

# POWER AND DOMINANCE: A MODALITY ANALYSIS OF PRABOWO SUBIANTO'S NATIONAL ADDRESS 'INDONESIA WINS'

KEKUASAAN DAN DOMINASI: ANALISIS MODALITY PIDATO KEBANGSAAN PRABOWO SUBIANTO 'INDONESIA MENANG'

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(Naskah diterima tanggal 1 Mei 2019, direvisi terakhir tanggal 17 April 2020, dan disetujui tanggal 19 Juni 2020.)

## Abstrak

Penelitian ini menganalisis pidato kebangsaan Prabowo Subianto dalam kampanye pra-pemilu 2019. Adapun tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk mengungkapkan tipe-tipe *modality*, *modal value* dan *modal responsibility* yang dipakai Prabowo dalam pidato tersebut, dan untuk menjelaskan bagaimana pilihan *modality* tersebut merefleksikan sikap dan strategi Prabowo dalam visi misinya untuk memenangkan pemilu 2019. Penelitian ini adalah penelitian kualitatif dan menggunakan teori *modality* dalam *Systemic Functional Grammar* oleh Halliday. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa 1) Prabowo menggunakan *modulation inclination* untuk menunjukkan tekad membantu rakyat dan membawa Indonesia kearah yang lebih baik, 2) dominasi penggunaan *modal* berskala medium keinginan (*inclination*) menunjukkan bahwa Prabowo hanya berkeinginan untuk membantu negara, tidak sampai tahap bertekad, dominasi penggunaan *modal* berskala tinggi dalam tipe kewajiban (*obligation*) menunjukkan kepercayaan diri Prabowo bahwa ia memiliki kekuasaan untuk membuat pendukungnya menuruti perintahnya, dominasi penggunaan *modal* berskala rendah dalam tipe kemungkinan (*probability*) menunjukkan bahwa Prabowo tidak terlalu yakin akan informasi yang ia bagikan dalam pidatonya, 3) dominasi penggunaan subjek implisit subjektif menunjukkan bahwa Prabowo cenderung menggunakan gaya komunikasi dimana dia menjadi pihak yang dominan dan superior, dan ia sangat percaya ia dapat menepati semua janjinya saat ia terpilih dan siap menghadapi konsekuensinya jika tidak dapat menepati janji-janji tersebut.

**Kata-kata kunci:** Tata bahasa sistemik fungsional; modalitas; pidato Prabowo Subianto

## Abstract

This study examines Prabowo's speech during the first national address of the 2019 pre-election campaign. It aims at revealing the types of *modality*, *modal value*, and *modal responsibility* employed in the speech, and describing how the choice of *modality* reflects Prabowo's attitude and strategy to win the 2019 presidential election. This study is a qualitative research which applies Halliday's theory of *modality* in systemic functional grammar. The results reveal that 1) he used *modulation inclination* frequently to show his determination to help people, 2) the dominant use of median *modal value* in *inclination* reveals that rather than determined he is just keen to help, the domination of high *modal value* in *obligation* signified that he believes he has the power to make people follow his instruction, and the frequent use of low *modal value* in *probability* indicated that he is not certain about the information he shares, 3) the domination of subjective implicit subject shows that Prabowo tend to emphasize his dominance and superiority in the communication process, and he strongly believe that he can realize all his promises when he becomes the president and he is ready to take responsibility if he cannot.

**Keywords:** Systemic Functional Grammar; Modality; Prabowo Subianto's Speech

## 1. Background of the Study

From the perspective of discourse analysis, Fairclough (1989: 22) argues that language is 'a form of social practice'. Language is used in every aspect of human lives, from home to offices, from entertainment to politics, from one on one to public communication. Because of its close relation, language often influenced the way the society perceives a certain idea and phenomenon. On the other hand, the social interaction and communication also shape the development of language and language use. In every interaction, language plays an essential role in transferring messages, offering proposals and manipulating other people's ideologies and beliefs. In relation to this, language has several functions such as to express ideas and experience, and to maintain relationships with other people in the society.

