MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING
HANOI OPEN UNIVERSITY



DO THI PHONG LAN

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SPEECHES ON CLIMATE CHANGE AT UNITED NATIONS CONVENTIONS

(PHÂN TÍCH DIỄN NGÔN PHÊ PHÁN CÁC BÀI PHÁT BIỂU TẠI DIỄN ĐÀN BIẾN ĐỔI KHÍ HẬU CỦA LIÊN HỢP QUỐC)

MAJOR: **ENGLISH LINGUISTICS**
CODE: **9.22.02.01**

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

HANOI, 2026

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SUPERVISORS: ASSOC. PROF. DR. NGUYEN THU HANH
DR. LE THI MINH THAO

HANOI, 2026

CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINALITY

The thesis entitled "**Critical discourse analysis of speeches on climate change at United Nations Conventions**" has been submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis, and I have fully acknowledged and referenced the ideas and work of others, whether published or unpublished, in my thesis.

The thesis does not contain work extracted from a thesis, dissertation or research paper previously presented for another degree or diploma at this or any other university.

Signature

Do Thi Phong Lan

Approved by **SUPERVISOR 1** *(Signature and full name)* Date:……	Approved by **SUPERVISOR 2** *(Signature and full name)* Date:……

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ABSTRACT

This study is situated within the broader context of global climate negotiations, where discourse plays a crucial role in shaping perceptions of responsibility and power. As COP platforms serve not only as diplomatic forums but also as ideological arenas, the speeches of national representatives reveal key tensions between developed and developing countries. The contrasting positions of the United States and India provide a compelling basis for examining how climate responsibilities are discursively constructed. Therefore, this doctoral research investigates how ideologies and power relations between developed and developing nations are constructed through discourse in climate change speeches delivered by representatives of the two nations at the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) Conferences of the Parties (COP20 - COP28). By integrating Fairclough's model with Halliday's metafunctions, the study uncovers how linguistic choices encode ideological meanings and construct power relations. Analyses grounded in Critical Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics, including pronouns, voice, mood, modal verbs, textual organization, and the ideational metafunction, demonstrate how responsibility and power relations are linguistically and discursively constructed in climate discourse. Meaningful findings reveal distinct yet interacting ideological orientations. The U.S. speeches tend to emphasize leadership, innovation, and voluntary cooperation, reflecting a reluctance to assume historical accountability, whereas India's speeches foreground equity, justice, and the right to development, highlighting structural inequalities in global climate governance. Despite occasional calls for unity, the discourse between the two countries demonstrates persistent ideological tensions that hinder the formation of a shared framework for climate action. Overall, the study argues that the linguistic realization of climate discourse not only mirrors but also reinforces global asymmetries in power and responsibility. Through the combined lens of CDA and SFG, the research provides a nuanced understanding of how language operates as a medium of ideological struggle and negotiation in international climate politics.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	Meaning
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CBDR	Common But Differentiated Responsibilities
CMP	Conference of the Parties Serving as the Meeting of the Parties to the Kyoto Protocol
CMA	Conference of the Parties serving as the Meeting of the Parties to the Paris Agreement
COP	Conference of the Parties
EU	European Union
GRULAC	Group of Latin America and the Caribbean
LAPA	Lima - Paris Action Agenda
NDCs	Nationally Determined Contributions
INDCs	Intended Nationally Determined Contributions
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
SB	Subsidiary Bodies
SB50	50th Sessions of the Subsidiary Bodies
SFG	Systemic Functional Grammar
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
UN	United Nations
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
WEOG	Western Europe and Other Groups

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CHAPTER 1:
INTRODUCTION

1.1. Rationale of the study

Language is not only a neutral device for communication but a social semiotic system through which reality is constructed, negotiated, and contested. As Halliday (1978) argues in *Language as Social Semiotics*, language simultaneously performs ideational, interpersonal, and textual metafunctions, encoding experience, enacting social relations, and organizing meaning into coherent discourse. In this regard, Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) highlights how discourse both reflects and shapes power relations, ideology, and social inequality. When combined, Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) provides such micro-level linguistic toolkit as transitivity, mood, modality, and thematic structure; while CDA offers the macro-level critical framework for interpreting how these linguistic choices reproduce or challenge hegemonic structures. Together, CDA and SFG enable a comprehensive analysis of discourse that connects textual patterns to broader socio-political contexts, demonstrating how language functions as both a resource for meaning-making and a site of ideological struggle.

Language is a tool for communication between people. It is used to achieve many communicative functions. According to Bennett (1998), people communicate to express information or have actions done. Language has two functions: transactional and interactional functions. A transactional function means using language to transmit information, whether factual or propositional. This type is used to develop cultural ideas, literature, laws, etc. An interactional function, on the other hand, is characterized by using language to establish and preserve social relationships.

Discourse is the main social manifestation of communication. It refers to all forms of language used by communicators in a society (Fairclough, 1992; Fairclough, 1997; Van Dijk, 2000). Discourse is the process of exchanging linguistic sentences between the speaker or writer, on the one hand, and the listener or reader. Van Dijk (2000, p. 2) defines discourse as "the form that people make of language to convey ideas, thoughts, or beliefs within a social context…".

Discourse analysis (DA) is a linguistic field of inquiry that analyzes language at the context level from a grammatical standpoint (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2011). Yule (1997, p. 139) states that DA investigates how language users interpret and

understand social and contextual messages communicated in linguistic texts.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) involves approaches that analyze vocal and written use of language related to evaluative procedures. Fairclough (1995) defines CDA as a kind of discourse analysis that investigates the relation between texts and the discursive practices and processes of social and cultural structures filled by the associations of struggles over power and ideology. Besides, Wodak (1995) assumes that CDA is a type of analysis that analyzes other ambiguous and unambiguous structural relationships of power, discrimination, control, and dominance, which can be found in language.

CDA is one of the important approaches to discourse analysis which was considered in late 1970s as a field of study. It was the idea of Roger Fowler and his colleagues at the University of East Anglia, whose work is based already on language and ideology. Language and social meaning precisely, was the relation to be critically analyzed. In 1991, Fowler assumed that the relationship of text and context represents the essential framework to CDA. Their early work on Critical Linguistics emphasized the close relationship between language and ideology, arguing that linguistic structures are not neutral but are shaped by and contribute to social meaning (Fowler et al., 1979). This perspective highlights the need to critically examine how language encodes social relations and power structures.

Also, Fairclough (1995) said that “discourse is the use of language seen as a form of social practice, and discourse analysis is analysis of how texts work within sociocultural practice”. As such, a discursive analysis should not be done without referring to the context of the text production. Another prominent focus in CDA is the ideological concern and its relation to power (Van Dijk, 2000). In fact, “when we speak or write we always take a particular perspective on what the world is like” (Gee, 2000). In *Language in the News*, Fowler (1991) said: “anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position”. Ideologies then construct the social manifestations of the beliefs shared by a group and therefore foster new social opinions and spread them in the society. This media discourse which is accordingly ideologically based is to be considered in this paper.

Acquiring any language means getting more knowledge about its grammar whether it is used to teach, to communicate, or to work. Understanding how the language functions means learning how grammar works (Fontaine, 2013). Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) is one of different kinds of grammar that appeal to

attention since it was developed. According to Halliday (1985), in order to learn how to use a language SFG is an essential tool, can be used to explain ultimately every language's aspect. SFG, through its three metafunctions offers crucial analytical tools for examining how discourse encodes social power and ideology. The ideational metafunction, particularly the transitivity system and its six process types (with special attention to mental processes), reveals how social actors, actions, and responsibilities are represented, included, or obscured in texts. The interpersonal metafunction uncovers how authority, evaluation, and stance are enacted through mood and modality, while the textual metafunction shows how information is organized to foreground or background particular meanings. In this way, SFG provides the micro-level linguistic apparatus that supports CDA in uncovering ideological positioning and power relations embedded in discourse. Consistent with its sociological orientation, SFG has reshaped approaches to language learning and analysis by emphasizing language as a resource for meaning-making within specific social and institutional contexts (Schleppegrell, 2004).

To 'decode' and 'encode' aspects of reality and experience of the world is essentially to answer the questions: who appears in the text? What is happening, and where, when, how… is this happening? The answer to those questions is in the evaluation of transitivity related to concepts of 'process', 'participant' and circumstance or as Burton (1982) puts it: "to describe the scenario of 'who does what to whom?'. The first one is transitivity system with the six kinds of processes, their particular associated participants and the different types of circumstances, each with its own grammatical relations. The second is ergative interpretation where "the process may happen by itself or be caused to happen" (Thompson, 2004).

When mapped onto Fairclough's (1992) three-dimensional model of CDA - textual analysis, discursive practice, and social practice - these SFG indicators provide systematic entry points for uncovering the relationship between micro-level linguistic forms and macro-level ideological structures. At the textual level, transitivity, mood, and modality expose patterned representations of agency, causality, and responsibility. At the level of discursive practice, these patterns illuminate how climate narratives are produced and circulated to legitimize particular national positions. At the level of social practice, they enable the

interpretation of such linguistic choices as reflections of broader power relations, development hierarchies, and competing norms within global climate governance.

This research work began in our interest in the climate change issue and the applicability of CDA and SFG in exploring the manipulative power exercised through speeches on Climate change.

Climate change has been considered one of the most crucial challenges that faces every nation of the world today. It has affected the daily lives, regardless of socio-economic status. As a globally comprehensive response to climate change, the annual United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change's (UNFCCC) Conferences of the Parties (COPs) - the biggest international climate conferences - have been going on for over twenty years now. Every year, assurances are said and expectations are raised but only partial solutions are produced and little is achieved in terms of concrete tangible outcomes. As the world is becoming ever more polarized between the developed and the developing countries, the rich and the poor countries, even among the rich developed countries themselves and among the developing countries themselves, more and more parties with conflicting interests and benefits are joining the negotiation table at the climate conferences. Particularly, when the issues of responsibility distribution and economic contribution have become more apparent on the agenda of the conferences, such conflicting interests and benefits have contributed to the increased complexity and complication of the contested global debates about climate change issues. Certainly, such a pivotal issue in such a lengthy process involving so many governments and people must definitely resort to particular linguistic and discursive meanings in the speeches to justify the different parties' interests, attitudes and behaviors in ways that they appear fair on the one hand and avoid or delay taking action for their own benefits on the other hand. The situation inspires the author to conduct this research lo uncover how language has been manipulated to convey the power relation between the developed and developing countries as well as their responsibilities for climate change.

As the climate change debate has become such a globally sophisticated arena, multiple voices are getting heard. Among them, linguists have delved into the analyses of rhetorical devices, discourse strategies, metaphors, framing, and other aspects of text and talk on climate change. Typical examples include Arnal et al. (2014), Boykoff and Boykoff (2004, 2007), Carvalho (2008, 2007), Doulton and

Brown (2009), Ereaut and Segnit (2006), Grundmann and Krishnamurthy (2010), Moser and Dilling (2004, 2007), Nerlich and Koteyko (2009, 2011), Painter (2011), Thaker and Leiserowitz (2014), Tillinghast and McCann (2013), Ukonu et al. (2013), Wang (2009), Ward (2008), Wodak and Meyer (2012) who have all commented on the significance of the language used in communicating climate change issues. Despite such body of literature, however, to the best knowledge, virtually no study has focused on the linguistic realizations of the ideologies about the developed and developing countries' responsibilities for climate change which are discursively constructed in the media so as to interpret and explain these countries' attitudes, behaviors and actions at the global climate debate, In consideration of the increasingly changing power relations among countries in the world, it is significant to conduct a systematic and critical (discourse) analysis employing linguistic tools with a fairly large sample of media spoken language focusing on the developed and developing countries at the global climate conferences, In so doing, itis expected that the use of language in speeches and the ideologies about these countries' responsibilities for climate change will be decoded through the lens of the discursive and social practices that embed the language in the speeches.

The primary objective of this study is to uncover the ideologies and power relations embedded in climate change speeches delivered at United Nations conventions. There are not any studies to point out these in English studies. Therefore, my doctoral thesis will be implemented with the title *"CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SPEECHES ON CLIMATE CHANGE AT UNITED NATIONS CONVENTIONS"*.

1.2. Research aims and objectives

The research aims to uncover the ideologies and power relations employed in speeches on climate change at UN Conventions by applying Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as its central analytical framework, supported by Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) as a linguistic toolkit. Through a systematic examination of transitivity, mood, modality, and thematic structures, the study investigates how linguistic choices construct representations of agency, responsibility, authority, and legitimacy. By linking these micro-level features to broader socio-political contexts, the research aims to expose the ideological positioning and power configurations that shape global environmental discourse.

According to the prominent CDA scholars, such as Billig, Chilton, Fairclough, van Dijk, van Leeuwen, and Wodak, one of the most significant purposes of CDA is to decode the ideology embedded in language use. Considering discourse as a form of social practice, critical discourse analysts attempt to uncover the reciprocal influences of language and social structure (see Fairclough, 1989, 2015; van Dijk, 1993), Also, CDA aims "to unmask ideologically permeated and often obscured structures of power, political control and dominance as well as strategics of discriminatory inclusion and exclusion in language use" (Wodak, de Cilla, Reisigh and Licbhart, 1999). It could be deducted that ideology and power relations are of great importance in CDA research. The research analyzes how the developed-developing countries power relations and the ideologies about these countries' responsibilities for climate change are constructed via the language in delegates' speeches. Therefore, the objectives of the study are (1) to examine how ideologies concerning the responsibilities of developed and developing countries for climate change are linguistically, discursively, and socio-culturally constructed in English speeches delivered at global climate conferences; (2) to investigate how power relations between developed and developing countries are linguistically, discursively, and socio-culturally manifested in the discourse underlying their respective positions in global climate change negotiations.

1.3. Research questions

The research aims at seeking the answers for the following questions:

1, How are the ideologies about the developed and developing countries' responsibilities for climate change linguistically, discursively and socio-culturally manifested via the English speech discourse in the study?

2, How are power relations between the developed and developing countries linguistically, discursively and socio-culturally manifested via the discourse underlying their respective stances on global climate change negotiations?

Drawing on the integrated framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), this study demonstrates that ideologies and power relations in climate change speeches are systematically constructed through patterned linguistic choices. Grammatical features such as pronouns, voice, mood, modal verbs, together with textual organization and the ideational metafunction, function as discursive resources for constructing agency,

negotiating responsibility, and legitimizing particular power relations in climate discourse.

Theoretically, the study reinforces the view that discourse is both socially constitutive and socially conditioned, showing how ideological meanings are embedded in grammatical structures. Methodologically, it contributes by operationalizing CDA through SFG's analytical toolkit, thereby providing a rigorous micro - macro linkage between linguistic form and socio-political power.

1.4. Scope of the study

This study focuses on uncovering how power relations and ideologies regarding climate change responsibilities are constructed and represented in the speeches delivered by representatives of two countries - the United States and India - at the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) Conferences of the Parties (COP20 to COP28).

The selection of the United States and India as focal cases in this study is theoretically and empirically justified. As two of the world's largest greenhouse gas emitters, the United States and India occupy structurally significant yet contrasting positions within the global climate governance regime. The United States represents a historically dominant industrialized economy with long-standing responsibility for cumulative emissions, whereas India embodies a rapidly developing economy whose emissions growth is closely tied to developmental imperatives. This asymmetry provides a fertile ground for examining how climate responsibility, equity, and leadership are discursively constructed and contested.

Moreover, both countries play influential agenda - setting roles in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) negotiations, yet they consistently articulate divergent ideological orientations toward climate action. U.S. climate discourse tends to emphasize technological innovation, market-based mechanisms, and voluntary commitments, often framing climate action within narratives of economic competitiveness and national leadership. In contrast, India's discourse foregrounds principles of climate justice, historical responsibility, and the right to development, frequently invoking the norm of Common but Differentiated Responsibilities and Respective Capabilities (CBDR-RC).

Analyzing speeches delivered by representatives of these two countries across COP20 to COP28 enables a diachronic examination of how power relations and ideological positions evolve in response to shifting geopolitical contexts,

scientific urgency, and normative pressures. By juxtaposing the discursive strategies of the United States and India, this study illuminates how global climate governance is shaped not only by material power asymmetries but also by competing ideological frameworks that seek to legitimize particular interpretations of responsibility, leadership, and obligation in the climate regime.

By delimiting the analysis to English-language speeches officially delivered at COP20 - COP28, this study ensures a consistent and comparable corpus through which discursive patterns of power and ideology can be systematically examined. The analytical framework integrates Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), enabling a multi-layered investigation of how linguistic choices function as mechanisms for ideological construction and power negotiation in climate change discourse.

Within the SFG framework, the study concentrates on Halliday's metafunctions, with particular emphasis on the ideational metafunction realized through the transitivity system, alongside mood and modality under the interpersonal metafunction. These linguistic resources are analytically productive because they reveal how actors, processes, and responsibilities are represented (transitivity), as well as how commitment, obligation, and authority are enacted and negotiated between speakers and audiences (mood and modality).

The scope of interpretation extends to identifying and explaining how these linguistic and discursive choices reflect the power asymmetry between developed and developing countries and the ideological orientations underlying their respective stances on global climate change negotiations.

1.5. Methods of the study

The research is conducted with major method that is qualitative approach which is particularly suited to examining the implicit and context-dependent nature of ideology and power in political discourse. Rather than seeking statistical generalization, this study aims to provide an in-depth interpretive analysis of how ideologies concerning the differentiated responsibilities of developed and developing countries in addressing climate change are discursively constructed and sustained.

The central objective of the analysis is to uncover how such ideologies are linguistically manifested in official speeches delivered at UNFCCC Conferences of

the Parties, with specific attention to patterns of representation, interaction, and commitment. By employing an integrated CDA - SFG framework, the study systematically examines how responsibility, obligation, and agency are constructed through pronoun use, voice, and the ideational metafunction, as well as how degrees of authority, commitment, and negotiation are enacted through mood and modal verbs, together with broader textual organization.

This qualitative design enables the analysis to move beyond surface-level thematic interpretation, allowing for a nuanced understanding of how linguistic features function as strategic discursive resources through which developed and developing countries construct and legitimize their respective positions, as well as negotiate power relations within global climate governance discourse.

1.6. Significance of the study

This research is significant both theoretically and practically.

From a theoretical perspective, it contributes to the growing body of scholarship on Critical Discourse Analysis by integrating it with Systemic Functional Grammar, offering a multidimensional approach to decoding ideology and power in international political discourse. The study enriches the understanding of how Halliday's metafunctions, especially transitivity, mood, and modality, operate within the context of climate change communication - an area that has received limited linguistic attention.

From a practical perspective, the study provides insights into how language is strategically employed in global environmental diplomacy. By comparing the discursive strategies of the United States (as a representative of developed nations) and India (as a representative of developing nations), the research highlights how rhetorical choices construct, justify, and contest power relations and responsibilities for climate change. These findings may serve as valuable references for linguists, political analysts, and policymakers interested in the role of discourse in shaping international cooperation and conflict over climate issues.

Ultimately, the study underscores that language is not a neutral medium of communication but a powerful instrument for constructing ideology, negotiating authority, and legitimizing political action in the global climate arena.

1.7. Structure of the study

This thesis is organized into six chapters, each serving a distinct yet interrelated purpose in addressing the research objectives and questions.

Chapter 1, Introduction, presents the rationale, aims, and objectives of the study, together with the research questions, scope, methods, and significance. It also outlines the structure of the thesis, providing an overview of how the research is organized.

Chapter 2, Literature Review, offers a comprehensive theoretical background to the study. It reviews the key concepts and principles of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), emphasizing their interrelation in the analysis of ideological and power structures in discourse. Previous studies on climate change discourse are also examined to identify the research gap that this study aims to fill.

Chapter 3, Research Methodology, describes the theoretical and methodological foundations underpinning the study. It explains Fairclough's three-dimensional CDA framework - description, interpretation, and explanation - and the integration of CDA with SFG for a multidimensional textual, discursive, and social analysis. The chapter also discusses data collection, corpus compilation, and the analytical framework applied to the speeches.

Chapter 4, The Ideologies of Nations via Speeches on Climate Change at United Nations Conventions, presents the main analysis of the ideological constructions in the speeches of representatives from the United States and India at COP20 to COP28. Through the combination of qualitative CDA and SFG techniques, the chapter explores how linguistic choices (such as transitivity, modality, and appraisal) reflect the countries' ideologies and perceived responsibilities for climate change.

Chapter 5, The Power Relation between the Developed and Developing Countries via Speeches on Climate Change at United Nations Conventions, extends the analysis to the dimension of power relations. It examines how discursive strategies reinforce, negotiate, or challenge the asymmetrical power nexus between developed and developing nations in the climate change debate.

Chapter 6, Conclusion, summarizes the main findings, discusses the theoretical and practical implications, and suggests directions for further research. It concludes by highlighting how the study contributes to the broader understanding of climate change discourse, ideology, and global power dynamics.

CHAPTER 2:
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Norman Fairclough's Critical discourse analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has emerged as a significant interdisciplinary approach for examining the relationship between language, power, and ideology in social contexts. Among the leading scholars in this field, Norman Fairclough has developed a comprehensive framework that integrates linguistic analysis with social theory, enabling researchers to explore how discourse both reflects and shapes social structures. Fairclough's approach conceptualizes discourse as a form of social practice, emphasizing that language is not merely a neutral medium of communication but a site where power relations are constructed, maintained, and contested. His three - dimensional model, which includes textual analysis, discursive practice, and social practice, provides a systematic analytical framework for uncovering the ideological underpinnings of discourse. This model is particularly relevant for the present study, as it allows for a multi-level examination of climate speeches, linking linguistic features to broader socio-political contexts and power relations in global climate governance.

