoric, negative Valuation of status-quo policies serves as a discursive prelude to legitimize sweeping state intervention. In this address, the negative Valuation of neoliberal trickle-down economics functions to justify radical executive policy interventions: the consolidation of state assets into a one-trillion-dollar Sovereign Wealth Fund (C292) and an aggressive timeline for food self-sufficiency (C273, C415). By categorizing unrestrained capitalism as unconstitutional and socially catastrophic, state intervention through cooperatives and sovereign investment is linguistically naturalized as a moral and economic necessity.

4.3 Leadership Ethos: Directness, Tenacity, and Inscribed Evaluative Stance

The realization profile of the corpus – characterized by an overwhelming 91.0% ($n = 416$) of *inscribed* attitude and an exceptionally low 9.0% ($n = 41$) of *invoked* attitude – constitutes one of the most striking empirical findings of this study. In SFL discourse semantics, inscribed evaluations overtly assert attitudinal values using explicitly evaluative lexical items, leaving minimal interpretive leeway for hearer negotiation (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014; Martin & White, 2005). Invoked evaluations, conversely, employ figurative language, ideational metaphors, and subtle experiential framing to gently prompt an evaluative response without overtly committing the speaker to a definitive stance (Martin & White, 2005).

The near-complete reliance on inscribed lexis across all three attitudinal domains reveals an executive communicative register characterized by uncompromising assertiveness and deliberate transparency. Rather than resorting to diplomatic hedging, administrative euphemisms, or polite circumlocution, President Prabowo uses direct, unhedged evaluative lexical tokens (*bajingan*, *sumber korupsi*, *patuh*, *hebat*, *dihantam di ulu hati*). This directness is strategically paired with prominent *Social Esteem: Tenacity* (12.0%, $n = 55$; e.g., C050: *cukup lama kita berjuang* / 'for quite a long time we have struggled'; C415: *kebut swasembada pangan* / 'accelerate food self-sufficiency at full throttle'). Through high Tenacity, the President portrays his administration not as passive bureaucrats managing mundane state routines, but as resolute crusaders undertaking an arduous national struggle.

This rhetorical stance contrasts significantly with the communicative patterns identified in previous appraisal analyses of Indonesian executive leaders. Sekarsari et al. (2024), examining President Joko Widodo's regional summit speeches, uncovered a

balanced, consensus-driven attitudinal profile characterized by moderate inscription and frequent invoked tokens designed to preserve diplomatic harmony (*musyawarah*) and mitigate potential geopolitical discord. Similarly, Putri & Widhiyanto (2025) found that while former Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi deployed a high proportion of inscribed Judgement (56.3%) to condemn international human rights violations, her linguistic choices remained strictly anchored in formal diplomatic decorum and international legal terminology. President Prabowo's discourse departs radically from this polite bureaucratic register: it integrates high inscribed directness with colloquial Indonesian idioms and visceral affective metaphors (C081: *merasa dihantam di ulu hati* / 'struck in the solar plexus'), projecting an authoritative, populist-soldier leadership ethos. This linguistic persona communicates unwavering resolve, emotional authenticity, and an immediate willingness to confront structural challenges head-on.

Conclusion

This study conducted an exhaustive, corpus-based Appraisal analysis of the official presidential address delivered by President Prabowo Subianto at the 79th National Cooperative Day in 2026. By examining a locked corpus of 680 Hallidayan ranking clauses through the Attitude subsystem, the study illuminates the linguistic architecture through which interpersonal evaluation, ideological stance, and executive leadership ethos are constructed.