In building and maintaining social relations, people often apply different strategies to create the impact that they want to achieve. One of many fields where language plays a significant role is politics. In political interactions, people try to win the favour of the public to earn their vote during the election. Since these political figures and candidates dreamed of becoming the representation of other people, they have to find ways and strategies to make the public put their trust on them to represent their voices. Therefore, in political interaction, people tend to use texts they prepare beforehand which contain well-thought words and sentences. There are several opportunities given to political candidates to deliver their ideas and beliefs in order to convince people and gain their vote. One of the most common one is through speeches. Political speeches contain their view and opinion of a certain phenomenon and problem, and the solutions to those problems as well as their plans and mission. Therefore, applying suitable words and strategies are essential to leave a memorable and powerful impact toward the hearers.

Recently, the most anticipated political event is the 2019 presidential election which will determine the president of Indonesia for the next five years. The presidential candidates are Joko Widodo or Jokowi, the current president, and Prabowo Subianto, the candidate who also challenged Jokowi in the 2014 presidential election. Both candidates have applied many strategies and given many speeches. However, this study will only analyse Prabowo's speech during the first national address. Although he has utilized many campaign strategies such as using social media, mass media advertisements and even black campaigns (Herpamudji, 2015) since his first election, this speech is significant as it reveals their visions and missions as well as their determination to make Indonesia better. Furthermore, since this is his second time being a candidate, analysing Prabowo's speech is interesting to see the strategies he applied to win the public's attention and vote. On the other hand, it is also significant for the public to analyse his speech deeper to see his attitude toward the problems and the solutions he offers to determine whether or not he will be suitable and responsible as a leader. This analysis would be a good reference for people before they decide which candidate to vote in the election.

Following the background of the study, the objectives of the study are:

- a. to reveal the types of modality, modal value and modal responsibility employed in the speech.
- b. to describe how the choice of modality reflects Prabowo's attitude and strategy.

In relation to these objectives, an interpersonal metafunction especially modality analysis will be conducted in order to reveal and describe his attitude and ideology. In many cases, a clause or sentence is labelled as either positive or negative. However, sometimes sentences are not always clear cut; it is neither negative nor positive, but in between. Therefore, in order to describe that space, the concept of modality is proposed (Halliday,

2004: 146). In a clause, modality is signified by modal verbs such as *can, may, will, should, ought to, must* and etc, as well as Mood adjuncts such as *certainly, probably, perhaps,* and etc. (Fontaine, 2013: 120). Modal verbs and Mood adjuncts can occur separately to signify modality, and they can also occur together in a sentence, for example in the sentence below:

(1) That *will probably* be true.

(Halliday, 2004: 148)

The modality in the sentence above is indicated by the modal verb *will* and the Mood adjuncts *probably*. Besides, Thompson (2014: 73) argues that modality might also be indicated by another clause in the sentence. Consider the examples below:

(2) Now that it's the New Year, *it's likely* that your new resolutions are being put to the test.

(3) *I think* we're alone now.

(Thompson, 2014: 73)

In example (1) above, the modality is signalled by the clause *it's likely*, while in example (2) it is indicated by the clause *I think*. Furthermore, Halliday (2004: 147) argues that the choice of modality reflects the speaker's 'judgment' on the validity of the information, the degree of his/her commitment to take responsibility for what he/she said, and their attitude toward what people should and should not do. In addition, Saragih(2005: 21)

states that modality signifies the speaker's personal opinion and judgment towards a certain event and phenomenon. These concepts will be discussed further in the following sections.

The types of modality can be differentiated by looking at the things being exchanged in the communication. Following Thompson (2014: 70), there are two types of commodity exchanged in a communication namely information, and good and services. If the commodity exchanged is information, the utterance or clause is called a proposition and the process is called a modalization. Meanwhile, if it is goods and services, then the utterance or clause is called a proposal where the process is called a modulation. Further, in the process of delivering information or modalization, people might express their judgment on the validity of the information as well as the frequency of events and actions in the information they deliver. Therefore, modalization is divided into probability and usuality. Meanwhile, in the process of exchanging goods and services or modulation people might ask or advise people to do something, or offer to do something for others which is why it is divided into obligation and inclination respectively. Table 1 below demonstrates the types of modality as well as an example of each type.