2.1.1. CDA model: description, interpretation and explanation

2.1.1.1. Description

The description phase of the CDA model aims to analyze the features of a text discretely, which is taken from a range of data sources (vocabulary, grammar, and textual structures, etc.). To decode the hidden meanings, embedded messages, and the speaker's ideological features reflected in the text, these considerations must be interpreted and analyzed with a critical mind - "critical" here means taking into account what other options might have been made, i.e., the systems of options in the discourse types from which actual features arise. The procedure of textual description follows the 10-question model of the description stage (Fairclough, 2001, pp. 92 - 93) as follows:

In terms of *vocabulary*, the analysis focuses on the ideological meanings embedded in lexical choices by examining their experiential, relational, and expressive values. First, regarding experiential values, attention is paid to how words classify and represent reality, including the classification schemes they draw upon and whether certain lexical items are ideologically contested. The analysis

also considers the presence of rewording or overwording, as well as ideologically significant semantic relations such as synonymy, hyponymy, and antonymy, which may reveal underlying patterns of representation. Second, in terms of relational values, the study investigates how lexical choices shape social relations between participants, including the use of euphemistic expressions and the degree of formality or informality in word selection. Third, expressive values are examined to uncover the speaker's attitudes, evaluations, and ideological stance as reflected in the language used. Finally, the analysis explores the use of metaphors as a powerful discursive resource through which abstract concepts, such as climate change and responsibility, are framed and interpreted.

In terms of *grammar*, the analysis examines how grammatical features function as resources for constructing experiential, relational, and expressive meanings in climate discourse. Regarding experiential values, the study considers how agency and responsibility are represented through grammatical choices, including the use of active and passive voice, the presence of nominalizations, and whether agency is explicitly stated or obscured. Attention is also paid to whether processes are presented as dynamic actions or abstract entities, and whether clauses are expressed in positive or negative forms, as these choices may influence how responsibility is attributed. In terms of relational values, the analysis focuses on how social relations are enacted through grammatical structures, particularly through the use of sentence modes (declarative, interrogative, and imperative), modal verbs expressing obligation, possibility, and commitment, and the strategic use of pronouns such as *we* and *you* to construct inclusion, authority, or differentiation among actors. Regarding expressive values, the study examines how modality conveys the speaker's attitudes, degrees of certainty, and evaluative stance. Finally, the analysis also explores how sentences are linked together to form coherent discourse, including the use of logical connectors, coordination and subordination, and referential devices that connect ideas within and beyond the text, thereby contributing to the overall construction of meaning in climate speeches.

In terms of *textual structures*, the analysis focuses on how discourse is organized to shape interaction and construct broader meanings within climate speeches. About interactional conventions, attention is paid to how the speaker manages the communicative event, including the extent to which one participant controls the flow of discourse and positions others within the interaction. Although

these speeches are typically monologic, they often simulate dialogue through inclusive expressions and rhetorical strategies that guide audience interpretation and limit alternative perspectives. In addition, the analysis examines the larger-scale structures of the texts, including the overall organization and sequencing of discourse. Particular attention is given to how speeches are structured into stages such as problem identification, presentation of national actions, and calls for collective response. These structural patterns contribute to the construction of specific narratives, such as leadership-oriented discourse or justice-oriented discourse, and play a significant role in shaping how responsibility, authority, and power relations are represented in global climate governance.

The description stage is concerned with the text's formal qualities and focuses on the three aspects vocabulary, grammar, and textual structures (Fairclough, 2001, p. 21). Moreover, Fairclough includes three distinct values in the description stage and distinguishes between the several sorts of values that may be represented through word choice and syntax, depending on how the text's producer presents themself or society. The first value is experiential *value,* which expresses how the text producer believes in something without stating his own opinion. The second is *relational value*, which is the component of a text that expresses social relationships. The last one is *expressive value,* which occurs when a text producer expresses themself as a subject with a place within society's social connections by presenting their own appraisal of some aspect of reality.

In terms of *vocabulary*, the answers to given questions are to be found in smaller questions for realizing experiential and relational values. For *experiential values,* CDA analysts should try to determine the scheme's categorization; words which are ideologically contested; rewording or overwording; meaning relations such as synonym, hyponymy or antonym, and use of metaphor. For *relational values,* it should be focused on the exploration of euphemistic expressions and formal or informal words. In terms of the *grammar aspect, the* expressions of *experiential values* are identified through types of processes and participant predominance, agency, nominalizations, active or passive sentences, and positive or negative sentences. *Relational values* are investigated through modes of sentences, features of relational modality and the use of pronouns *"we"* and *"you"*. Also, grammatical characteristics use expressive modality to convey expressive values. Additionally, the utilization of logical connectors, coordination or subordination,

and ways of referencing inside and outside the text determine how phrases are connected together.

To summarize, the first three inquiries address the experiential, relational, and expressive meanings of textual lexical characteristics, in that order. Question 4 is mainly concerned with metaphor, whilst questions 5, 6, and 7 are engaged with the experiential, relational, and expressive meanings of grammatical characteristics. The last three questions 8, 9, and 10 are about grammatical relations, i.e., "cohesion" and structures rather than the contents of texts.

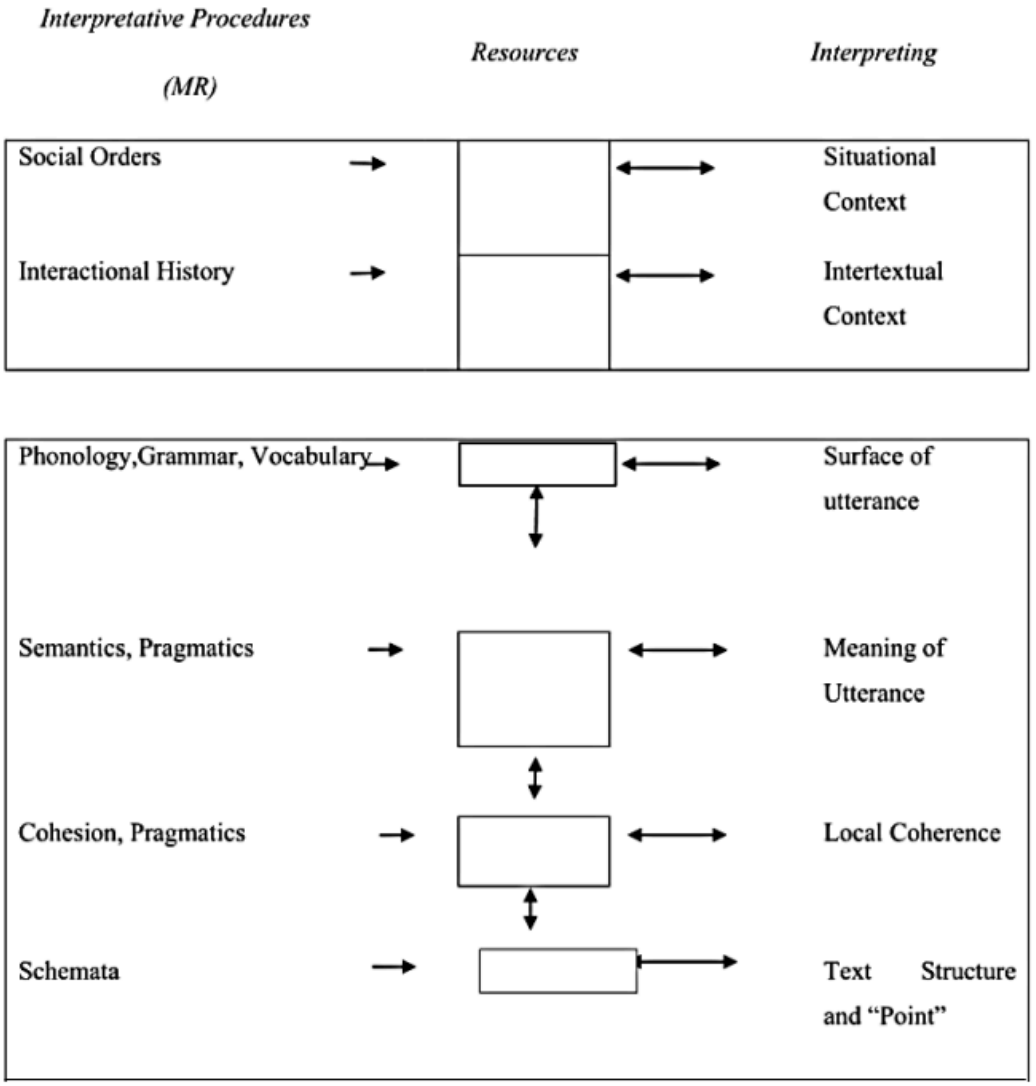
2.1.1.2. Interpretation

The interpretation stage is concerned with discourse processes and their reliance on assumptions, as well as what is in the text and what "in" the interpreter is used to produce interpretations. Textual characteristics function as "cues", activating components of interpreters' and members' resources (MR). The dialectical interaction between clues and MR is considered to be the source of interpretations. Fairclough (2001, pp. 114) often called background knowledge interpretative procedures.

Fairclough (2001, pp. 119-120) guided CDA analysts to focus on some main tasks in the interpretation of the situation: *What is going on? Who is involved? What relationships are at issue? And what is the role of language in what is going on?* In dealing with interpreting the intertextual context, presupposition should be brought into focus. Accordingly, he proposes the four remaining aspects of MR that serve as interpretative methods connected to the text. Conventions of phonology, grammar, and vocabulary are sources of information that generate processes for comprehending the surface of discourse. Semantics, pragmatics, and cohesion are further types of resources that give techniques for evaluating the meaning of an utterance and its local coherence. Resources are schemata which give the processes for interpreting the structure and global coherence of a text. To summarize, the interpretation stage plays a significant part in interpreting the discourse process as well as its reliance on preconceived ideas of MR.

Figure 2.1

Interpretation (Source: Fairclough, 2001, p.119)



2.1.1.3. Explanation

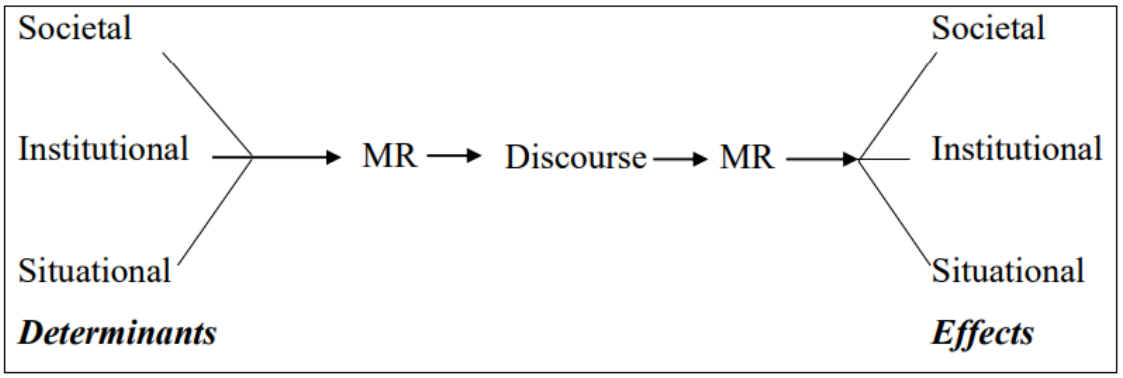
This stage aims at portraying a discourse as part of a social process, as a social practice, showing how it is determined by social structures, and what reproductive effects discourses can cumulatively have on those structures, sustaining them or changing them. These social determinations and effects are mediated by MR. Fairclough (2001, p. 138) elaborates on the aspect that the social structures shape MR, which in turn shape discourse; and discourses sustain or change MR, which in turn sustain or change structures. That is a two-way relationship. It is very clear that both social effects and social determinants of

discourse undergo three levels of social organization: the societal, the institutional, and the situational level.

Fairclough (2001, p. 138) also proposes three inquiries, each with certain key indicators, for eliciting an explanation for a specific topic. CDA analysts should evaluate whether power relations at the situational, institutional, and societal levels assist create discourses to identify social determinants. It is claimed that in order to reveal hidden ideologies in texts, researchers investigate parts of MR that have an ideological nature. Finally, for comprehending the effects of those determinants in discourse, CDA analysts should consider how the discourse is positioned in relation to struggles at the situational, institutional, and societal levels, and whether these struggles are explicit or implicit in the normative discourse, sustaining or transforming existing power relations. One of the aims of discourse is to demonstrate how language works and in what context it is being used. That is the reason why Fairclough (1992, p. 28) states that "discourse is more than just language use: it is language use seen as a type of social practice".

Figure 2.2

Explanation (Source: Fairclough, 2013, p. 138).



Fairclough (2013, p. 138) also summarizes what can be asked of a particular discourse under investigation into the form of three questions: 1. Social determinants: What power relations at situational, institutional, and societal levels help shape this discourse? 2. Ideologies: What elements of MR which are drawn upon have an ideological character? 3. Effects: How is this discourse positioned in relation to struggles at the situational, institutional, and societal levels? Are these struggles overt or covert? Is the discourse normative with respect to MR or creative? Does it contribute to sustaining existing power relations, or transforming them? The target of the explanation stage is to represent a discourse as part of a

social process, as a social practice, demonstrating how it is shaped by social structures and what reproductive impacts discourses can have on those structures, whether they are maintained or changed. In short, Fairclough's analytical framework includes three stages description, interpretation, and explanation. Besides, this framework uses Halliday's SFG as a base, so more details of this grammar approach and its role in CDA will be discussed in the next chapters.

2.1.2. Basic notions of Critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis is a way of looking at discourse that allows for a thorough evaluation of what it means to tell and say in language. A range of terms continues as part of CDA which is typical in the development of methodology. Nevertheless, there is a shared agenda in these works of systematically investigating the sometimes-obscure causal such ways whereby (a) certain discursive practices, events and texts emerge from - and are ideologically determined by - relations of interests or power, and (b) act in terms of interactions with wider social structures or relations (Fairclough 1995, p. 132).

Texts, language, communication should therefore always be considered in their social context, they both shape and are informed by wider processes within society. In this manner texts do not merely passively report upon the world, but they imbue it with meaning, fabricate it, shape perspectives and call the world into being. The broad term discourse can be employed in these circumstances as it refers to the various ways in which communication between people is achieved. Discourse can be considered as an 'active relation to reality' (Fairclough 1992, p. 41). Fairclough (2003, p.26) has delineated three characteristics of discourse which describe its operation within social life, as “part of the action”. These are genres (ways of acting), discourses (ways of representing), and styles (ways of being).

“Genres” refer to a particular way of manipulating and framing discourse; examples of genres are church sermons, interviews and political speeches. Genres are significant because they provide a framework for an audience to comprehend discourse, though evidently due to this quality, “genres” can be the locus of power, domination and resistance. “Discourses/representation” is crucial in assessing the means by which apparently similar aspects of the world can be appreciated and understood from different perspectives or positions. Finally, “styles” are the ways in which discourse is used to constitute a sense of being and identity, how identification is located through the application and manner of particular discourses.

Through this, discourse is an exercise of being and doing and the conception of this singular practice represents three further analytical elements of inquiry: production, form and reception. The play that these three act and relate with one another by way of political and cultural concerns constitutes the many social effects of discourse (Fairclough 2003, p. 11). This social effect is dependent upon the audience accessing, comprehending, using and resisting this discourse. Discourse should not be considered in isolation; rather, discourses act upon and influence one another in an act of intertextuality. This term concerns the way that specific discourses are understood only with reference to separate discourses. The Russian linguist Mikhail Bakhtin (1986) described this situation as 'dialogism', discourses referencing implicitly or explicitly other discourses as a further indication of the social life of discourse. Bakhtin (1986, p. 121) stated that, “the author has his own inalienable right to the word, but the listener also has his own rights, and those whose voices are heard in the word before the author comes upon it also have their rights”.

The subtle use of dialogism implied by Bakhtin is that discourses relate to other past forms of communication whilst foreseeing future modes of discourse. Intertextuality or dialogism is a means by which discourse situates itself within a web of social, political and cultural concerns. The plethora of discourse however ensures that forms are always competing against one another for dominance, power and control (after Foucault 1980, p. 35). Within society certain discourses are more powerful than others. This is not to deny the power of agency within the reception of discourse, rather it reveals the subtle means by which agents make themselves into subjects through discursive features. An obvious example would be the government or legal codes which prescribe the boundaries of operation in everyday life. There are however more subtle domineering discourses which function to maintain perceptions and attitudes. These may operate on a subtle level; van Dijk (1991) for instance examined the racist discourses which operated within the British press. By practicing certain modes of exclusionary discourse, particularly the use of pronouns, “we”, “us”, “them”, newspapers in Britain were shown to participate and propagate in a discourse of a dominating, white, overwhelming middle-class Britain. The mode of reporting was shown to be less subtle as the, 'dominant definition of ethnic affairs has consistently been a negative and stereotypical one: minorities or immigrants are seen as a problem or a threat, and are portrayed

preferably in association with crime, violence, conflict, unacceptable cultural differences, or other forms of deviance (van Dijk 1991, p. 20). This discourse is certainly opposed and disputed by alternative discourses, but the power of the position the Press hold ensures that it is the former discourse which is heard. Bakhtin (1984) referred to this variety of discourse as "heteroglossia", a term which recognizes the multitude of forms of discourse and the means in which some succeed in their dominance.

Critical discourse analysis therefore examines the form, structure and content of discourse, from the grammar and wording employed in its creation to its reception and interpretation by a wider audience. The employment of verbs, pronouns and nouns within discourse is as much part of this analysis as the assessment of the content and tone of the discourse. The methodology facilitates an assessment based upon more than simple quotations but upon what the discourse is doing and what it is being asked to do in its production, dissemination and consumption.

2.1.3. Major terms and tenets in CDA

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is grounded in a set of core principles that guide the systematic investigation of the relationship between language, power, and ideology in social contexts. As outlined by Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak (1997), these foundational tenets emphasize that discourse is not merely a neutral medium of communication but a socially constitutive practice that both reflects and shapes power relations and ideological structures. The eight major tenets and eight major terms of CDA provide a comprehensive framework for examining how linguistic choices are embedded within broader socio-political processes, including issues of dominance, inequality, and social change. In the context of this study, these principles serve as analytical guidelines for exploring how climate discourse constructs representations of responsibility, negotiates power relations, and legitimizes particular political positions in international settings.

2.1.3.1. Major terms in CDA

1) Text

In CDA, the speeches on climate change are considered media texts on climate change when they are given in public, therefore, it is necessary to clarify the term *text* as it is operationalized in the study as well as to explain why these written speeches are regarded as texts and thus as a part of the discourse on climate change.

The concept of *text* has been defined in various ways; however, this study adopts Norman Fairclough's perspective, which views texts as the linguistic and semiotic dimensions of social events (2005, p. 916). Within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis, media discourse is understood as a social and discursive institution that plays a crucial role in structuring social life and shaping the production of knowledge, values, and beliefs (van Dijk, 1993; Fairclough, 1995). From the perspective of production, speeches can be seen as discursive products that contribute to the organization and regulation of social practices. From the perspective of consumption, these texts participate in the construction of social knowledge and value systems as they are disseminated to and interpreted by broad audiences. Accordingly, the climate change speeches examined in this study are treated as linguistic realizations of global climate debates, with each text constituting part of the broader social process through which international climate discourse is constructed.

2) Discourse

A widely recognized definition of discourse within Critical Discourse Analysis, adopted in this study, conceptualizes discourse as language use in both speech and writing understood as a form of social practice. According to Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak (1997), this perspective implies a dialectical relationship between discursive events and the broader social contexts, such as situations, institutions, and social structures in which they are embedded. While discourse is shaped by these contextual factors, it simultaneously plays an active role in shaping them. In this sense, discourse is both socially conditioned and socially constitutive: it contributes to the construction of social realities, including systems of knowledge, as well as the identities and relationships of individuals and groups. Moreover, discourse functions not only to sustain and reproduce existing social arrangements but also to transform them. Given its socially consequential nature, discourse is inherently linked to issues of power, as discursive practices can produce and reproduce ideological effects by representing reality in particular ways and positioning social actors within unequal power relations.

3) Context

Within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis, context is understood in a broad and multidimensional sense. It encompasses not only the immediate linguistic environment in which a particular linguistic item occurs within a text, but also a

wide range of extra-linguistic factors that shape and constrain meaning. These include cultural norms, political conditions, social relations, economic structures, and institutional settings that influence both the production and interpretation of discourse. As emphasized by Norman Fairclough, discourse cannot be fully understood in isolation from these contextual dimensions, as meaning is always socially situated and ideologically informed.

In the context of this study, the analysis of climate change speeches delivered at the COP conferences is grounded in an awareness of the broader global climate governance framework. Factors such as the distinction between developed and developing countries, historical emissions, technological capacity, and geopolitical influence play a crucial role in shaping how discourse is constructed. These contextual elements influence not only what is said, but also how it is said, including choices of vocabulary, modality, and rhetorical strategies. Therefore, context serves as a key interpretive layer through which the ideological meanings and power relations embedded in climate discourse can be more fully understood.

4) Power relations

According to Norman Fairclough (2015), power relations are inherently embedded in interactions between social groups, particularly those with differing interests and positions. These relations are not static but are continuously negotiated, as social actors engage in discursive struggles to assert, defend, and legitimize their viewpoints. From this perspective, the exercise of power through language involves ongoing contestation, where competing groups seek to maintain or challenge existing social arrangements. Fairclough further emphasizes that a comprehensive critical analysis requires examining power relations across multiple levels in order to reveal how discourse contributes to the maintenance or transformation of social reality.