5.1 Synthesis of Core Findings

The empirical findings provide conclusive answers to the three research questions guiding this investigation. First, regarding attitudinal distribution, the address exhibits an overwhelmingly evaluative orientation, with over two-thirds of the corpus (67.2%, $n = 457$) functioning attitudinally. Within the Attitude system, *Judgement* constitutes the primary evaluative resource (54.3%, $n = 248$), followed by *Appreciation* (32.2%, $n = 147$) and *Affect* (13.6%, $n = 62$). Granular sub-category analysis reveals that the discourse is overwhelmingly anchored in two specific categories: *Social Sanction: Propriety* ($n = 135$, representing 29.5% of all attitudes) and *Valuation* ($n = 133$, representing 29.1% of all attitudes), accompanied by significant activations of *Social Esteem: Tenacity* (12.0%, $n = 55$) and *Capacity* (11.6%, $n = 53$).

Second, concerning polarity and realization modes, positive evaluations markedly surpass negative ones (73.3%, $n = 335$ vs. 26.7%, $n = 122$). Crucially, the discourse demonstrates an extraordinary concentration of *inscribed* attitude (91.0%, $n = 416$), while *invoked* attitude occurs only marginally (9.0%, $n = 41$). This quantitative profile demonstrates a communicative style that deliberately renounces diplomatic ambivalence, hedging, and euphemism in favor of categorical lexical evaluation.

Third, regarding ideological stance and leadership ethos, the strategic interplay of *Social Sanction: Propriety* and *Appreciation: Valuation* constructs a counter-hegemonic discourse of constitutional economic nationalism. The President mobilizes positive Propriety to ground his political legitimacy in direct obedience to the people (*patuh sama rakyat*), while wielding negative Propriety to execute an unsparing rhetorical assault against systemic elite corruption (*bajingan, sumber korupsi*). Concurrently, positive Valuation elevates cooperatives as the indispensable civilizational embodiment of Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution (*gotong royong*), while negative Valuation decisively delegitimizes

neoliberal capitalism as unconstitutional and ineffective. Together with high Tenacity (*berjuang, kebut swasembada pangan*) and visceral Affect (*merasa dihantam di ulu hati*), the address projects a resolute, action-oriented, populist-soldier leadership ethos committed to structural state intervention.

5.2 Theoretical Contributions

On a theoretical level, this research advances Systemic Functional Linguistics and Appraisal Theory by demonstrating how *Social Sanction* and *Valuation* can be coupled to enact counter-hegemonic economic discourse within political linguistics. It demonstrates that in Global South political oratory, presidential actors can strategically deploy inscribed negative evaluations to challenge entrenched economic orthodoxies and mobilize popular consensus.

5.3 Practical and Policy Implications

The findings carry significant implications for political communication, executive governance, and public policy. Rhetorically, the study documents an important paradigm shift in Indonesian executive communication: moving from the low-key, technocratic, and consensus-preserving style of previous administrations toward an assertive, morally confrontational, and populist-nationalist register. For policy makers and cooperative stakeholders, the address linguistically reclaims cooperatives from the margins of micro-enterprise, positioning them as the ideological and operational vanguard for national economic self-sufficiency, food security, and state-led capital consolidation.

5.4 Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

Notwithstanding its empirical contributions, this study is subject to certain limitations. The investigation is bounded by a single, albeit monumental, commemorative spoken address (680 ranking clauses) and focuses specifically on the *Attitude* subsystem of the Appraisal framework.

To build upon these findings, future research should pursue three productive pathways:

1. **Longitudinal Corpus Studies:** Expand the corpus across multiple commemorative, ceremonial, and parliamentary addresses throughout President Prabowo's administration to track whether this confrontational, inscribed evaluative stance remains consistent or fluctuates across different institutional genres.
2. **Comprehensive Appraisal Systems:** Investigate the remaining two Appraisal subsystems – *Engagement* (analyzing how dialogic space is contracted or expanded through modality, projection, and concession) and *Graduation* (examining how interpersonal force and focus are calibrated).
3. **Cross-National Comparative Discourse:** Undertake comparative analyses examining presidential rhetoric across Southeast Asian nations to determine how heads of state negotiate the tensions between constitutional economic nationalism and global market pressures..

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