**Table 1**

Modality Values in Modalization and Modulation (Halliday, 1985: 337)

Modal Value	Modalization		Modulation	
	Probability	Usuality	Obligation	Inclination
<b>High</b>	Certain	Always	required	Determined
<b>Median</b>	Probably	Usually	supposed	Keen
<b>Low</b>	Possible	sometimes	allowed	Willing

Furthermore, the degree of each type of modality varies, and can be different depending on the modal verbs and mood adjunct applied in the utterance. This difference in degree is called modal value which is divided into high, medium and low. High modal value is indicated by the modal verbs *must, ought to, need to, has/had to* and etc. and mood

adjuncts such as *often, certain, obligetory* etc. (Halliday, 2004: 116). Meanwhile, modal verbs which indicate median modal value are *will, would, shall, should* and etc. (Halliday, 2004: 116), while the Mood adjuncts are *many times, necessarily, perhaps* and etc. (Thompson, 2014: 72). Further, low modal value is usually signified by modal verbs such as *may, might,*

*can*, and *could*, and Mood adjuncts such as *once in a while*, *rarely*, *willingly* and *possibly* (Halliday, 2004: 116). Before starting the data analysis, it is important to notice that the data in this research are in Indonesian. One word can be translated into different modal verbs, depending on the context of the sentence (Adawiah 2017). Hence, it will also affect the modal value.

Besides examining the modal verbs and Mood adjuncts, it is also essential to analyse how the subject is presented in the utterance. Halliday (2004: 117) explains that the subject in an utterance signifies the person who will be responsible for what is uttered in the communication. In a proposal or a modulation, the subject is usually the one who has to carry out the action, or someone who offers to carry out the action. Therefore, the subject will be accountable to ensure the success of the proposal, they hold the responsibility of the good and services being exchanged in the utterance. Further, in a proposition or a modalization, the subject will be responsible for the validity of the information. They are accountable for accuracy of the information they share. To sum up, the way people present the subject of the utterance reflects their willingness to take responsibility for their own words. Therefore, in reality, sometimes people avoid being the subject in their utterance since they do not want to be responsible, they assign the responsibility to something else in the utterance.

Thompson (2014: 73) argues that people present the subject in two ways, which are subjective and objective. In a subjective perspective, people make it clear that it is their personal opinion, or the obligation and inclination come from them. They openly express that they are the ones who will be responsible for the information or command, or they will be the ones who will carry out the action. Meanwhile, in an objective point of view, people make it appear as if the information or obligation is a 'quality of the

event' itself (Thompson, 2014: 73). Furthermore, the way people demonstrate their subjective point of view might differ, it can be either explicit or implicit. According to Halliday (2004: 181), implicit means that the subjective or objective point of view is presented in the same clause, while explicit means that it is inserted in a different clause.

Furthermore, analysing data using systemic functional grammar, especially interpersonal metafunction, is not something new in the field of linguistics. In the last decade, it has been conducted by various researchers. Nevertheless, many are still applying this approach to analyse several varieties of texts and data because although the approach is similar, the result might vary from one research to another. In this section, three different researches will be discussed to see how this approach is applied, how it is still relevant and commonly used by researchers. In addition, it is also to prove how the present study is different from previous research, and how this study is unique, important and interesting.