In the context of this study, power relations between developed and developing countries are examined through the analysis of language used in climate change speeches. By investigating linguistic features alongside discursive practices, the study seeks to uncover the underlying ideologies and competing interests that shape these interactions. Through this approach, power relations are not treated as pre-existing assumptions but are interpreted as discursively constructed and negotiated within the speeches, thereby providing insights into how global climate governance is framed and contested.

A central concern in Critical Discourse Analysis is the notion of social power as enacted and reproduced through discourse. Within this framework, social power is commonly understood as the capacity of one group or institution to control or influence the actions, knowledge, and beliefs of others, thereby constraining their freedom and shaping their ideological orientations. As argued by Teun A. van Dijk (2004), such power is not limited to direct coercion but is also exercised through more subtle forms of persuasion and manipulation. Discourse plays a crucial role in this process, as it enables dominant groups to influence public understanding and reproduce existing power relations over time.

In particular, access to discourse, especially media and institutional discourse, constitutes a significant resource of power, allowing certain actors to shape knowledge, frame issues, and guide public opinion. The persuasive force of discourse often derives from its association with authority, expertise, and control over information (Schiffrin et al., 2008). In the context of this study, climate change discourse is treated as a site where social power is actively negotiated and reproduced. The speeches delivered at international climate conferences not only reflect existing power asymmetries between developed and developing countries but also contribute to their (re)construction by influencing how responsibilities, obligations, and capabilities are framed. Through these discursive processes, language functions as a mechanism that shapes both perceptions and practices, thereby playing a role in structuring global climate governance and the distribution of responsibility among nations.

5) Critical and critique

In the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis, the term *critical* does not carry a purely negative connotation; rather, it refers to a systematic and analytical approach to uncovering the often-implicit relationships between discourse and social structures. As argued by Norman Fairclough (1995), CDA seeks to investigate the complex and frequently opaque connections between discursive practices, events, and texts on the one hand, and broader social, cultural, and institutional processes on the other. It also examines how discourse is shaped by, and in turn shapes, relations of power and ideological struggles. Importantly, the lack of transparency in these relationships can itself function as a mechanism through which power and hegemony are maintained.

From this perspective, critique involves uncovering the ways in which ideology and power are embedded within discursive patterns. It aims to make visible the connections between textual features, ideological meanings, and power relations that are not immediately apparent to participants in the discourse (Fairclough, 1995). In other words, critique is concerned with revealing how language contributes to the naturalization of particular worldviews and social arrangements.

Adopting this critical orientation, the present study approaches climate change discourse with the aim of systematically describing, interpreting, and explaining linguistic features in relation to their broader social functions. Through the analysis of speeches delivered at international climate conferences, the study seeks to uncover how textual choices contribute to the construction of ideological positions and the negotiation of power relations between developed and developing countries. In doing so, it aims to expose underlying power asymmetries and reveal how responsibilities for climate change are discursively framed and contested.

6) Ideology

Teun A. van Dijk (1998) conceptualizes ideology as systems of socially shared ideas, values, and beliefs that characterize particular groups and function to organize and legitimize their actions. These shared cognitive frameworks provide group members with general principles that shape their interpretations of events and guide their social practices. Within the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis, ideology is closely linked to discourse, as it both influences and is realized through linguistic structures. Ideological meanings are not always explicit; rather, they are often embedded in underlying patterns of language use. As noted by Lesley Jeffries and Brian Walker (2012), ideology can frequently be identified through careful textual analysis, while Norman Fairclough (2015) emphasizes that ideology typically operates by masking its own nature and presenting itself as natural or self-evident.

Building on these perspectives, this study approaches climate change discourse as a site where ideological meanings are discursively constructed and negotiated. The analysis begins at the textual level, where linguistic features such as lexical choices, grammatical patterns, and modality are examined as potential indicators of underlying ideological positions. These textual patterns are then interpreted within the broader context of discursive practices, including the production and circulation

of speeches, and further explained in relation to the socio-political context of global climate governance. Through this multi-level analysis, the study seeks to uncover how ideologies regarding the responsibilities of developed and developing countries are embedded in discourse, and how these ideologies contribute to the construction and maintenance of power relations in international climate debates.

7) Language and society

Language and society are intrinsically interconnected, as language performs a wide range of social functions, including the expression of power and the pursuit of collective goals, while social structures simultaneously shape patterns of language use by establishing norms of appropriateness. In this reciprocal relationship, language not only reflects social realities but also actively contributes to shaping them, just as social transformations bring about changes in linguistic practices. From a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective, as emphasized by Norman Fairclough, this dynamic interplay highlights the dialectical relationship between discourse and society.

Within the context of COPs, particular attention is paid to how broader socio-political dynamics influence the construction of climate change discourse, as well as how such discourse, in turn, participates in shaping perceptions, policies, and power relations in global climate governance. By examining speeches delivered at international climate conferences, the study explores both the impact of societal forces on discourse and the role of discourse in reinforcing or transforming those forces.

8) Encoding and decoding

According to Stuart Hall's papers on Encoding and Decoding of textual discourse analysis, there is a 'lack of fit' between the two sides in the communicative exchange', between the moment of the production of the message ('encoding') and the moment of its reception ('decoding').

Encoding/decoding' arises primarily from Hall's reservations about the theories of communication underpinning mass communications research. 'Encoding/decoding' opens with an account of the conventional model of communication to be found within mass communications research. This model moves in a linear fashion from the 'sender' through the 'message' to the 'receiver'. According to this model, the sender creates the message and fixes its meaning, which is then communicated directly and transparently to the recipient. For Hall,

this communication process is too neat: 'the only distortion in it is that the receiver might not be up to the business of getting the message he or she ought to get'. As we will see, Hall is especially interested in the way different audiences generate rather than discover meaning. Hall's essay challenges all three components of the mass communications model, arguing that (i) meaning is not simply fixed or determined by the sender; (ii) the message is never transparent; and (iii) the audience is not a passive recipient of meaning. Just because a documentary on asylum seekers aims to provide a sympathetic account of their plight, does not guarantee its audience will view them sympathetically. For all its 'realism' and emphasis on 'the facts', the documentary form still has to communicate through a sign system (the aural-visual signs of tv) that both distorts the intentions of producers and evokes contradictory feelings in the audience. Distortion is built into the system here, rather than being a 'failure' of the producer or viewer.

The moments of encoding and decoding are also the points, respectively, of entrance into and exit from the systems of discourse. While 'the discursive form of the message has a privileged position in the communicative exchange', communication is about more than language and discourse for Hall, and structuralism, in isolation, does not satisfactorily explain the lack of fit between the moments of encoding and decoding for him. Hall is ultimately more interested in the political than the linguistic implications of media messages, a fact he foregrounds in the 1973 version of 'Encoding/decoding':

> … though I shall adopt a semiotic perspective, I do not regard this as indexing a closed formal concern with the immanent organization of the television discourse alone. It must also include a concern with the 'social relations' of the communicative process.

2.1.3.2. Major tenets in CDA

There are the eight tenets in CDA, according to Fairclough and Wodak (1997, p. 280). These tenets collectively emphasize the interconnectedness of discourse, power, and ideology, as well as the role of language in shaping and reproducing social inequalities, which are central to the focus of this study. Together, they provide a comprehensive framework for analyzing how discourse functions as a form of social practice, thereby informing the present study's examination of ideology and power relations in climate change speeches.

1) CDA addresses social problems

CDA does not only examine the use of language but also attempts to explain the ways in which power relations, social inequality and dominance between different social actors are enacted and reproduced (van Dijk, 2001). This study analyzes the (un)balanced power relations between two major social groups - developed (rich) and developing (poor) countries - as constructed in discourse and how the media use this discourse to maintain them.

2) Power relations are discursive

CDA is mainly concerned with the ways power relations are exercised and negotiated in and through discourse (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Editors who decide which news stories are covered are examples of those who control topic selection and topic shifts in discourse, and thus have significant influence over the production and reception of news (van Dijk, 1988). This study explores the media coverage of ten successive COPs as a dynamic totality, in conjunction with three contextual levels (textual, discursive and social). The aim is to detect how power is exercised through media discourse and to explore how the media contribute to maintaining social imbalances between developed and developing countries.

3) Discourse constitutes society and culture

CDA is interested in the dialectical relationship between discourse and society, i.e. discourse both shapes and is shaped by the particular contexts and wider society in which it is used (Breeze, 2013, p. 30). All language use instances contribute to the reproduction and transformation of society and culture, including power relations (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). This research explores the power relations between the developed and the developing countries, the ideologies on the responsibilities of these countries on climate change as manifested in the media discourse and the possible constitutive effects of such manifestations on the social construction of the global climate debate.

4) Discourse functions ideologically

Discourse often produces and reproduces ideologies, which are understood as "systems of ideas, values or prescriptions politically or socially of groups or other collectivities" (van Dijk, 1998). CDA is concerned with the ways in which discursive practices serve to construct unequal social power relations and imbalances between groups, as a means to study the way in which ideologies are constructed. Those who hold power and access can use discourse to legitimize or delegitimize individuals, actions, or institutions, thereby shaping public perception,

normalizing subordinate positions, and encouraging acceptance of dominant groups' ways of acting. CDA thus identifies how specific linguistic features are employed to serve ideological purposes (Breeze, 2013, p. 31). In the present study, we analyze the ideological stances of two selected representatives regarding the responsibilities of developed and developing countries in addressing climate change, as well as the relationships among these countries within the global climate debate, and explain how language is used to convey these stances.

5) Discourse is historical

As discourse gives rise to another, discourse should be understood as interconnected with prior discourses. This is what Fairclough and Wodak (1997) refer to as the intertextuality of texts. Critical discourse analysts also draw on extralinguistic factors such as culture, society, and ideology, often considering them from a historical perspective. Accordingly, this study examines intertextuality within the climate change discourse, based on 18 speeches, and can be approached from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives.

6) The link between the text and society is mediated

According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), CDA seeks to establish links between text and society and between sociocultural processes and structures on the one hand and textual features on the other. In accordance with this view, the present study explores the mediated relationship between English media texts on climate change and the socio-economic contexts that shape and are reflected in the selected texts.

7) Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory

Discourse is susceptible to having multiple meanings, depending on contextual features such as who produced it, when it was produced, and what audience or audiences the discourse engages with from different perspectives. This paper analyses climate change discourse as a linguistic phenomenon within the backdrop of local social, economic, political and cultural practices that are responsible for such changes in the poor nation perspective.

8) Discourse is a form of social action

CDA entails a responsibility to raise awareness of social practices in order to promote emancipatory action (e.g., Wodak & Meyer, 2012; Fairclough, 1995, 2012). Through its critical examination of climate change discourse, this study aims

to reveal the power dynamics between developed and developing countries as represented in the discourse and to contribute to greater awareness of the ideologies surrounding these countries' responsibilities. In the long term, it is hoped that such awareness will encourage individuals to recognize their roles and take action against unequal power relations and the negative impacts of climate change.

2.1.4. CDA as a conceptual framework and methodology

As a multidisciplinary approach, CDA does not adhere to a single unified theoretical framework or a fixed methodological orientation. Critical discourse analysts have drawn on a wide range of theories, including micro-sociological perspectives (Scollon, 2002), theories of society and power inspired by Michel Foucault (Fairclough, 1995; Jäger & Maier, 2012), and socio-cognitive approaches (van Dijk, 1998, 2012; Charteris-Black, 2006), as well as concepts borrowed from broader theoretical traditions. Moreover, CDA does not follow a linear path from theory to data and back to theory; rather, its analytical process is iterative and dynamic.

Despite these diverse orientations, CDA is unified by a common aim and strategy. Its primary aim is to reveal the relationship between discourse and power by examining how power is represented in discourse and how such representations contribute to the construction and reproduction of discursive practices. Its analytical strategy involves a systematic movement between micro-level textual analysis, drawing on linguistic, semiotic, and literary tools; and macro-level analysis of social structures, institutions, and power relations that discourse both reflects and constructs (Luke, 2002, p. 100).

In the present study, three major approaches to CDA are considered due to their significant contributions to the field, followed by the approach that informs this thesis most directly.

1) The Socio-Cognitive Approach

Teun van Dijk is one of the most influential scholars in CDA, particularly for his socio-cognitive approach, which emphasizes the interface between discourse, cognition, and society. This approach examines discourse through three interrelated dimensions: (i) social analysis of the broader context, (ii) cognitive analysis of mental models and social cognition, and (iii) discourse analysis focusing on textual

features such as syntax, lexicon, semantics, and schematic structures (van Dijk, 1995, p. 30).

Central to this approach are the concepts of social actors and the ideological square. Van Dijk (2012, p. 82) argues that social actors can hold multiple identities, and CDA focuses on the most salient ones and their interaction with discourse. The ideological square (van Dijk, 1998, p. 25) explains how group ideologies tend to be polarized in situations of conflict: positive self-presentation (emphasizing in-group strengths and minimizing weaknesses) and negative other-presentation (highlighting out-group weaknesses and downplaying their strengths). These concepts inform the classification of polarized country groups in this study and guide the interpretation of their discursive positioning.

However, while van Dijk's framework provides valuable insights into cognitive mental models, it places primary emphasis on sociocognitive mediation rather than the fine-grained, systemic textual mechanisms of language. Because the primary aim of this thesis requires a rigorous, detailed lexico-grammatical examination of how power relations and ideologies are structurally embedded within textual choices, van Dijk's model alone is insufficient. In contrast, Norman Fairclough's Dialectical-Relational Approach provides a more operational and linguistically grounded framework through his Three-Dimensional Model (text, discursive practice, and social practice). Unlike van Dijk's approach, Fairclough's CDA explicitly integrates Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), enabling a meticulous analysis of such textual features as transitivity, modality, process types, and lexical choices, and directly connecting these micro-level linguistic patterns to macro-level social power structures. Therefore, while van Dijk's socio-cognitive concepts are selectively utilized for identifying ideological polarization, Fairclough's approach is adopted as the overarching analytical framework to ensure both textual precision and critical depth. In short, compared to Fairclough's approach, van Dijk's framework is less focused on detailed lexico-grammatical analysis, which is one reason why Fairclough's model is more suitable for the present study.

2) The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)

The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA), primarily developed by Ruth Wodak, integrates discourse analysis with historical and ethnographic perspectives.

It adopts a three-dimensional framework: (i) thematic content, (ii) discursive strategies, and (iii) linguistic realizations (Wodak & Meyer, 2012, p. 93). Key strategies include referential, predicational, argumentation, perspectivization, intensification, and mitigation.

A major strength of DHA lies in its emphasis on historical and socio-political context, allowing for diachronic analysis and reducing the risk of biased interpretation. However, this approach is not adopted in the present study for two main reasons. First, its lack of a clearly defined procedure for analyzing historical context makes it less suitable for examining a sequence of media coverage across ten consecutive years. Second, as noted by Wodak and Meyer (2012, p. 96), the comprehensive eight-step DHA framework requires substantial time, resources, and personnel, which is beyond the scope of this study.

3) The Socio-Semantic Representation Model

Theo van Leeuwen (1996) proposes a socio-semantic framework that categorizes how social actors are represented in discourse through twelve analytical categories. This model examines how power and social roles are encoded linguistically, particularly through process types and transitivity structures, to reveal ideological meanings.

Although the framework is highly detailed and somewhat complex, it is particularly effective in uncovering how social actors are represented in discourse. It is especially useful for analyzing power relations, though it is less directly oriented toward ideology compared to other approaches.

In this study, the category of activization and passivization is particularly relevant. Drawing on Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics, van Leeuwen (1996, pp. 43–44) explains that activization occurs when social actors are represented as active agents in an action, while passivization presents them as passive or affected participants. This category is employed to analyze how developed and developing countries are represented in the discourse, contributing to the interpretation of their roles and power positions.

According to Norman Fairclough, discourse constitutes a form of social practice and exists in a dialectical relationship with society, meaning that discourse both shapes and is shaped by social structures (Fairclough, 1992, p. 17). Based on this perspective, his Dialectical-Relational Approach proposes that discourse should be

critically analyzed across three interconnected dimensions: textual, discursive, and social.

Fairclough is widely regarded as a central figure in the development of Critical Discourse Analysis, particularly through this approach. Drawing on Marxist theories of discourse, Michel Foucault's concept of orders of discourse, and Antonio Gramsci's notion of hegemony, while integrating linguistic methods of analysis, Fairclough conceptualizes CDA as an emancipatory project aimed at uncovering and addressing social inequalities through their linguistic manifestations in discourse (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995). His approach is distinctive in its emphasis on the dynamic relationship between textual features and broader social structures.

At the textual (micro) level, Fairclough's model draws on the Systemic Functional Linguistics framework developed by M. A. K. Halliday to examine linguistic features that are socially and ideologically significant. Two main aspects are emphasized: first, the representation of social actors and processes through lexico-grammatical and semantic choices; and second, the organization of clauses into coherent structures through cohesion and textual organization (Fairclough, 1995). Analysis at this level involves examining vocabulary (e.g., wording and metaphor), grammar (e.g., modality and voice), and cohesive devices, all of which contribute to the construction of meaning and may reveal underlying ideological processes. For instance, the use of passive constructions can obscure agency in political discourse. While Fairclough provides a range of analytical categories, he also emphasizes that these should be treated as flexible guidelines rather than rigid procedures. In the present study, particular attention is paid to the representation of social actors, specifically developed and developing countries, through lexico-grammatical and semantic features. Additionally, the study draws on Fairclough's later work on keyword and collocation analysis in corpus-based research (Fairclough, 2000).

At the discursive level, the focus shifts to the processes of text production, distribution, and consumption. Discourse is analyzed within its communicative context, considering how texts are shaped by institutional practices and audience expectations. As noted by John Richardson (2007, p. 112), texts such as news are produced with an assumed audience in mind and are interpreted by readers based on their understanding of the source, its values, and its ideological stance. Analysis at

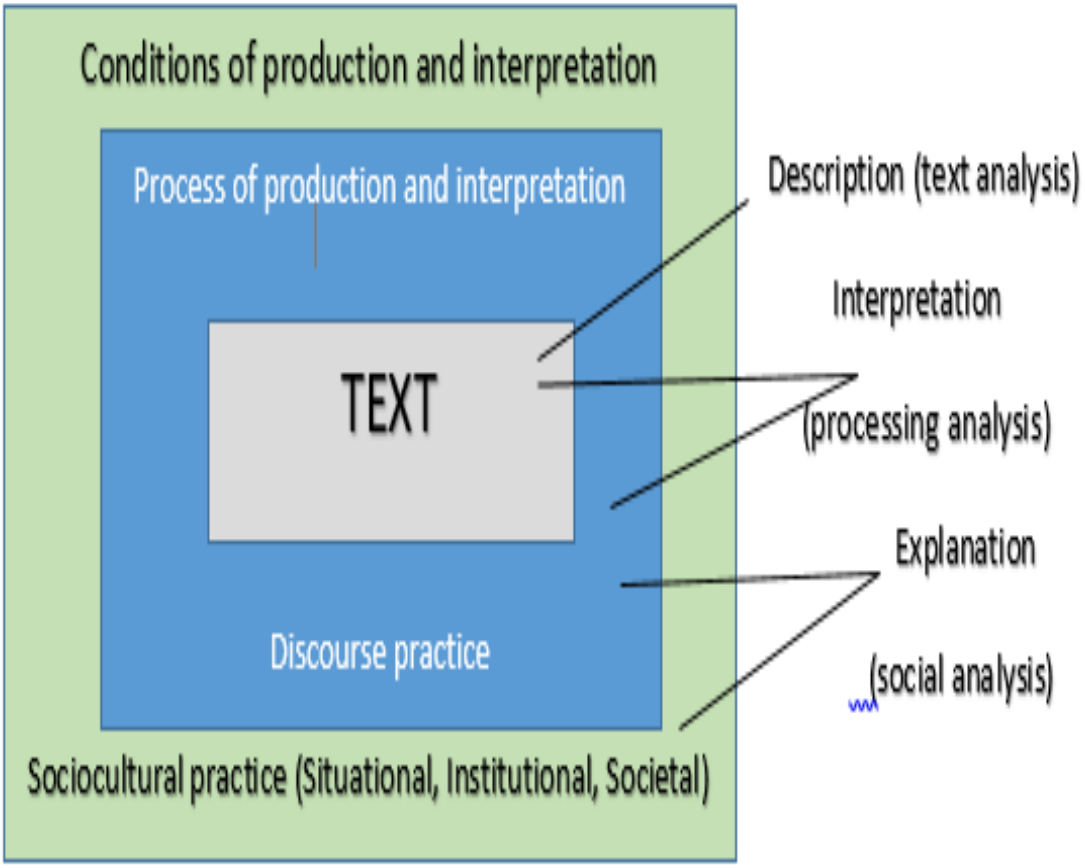
this level therefore considers factors such as why certain events are selected for representation, how they are framed, what institutional or ideological influences shape their production, and how intertextual relations contribute to meaning-making.

At the social level, discourse is examined in relation to broader social structures and power relations. This level of analysis seeks to explain how social conditions shape discourse and how discourse, in turn, contributes to the reproduction or transformation of social inequalities. Issues of power, dominance, and ideology are central, as analysts explore how linguistic features reflect and reinforce asymmetrical relations between social groups. Fairclough (1989) illustrates this through institutional contexts such as education, where discourse is structured by conventions that define the roles, rights, and obligations of participants. Such examples demonstrate how discourse practices mediate the relationship between micro-level linguistic choices and macro-level social structures.