The first study is a journal written by Jose Cristina M. Parina entitled '*A Stylistic Analysis of the Use of Modality to Identify the Point of View in a Story*' (2014). It aims at revealing the type of modal and modality applied by Ian Rosales in his story entitled '*Things You Don't Know*', and describing how the choice of modal and modality reflects his attitude toward the phenomenon and events in the story as well as the shade of the story. To analyse the data, the study applies Simpson's modal framework since the objectives are not only to reveal the type of modality but to describe how it reflects the style of the writer. After analysing the data, the study reveals that the writer mainly applied epistemic modality in the story, and it is related to how the writer depicts the main character as someone who is timid and full of uncertainty. Consequently, the shade marker is negative since the dominant use of epistemic modality reflects

uncertain feeling. Second, the study was written by Usman Sidabutar with the title '*An Analysis of Modality on the Delegation Speeches of APEC Conference 2013*' (2015). The objectives of the study are to reveal the modality applied by in the speeches, and to describe and to contextualize the dominant modality applied in the texts. Further, the data were analysed using Halliday's (1985) systemic functional grammar especially the concept of mood and modality. In the findings, the results show that modulation is used by all the speakers whereas modalization was only used by some of them. In addition, modulation probability is the most dominant modality applied by the speaker, and the modal value is medium which reflects the fact that the speakers are not really certain about what they are talking about.

Last, the study is entitled '*Mood and Modality Analysis on 2014 Indonesian Pre Presidential Election in The Jakarta Post and The Jakarta Globe Editorials*'. It is a thesis written by Patrisius Wogananda Rusmawan (2015) whose objectives are to reveal the mood and modality applied in editorials especially in The Jakarta Post and The Jakarta Globe, to explain how the use mood and modality differs from one editorial to another in terms of communicative functions. In addition, this study analysed the mood and modality following the concept of interpersonal metafunction proposed by Halliday in 1985 with the help of several concepts from Teun A. Van Dijk about editorial. The findings reveal that both editorials use mood and modality which give information. Nevertheless, the difference relies on the use of non-congruent or declarative where The Jakarta Post (TJP) tends to use Command while The Jakarta Globe (TJG) tends to use Offer. Further, it also reveals that TJP tends to persuade the reader to follow ideology and belief in the election more than TJG. Finally, compared to the previous studies discussed above, the present study is different and unique because of two

reasons. First, this study analyses a particular speech of a president candidate, so the object is different. Second, while the previous studies focus more on the mood and modality, this study emphasizes more on the type of modality, modality commitment and modality responsibility. Furthermore, the use of interpersonal metafunction or more specifically the concept of mood and modality in the previous study indicates that this approach is still commonly used, and is still relevant.

## 2. Methodology

This research is a descriptive qualitative research which aims at describing and presenting a 'systematic' explanation of a certain event or phenomenon (Abdurrahman, 2016: 5). Therefore, this research will provide a detailed description and an in-depth analysis as a way to have a clearer insight and a deeper understanding of the problem. Further, the data in this research were gathered through close reading. Following Saccomano (2014: 4), close reading is a method of reading a particular text in detail to discover layers of information in the text. It enables students or researchers to reveal the deeper aspects of a text such as the ideology and the objectives of the writer. Additionally, the data in this research were taken from PrabowoSubianto's national address in a campaign election in January 16, 2019; the full transcript of the speech was retrieved from <https://jakartaglobe.id/context/full-text-of-presidential-candidate-prabowo-subiantos-national-address> on April 10, 2019. In addition, the type of data is clauses taken from the speech, and the main instrument is the researcher itself with the help of additional instruments such as tables and laptops.

Furthermore the data were analysed using Halliday's (1985) theory on systemic functional grammar, or more specifically on modality in interpersonal metafunction. It was applied to reveal the types of modality,

modality commitment and modality responsibility of the speaker. Further, it was also applied to describe how the choice of modality represents the speaker's attitude toward the problem, to what extent he is willing to guarantee the validity of his promises and statement and to take responsibility for it, and how he presents himself in the text towards the public. In relation to this, the trustworthiness of this study was achieved through triangulation

with theories and other researchers, as well as consultations with lecturers and supervisors.

### 3. Findings and Discussion

#### 3.1. Types of Modality

The analysis of modality in Prabowo's speech reveals that all types of modality were applied. However, the frequency of each type is different, and the modality values also vary. The following table presents the types of modality, the frequency of each type and the modality value.