Although Fairclough's framework distinguishes these three analytical levels, they are not separate in practice. Rather, they form an integrated and dynamic whole, with analysis often moving between levels to support interpretation. In general, textual analysis focuses on describing linguistic features, discursive analysis interprets how texts are produced and consumed, and social analysis explains the broader socio-political context in which discourse operates (see Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3.

Discourse as text, interaction and context (Fairclough, 1989)



Fairclough's model of Critical Discourse Analysis has been extensively adopted across a wide range of academic disciplines. Numerous studies have applied this framework to diverse types of discourse, including the analysis of advertising texts (Janks, 2010), educational policy documents in Malaysia (Kean-Wah & Ming, 2010), government policy discourse (Coffey, 2010), corporate communication such as chairman's statements (Merkl-Davies & Koller, 2012), and the construction of collective identity in discourse (Koller, 2012). These examples illustrate the versatility and applicability of Fairclough's approach. Research specifically addressing climate change discourse through this framework will be discussed in the following section.

Given that the present study examines discourse across three interrelated dimensions (textual features, discursive practices, and broader socio-cultural contexts) in order to uncover underlying ideologies and power relations, Fairclough's (1995) framework is particularly well suited to this purpose. First, its three-dimensional model facilitates an exploration of the dialectical relationship

between climate change discourse and the wider social environment in which it is embedded. Second, the textual dimension enables a detailed analysis of how linguistic choices encode and reproduce ideological meanings as well as asymmetrical power relations between developed and developing countries. Third, the emphasis on intertextuality provides a means to trace how current discourses are shaped by prior texts and historical developments, particularly in the context of international climate negotiations.

The following statement effectively encapsulates the critical orientation of CDA:

> …In their [CDA] view people are not only influenced by ideology but they actually construct it in what they say, and in ways that are most likely to persuade others to comply with it… CDA is critical in the sense that it calls into question ideas and assumptions that have become taken for granted as self-evidently valid on the grounds that they actually preserve a status quo which in effect sustains inequality and injustice by privileging the elite and the powerful at the expense of everybody else. So CDA is committed to a cause and puts its own ideological agenda up front (Widdowson, 2007, p. 71).

2.1.5. CDA of a speech text

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) investigates the implicit meanings embedded in language within specific social and political contexts. Following Teun A. van Dijk's socio-cognitive model, discourse analysis examines several interconnected dimensions, including text, context, genre, meaning, style, and coherence, in order to reveal how ideology and power relations are constructed through language.

1) Access to Discourse

Van Dijk (1993) conceptualizes *access* as the privilege or authority that allows certain individuals to use specific forms of discourse, genres, or communicative styles in particular contexts. In this case, the political speech delivered by Liaquat Ali Khan at the University of Kansas exemplifies this privileged access. As the first Prime Minister of the newly established state of Pakistan, Khan occupied a dominant institutional position that enabled him to shape discourse in a political setting. His authority illustrates how access to discourse functions as a form of power, allowing political leaders to influence ideological representation through language.

2) Setting and Context

The speech was delivered during an honorary degree ceremony at the University of Kansas. In this context, Khan addressed an American audience while representing Pakistan as a newly established nation in South Asia. A central element of the speech is the comparison between Pakistan and modern states, accompanied by a justification for the partition of India. The speech frames the establishment of Pakistan as the outcome of Muslim struggles for political autonomy based on religious identity. Much of the discourse also involves criticism of political opponents, which is expressed through references to religious differences between communities. Consequently, the event, location, and institutional setting collectively reflect broader power relations and ideological tensions embedded in the discourse.

3) Genre

According to Van Dijk, *genre* refers to a specific linguistic style shaped by sociocultural conventions. The speech employs the genre of political discourse to explain and justify the creation of Pakistan as an independent state. It addresses sociopolitical and religious tensions between Muslim and Hindu communities and attempts to persuade the audience of the legitimacy of the Muslim political movement. Khan's status as Prime Minister enables him to exercise discursive authority, demonstrating how political actors use institutional power to control discourse and shape ideological narratives.

4) Communicative acts and social meaning

The speech contains several communicative acts that convey politeness, gratitude, and respect, particularly in its opening remarks. Expressions of appreciation toward the host institution serve to establish a formal and respectful relationship with the audience. However, these courteous expressions also reveal unequal power relations, as the United States is implicitly positioned as scientifically and technologically advanced compared to the emerging state of Pakistan.

At the socio-semantic level, the speaker acknowledges the influence of Western countries in global affairs and recognizes their role in supporting the development of new states. At the same time, the discourse includes strong criticism of opponents, particularly non-Muslim groups, reflecting the speaker's role as a Muslim political leader. Although the speech is titled *"Pakistan and the Modern World,"* it focuses largely on religious distinctions rather than a direct comparison

between Pakistan and modern states. Consequently, the discourse foregrounds religious ideology while simultaneously invoking democratic values such as freedom and liberty. These concepts are framed primarily in terms of protecting religious identity and cultural autonomy rather than in a broader democratic sense.

5) Participant positions and roles

The speech highlights the dual roles of Liaquat Ali Khan as both Prime Minister and representative of the Muslim community. These roles shape the discourse by positioning him as a spokesperson for Pakistan's political and religious interests on an international platform. His political authority and religious identity influence the argumentative structure of the speech, particularly in its criticism of Hindu political opponents. As a result, issues of religious identity are emphasized more strongly than democratic principles such as liberty and equality.

6) Speech acts

Speech acts in Van Dijk's framework refer to the implicit intentions conveyed through linguistic expressions. In this speech, several speech acts reflect ideological positioning and cultural differentiation between religious groups. References to differences in religious beliefs, social practices, and economic perspectives between Muslims and Hindus are used to support the argument for the creation of a separate state. However, from a critical perspective, these distinctions do not necessarily justify political separation. Historical evidence suggests that diverse religious communities had coexisted for centuries in the Indian subcontinent. Therefore, the discourse may be interpreted as emphasizing religious differences to legitimize political objectives rather than presenting a balanced historical account. The speech thus demonstrates how political leaders may use discourse to promote ideological narratives.

7) Macro-Semantic Topic

The macro-semantic topic of the speech, *"Pakistan and the Modern World,"* functions as a central framework for interpreting the discourse. The topic can be understood in multiple ways: as an attempt to position Pakistan within the global political system, as a representation of a newly emerging democracy, or as a justification for the establishment of a Muslim state. The discourse simultaneously invokes democratic ideals while emphasizing sociocultural and religious distinctions.

Through this topic, the speech illustrates how political discourse can reproduce dominant ideologies and shape perceptions of national identity. In particular, the justification for the partition of India is framed as a necessary step for political stability and peace in South Asia. Nevertheless, the argument also reveals ideological tensions, as it relies heavily on religious distinctions and criticism of opponents.

8) Superstructures: Text schemata

Van Dijk defines text schema as the overall organizational structure through which arguments are presented in discourse. In this speech, Khan constructs a sequence of arguments addressing sociopolitical and religious challenges faced by Muslims in the subcontinent. His political authority as Prime Minister strengthens the persuasive force of these arguments.

Although the speech is nominally concerned with Pakistan's relationship with the modern world, much of the discourse focuses on defending the political ideology of the "two-nation theory," which justified the creation of a separate Muslim state. The speaker also highlights Pakistan's economic and technological limitations and emphasizes the importance of cooperation with Western countries for national development. At the same time, the discourse contrasts the living standards of the East and West, suggesting that Western support is necessary for progress.

Overall, the speech demonstrates how political discourse can combine ideological justification, appeals for international support, and expressions of national identity within a single argumentative structure.

2.2. Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG)

Numerous theories have been successful in accounting for aspects of language. One of the most substantial theories is Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (often SFL), which has been employed in the literature on linguistics and applied linguistics. This paper aims to introduce Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) with a focus on an overview of SFG as a linguistic tradition largely developed by Michael Alexander Kirkwood Halliday (often M.A.K. Halliday).

The functional conceptual framework of SFG is based on three different but closely related aspects: the interpretation of text, method, and linguistic structure elements. It is founded on the idea that anything should be clarified in order to understand how language is used. In language, functional elements are the fundamental characteristics of meaning. The three metafunctions of language sense,

namely **ideational**, **interpersonal**, and **textual**, are formed from this. The language is explained by SFG as a network of choices that are connected together. It constructs all elements of the language, such as, clauses, sentences, etc., and all elements of the language are recognized in relation to the whole as functional framework.

As followers of the Hallidayan tradition, Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen conceptualize grammatical forms as semiotic resources through which meanings about experience and social interaction are constructed. While their notion of "visual grammar" primarily addresses visual communication, its underlying theoretical assumptions are highly relevant to the analysis of verbal discourse. In line with M. A. K. Halliday's concept of metafunctions, language is understood as a resource for representing reality, enacting social relations, and organizing meaning within texts.

In the context of the present study, this metafunctional perspective provides a useful analytical lens for examining how climate change speeches at the COP conferences construct representations of responsibility (ideational/representational meaning), negotiate relationships and authority between speakers and global audiences (interpersonal/interactive meaning), and organize information to produce coherent and persuasive discourse (textual/compositional meaning). Through this framework, linguistic choices are interpreted not as neutral forms but as strategic resources that contribute to the construction of ideology and the negotiation of power relations in global climate governance.

Researchers in multimodal critical discourse analysis (MCDA) frequently modify Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) to examine how meaning is discursively and visually constructed. In particular, they extend the theoretical concept of "metafunction" as proposed in Halliday's (1978) seminal work, coining terms that correspond to three crucial aspects of language and visual design:

+ Representational meaning (corresponding to Halliday's *Ideational Metafunction*): Refers to a range of semantic mechanisms that establish relations among represented participants, depicting objects, actors, and events in the world.

+ Interactive meaning (corresponding to Halliday's *Interpersonal Metafunction*): Captures the semantic ways of establishing social and

communicative relationships between interactive participants (such as the viewer and the image/text creator).

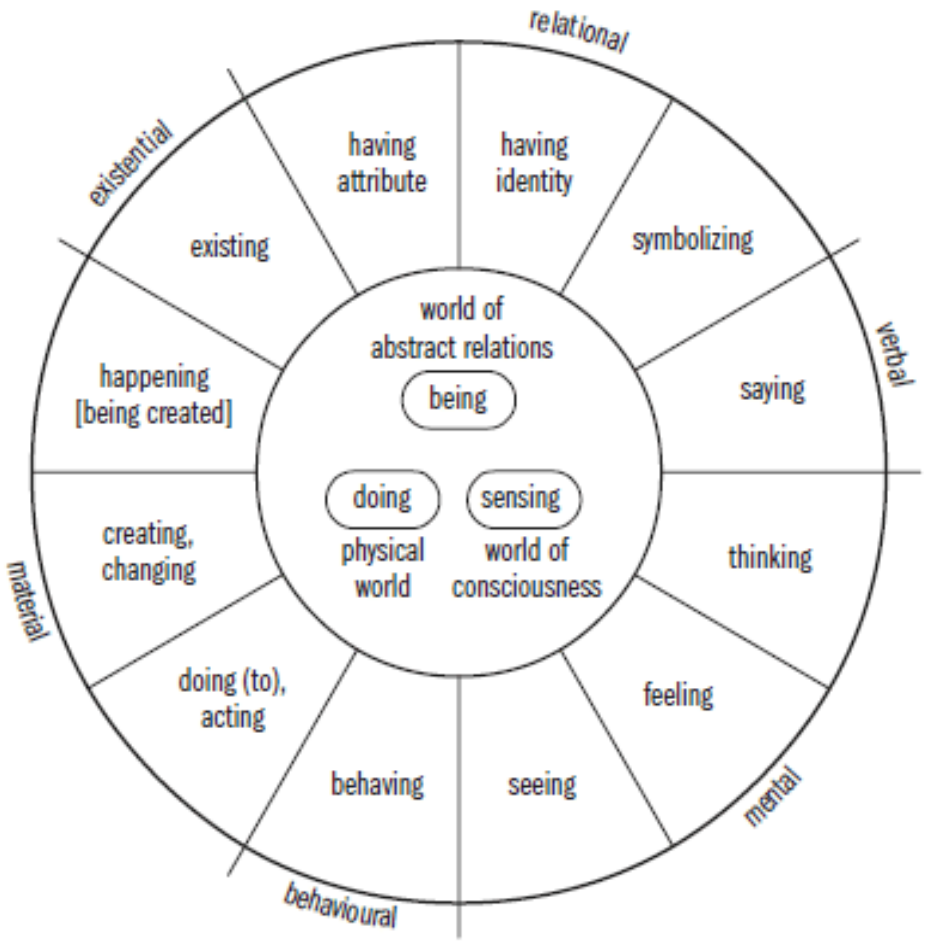
+ Compositional meaning (corresponding to Halliday's *Textual Metafunction*): Concerns the structural organization of visual and textual elements, detailing how features on a page or layout are semantically integrated to construct a coherent whole.

1) Ideational metafunction

The ideational metafunction expresses meaning about the world (Eggins 2004, p. 254). It is concerned with describing how language users' material and symbolic experiences of reality are created in discourse. It also focuses on the logical relationships between experience patterns. This metafunction can be divided into two categories: experiential and logical. While the former concerns how reality is represented, the later represents "the functional-semantic relations that make up the logic of natural language" (Halliday, 1994, p. 216) and is used to establish and interpret the relation between clauses in a message. Experiential component is achieved by transitivity grammatical system in which six types of processes are identified, together with concepts of participants and circumstances.

Figure 2.4

Types of process. (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 172)



Logical component is characterized with two systemic dimensions that provide the functional framework to describe clause complexes (Halliday 1994, p. 216). the system of interdependency, or taxis, is the first dimension, and it depicts the relationships between sentences in a clause complex. Parataxis and hypotaxis are the two alternatives available. the logico-semantic system, which applies to linked sentences, is the second dimension of the logical function. This comprises a wide range of logico-semantic relationships between a clause complex's primary and secondary members that are linked in sequence. Such logico-semantic relations can be classified into expansion and projection groups and can be encountered in both types of taxis (Halliday 1994, p. 216, pp. 251-260; Eggins, 2004, pp. 270-275).

2) Interpersonal metafunction

As in Halliday (1994, p.68), the interpersonal metafunction is concerned with the social relationships and attitudes of the persons portrayed within and interacting via the text. Language users take on specific speech roles when communicating.

They assign the audience a complementary role by doing so. The most fundamental roles in any exchange are giving (and taking) or demanding (and being given). The clause as exchange develops by means of **Mood,** which refers to the overall structure of the clause and is its principal grammatical system.

A clause consists of MOOD + RESIDUE. According to Thompson (2004), the Mood can be identified in Mood tags, and is also used in short answers, the Finite being the core that is bandied about in exchanges because it carries the validity of the proposition.

Between the two functional constituents of the clause, namely MOOD, which carries the argument, and RESIDUE, which can be left out or elided, the MOOD element is constituted by SUBJECT and FINITE. The Subject is a nominal group, and it realises the thing by making reference to which the proposition can be affirmed or denied. Meanwhile, the Finite has its name because it functions to make the proposition finite. The Finite is realised by a verbal group and represents something that can be argued about, and in this way, it brings the proposition out to the practical side. This can be done by PRIMARY TENSE, MODALITY and POLARITY. The PRIMARY TENSE establishes the proposition by reference to time (present, past, or future). MODALITY, on the other hand, refers to the speaker's assessment of probability and/or obligations. Modality can be further classified into MODALIZATION - in the case of propositions, and MODULATION – in the case of proposals. *Modalization* relates to how probability and/or usuality is expressed, so it connects to the speakers' attitudes towards what they are saying. Meanwhile, *Modulation* involves the expression of obligation and/or inclination, and so it is about the speakers' judgements of or attitudes towards actions and events. Modalization and Modulation can be at various degrees (low, median or high). Finally, the verbal operators are classified as positive or negative by POLARITY. (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, pp. 111-121, 143-151; Eggins, 2004, pp. 151-154, 174-183).

The person portrayed within the text can express their attitude by giving evaluations. The Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics defines "evaluative" as "indicating a speaker's attitude to some real or potential event". Present in different styles and genres, evaluation is embedded in all language levels. According to Hunston & Thompson (2000), evaluation can be used as "the broad cover term for the expression of the speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or

feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about" (p. 5). Shaw (2006) claims that the language of promotional genres depends on the author's interest in influencing the reader. The more interested the text is, the more positive is the evaluation decoded in its language. A different degree of evaluation can be expected in different tourism genres, a feature that is subject mainly to the communicative purpose of the text.

1) Textual metafunction: Theme - Rheme

The textual metafunction relates to the creation of text, particularly, "*with the presentation of ideational and interpersonal meanings as information that can be shared by speaker and listener in text unfolding in context*" (Matthiessen & Halliday, 2009, p. 13). Moreover, it "enables the clause to be packed in ways which make it effective given its purpose and its context" (Eggins, 1994, p. 273). One way of doing this is through the system of Theme[1].

Theme is realized by a structure in which each clause is divided into only two parts: THEME and RHEME. The THEME is the element that serves as the message's starting point; it is, in some sense, the subject of the phrase. The first experience constituent in the clause is used to represent it. RHEME is the part of the clause in which THEME is developed (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004); Eggins, 2004). While THEME usually involves information, which has already been mentioned somewhere in text or is familiar from the context, called familiar or *given* information, RHEME contains unfamiliar or new information (Halliday, 1994, p. 59). These associations, however, are not always the case because speakers can interchange these associations for particular purposes (Lombardi Vallauri, 1995, cited in Stoian, 2015, p.52).

Theme can be further classified into single Theme and multiple Theme. The former contains only one element, which is the first experiential element in the clause, while the later includes several elements. There are restricted elements that can precede the experiential Theme. They can be textual which point to how clauses are linked together and give cohesion to the text, and/or interpersonal which conveys the writer's viewpoint on the message. As suggested in Thompson (1996) and Halliday & Matthiessen (2004), when all these Themes appear simultaneously in the clause, they typically follow an order with textual theme being the first, then

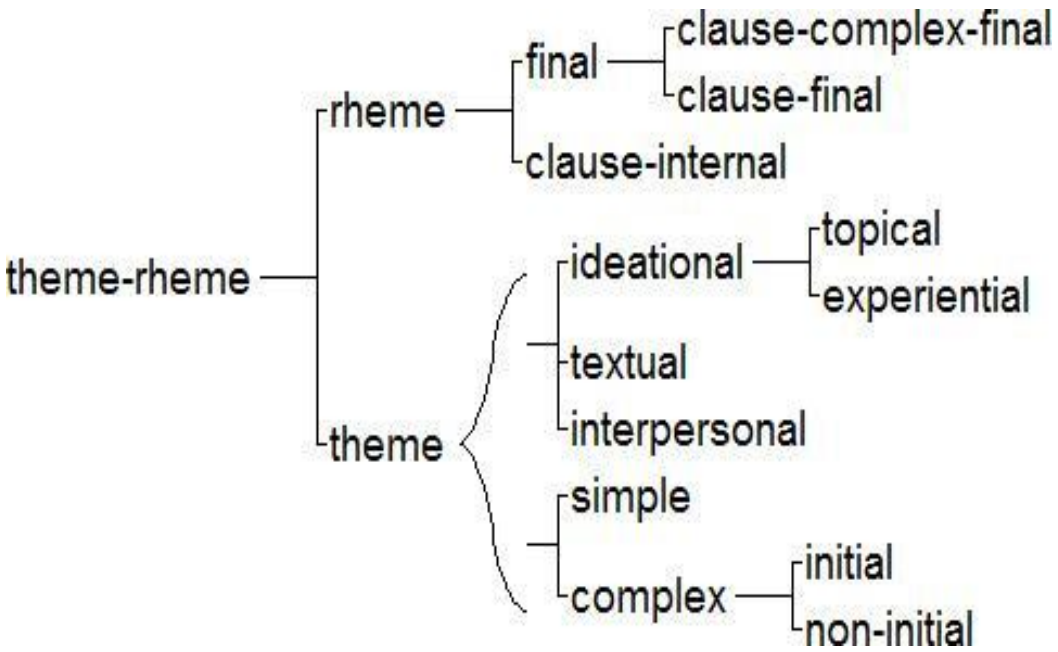
[1] 'Theme' stands for the system constructing the textual meaning, whereas 'THEME' stands for the functional element in the Thematic structure.

interpersonal and lastly, experiential. Whether the Theme choice is unmarked or marked depends on a number of factors, such as the type of clause (declarative/non-declarative) and the writers' purposes.

The importance of "the overall choices and ordering of Themes" in organizing a text and in providing a point of orientation for a given stretch of language should be underlined. THEME choices work together through a text to signal its underlying coherence and its method of development. THEMATIC DEVELOPMENT refers to "the way Themes interact with each other and with Rhemes in order to provide continuity in discourse and to organize the text" (McCabe, 1999, p. 169).