**Table 2**  
Types of Modality and Modality Values in Prabowo's speech

Modal Value	Modalization		Modulation		Total
	Probability	Usuality	Obligation	Inclination	
High	5 (3.9%)	1 (0.7%)	19 (14.5%)	1 (0.7%)	26 (19.8%)
Median	10 (7.7%)	0	8 (6.1%)	64 (48.9%)	82 (62.7%)
Low	14 (10.6%)	0	3 (2.3%)	6 (4.6%)	23 (17.5%)
Total	29 (22.2%)	1 (0.7%)	30 (22.9%)	71 (54.2%)	131
	30 (22.9%)		101(77.1%)		

In Table 2 above, it is revealed that all four types of modality were applied in Prabowo's speech. From these four types, the most frequently used modality is modulation inclination which takes more than half of the total data. The dominant use of modulation inclination is expected as the speech contains Prabowo's promises to carry out a lot of actions and put in a lot of work to make Indonesia better. This dominance also implies that he and his partner will be actively involved in their mission to redevelop the industrial sector, and to strengthen Indonesia's military power. Furthermore, it can be seen also that the least dominant type is modalization usuality. This signifies that Prabowo did not really talk about how things are conducted by the previous presidents and the condition of Indonesia in the past, instead he focuses more on what he will do in the future.

On the other hand, the table also reveals the use of modal values in each type of modality in the speech. Here, it is shown that the most dominant modal value in each type

of modality is high modal value in obligation, median modal value in inclination and low modal value in probability. The significant use of high modal value in obligation indicates Prabowo's superiority and authority in giving mandates to his supporters. In addition, the dominant use of median modal value in inclination signifies his not-so-high determination in carrying out his promises. Moreover, the frequent use of low modal value in probability shows that he is not really certain about the information he shared. Furthermore, modal value in usuality is not significant as there is only one datum.

#### 3.1.1. Modalization

There are two aspects covered by modalization namely probability and usuality. Modalization mainly shares information, and modal verbs or Mood adjuncts of probability shows the speaker's sureness about the validity of the information he/she shares (Thompson, 2014: 70). The degree of certainty later is determined by the modal value of the modality. In the speech, Prabowo mainly used

this type of modality to share information about the current status quo, and the pre-existing condition of Indonesia and its people. The information shared are mainly related to how they can carry out his missions, and several others also to highlight the incapability and weaknesses of the current government. Below are several examples:

- (1) Ini **menjadi sangat** penting, karena peran ulama dalam kemerdekaan bangsa kita demikian penting. (datum 86)
- (2) Yang tidak masuk berita  **mungkin** lebih banyak lagi. (datum 9)
- (3) Strategi yang **dapat** mewujudkan: swasembada pangan, swasembada energi, yaitu bahan bakar, swasembada air bersih, dan lembaga-lembaga pemerintahan yang kuat (datum 34)

The examples above demonstrate a modalization probability in the speech. In example (1), Prabowo talked about the essential position of ulemas in Indonesia. Indonesia is a Muslim majority country, so he pays a special attention to Islamic figures to appeal to the Muslims in Indonesia. Here, the modality is indicated by the modal verb *menjadi* or in English *will be* and Mood adjunct *sangat* or in English *very*. The modal verbs show that it is in a median modal value, but the addition of the Mood adjunct intensified the validity of the information and raised the probability into high modal value. Additionally, the modality in example (2) is signified by the Mood adjunct  *mungkin* or in English *probably* which indicates that it has a median modal value. It implies that the speaker is not really sure about the validity of the information. In addition, it also indicates that Prabowo is not exercising his power as he avoided using high modal value (Ekawati 2019). The sentence in example (3) is used to talk about the poor condition of people in the current situation which is to highlight the incapability of the government. This strategy is frequently applied by Prabowo in his campaign to make people believe that he will be a better leader (Syasli, Juita, and Ermanto

2019). Further, example (3) talks about how Indonesia can be a self-sufficient country. The modality in this example can be seen in the modal verb *dapat* or in English *can*. Modal verb *can* is used to “indicate ability, logical possibility or permission” (Yang 2018). Here, Prabowo used it to show the ability of the strategies he proposed to make Indonesia better. In addition, this modal verb shows that the probability of the information has low modal value. In other words, the speaker cannot really guarantee the validity of the information.