Figure 2.5

Theme and Information Systems in the clause



In short, to realise the three metafunctions of verbal signs, language users rely on structural resources in clause complex systems to establish logical connections between experiential events (Eggins, 2004). By means of transitivity and clause complex choices, "language users express experiential meaning about participants, processes and circumstances and logically link these into coherent, semantically sequenced packages" (Eggins, 2004, p. 256). Together with representing experience, choices via the systems of MOOD and Modality are made in order to determine the interpersonal relationships between those who participate in the interaction as well as the writers in relation with the content of the text. By looking more closely at the grammatical choices by language users and the role they

play in discourse, we can understand the "social creation and maintenance of hierarchic, social-cultural roles" (Eggins, 2004). To construct a text successfully, it is necessary that the content be expressed in a way that can maintain coherence and cohesion. As for THEME, the analysis of the thematic structure and development of a text can not only pinpoint to its texture and organization but also show how the language user has made clear the nature of her/his underlying concerns and priorities (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). By means of considering grammatical choices for metafunctions in a text, what can be found include the experience represented and the way it is logically connected; the relation between the participants in the communication and their social and cultural roles; and the organisation of the message and the information prioritized by its creator. Besides, a text, in realising its interpersonal metafunction, can rely on certain lexico-grammar devices, such as evaluative lexis, for constituting appraisal.

2.3. An overview of United Nations Climate Change Conferences (COP20 to COP28)

2.3.1. Background on the UNFCCC

The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), established in 1992 at the Rio Earth Summit, is an international treaty aimed at addressing climate change through global cooperation. Its primary objective is to stabilize greenhouse gas concentrations to prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system. The Conference of the Parties (COP) is the supreme decision-making body of the UNFCCC, where representatives from 197 parties (196 countries plus the European Union) meet annually to assess progress, negotiate agreements, and set climate policies. COP20 to COP28, held from 2014 to 2023, represent a critical period in global climate governance, marked by the adoption and implementation of the Paris Agreement and increased focus on climate justice, finance, and fossil fuel transitions.[2]

2.3.2. Introduction of COPs

2.3.2.1. Purposes of COPs

The Conferences of the Parties (COPs) are convened under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) with the primary purpose of reviewing the implementation of the Convention, its protocols, and

[2] https://unfccc.int/resource/docs/convkp/conveng.pdf

related legal instruments. As the supreme decision-making body, the COP assesses national reports on greenhouse gas emissions, negotiates new commitments, and adopts decisions necessary to strengthen climate action. Beyond technical review, the COPs serve as global forums where Parties negotiate on mitigation, adaptation, climate finance, technology transfer, and capacity building, with a particular emphasis on supporting developing countries. They also provide a platform for enhancing transparency, accountability, and international cooperation, bringing together governments, international organizations, civil society, and the private sector. Importantly, COPs establish key milestones - such as the adoption of the Paris Agreement- and enable periodic stocktaking to adjust global goals in light of scientific evidence and evolving climate challenges (UNFCCC, 2024; United Nations, 2024).[3]

2.3.2.2. Key milestones

Over the past three decades, the Conferences of the Parties (COPs) under the UNFCCC have established a series of milestones that shaped global climate governance. Early breakthroughs include the adoption of the Kyoto Protocol at COP3 (1997), the first legally binding commitment for industrialized countries to reduce greenhouse gas emissions (EniScuola, 2024). Subsequent COPs laid important institutional foundations: COP7 (2001) created adaptation funds for least developed countries, while the Bali Action Plan at COP13 (2007) launched negotiations toward a new global framework (UNFCCC, 2024; Iberdrola, 2024). Although the Copenhagen Accord at COP15 (2009) fell short of expectations, it introduced the long-term temperature goal of limiting global warming below 2°C (EniScuola, 2024). The following year, COP16 (2010) established the Green Climate Fund, cementing climate finance as a core pillar (KPIAS Academy, 2024). The Durban Platform for Enhanced Action (COP17, 2011) then set the stage for the Paris Agreement at COP21 (2015), a landmark accord uniting all Parties around the objective of holding global temperature rise well below 2°C, and preferably 1.5°C, with nationally determined contributions (NDCs) and a transparency framework

[3] UNFCCC. (2024). *What are United Nations climate change conferences (COPs)?* Retrieved from https://unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/what-are-united-nations-climate-change-conferences

United Nations. (2024). *UN Climate Conferences (COPs)*. Retrieved from https://www.un.org/en/climatechange/un-climate-conferences

(EniScuola, 2024). More recently, COP26 (2021) in Glasgow urged accelerated mitigation, COP27 (2022) created the Loss and Damage Fund, and COP28 (2023) in Dubai delivered the first Global Stocktake under the Paris Agreement, with a focus on energy transition and reducing fossil fuel reliance (UNFCCC, 2024; EniScuola, 2024). Collectively, these milestones illustrate how COPs have progressively broadened the scope of climate governance, from binding emissions targets to finance, justice, adaptation, and systemic energy transformation.

Table 2.1.

Key milestones of the UNFCCC Conferences of the Parties (COPs)

COP / Year	Location	Key milestones	Meaning
COP3 (1997)	Kyoto, Japan	Kyoto Protocol	The first legal commitment forced industrialized countries to cut greenhouse gas emissions.
COP7 (2001)	Marrakesh, Morocco	Fun of NAPAs	Strengthening climate adaptation and planning capacity for the poorest countries.
COP13 (2007)	Bali, Indonesia	Bali Action Plan	Launching negotiations for a post-Kyoto global framework, with the participation of all countries.
COP15 (2009)	Copenhagen, Denmark	Copenhagen Accord	Determining the goal of limiting global warming to less than 2°C; laying the foundation for climate finance.
COP16 (2010)	Cancún, Mexico	Cancún Agreements – Green Climate Fund	Making climate finance a key pillar to support developing countries.

COP / Year	Location	Key milestones	Meaning
COP17 (2011)	Durban, South Africa	Durban Platform for Enhanced Action	Paving the way for a global agreement that applies to all parties (leading to the Paris Agreement).
COP19 (2013)	Warsaw, Poland	Warsaw Framework for REDD+, Loss & Damage mechanism	Establishing an international mechanism for Loss and Damage.
COP20 (2014)	Lima, Peru	INDCs (Intended Nationally Determined Contributions)	Preparing for the 2015 Paris Agreement.
COP21 (2015)	Paris, France	Paris Agreement	Global agreement limits temperatures below 2°C, try 1.5°C; NDCs, transparency and Global Stocktake.
COP26 (2021)	Glasgow, United Kingdom	Glasgow Climate Pact	Driving stronger action, increase commitments to reduce emissions, and provide financial support.
COP27 (2022)	Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt	Loss and Damage Fund	Financial support mechanisms for countries vulnerable to climate impacts.
COP28 (2023)	Dubai, UAE	First Global Stocktake; Energy Shift	Global progress assessment under the Paris Agreement; focus on reducing dependence on fossil fuels.

2.3.3. Functions of speeches at COPs

Speeches at COPs conferences play an important role in promoting initiatives and commitments related to climate protection. Specifically, they perform several key functions:

1. *Demonstrating official statement of a nation*: Speeches serve as a channel for countries to announce their official positions, priorities, and commitments to the international community, strengthen their diplomatic positions, and demonstrate consistency in climate policy.
2. *Demonstrating commitment to climate protection efforts*: The speeches emphasized the determination of countries and organizations to address climate change challenges, affirming shared responsibility for the planet.
3. *Providing a rationale for national policies*: They serve as a platform to justify domestic policies, helping to raise awareness and support from the public and policymakers alike.
4. *Calling for international supports*: The speeches emphasized the need for global cooperation, calling on other countries to provide resources and support to implement effective climate protection measures.
5. *Building national identity and responsibility for climate issues*: They reinforce the role and reputation of countries in leading or actively participating in joint efforts, and promote a sense of responsibility for climate change.

Speeches at COPs serve as pivotal tools for agenda-setting, mobilization, and diplomacy. Delivered by heads of state, ministers, UNFCCC officials, and occasionally activists, these addresses articulate national positions, rally support for ambitious targets, and highlight the moral and scientific urgency of climate action. Notable speeches often frame the narrative of a COP, influence negotiations, or draw public attention to key issues, such as equity, loss and damage, or the phase-out of fossil fuels. The study on speeches from COP20 to COP28 can explore how these orations shaped outcomes, reflected geopolitical dynamics, or amplified marginalized voices.

2.3.4. Structures and Features of COP speeches

Speeches at COPs (United Nations Conference on Climate Change) are important speeches, often delivered by high-level leaders such as presidents, prime ministers, environment ministers, or official representatives of countries and international organizations. These speeches have a formal structure, including an introduction that introduces the context and importance of the COP, a main body highlighting specific commitments, policies, and actions, and a concluding call for cooperation and joint action. In terms of language tools, speeches often use rhetorical devices such as metaphors (e.g., "the fight against climate change"), repetition for emphasis (e.g., "we must act now"), and rhetorical questions to elicit consensus, in order to increase persuasiveness and inspire the international community.

Speeches at COPs are strategic speeches that play an important role in shaping the position and driving global action. Here is a detailed breakdown of their structure and characteristics based on key aspects:

1. *Delivered speakers***:** Speeches at COPs are usually represented by senior leaders, including presidents, prime ministers, environment ministers, or official representatives from international organizations such as the United Nations. The involvement of these figures not only demonstrates the priority of the climate issue for the country or organization, but also enhances the legitimacy and impact of the message conveyed.
2. *Formal structure*: Speeches are built in a formal, tight structure, usually consisting of three main parts. The opening introduces the global context of the COP, emphasizing the conference's role in addressing global climate challenges. The main content focuses on highlighting national commitments, specific policies, and practical contributions to tackling climate change, while emphasizing the connection between national and global challenges. The conclusion is often a call to action, with messages about shared responsibility, climate justice, and the need for international cooperation.

3. *Rhetorical/Linguistic devices*: To increase persuasion and inspiration, speeches use a variety of effective language tools. First of all, they are often emotional appeal through personal stories or vivid examples of the impact of climate change, in order to arouse empathy and motivate action. Second, widely used metaphors, such as "the fight against climate change" or "the bridge to a sustainable future," help visualize complex ideas. Finally, intertextuality is expressed through references to previous climate agreements (such as the Paris Agreement) or prominent speeches from previous COPs, creating continuity and reinforcing the value of the message in a global context.

In short, the combination of credible presenters, tight structure, and sophisticated linguistic tools makes speeches at COPs a powerful means of shaping awareness, promoting engagement, and building international cooperation in the fight against climate change.

2.3.5. Overview of COP20 to COP28

The COP (Conference of the Parties) from COP20 to COP28 are important events within the framework of the UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change), which focuses on assessing global progress in combating climate change. Below is an overview of the characteristics, themes, commonalities and characteristics, based on key information from these conferences (from 2014 to 2023).

General features:

The COP (Conference of the Parties) conferences from COP20 to COP28, held annually within the framework of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), are important events that bring together representatives from nearly 200 countries to assess progress and negotiate measures to reduce emissions, climate change adaptation, and financial support. These conferences often involve world leaders, experts, NGOs, and the private sector, with an ever-expanding scale (from tens of thousands to more than 80,000 people at COP28). The joint structure includes a formal negotiation area (Blue Zone) and an

open dialogue area (Green Zone), and formal speeches emphasizing national commitment, calling for shared responsibility, and promoting international cooperation. Linguistic tools such as metaphors, repetition, and intertextual are often used to increase persuasion.

Themes and Timeline:

1. COP20 (2014, Lima, Peru): Focused on preparation for the Paris Agreement, with the finalization of Nationally Determined Contributions (INDCs) and the promotion of the legal framework for emission reduction.
2. COP21 (2015, Paris, France): The highlight was the adoption of the Paris Agreement, which pledged to keep temperature rises below 2°C, giving priority to 1.5°C, and establishing financial mechanisms for developing countries.
3. COP22 (2016, Marrakech, Morocco): Known as the "COP of Action", focusing on the implementation of the Paris Agreement and launching the Marrakech Fund to support adaptation.
4. COP23 (2017, Bonn, Germany/Fiji): Emphasizing the role of small and vulnerable island states, along with promoting the Lima-Paris Plan of Action (LAPA).
5. COP24 (2018, Katowice, Poland): Finalization of the "Katowice Handbook" for the implementation of the Paris Agreement, with a focus on reporting and transparency rules.

6. COP25 (2019, Madrid, Spain/Chile): Focus on carbon markets and strengthen commitments to reduce emissions, although it does not achieve major breakthroughs.
7. COP26 (2021, Glasgow, UK): Stepping up our commitment to reduce methane emissions, ending fossil fuel financing, and launching the first global review process.
8. COP27 (2022, Sharm El-Sheikh, Egypt): Emphasis on climate finance, establishment of a Loss and Damage Fund for vulnerable countries.
9. COP28 (2023, Dubai, UAE): The highlight is the "UAE Consensus", which for the first time recognizes the need to transition away from fossil fuels, along with a commitment to triple renewable energy and the first global assessment.

Common features:

1. Common objectives: All COPs are aimed at limiting temperature rise, promoting emission reductions, and supporting adaptation, based on a common but distinct principle of responsibility.
2. Focus on finance: Each conference discusses financial assistance from developed countries to developing countries, with an initial target of $100 billion per year.
3. Progress review: From COP26, conferences began a global assessment process (Global Stocktake) to measure the effectiveness of commitments.
4. Diverse participation: Stakeholders from governments, NGOs, to the private sector all have a role to play, with an increase in the influence of indigenous ethnic groups and youth.

Unique features:

1. Location and local context: Each COP reflects the characteristics of the host country, as the Fiji-led COP23 emphasizes the islets, while the COP28 in the UAE (an oil-producing country) is controversial about the role of fossil fuels.
2. Specific results: COP21 achieved the landmark Paris Agreement, COP27 established a damage fund, and COP28 reached a consensus on fossil fuel transition, while other COPs (such as COP25) were less groundbreaking.
3. Political challenges: Some COPs (such as COP28) face controversy over conflicts of interest (e.g., the president is the CEO of an oil company), while others (such as COP26) are affected by geopolitical tensions (Ukraine war).
4. Negotiation progress: From COP20 to COP28, the level of success in negotiations varied, from laying the foundation (COP20) to binding or enforceable decisions (COP21, COP28).

In summary, from COP20 to COP28, conferences have evolved from developing a legal framework to implementing concrete action, with increased awareness of climate justice and the role of international cooperation, although it still faces challenges from economic and political interests.

COP20 to COP28 mark a transformative decade in climate governance, from the Paris Agreement's adoption to the UAE Consensus's fossil fuel transition language. Speeches during these conferences were instrumental in framing priorities, mobilizing action, and addressing inequities. For this research, analyzing

speeches can reveal how rhetorical strategies influenced outcomes, amplified marginalized voices, or navigated geopolitical tensions.

2.3.6. Political Discourse

According to Van Dijk (1993, p. 263), Fairclough (1995, p. 77), Schaffner (1996, p. 201), and Bello (2013, p. 86), political discourse is concerned with the production or reproduction of political dominance, political hegemony, power abuse, and legitimisation or de-legitimisation of social phenomena (political events are included in this category). Politicians aim to gain power in order to accomplish their objectives, establish social ideas, and secure regulatory control over resource allocation and decision-making (Bayram, 2010, p. 29). Thus, politicians need to retain their ideological system for gaining advantages in ideological conflicts. Van Dijk (2006, pp. 728-740) contends that "if the political field is thoroughly ideological, then so are its political practices, and hence its discourses". Accordingly, political ideologies and political discourses have a bilateral connection in which political discourses are not only the outcome of political ideologies, but also important to their production or reconstruction. Van Dijk (2005, p. 731) and Ghazani (2016, p. 632) stated that ideologies pervade all political actions, including political campaigns, demonstrations, and elections, and are primarily represented indirectly through speech.

Political discourses are frequently prepared and produced in such a way that they may be uttered without being read. That is to say, discourse is prepared yet presented in a style that resembles spontaneous conversation. Furthermore, some political discourses are completely extemporaneous, while others are thoroughly planned but not delivered straight from the script (Bloor & Bloor, 2013, p. 115). Fairclough and Fairclough (2012, p. 17) states that political discourse analysis is defined as the critical examination of political discourse with an emphasis on the reproduction and contestation of political power by means of language.

Political discourse is deemed so, if two criteria exist. First and foremost, it must be functional. This implies that it emerges through politics, within certain historical and cultural contexts. Secondly, it must be thematic and relevant to politics (Schaffner, 1996, p. 2). For Van Dijk (1998, p. 196), political discourse is "a socially constituted set of genres, associated with a social domain or field". Politicians utilize the art of effective language in order to attain their desired political benefit. Furthermore, Bello (2013, p. 86) asserts that "the connection

between language and politics is strong as political action itself is carried out through language".

Fairclough (2006) emphasizes features of language in politics: "[language can] misrepresent as well as represent realities, it can weave visions and imaginaries which can be implemented to change realities and, in some cases, improve human well-being, but it can also rhetorically obfuscate realities, and construe them ideologically to serve unjust power relations". Fairclough (2012, p. 18) argues that political discourse is linked to political officials in the institutional contexts, which includes individuals, political institutions, and organizations, i.e., contexts enable performers to assert their agency and consolidate their authority to construct the guidelines in which they are interested. And finally, Van Dijk (2006, p. 732) states that "it is largely through discourse that political ideologies are acquired, expressed, learned, propagated, and contested".

2.4. Previous research on climate change discourse

This section reviews relevant studies by organizing them according to their research approaches, research focus, and chronological development. To date, a wide range of analytical frameworks has been employed in examining media representations of global warming and climate change, including content analysis, framing analysis, component-based approaches, representation analysis, as well as metaphor and conceptual blending analysis. In addition, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), together with corpus-based and corpus-driven CDA approaches, has been increasingly utilized to uncover the ideological and discursive dimensions of climate change communication.

A considerable body of research has examined climate change discourse using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to reveal how language constructs ideologies, power relations, and responsibilities related to global environmental issues. Scholars have particularly focused on media discourse, as news coverage plays a significant role in shaping public understanding of climate change.

Early influential work by Anabela Carvalho investigated how climate change was represented in British newspapers. Using the CDA framework of Norman Fairclough, Carvalho (2007, 2008) demonstrated that media representations of climate change were strongly influenced by the political orientation of newspapers. The study found that ideological positions affected how scientific knowledge, environmental responsibility, and policy solutions were framed in public discourse.

Similarly, comparative studies have examined how different national media construct narratives about climate change. For example, Huang and Che (2024) conducted a corpus-based CDA of climate change coverage in *China Daily* and the *Los Angeles Times*. Their findings revealed that Chinese media tend to emphasize national achievements and international cooperation in addressing climate change, whereas American media frequently highlight global leadership and climate security. These differences indicate that media discourse often reflects national interests and ideological perspectives.

Other studies have explored discursive strategies used in climate reporting. Corpus-assisted CDA research on British media coverage of China's role in climate governance shows that strategies such as nomination, predication, and argumentation are employed to construct particular national images and responsibilities in climate negotiations. These discursive patterns demonstrate how climate change discourse is intertwined with geopolitical narratives and international power relations.

While previous studies have provided valuable insights into the ideological framing of climate change in media discourse, most of them rely primarily on CDA frameworks. Relatively few studies integrate CDA with linguistic approaches, such as Systemic Functional Linguistics, as proposed by M. A. K. Halliday. Therefore, combining CDA with the analytical tools of systemic functional linguistics can offer a more comprehensive understanding of how ideological meanings and power relations are linguistically constructed in climate change discourse.

2.4.1. Content-based studies of climate change discourse

Studies on climate change communication have predominantly utilized content analysis to investigate how media formulate and disseminate interpretations related to global warming. Initial research indicates that media focus on climate issues varies over time, frequently adhering to cyclical trends where phases of increased coverage align with heightened depictions of risk and urgency. These results indicate that public attention is not static but influenced by varying narrative focal points in news discourse. Prior research indicates that media focus on climate issues frequently exhibits cyclical trends, characterized by phases of increased coverage that align with amplified portrayals of risk and urgency (McComas & Shanahan, 1999). In Vietnam, Luu Thi Kim Nhung (2016) in her doctoral thesis titled *A critical discourse analysis of English media texts on climate change* has revealed

several research results in a content analysis of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* stories about global warming in the period 1980-1995, McComas and Shanahan (1999) studied media's construction of narratives about the issue and the impacts of these narratives on attention cycles. They found that the frequency of newspaper coverage shows cyclical attention to global warming, and that implied danger and consequences of global warming are more prominent on the upswing of newspaper attention.

Comparative research demonstrates that media representations are influenced by national economic and political contexts, with certain studies indicating a propensity to minimize or distort climate risks due to the impact of prevailing industrial interests (Dispensa & Brulle, 2003). Longitudinal analyses of editorial discourse indicate that political and economic arguments often supersede scientific reasoning, and that uncertainty may be deliberately introduced to diminish public concern (Castilla et al., 2013). In developing countries, climate discourse has been demonstrated to encompass a variety of concerns, including energy security, developmental priorities, and ambitions for global leadership (Thaker & Leiserowitz, 2014). Although these studies offer significant insights into ideological patterns in media discourse, content analysis methodologies frequently prove to be methodologically demanding and may inadequately elucidate the linguistic mechanisms involved in the construction of ideology.

2.4.2. Discourse-analytic approaches to climate change communication

Beyond content analysis, discourse-oriented studies have focused more explicitly on the linguistic and interpretive dimensions of climate change communication. Some research has identified recurring "discursive repertoires" used to frame climate issues, such as alarmist narratives or appeals to individual responsibility. While such approaches provide valuable insights into patterns of meaning-making, they are sometimes limited in scope or confined to specific levels of analysis.

Discourse-oriented approaches offer a more detailed account of the linguistic construction of climate change meanings. For example, studies have identified recurring discursive repertoires used to frame climate issues, such as alarmist narratives or appeals to individual responsibility (Ereaut & Segnit, 2006).