Besides signalling their sureness about the validity of the information they deliver, people sometimes describe the usuality which gives information about the frequency of events or situations presented in the information (Thompson, 2014: 70). Similarly to probability, the frequency might vary depending on the modality value. There is only one datum of usuality in the speech which is used to talk about how people suffer because of the government’s incompetency. The datum is presented below:

- (4) Selama beberapa tahun terakhir ini, saya mendapat laporan, ada **belasan** cerita tragis seperti almarhum Hardi ini. (datum 8)

The usuality of modality in the example above is signified by the Mood adjunct *belasan* or in English *dozens*. This Mood adjunct indicates that the modality value is high which implies that the situation or phenomenon in the information occurs frequently. It emphasizes the poor condition of people in the current situation.

### 3.1.2. Modulation

In a modulation, rather than transferring information, people exchange goods and services (Fontaine, 2013: 121). Modulation comprises two aspects which are obligation and inclination. One of the processes of modulation is obligation where people ask other people to do something or give commands. Using this type of modality, Prabowo predominantly gives mandatory



messages to the audience and instructs them to do many things to make Indonesia become a developed and self-sufficient country. Further, the urgency of the obligation might differ depending on the modal value in the utterance. The examples of modulation obligation are as follows:

- (5) Kita **harus** buat mobil nasional, helikopter, kapal-kapal niaga, kapal-kapal angkut, kapal-kapal perang. (datum 45)
- (6) Karena itu, bagi bangsa Indonesia, **janganlah** pernah kita tidak hormati kiai-kiai kita, ulama-ulama kita, dan pemuka-pemuka agama lain yang memimpin kita. (datum 88)
- (7) Kami **ingin** anak-anak kita jadi pilot, nahkota, pengusaha, bukan hanya jadi kacung bangsa lain! (datum 51)

In example (5), Prabowo obliges Indonesians which consist of him and the audience to be self-sufficient in producing means of transportation. Here, the modality is indicated by the modal verb *harus* or in English *must* which signals high modal value. From this, it can be seen that the obligation to make sophisticated means of transportation is urgently obligated by Prabowo and Sandiaga. Further, the modality in example (6) can be inferred from the modal verb *janganlah* or in English *do not*. This modal verb signals median modal value which means that the instruction to not disrespect religious leaders is not really obligated by Prabowo. Instead of obligations, this modal verb tells the audience what they are “supposed” to do (Pionery and Isti 2017). In addition, the modal verb *ingin* or in English *want* in example (7) indicated that the utterance has low modality value which means that their wish to create more sophisticated job vacancy is not really an obligation, but rather an advice or a suggestion.

Furthermore, another type of modulation is inclination where rather than asking people to do something, people offer to do something for others (Fontaine, 2013: 121). Here, Prabowo promises to do a lot of things for his

audience which includes providing job vacancies and housings for the poor, developing industrial sector, and strengthening Indonesia’s military power. As in the previous types of modulation, the degree of willingness to help in inclination differs. It is determined by the modality value of the utterance. The examples are presented as follow:

- (8) Berarti dalam 10 tahun lagi kita **harus** siapkan rumah, sekolah, pekerjaan untuk tambahan 35 juta orang. (datum 108)
- (9) Kami **akan** jadikan industri di Indonesia seperti India, seperti Korea Selatan yang punya perusahaan-perusahaan industri kelas dunia. (datum 48)
- (10) Dalam hal ini, kami **akan** ciptakan lapangan pekerjaan untuk rakyat kita, rakyat Indonesia. (datum 36)

The modality in example (8) above is signified by the modal verb *harus* or in English *must* which indicates a high modality value. According to Olaniyan and Adeniji (2015), modal verb *must* is applied to imply that the action is necessary and required. Hence, it can be inferred that Prabowo and Sandiaga believe that providing housings and schools are essential and they are highly determined to help and make it happen. Additionally, in example (9), the modality is indicated by the modal verb *akan* or in English *will*. Following the result of a research conducted by Adawiah (2017), the word *akan* may indicate different modal value as it can be considered high, low or median depending on the determination shown by the speaker. In relation to this, this modal verb signifies that the inclination has median modal value which means that they are keen to help as these words are still in a form of promises and are not accompanied by real actions yet. Furthermore, the modal verb *want* in example (10) shows that the inclination has low modality value which indicates that Prabowo and Sandi are not highly determined; they just express their willingness to help.