Other research has employed intertextual and interdiscursive frameworks to examine how different social actors construct competing perspectives on climate

change, highlighting divergences between corporate and scientific discourses (Livesey, 2002). Similarly, analyses of international climate discourse reveal tensions between expressed commitments and actual policy positions, particularly among developed nations (Ukonu et al., 2013).

Additional research has highlighted tensions within international climate discourse, showing that political actors may simultaneously express commitment to cooperation while resisting binding obligations. Efforts to account for multiple voices in discourse, including polyphonic approaches, further underscore the complexity of climate communication, although such frameworks may overlap with existing CDA concepts such as intertextuality and are often limited to small datasets (Dahl & Fløttum, 2014).

2.4.3. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of climate change discourse

A substantial body of research has applied Critical Discourse Analysis to the study of climate change communication. These studies can broadly be grouped into qualitative, quantitative, and corpus-assisted approaches. Qualitative research has explored a range of dimensions, including framing, representation of social actors, metaphor use, and semiotic strategies, demonstrating how discourse constructs particular interpretations of climate change and assigns roles to different stakeholders.

Early CDA-informed studies showed that scientific actors tend to emphasize causal explanations, while political actors foreground evaluation and policy responses, reflecting the increasing politicization of climate discourse. Other research has documented how media representations are shaped by political agendas, with discourse positioning social actors in ways that reflect ideological orientations and power structures.

Studies grounded in discourse-historical and socio-cognitive approaches have further examined how identities, responsibilities, and relationships are discursively constructed. These analyses reveal recurring patterns in which developing countries are often positioned in dependent roles, while developed countries are associated with authority and decision-making power. However, many of these studies rely on limited datasets or isolated discourse fragments, which constrains their explanatory scope.

Research on metaphor and framing has shown that linguistic choices play a crucial role in shaping public understanding of climate change, with metaphors such

as war, crisis, or game influencing how the issue is conceptualized. At the same time, quantitative studies have identified systemic biases in media coverage, such as the tendency to present opposing viewpoints as equally valid, thereby creating a misleading sense of scientific uncertainty.

More recently, corpus-assisted CDA has enabled the analysis of large datasets, revealing patterns of lexical usage and collocation across time and contexts. While this approach enhances analytical scope and objectivity, it sometimes lacks the depth of qualitative interpretation when linguistic features are not examined within their broader socio-political contexts.

Previous studies have significantly contributed to the discussion on climate change, but some limitations still exist. Much of the existing research has particularly focused on media representations of climate change, especially newspapers and online news platforms. For instance, the studies by Anabela Carvalho illustrate the way in which ideological orientations affect the framing of climate change in the press. Similarly, other comparative analyses have explored how different national media produce climate narratives and attribute responsibility for climate action. Although these studies contribute significantly to our understanding of the ideological nature of climate communication, they mainly focus on media discourse rather than political speech discourse in international climate negotiations.

Furthermore, most of the previous research has been mainly based on the Critical Discourse Analysis framework developed by Norman Fairclough which emphasizes on the relationship between language, ideology and power. This approach is effective in revealing underlying ideological meanings, but relatively few studies integrate CDA with linguistic analytical tools developed by M. A. K. Halliday from Systemic Functional Linguistics to investigate how such meanings are realized through specific linguistic choices.

Also, the analysis of climate change speeches of the representatives of developed and developing countries in the international forums, such as the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change conferences, has not received enough attention. Hence, this study aims to fill these gaps by employing a combination of CDA and systemic functional linguistic analysis to investigate the discursive construction of ideologies and power relations between developed and developing countries in climate change speeches.

Although there is a considerable amount of research on media discourse on climate change, very few studies have focused specifically on the ways in which power relations and ideological constructions between developed and developing countries are systematically embedded in discourse related to international climate negotiations. Studies of political discourse have studied media framing, metaphor analysis, or macro-regional corpus-based patterns (Baker et al., 2008). The kind of Critical Discourse analysis grounded in language particularly has not yet deeply addressed the changing geosocial configuration of power on a global scale. Thus, until now there has been minimal in-depth investigation, taking both CDA and SFG approaches together, exposed on how the responsibility and power are discursively constructed throughout international climate discourse.

2.5. Chapter summary

This chapter has reviewed the theoretical and analytical foundations relevant to the present study. It began by introducing the concepts of discourse and discourse analysis, followed by an overview of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and its key principles. Particular attention was given to the three-dimensional framework proposed by Norman Fairclough, which examines discourse at the levels of text, discursive practice, and social practice, as well as to major approaches within CDA and the framework most relevant to this research. The chapter also discussed several criticisms of CDA and briefly considered the potential contribution of corpus-based techniques to discourse analysis. In addition, it presented an overview of Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) developed by M. A. K. Halliday, highlighting its metafunctions and linguistic resources for uncovering how meanings, ideologies, and power relations are constructed through language. Furthermore, the chapter reviewed previous studies on climate change discourse, political speeches, and the application of CDA and SFG in discourse studies. This review revealed an important research gap, particularly the limited investigation of how power relations between developed and developing countries and the ideologies regarding their responsibilities for climate change are constructed in the discourse surrounding international climate conferences. To address this gap, the present study analyzes selected speeches from global climate conferences using an integrated CDA and SFG framework. The next chapter will present the research methodology and describe the analytical approach adopted in this study. This chapter has reviewed the

theoretical and analytical foundations relevant to the present study. It began by introducing the concepts of discourse and discourse analysis, followed by an overview of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and its key principles. Particular attention was given to the three-dimensional framework proposed by Norman Fairclough, which examines discourse at the levels of text, discursive practice, and social practice, as well as to major approaches within CDA and the framework most relevant to this research. The chapter also discussed several criticisms of CDA and briefly considered the potential contribution of corpus-based techniques to discourse analysis. In addition, it presented an overview of Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) developed by M. A. K. Halliday, highlighting its metafunctions and linguistic resources for uncovering how meanings, ideologies, and power relations are constructed through language. Furthermore, the chapter reviewed previous studies on climate change discourse, political speeches, and the application of CDA and SFG in discourse studies. This review revealed an important research gap, particularly the limited investigation of how power relations between developed and developing countries and the ideologies regarding their responsibilities for climate change are constructed in the discourse
surrounding international climate conferences. To address this gap, the present study analyzes selected speeches from global climate conferences using an integrated CDA
and SFG framework. The next chapter will present the research methodology and describe the analytical approach adopted in this study.

CHAPTER 3:
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the overall design of the research methodology including research paradigm, research approach, research design and research methods which mention data of the study, data analysis procedure, conceptual and analytical framework.

The chapter of Research Methodologies also lays out the analytical framework in which Fairclough's Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) are adopted in qualitative analysis, and some corpus tools are employed to provide quantitative evidence for the qualitative analysis.

The study seeks to examine how ideologies and power relations between developed (the US) and developing (India) countries are linguistically, discursively, and socio-culturally constructed in English speeches on climate change, particularly in relation to responsibility and negotiation stances within global climate governance.

3.1. Research paradigm

This study is grounded in the *critical paradigm* as its overarching philosophical framework. The critical paradigm assumes that social reality is historically constructed and ideologically mediated, and that research should not only interpret the world but also interrogate structures of power, inequality, and domination embedded within discourse. Within this epistemological orientation, knowledge is viewed as socially situated, and analysis is directed toward uncovering how language both reflects and reproduces ideological formations.

In the context of this thesis, which examines political speeches delivered from COP20 to COP28, the research is explicitly aligned with critical social theory. The study does not treat these speeches as neutral communicative events; rather, they are approached as sites where ideological positions, geopolitical alignments, and competing visions of climate responsibility are discursively constructed and negotiated. The analysis therefore seeks to reveal how language functions as a medium of power in global climate governance.

The core methodological framework combines Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG). CDA, particularly as developed

by Norman Fairclough (1995) and elaborated by Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (2009), conceptualizes discourse as a social practice that is dialectically related to social structures. It foregrounds the interconnections between language, power, ideology, and social change, emphasizing that discourse can legitimize particular worldviews while marginalizing others. From this perspective, climate speeches at COP summits are not merely policy statements but discursive interventions that position nations within asymmetrical global power relations.

Complementing CDA, SFG provides a systematic linguistic toolkit for analyzing how meaning is realized through metafunctions: ideational, interpersonal, and textual. By examining transitivity patterns, modality choices, thematic structures, and evaluative resources, the study identifies how responsibility, agency, solidarity, and obligation are grammatically encoded. The integration of CDA and SFG thus enables a multi-layered analysis: SFG accounts for the micro-level linguistic realizations, while CDA situates these realizations within broader socio-political and ideological contexts.

Adopting a critical paradigm ensures that the research purpose remains transformative rather than merely descriptive. The study does not simply catalogue linguistic features across COP20 - COP28 speeches; instead, it interrogates how these features construct differentiated responsibilities between developed and developing countries, negotiate moral authority, and reproduce or challenge dominant narratives within international climate negotiations. The focus remains on how language operates within broader power relations and socio-political contexts In sum, the paradigm underpinning this research is unequivocally critical. It supports a layered analytical model - textual, discursive, and socio-cultural while maintaining a normative commitment to exposing ideological assumptions and power asymmetries embedded in climate change discourse. Through the combined lens of CDA and SFG, the study situates political speeches from COP20 to COP28 within a broader inquiry into how language shapes not only representation but also participation, responsibility, and influence in the evolving international climate order.

3.2. Research approach

The mixed method mentioned in this dissertation refer to as the combination of *quantitative* and *qualitative* research approaches, with particular emphasis placed on **qualitative analysis** to provide in-depth interpretation of discourse and its

ideological implications. According to Cohen et al., (2007) mixed-methods research, often referred to as the combination of quantitative and qualitative research approaches, arises from the recognition that the choice between quantitative and qualitative methods varies depending on the research questions and the researchers' primary focus. In the field of social sciences, the selection of one method over the other has been a source of contention and, at times, ideological differences. It offers theoretical foundations and practical advice for integrating methods, which can be applied to analyzing climate change speeches using SFG (quantitative linguistic analysis) and CDA (qualitative social analysis).

Litosseliti (2010) highlights, whether combining or integrating quantitative and qualitative elements, mixed methods designs contribute to a more profound understanding of various phenomena under investigation. Quantitative research is valuable for generalizing research findings, while qualitative approaches provide rich, in-depth data. It emphasizes the benefits of integrating these approaches to gain a comprehensive understanding of linguistic phenomena, with examples like corpus analysis (quantitative) combined with discourse analysis (qualitative). In which the use of SFG (quantitative, focusing on linguistic structures like metafunctions and appraisal) and CDA (qualitative, focusing on social practices and ideologies) can be found.

By combining these methodologies, this approach not only identifies and categorizes language strategies but also interprets the ideological significance and the attitudes that the speakers convey via their speeches.

3.3. Research design

The research design outlines the overall research design of the study. The aim is to examine how ideology and power relations between developed and developing countries are constructed through language in delegates' speeches at global climate conferences, with particular attention to representations of responsibility for climate change. To achieve this aim, the study analyzes linguistic features in the English speech discourse to uncover how power relations are discursively produced and how ideologies concerning differentiated climate responsibilities are encoded and conveyed. It further interprets and explains these representations within their broader social, political, and historical contexts. The research is guided by two main questions: how ideologies about climate responsibility are linguistically, discursively, and socio-culturally manifested in the speeches, and how power

relations between developed and developing countries are constructed through discourse in climate negotiations. Theoretically, the study is grounded in Critical Discourse Analysis, particularly Norman Fairclough's dialectical-relational approach, and Systemic Functional Grammar developed by M. A. K. Halliday. Methodologically, it adopts a predominantly qualitative approach supported by quantitative corpus techniques, including frequency and collocation analysis. The dataset consists of 18 full-text speeches delivered across nine COP conferences between 2014 and 2023, collected from official UN Climate Change Conference websites.

3.3.1. Integration of SFG and CDA in the research design

The present study adopts an integrated analytical approach that combines Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) developed by M. A. K. Halliday and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) proposed by Norman Fairclough. This integration is motivated by the complementary strengths of the two frameworks in examining the relationship between language, ideology, and power.

While CDA provides a critical perspective for analyzing how discourse reflects and constructs social power relations and ideological processes, SFL offers a systematic linguistic toolkit for examining how meaning is realized through specific language choices. In particular, Fairclough's three-dimensional model enables the analysis of discourse at textual, discursive, and social levels, whereas Halliday's metafunctional framework, especially the ideational metafunction, facilitates a detailed examination of how experiences, actions, and social relations are represented linguistically.

The combination of these two approaches allows the study to move beyond purely interpretative analysis by grounding ideological and power-related interpretations in concrete linguistic evidence. In this sense, SFL serves as the analytical tool for identifying linguistic patterns, while CDA provides the critical lens for interpreting their ideological and social significance. This integrated approach is particularly suitable for the analysis of climate change speeches, where linguistic choices are closely tied to the construction of responsibility, authority, and power relations in global climate governance.

In this study, the author used the mixed methods approach combining Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) and Fairclough's Critical Discourse

Analysis (CDA) to analyze climate change speeches, and the reasons for this methodological blend can be detailed as follows:

The criteria for mixing Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) and Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) provide a robust framework for a comprehensive analysis of climate change speeches. Firstly, SFG offers a detailed approach to textual analysis by examining linguistic structures and functions such as transitivity, mood, and theme, which are essential for dissecting the grammatical and semantic choices within these speeches, while CDA complements this by uncovering the ideological underpinnings and power dynamics embedded in the language, ensuring a holistic examination of the text. Secondly, Fairclough's CDA brings contextual and social relevance by emphasizing the socio-historical context and the role of discourse in shaping and reflecting social practices, particularly in how nations position themselves in global climate debates, with SFG's metafunctional analysis - covering ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions - adding depth by linking these linguistic choices to broader contextual factors. Thirdly, this combination enables a multifaceted analytical approach, where SFG addresses micro-level linguistic features such as appraisal, modality, and polarity, while CDA explores macro-level socio-political implications, together capturing both the explicit and implicit messages in the speeches. Finally, as an interdisciplinary mixed-methods approach, it integrates linguistic theory from SFG with critical social theory from CDA, enhancing the validity and reliability of the findings through triangulation of data from diverse analytical perspectives.

The reasons for adopting a mixed-methods approach combining Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) and Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) offer a comprehensive framework for analyzing climate change speeches. Firstly, these speeches often embed ideological stances such as denial, urgency, or responsibility-shifting, which Fairclough's CDA effectively uncovers by examining their relation to power structures like national interests or economic priorities, while SFG's metafunctions - such as ideational for content and interpersonal for stance-provide the linguistic tools to trace how these ideologies are constructed within the text. Secondly, nations utilize these speeches to persuade diverse audiences, including other countries and citizens, and SFG's analysis of appraisal (e.g., attitude, engagement, graduation) and modality (e.g., certainty, obligation) helps identify the persuasive linguistic strategies employed, with CDA extending

this by exploring how these strategies reinforce or challenge dominant discourses on climate action. Thirdly, this mixed approach bridges the micro and macro levels by linking linguistic details-such as word choice and sentence structure analyzed through SFG's textual and discursive methods-to broader social practices like global climate policy, where CDA's social analysis connects these frames to geopolitical contexts. Finally, by integrating SFG's systematic categorization of language functions with CDA's critical interpretation, the method enhances interpretive depth, providing a richer understanding of how climate change is discursively constructed, which is particularly valuable for a PhD study aiming to contribute original insights to discourse analysis in environmental communication.

The practical application of combining Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) and Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) offers a structured approach to analyzing climate change speeches. Initially, SFG is employed to break down the speeches into their ideational components (what is being said about climate change), interpersonal components (how nations position themselves), and textual components (how coherence is achieved), providing a detailed linguistic foundation. Subsequently, CDA is applied to examine how these linguistic choices reflect or resist dominant narratives-such as neoliberalism versus sustainability-and the power relations among nations, adding a critical social dimension to the analysis. Furthermore, the integration of metafunctions (ideological, interpersonal, textual) and appraisal elements (e.g., positive or negative evaluations, modality shifts) allows for an assessment of how nations justify their climate policies or critique others, enhancing the depth of interpretation. Finally, investigating polarity (affirmation or negation of climate action) and modality (degrees of commitment) through this mixed approach evaluates the strength and ambiguity in national stances, offering a comprehensive understanding of the discursive strategies at play.

In short, this mixed methodology leverages the strengths of the study's framework to provide a rigorous, nuanced analysis of climate change discourses, aligning with the goals of intensive research to advance knowledge in this field.

3.3.2. Mapping SFG categories onto CDA analytical levels

To operationalize the integration of Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis, this study establishes a systematic mapping between the metafunctional categories of M. A. K. Halliday and the three-dimensional

analytical framework proposed by Norman Fairclough. This mapping enables a coherent analytical procedure in which linguistic features are directly linked to discursive and social interpretations.

At the textual level, SFL provides the primary analytical tools for examining linguistic realizations of meaning. The ideational metafunction is employed to analyze how agency, responsibility, and action are represented through grammatical features such as pronouns, voice, and process types. In addition, elements related to interpersonal meaning, including mood and modal verbs, are analyzed to uncover how authority, obligation, and commitment are constructed in the speeches. Textual organization is also considered to examine how information is structured and how coherence is achieved across the discourse.

At the level of discursive practice, the linguistic patterns identified through SFL analysis are interpreted in relation to processes of meaning production and negotiation. For instance, the use of inclusive pronouns and modal expressions is examined as part of broader discursive strategies that position nations within global climate negotiations, either as leaders, partners, or advocates of equity. In this way, SFL categories serve as entry points for identifying recurring discursive patterns and rhetorical strategies.

At the level of social practice, the findings from textual and discursive analyses are further connected to broader socio-political contexts and power relations. Linguistic choices identified through SFL are interpreted in light of global climate governance, particularly the structural asymmetries between developed and developing countries. This allows the study to explain how discourse contributes to the construction and legitimation of power relations, as well as to the negotiation of responsibility in international climate politics.

Figure 3.1 below illustrates the analytical procedure adopted in this study, which is grounded in the three-dimensional framework of CDA. The figure outlines the step-by-step process of data analysis, beginning with textual analysis of linguistic features, followed by the interpretation of discursive practices, and culminating in the explanation of broader social practices. This structured procedure ensures a systematic connection between linguistic analysis and the interpretation of ideology and power relations in climate change discourse.

Figure 3.1

Analytical procedure with CDA

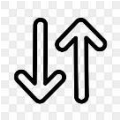
Textual analysis

Corpus techniques:

- frequency analysis is employed to identify the distribution and rate of occurrence of key linguistic features (e.g., pronouns, modal verbs, mood types, and voice) across the speeches of the United States and India from COP20 to COP28.
- comparative tabulation is used to examine differences and similarities between the two countries as well as changes across COP sessions.
- percentage calculation is applied to provide quantitative support for the interpretation of linguistic patterns.
- manual qualitative examination of selected extracts is conducted to interpret the ideological meanings underlying the identified patterns.

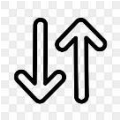
The analysis of language features focuses on:

- lexical choices and vocabulary patterns (including experiential, relational, and expressive meanings)
- semantic relations such as repetition, synonymy, and antonymy
- metaphorical expressions used to frame climate issues
- pronoun use to construct inclusion, agency, and positioning
- activization and passivization (active vs. passive voice)
- mood types (declarative, interrogative, imperative)
- modal verbs expressing obligation, commitment, and possibility
- textual organization and rhetorical structuring of the speeches



Discursive practice

Interpretation of ideologies through the processes of text production and consumption, focusing on how speakers construct relationships with audiences and position themselves to influence meaning, authority, and responsibility in climate discourse.



Social practice
Explanation of how discourse is shaped by and reproduces broader socio-political contexts, particularly power relations, ideology, and inequalities in global climate governance.

Through this operationalization, SFL functions as a systematic linguistic toolkit for identifying patterns in discourse, while CDA provides the critical framework for interpreting their ideological and social significance. The integration of the two approaches thus ensures both analytical rigor and critical depth in examining climate change discourse.

The elements in this research design are summarized in Table 3.1 as follows:

Table 3.1

Elements in the research design

Aim	It could be deducted that ideology and power relations are of great importance in CDA research. The research will analyze how the developed-developing countries power relation and the ideologies about these countries' responsibilities for climate change are constructed via the language in delegates' speeches.
Objectives	Therefore, the objectives of the study are to analyze the linguistic features in the English speech discourse on climate change under study and reveal the power relation between the developed and developing countries at the global climate conferences; to analyze the linguistic features in the discourse and decode the ideologies about the developed and developing countries' responsibilities for climate change conveyed via the discourse; to interpret and explain the power relation(s) between the developed and developing countries and the ideologies about these countries' responsibilities for climate change in light of the social, political, and historical context embedding the discourse under study.
Research questions	*1, How are the ideologies about the developed and developing countries' responsibilities for climate change linguistically, discursively and socio-culturally manifested via the English speech discourse in the study?* *2, How are power relations between the developed and developing countries linguistically, discursively and socio-culturally*

	manifested via the discourse underlying their respective stances on global climate change negotiations?
Theoretical grounding	1. Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) 2. Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG)
Methods	*Qualitative with the support of quantitative results:* Qualitative: Fairclough's Dialectical-Relational approach to CDA Quantitative: corpus techniques (frequency, collocation) Data: 18 full-text speeches covering nine COPs between 2014 and 2023 from the official websites for UN Climate Change Conferences

3.4. Research methods

3.4.1. Data collection

To reach the goals of the study, collecting data plays a vital role. Since they are a good site for ideology (Chouliaraki, 1999) and can exert a pervasive influence on social reproduction (Fairclough, 1989), the speeches delivered by delegates representing national governments at the United Nations Climate Change Conferences are selected as the primary source of data. As national leaders, government representatives, and prominent climate advocates, these speakers hold influential positions in global climate negotiations. Their language is therefore not treated as a neutral reflection of reality, but as a form of discourse through which climate change, responsibility, ideology, and power relations are constructed, negotiated, and legitimized. Moreover, this study focused on the speeches' coverage of the COPs rather than that of all climate change events because the COP is the UNFCCC's supreme decision-making body and attracts large attention from the media to provide sufficient data. A study corpus has been subsequently developed from over 150 speeches given by national leaders and outstanding climate change activists delivered in the COPs from 2014. Each sample speech mentions the key words "climate change" at least once (*see* Boykoff & Roberts, 2007; Carvalho, 2007).

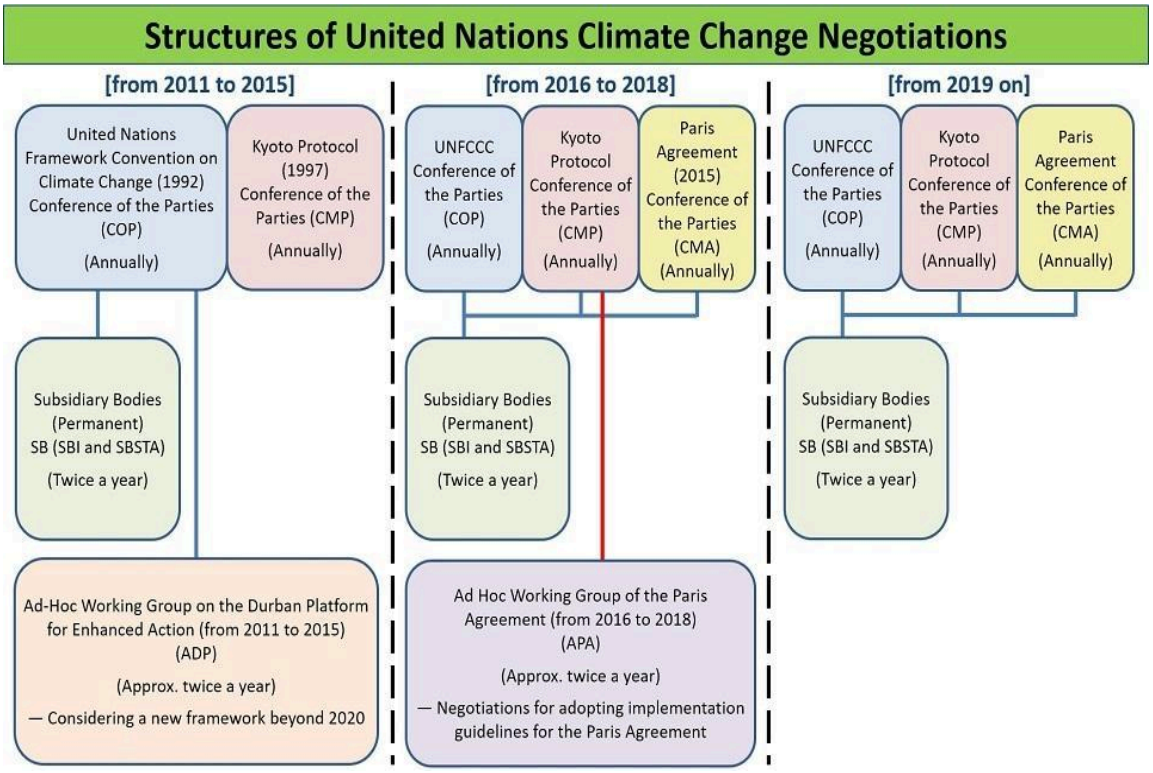
The **United Nations Climate Change Conferences** are yearly conferences held in the framework of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). They serve as the formal meeting of the UNFCCC parties - the Conference of the Parties (COP) - to assess progress in dealing with climate change, and beginning in the mid-1990s, to negotiate the Kyoto Protocol to

establish legally binding obligations for developed countries to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions.

Various frameworks regarding the climate change have transited before and after the Paris Agreement.

Figure 3.2

Transition of the Frameworks[4]



The first UN Climate Change Conference was held in 1995 in Berlin. Until the time when this thesis is conducted, 28 COPs of UNFCCC has been organized.

List of conferences and locations are as follows:

Table 3.2

List of COPs for data resource

No.	Year	Name	Alternative name	Location	Country	Regional Groups
1	1995	COP 1		Berlin	Germany	Western Europe and Other Group (WEOG)
2	1996	COP 2		Geneva	Switzerland	WEOG

[4] https://www.mofa.go.jp/ic/ch/page22e_000921.html (Process under UNFCCC (COP, CMP, CMA, SB), Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan.

No.	Year	Name	Alternative name	Location	Country	Regional Groups
3	1997	COP 3		Kyoto	Japan	Asia and Pacific Group
4	1998	COP 4		Buenos Aires	Argentina	Group of Latin America and the Caribbean (GRULAC)
5	1999	COP 5		Bonn	Germany	WEOG
6	2000	COP 6		The Hague	Netherlands	WEOG
7	2001	COP 6-2		Bonn	Germany	WEOG
8	2001	COP 7		Marrakech	Morocco	Africa Group
9	2002	COP 8		New Delhi	India	Asia and Pacific Group
10	2003	COP 9		Milan	Italy	WEOG (COP President: Hungary, Eastern Europe Group)
11	2004	COP 10		Buenos Aires	Argentina	GRULAC
12	2005	COP 11	CMP 1	Montreal	Canada	WEOG

No.	Year	Name	Alternative name	Location	Country	Regional Groups
13	2006	COP 12	CMP 2	Nairobi	Kenya	Africa Group
14	2007	COP 13	CMP 3	Bali	Indonesia	Asia and Pacific Group
15	2008	COP 14	CMP 4	Poznań	Poland	Eastern Europe Group
16	2009	COP 15	CMP 5	Copenhagen	Denmark	WEOG
17	2010	COP 16	CMP 6	Cancún	Mexico	GRULAC
18	2011	COP 17	CMP 7	Durban	South Africa	Africa Group
19	2012	COP 18	CMP 8	Doha	Qatar	Asia and Pacific Group
20	2013	COP 19	CMP 9	Warsaw	Poland	Eastern Europe Group
21	2014	COP 20	CMP 10	Lima	Peru	GRULAC
22	2015	COP 21	CMP 11	Paris	France	WEOG
23	2016	COP 22	CMP 12 / CMA 1	Marrakech	Morocco	Africa Group
24	2017	COP 23	CMP 13 / CMA 1-2	Bonn	Germany	WEOG (COP President: Fiji, Asia and Pacific Group)

No.	Year	Name	Alternative name	Location	Country	Regional Groups
25	2018	COP 24	CMP 14 / CMA 1-3	Katowice	Poland	Eastern Europe Group
26	2019	SB50		Bonn	Germany	WEOG
27	2019	COP 25	CMP 15 / CMA 2	Madrid	Spain	WEOG (COP President: Chile, GRULAC)
28	2021	COP 26	CMP 16 / CMA 3	Glasgow	United Kingdom	WEOG
29	2022	COP 27	CMP 17 / CMA 4	Sharm El Sheikh	Egypt	Africa Group
30	2023	COP 28	CMP 18 / CMA 5	Dubai	United Arab Emirates	Asia and Pacific Group
31	2024	COP 29	CMP 19 / CMA 6	Baku	Azerbaijan	Eastern Europe Group
32	2025	COP 30	CMP 20 / CMA 7	Belém	Brazil	GRULAC
33	2026	COP 31	CMP 21 / CMA 8	TBC	TBC	WEOG Australia and Pacific Nations

The speeches at COPs are chosen as the source of the data because these spoken via the mass media are found to be a good site for ideology (e.g., Billig, 1995; Bishop and Jaworski, 2003; Chouliaraki, 1999). Media discourse can exert a pervasive and powerful influence on social reproduction, especially because the

public at large are exposed to the media at high levels (Fairclough, 1989). Media speeches are not just a mass medium, but they are powerful institutions that empower those who own them or work in them to have access to all the resources in society, which allow the elites to practice their social domination by imposing policies of their interest. In addition, the media texts share the same social and institutional context including particular historical changes. Also, they are tied to specific discursive practices and policies. This choice of data ensures that the speeches on news reports mediate the events of COPs to the reader and reflect the speeches' ideological stances about climate change conferences.

The corpora of the present study are compiled from the articles covering the United Nations Conferences of the Parties from media outlets, mainly form the official websites [5] of UNFCCC, based on two considerations. In the first place, these two websites belonging to United Nations represent the international media of the nations where English is the officially national language. To be more specific, speeches selected on these two official websites are written and spoken by national leaders, i.e. they - have an important power of agenda-setting for the public and the other media‖ (Carvalho, 2007, p. 226), and set a high standard of quality for reporting. The websites have subscribers/readers in most of the countries worldwide, and have a wide coverage of global climate affairs. They are both accessible online, so they facilitate the data collection and corpus building process. Furthermore, these websites have commonly been used in previous studies of media texts/discourse on global warming and climate change (for example, McComas and Shanahan, 1999; Boykoff and Boykoff, 2004; Carvalho and Burgess, 2005; Hulme, 2007; Carvalho, 2007; Grundmann and Krishnamurthy, 2010). At the second place, the COPs are of the biggest significance to the policies on climate change, and the enormous attention paid to these events provides sufficient data across the media for corpus-assisted analyses.

[5] *https://www.un.org/en/climatechange/speeches; https://unfccc.int/speeches-and-statements*

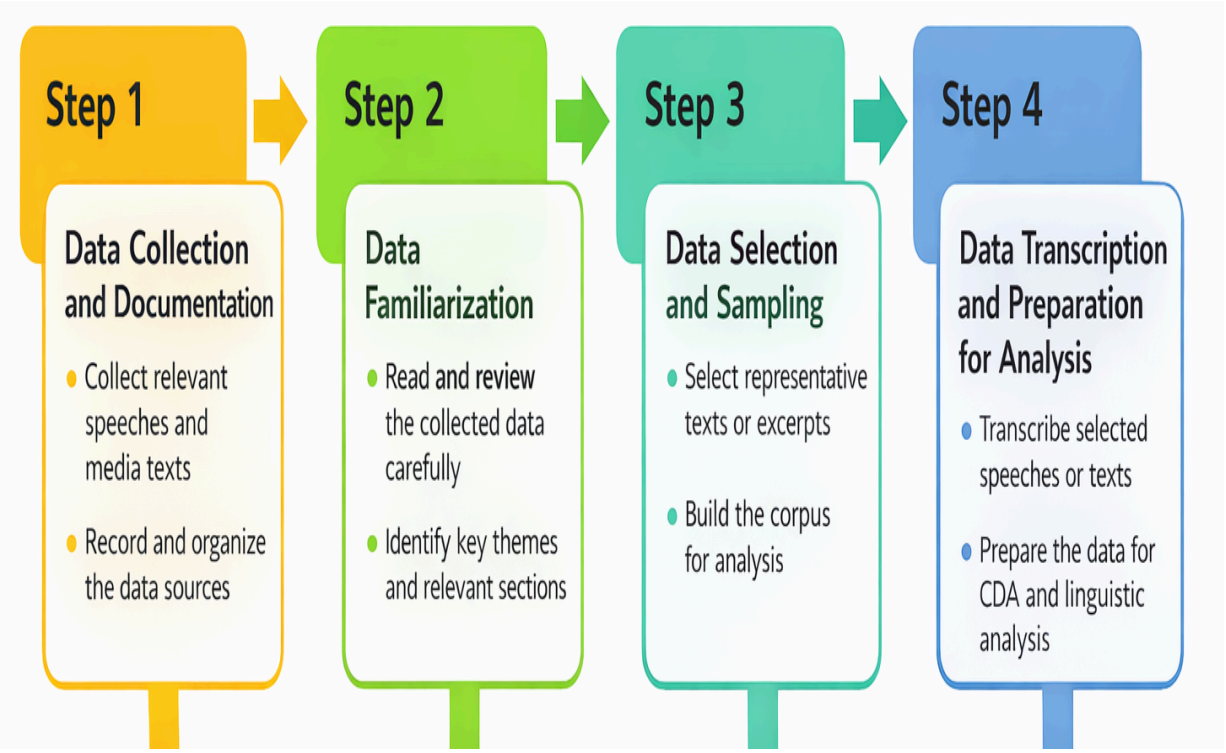
Because of these characteristics, the selected sources are regarded as reliable and representative data for compiling the corpus used in the present research as well as examining the ideological construction and power relation of climate change discourse in this study.

The critical review of CDA approaches in the Literature review chapter made it obvious that this study employed the Metafunction by Halliday (1985, 1994) and Appraisal Approaches to CDA by Norman Fairclough (1989, 1995, 2000) with the support of corpus tools in analyzing the data from the corpora. As a matter of fact, the method of analysis in this study is a mixed method of qualitative CDA and quantitative corpus approaches, supported by corpus techniques in its preparation phase.

Bezemer & Jewitt (2010) suggests four steps to be taken in a social semiotic approach to modalility research. They remark that at first sight, the procedure may look similar to general ethnographic procedures which are also adopted in several linguistics works, for example in Erickson (1986) and Green & Bloome (1997). However, what makes them stand out lies in their systematic attention to *meaning* and the ways in which different modes are used to represent the world and help with the participants' engagement in social interactions. The steps with specific attention added on static texts are listed as follow.

Figure 3.3

Steps to collect data



The study material includes official speeches by high-level representatives from the United States and India at COP conferences from COP20 (Lima, 2014) to COP28 (Dubai, 2023). Specifically, for the United States, the language is taken from speeches by leaders such as President Barack Obama (COP20), President Joe Biden (COP26), and Secretaries of State or Climate Special Envoy such as John Kerry (COPs 21 to 28). For India, the speeches chosen from Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Environment Ministers such as Bhupender Yadav (from COP26 onwards), represent the national stance. In total, 18 speeches (9 from each country) were collected from the official UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change) source, including audio recordings, transcripts, and video speeches, with a total length of about 45,000 words. This selection of language aims to compare how two countries - representing different economic groups (developed and developing) - construct discourses on climate change, focusing on topics such as historical responsibility, climate justice, and commitments to reduce emissions.

3.4.2. Corpus compilation

This study is based on a purposively constructed corpus consisting of official speeches delivered by representatives of the United States and India at the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) Conferences of the

Parties (COP20 - COP28). The selection of these two countries is motivated by their contrasting positions within global climate governance, with the United States representing a developed country and India representing a developing country. Such a contrast enables a focused comparative analysis of how climate responsibility and power relations are discursively constructed.

The corpus comprises a total of 18 full-text speeches, collected from official UNFCCC records and publicly available governmental sources. Only formal statements delivered in English by high-level representatives were included to ensure consistency and comparability across the dataset. The selected speeches correspond to COP sessions from 2014 to 2023, providing a diachronic perspective that allows for the examination of discursive continuity and change over time.

The compilation of the corpus followed a set of clear criteria. First, the speeches had to be officially delivered within the COP plenary or high-level segments. Second, the texts had to explicitly address climate change and related policy issues, ensuring their relevance to the research focus. Third, only complete and accessible transcripts were included in order to support detailed linguistic analysis.

All speeches were manually retrieved and carefully verified to ensure their authenticity and relevance. The texts were then organized by country and by COP session to facilitate systematic comparison. This corpus provides a manageable yet analytically rich dataset for examining how linguistic features are used to construct ideologies, responsibilities, and power relations in climate change discourse.

Table 3.3.

Time frame for data collection

COP	LOCATION	DATE OF CONFERENCE	DATE OF SPEECHES COLLECTED
28	COP 28, United Arab Emirates	6 - 17 November 2023	From 2023 to 2025
27	COP 27, Sharm El Sheikh, Egypt	November 2022	From 2023 to 2025
26	COP 26/CMP 16/CMA 3, Glasgow, Scotland, United Kingdom	31 October - 12 November 2021	From 2023 to 2025
25	COP 25/CMP 15/CMA 4, Madrid, Spain	2019	From 2023 to 2025
24	COP 24/CMP 14/CMA 3	5 - 16 November 2018	From 2023 to 2025
23	COP 23/CMP 13/CMA 2, Bonn, Germany	6 - 17 November 2017	From 2023 to 2025
22	COP 22/CMP 12/CMA 1, Marrakech, Morocco	7–18 November 2016	From 2023 to 2025
21	COP 21/CMP 11, Paris, France	30 November - 12 December, 2015	From 2023 to 2025
20	COP 20/CMP 10, Lima, Peru	1–12 December 2014	From 2023 to 2025

Ever since climate change officially emerged on the world's agenda at the Earth Summit in 1992, twenty-nine (29) Conferences of the Parties (COPs) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)
have been organized over the period, through which participating countries are believed to discuss, negotiate, and develop a single global framework for every country to take their part in internationally cooperative efforts to deal with climate-related issues. From these COPS, developed countries seek to replace the protocol because they see their development undermined by committing to its principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities" (United Nations, 1998) while developing countries defend the benefits they have with the protocol. So far, the conflict between countries' economic concerns and immediate needs for climate safety has made it hardly possible for the parties at the COPs to reach a consensus. The incapability of governments to forge effective progress has historically been attributed to the divide and conflict between the developed and developing countries (Parks & Roberts, 2010) due to their positions on who should pay and how much should be paid for climate change (Penetrante, 2010). Underlying such conflicting

obligations and interests regarding climate change, there must be ideologies about countries' responsibilities and particular linguistic features in the media to represent countries' responsibilities, attitudes and behaviors.

In fact, it is challenging to every researcher to figure out the methodologies of how to analyze the ideologies and power relation manifested via the speeches given by the leaders of powerful nations participating in the process of common-sense achievements towards the issues related to climate change worldwide.

The researcher, under many worthy supervisions and suggestions, has decided to focus on the critical discourse analysis of the ideologies and power relation manifested by the selected powerful nations which can be the representatives of stable ideologies as well as maintained viewpoints such as The United States, Britain, India, Singapore and The People's Republic of China. The major corpora were sorted and coded correspondingly to the COPs from COP 20 (2014) to COP 28 (2023) so that the changes in the representations of countries were traceable through time.

3.4.3. Data analysis

The data analysis in this study is conducted within the three-dimensional framework of Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis, encompassing textual analysis, discursive practice, and social practice. In addition, the analytical procedure is supported by Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics, particularly the ideational metafunction, to provide a detailed examination of linguistic features.

Analytical framework

A Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of speeches on climate change at United Nations (UN) conventions can provide valuable insights into how language reflects and shapes global power dynamics, political agendas, ideologies, and the representation of climate change issues. Using CDA, we can unpack how leaders, negotiators, and representatives use discourse to construct the problem of climate change, propose solutions, and influence the behaviors and perceptions of global audiences.

This kind of analysis typically involves examining the linguistic features (choices of words, syntactic structures, and rhetorical strategies) in combination with their social, political, and ideological contexts. The aim is to understand how power

relations and ideologies about climate change are represented, and how these speeches align with or challenge global environmental governance.

Below is a theoretical framework for conducting a CDA of UN climate change speeches, in which the analysis will be informed by a combination of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), which will allow you to examine both the linguistic structure of the speeches and the social context in which these speeches are produced.

a. Systemic Functional Grammar as a tool for linguistic analysis

Table 3.4

SFG as a tool for linguistic analysis

Linguistic Analysis	Function	Example
Ideational Metafunction	Focus on how climate change is represented in the speeches: what kinds of processes (e.g., environmental degradation, human activities, climate policies) are foregrounded, and who is attributed responsibility (i.e., the agent of the action).	"Our actions today will determine the future of the planet." The use of "our actions" assigns responsibility to the collective "we" (global leaders, the international community).
Interpersonal Metafunction	Look at how speakers establish their relationship with the audience. What tone and modality are used to persuade or motivate action? Is there a call to action or a directive?	"We must act now" or "It is crucial that we collaborate." The modality ("must," "crucial") conveys urgency and necessity.
Textual Metafunction	How are speeches structured to guide the audience's attention? What are the themes and rhemes, and how do they create coherence and emphasis?	"The future of our children is at stake," where the theme focuses on future generations, and the rheme emphasizes the risk of inaction.

b. CDA Framework for ideology and power relations

Table 3.5

CDA as a tool for linguistic analysis

Linguistic Analysis	Function	Example
Textual Analysis	Identify key rhetorical strategies used to construct meanings about climate change	+ Framing: How are the issues of climate change framed (e.g., as a crisis, as a scientific challenge, as a moral imperative)? + Nominalization: Climate change might be discussed as a "global challenge" or "crisis," turning it into an abstract concept rather than a process, which can depersonalize responsibility. + Passivization: "Climate change is caused by human activities" can be contrasted with "We are causing climate change," reflecting agency or lack thereof.
Social Practice	Analyze how the discourse at UN conventions reflects larger social practices, such as global environmental governance and international negotiations. Look at how climate change is framed within political, economic, and ethical dimensions.	In climate discourse, certain nations (developed vs. developing countries) may be portrayed as either responsible or vulnerable, creating moral or economic hierarchies.
Intertextuality	Examine references to past climate agreements (e.g., the Paris Agreement), scientific reports (e.g., IPCC), and the historical context of climate change negotiations.	References to "the Paris Agreement" or "scientific consensus" may be used to align the speech with global frameworks, positioning the speaker as part of a broader international movement.

d. Contextual considerations

It is essential to place the speeches within the specific context of the UN climate conventions, considering: (1) The international negotiation context: Speeches often aim to balance competing national interests and reach global consensus; (2) Global power structures: The geopolitical realities of climate negotiations can influence the discourse. For example, the position of major emitters like the United States, China, or the European Union is crucial; (3) The historical context of previous agreements (e.g., the Kyoto Protocol, Paris Agreement) influences how new pledges are framed and justified.