### 3.2. Types of Modal Responsibility

After analysing the types of modality and modal value, the modal responsibility of each utterance is also examined. Following (Thompson 2014), modal responsibility can be realized into subjective and objective utterance, and it can be used explicitly or

implicitly. In the speech, Prabowo applied both types of perspective, but the frequency of each type is different. Table 4 below presents the amount of data of each type as well as the frequency.

**Table 3**  
Types of Modal Responsibility in Prabowo's Speech

Modal Responsibility	Subjective	Objective	Total
Explicit	4 (4.2%)	0	4 (4.2%)
Implicit	85 (89.4%)	6 (6.4%)	91 (95.8%)
Total	89 (93.6%)	6 (6.4%)	95

Table 4 above shows that there are two types of modal responsibility in the speech namely subjective and objective subject. Subjective subject appears to be the most frequently used modal responsibility where most of them are expressed implicitly. The dominance of this type of modal responsibility signifies Prabowo's dominant communication style, his willingness to take responsibility for his action, and his emphasis on his authority and capability.

#### 3.2.1. Subjective

The first type of modal responsibility is a subjective subject where the speaker makes it clear that the opinion, information, offer, and obligation come from them (Thompson 2014). Further, it can be expressed explicitly where the subject is shown in a separate clause, and implicitly where the subject is presented in the same clause. To have a deeper insight, below are the examples:

- (11) **Kami** akan hentikan kebocoran uang ke luar negeri, dengan menerapkan kebijakan kebijakan yang tepat dan adil bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia. (datum 53)
- (12) **Saya yakin** jawabannya mampu. (datum 43)

In example (11), the subject is *kami* or in English *we* shows that the inclination is the responsibility of the speaker which is Prabowo along with Sandiaga. It is categorized into implicit subject since it is presented in the

same clause as the modal verbs. Here, Prabowo claims that he and his partner will make sure that there would be no money leakage. Therefore, he emphasizes their capability and power to perform such action. Meanwhile, the subject in example (12) is explicit since the subjective point of view *saya yakin* or in English *I believe* is shown in a separate clause. This kind of subject emphasizes that it is Prabowo's personal belief and opinion, although the actions are carried out together.

#### 3.2.2. Objective

Besides using subjective point of view, people in many cases also tend to objectivize the subject of the utterance to make it seem like it is not their personal opinion and sometimes to avoid the responsibility (Thompson, 2014: 73). Similar to the subjective one, objective point of view can also be presented either implicitly or explicitly. The example is as follow:

- (13) **Industrialisasi** adalah keharusan bagi negara kita. (datum 47)

In the example above, the subject of the utterance is *industrialisasi* or in English *industrialization* which is not the speaker itself, it is objectivized by the speaker. Further, the subject is presented in the same clause which is why it is categorized as implicit objective.

### 3.3. Prabowo's Attitude and Strategy

The use of particular modal verbs or Mood adjuncts in an utterance reflects the opinion and judgment of the speaker toward the events and situations discussed (Fontaine, 2013: 120). Therefore analysing the modality of a text can reveal the attitude and strategy applied by the speaker in the text to achieve his/her goal. Based on the findings in the previous section, the modality analysis of Prabowo's speech shows several interesting points which are 1) the dominant use of modulation especially inclination, 2) the frequent use of median and high modal value in modulation, but low modal value in probability, and 3) the domination of subjective subject in modal responsibility. Each of these points will be discussed further in the following paragraphs.

First, in the findings above, it is revealed that the type of modality which is frequently used by Prabowo in his speech is modulation. From 131 data, 101 of them are categorized as modulation which consists of 30 data of obligation and 71 data of inclination. In modulation, people exchange goods and services. In obligation they ask others to do something, while in inclination they offer to do something for others. The dominant use of modulation in Prabowo's speech shows that rather than information, he wants to ask people to join him and do many things for the country, and he wants to offer his help. In addition, the highly dominant use of inclination signifies that as a presidential candidate, Prabowo tries to offer many services toward the public. This strategy is used to show his determination to help people in Indonesia to be better. Further, the frequent use of obligation shows that Prabowo sees himself as someone who is highly influential. He believes that he has the power to give commands and obligation toward other people.

Second, the modality values applied by Prabowo in the speech also vary, but the most

frequent one is median modal value in inclination, high modal value in obligation, low modal value in probability. Following Halliday (1985: 337), median modal value in inclination shows that the speaker is keen to help. In the speech, Prabowo offers many services to the society such as creating job vacancies and housings, increasing salaries, and giving many compensation and subsidies for the poor. The dominant use of median value indicates that he is keen to do all of this for the people, but his determination is not to the maximum extent. Furthermore, high modal value is frequently applied in obligation. Based on Table 1, it means that the obligation is urgently required and highly encouraged. Prabowo obliges himself along with his supporters to respect ulemas, to remember, reconsider and rethink about the development in Indonesia, and to be competitive yet humble. The use of high modal value signifies that the speaker believes they have the power and authority to give mandatory messages to other people (Menghe and Chenglian 2018). Moreover, high value modality is also applied to confirm superiority and dominance (Bankole and Ayoola 2014). In relation to this, Prabowo indirectly implies that he is in a higher position and he believes that he has control over his supporters and he has the ability to make other people do all those things. Meanwhile, in probability, the most dominantly used one is low modal value which, according to Halliday (1985: 337), reflects the speaker's doubt on the validity of information he/she shares, and the information is possibly true. Therefore, it can be inferred that Prabowo was not really certain about some of the information he shared in his speech.

Third, it is also essential to note how Prabowo places the subject in his utterances. In his speech, most of the subject is subjective and implicit which is dominated by the subjective pronoun *we*. Sometimes, the *we* consists of him and Sandiaga, and many times

it includes him, Sandiaga, the hearer and all Indonesians. The dominant use of subjective pronoun *we* signifies that Prabowo wants to make the hearer feel included in the action and situation he discussed and plans to do. Additionally, in a study conducted by Ruijuan Ye (2010), this strategy was also used by Barack Obama to make the audience feel closer to him. Hence, Prabowo used inclusive 'we' to lessen the distance between him and his supporters. Further, this strategy was also used to put emphasis on the fact that he and Sandiaga would be the ones who will do all the improvement, they are the ones who will provide solutions to all of the problems, and they are the answer to all the sufferings the public has gone through. In addition, it also indicates that he is certain that he has the capability to realize his words and promises when he wins the election, and if not ready to take responsibility.

#### 4. Conclusion

From the discussions in the previous section, we may come to the conclusion. Following Halliday (1985), there are two types of modality employed by Prabowo in the speech namely modalization, which consists of probability and usuality, and modulation, which is divided into obligation and inclination. Further, the most frequently used type is modulation inclination which occurs in 85 data, followed by modulation obligation with 30 data. In addition, he also applied all modal values where the most dominant one is median modal value with 82 data. Besides, he also used both subjective and objective subjects, but the most frequent one is subjective which is applied implicitly. In relation to these findings, it can be inferred that 1) he used modulation inclination frequently to show his determination to help people, and his willingness to do anything he can to make this country better, 2) the dominant use of median modal value in inclination reveals that rather than determined

he is just keen to help, the domination of high modal value in obligation signified that he believes he has the power to make people follow his instruction, and the frequent use of low modal value in probability indicated that many times he is not certain about the information he shares, 3) the domination of subjective implicit subject shows that Prabowo tend to emphasize his dominance and superiority in the communication process, and he strongly believe that he can realize all his promises when he becomes the president and he is ready to take responsibility if he cannot.

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