The critical review of CDA approaches in Literature Review clarifies that this study employed the Dialectical-Relational Approach to CDA by Norman Fairclough (1989, 1995, 2000) with the support of corpus tools in analyzing the data from the collected corpora. At the first sight, the method of analysis in this study is a mixed method of qualitative CDA and quantitative corpus approaches, it might be not actually the case at its best. Fairclough (2015) argues that corpus linguistics is a useful tool for CDA, for instance, in checking out impressionistic conclusions about which words and co-occurrences of words are most significant, but "it is best regarded as part of the preparation from which the real work of analysis and critique can begin". He reasons that corpus techniques can have no bearing on explanation, critique of existing social reality, which is the main purpose of CDA. It is, therefore, rational to claim that the analytical method in this study is a qualitative CDA, supported by corpus techniques in its preparation phase.

In order for the best analysis and reception results, the study will combine the mixed method of qualitative CDA and quantitative corpus approaches together with what the researchers have mastered from the theoretical grammar framework displayed in Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar.

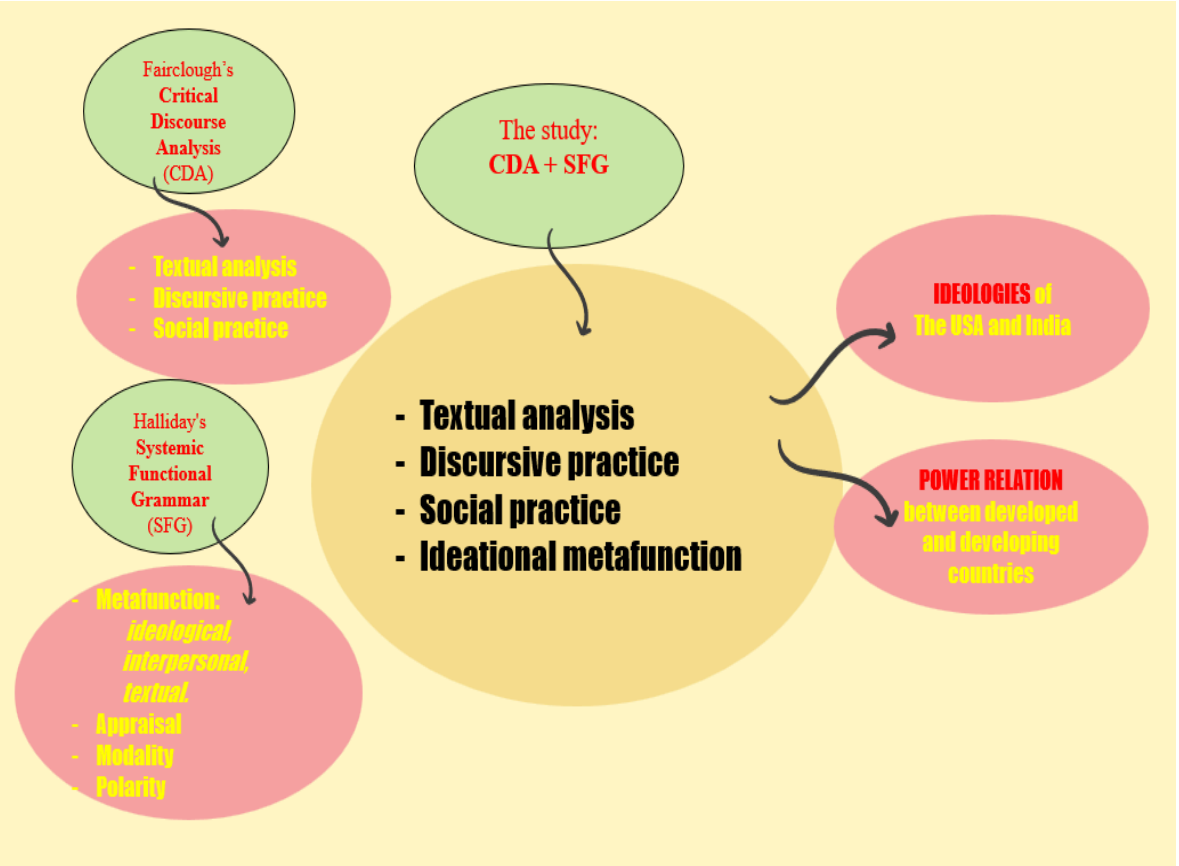
To be more specific, in this research work, the data were first approached through our undertaking of corpus analysis and then via our manual analysis of the concordances, which can be the whole texts. The manual analysis focused on the prominent themes (or ideologies) and their manifestations via the textual features manifested below. The following section presents how the corpus tools were employed to identify the focus of analysis, and then, how Fairclough's three-level analytical framework was used in this study. The three levels of analysis in Fairclough's framework will be termed consistently in this thesis as (1) textual, (2) discursive, and (3) social. Then the four major tenets of Halliday's framework will

also be mentioned in this dissertation: (1) Metafunctions of language sense, namely *ideational, interpersonal,* and *textual*; (2) Mood; (3) Modality; and (4) Transitivity.

In short, the study framework will include the multi-dimensional combination of these two theoretical frameworks to make one unique method used for the thesis, which displayed in the following figure.

Figure 3.4.

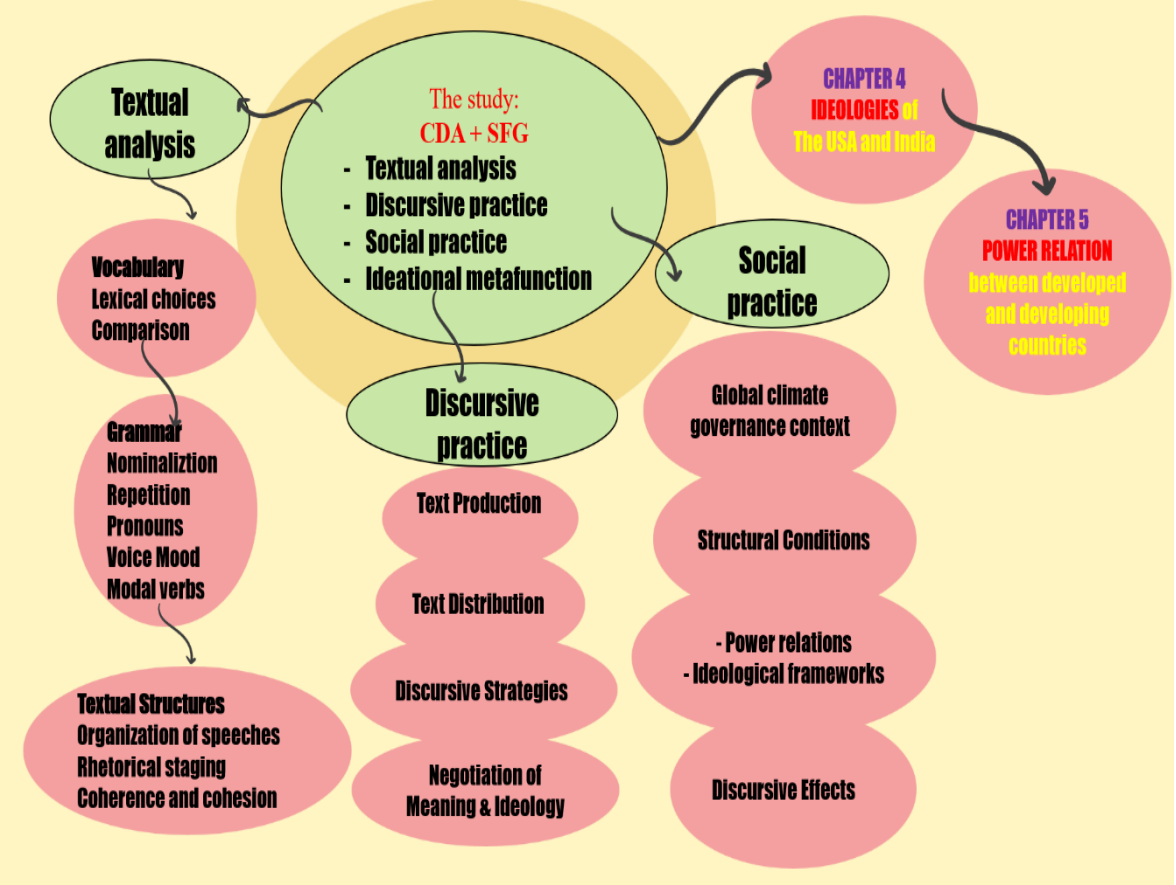
CDA and SFG - the multi-dimensional combination



Through this integrated CDA - SFG framework, discourse is examined at three interconnected levels: textual analysis, discursive practice, and social practice (Norman Fairclough, 1995).

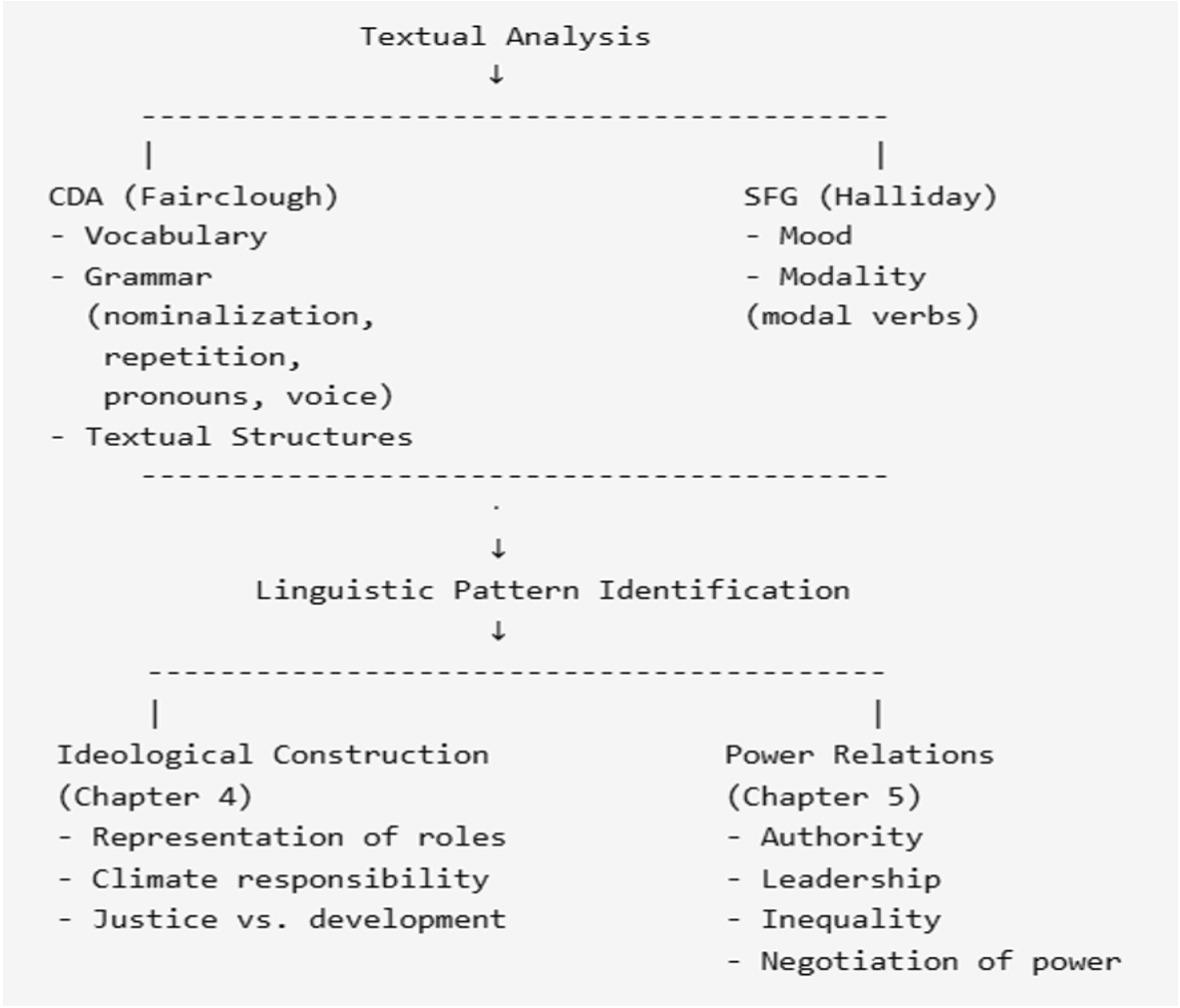
Figure 3.5.

Integrated analytical framework of CDA and SFG for examining Ideology and Power relations in climate discourse



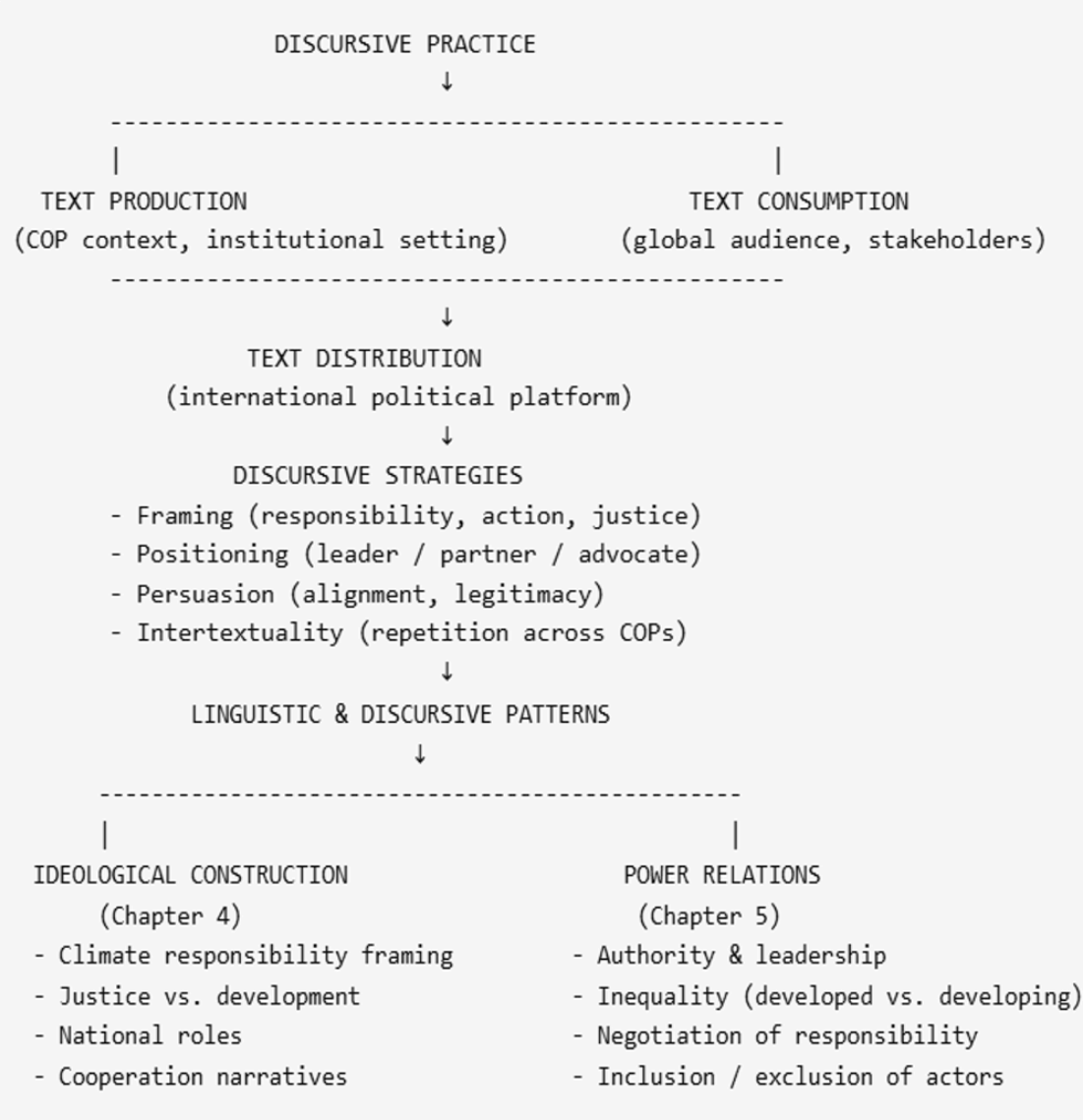
With CDA, the analysis is conducted in three main stages following Norman Fairclough's approach.

At the **textual analysis** level, the analysis focuses on the linguistic realization of meaning in the speeches delivered from COP20 to COP28. Drawing on Systemic Functional Grammar developed by M. A. K. Halliday (1978), the study examines transitivity patterns (to identify how agency and responsibility for climate change are represented), modality (to assess degrees of obligation, commitment, and certainty), pronoun use (e.g., *we*, *our*, *developed countries*, *developing countries*), thematic structures (to determine what is foregrounded as given or new information), and evaluative language. At this level, the objective is to uncover how grammatical and lexical choices encode ideological meanings, particularly in relation to climate responsibility, equity, and leadership.


Textual Analysis
CDA (Fairclough)
- Vocabulary
- Grammar
(nominalization,
repetition,
pronouns, voice)
- Textual Structures
SFG (Halliday)
- Mood
- Modality
(modal verbs)
Linguistic Pattern Identification
Ideological Construction
(Chapter 4)
- Representation of roles
- Climate responsibility
- Justice vs. development
Power Relations
(Chapter 5)
- Authority
- Leadership
- Inequality
- Negotiation of power

This figure illustrates how textual analysis, grounded in CDA and supported by SFG, leads to the identification of linguistic patterns that are interpreted to construct ideologies (Chapter 4) and power relations (Chapter 5).

At the **discursive practice** level, the study investigates how these speeches are produced, circulated, and interpreted within the institutional context of the UN climate regime. Here, discourse is analyzed intertextually and interdiscursively: how speakers draw upon established principles such as "common but differentiated responsibilities", development narratives, or climate justice frames; how they align with, resist, or reinterpret dominant negotiation discourses; and how recurring rhetorical patterns evolve across COP20 to COP28. This level reveals how particular representations of responsibility and power are stabilized, contested, or recontextualized over time.



This figure illustrates how discursive practice operates through processes of production, distribution, and consumption, as well as through discursive strategies, leading to the construction of ideologies (Chapter 4) and power relations (Chapter 5) in climate discourse.

At the **social practice** level, the analysis situates the speeches within broader geopolitical and socio-economic structures shaping global climate negotiations. Discourse is examined as part of wider relations of power between developed and developing countries, embedded in historical inequalities, economic asymmetries, and institutional arrangements of global governance. At this macro level, the study explores how language contributes to legitimizing certain distributions of

obligation, normalizing specific policy pathways, or challenging hegemonic narratives within the international climate order.



This figure illustrates how social practice connects discourse to broader socio-political and institutional contexts, leading to the construction of ideologies (Chapter 4) and power relations (Chapter 5) in global climate issues.

By connecting these three levels, the framework enables a systematic movement from micro-level linguistic features to macro-level ideological and structural implications. Textual patterns are not treated as isolated stylistic choices

but as meaningful elements of discursive strategies that both reflect and shape power relations in global climate governance.

With SFG, the study applies analytical tools derived from Systemic Functional Grammar developed by M. A. K. Halliday. The analysis focuses on the very first metafunction: *Ideational metafunction***,** as it provides the most direct linguistic resources for representing experience and constructing versions of reality. Through the transitivity system, speakers encode actions, participants, and circumstances, which reveals how climate change issues are framed and how responsibility, causality, and agency are distributed among different actors. Examining these patterns allows the study to uncover the underlying ideologies embedded in the speeches and to show how power relations between developed and developing countries, specifically between the United States and India, are discursively constructed through the attribution, mitigation, or redistribution of responsibility for climate change.

In Norman Fairclough's CDA framework, the ideological metafunction (also often called representational meaning) is primarily analyzed through grammatical and lexical features that demonstrate how the text "recreates the world." Fairclough borrows tools from M. A. K. Halliday to perform this analysis. Through the integration of CDA and SFG, the study systematically links micro-level linguistic features to macro-level ideological and power structures embedded in climate change discourse from COP20 to COP28.

Process and steps of text analysis

The analysis process follows a sequential and iterative approach, starting with detailed language analysis (SFG) and then expanding to critical analysis (CDA), with continuous integration to ensure consistency. The process of text analysis in this study consists of four main stages: data collection, data familiarization, data selection and sampling, and data transcription and preparation for analysis. These stages ensure a systematic and reliable procedure for constructing the corpus and conducting discourse analysis.

Step 1: Data collection and documentation

In the first stage, relevant data are collected from official and reliable sources. The researcher gathers speeches delivered at the Conferences of the Parties (COPs) from official media platforms and institutional websites. These

texts are documented and organized carefully in order to ensure the authenticity, credibility, and traceability of the data used in the study.

Step 2: Data familiarization

After the data are collected, the researcher reviews the texts repeatedly to become familiar with their content. This step allows the identification of key themes, major arguments, and discursive patterns related to climate change negotiations and international responsibilities.

Step 3: Data selection and sampling

In the third stage, representative speeches or excerpts are selected from the collected materials. The sampling process aims to construct a corpus that is relevant to the research questions and suitable for discourse analysis. Only texts that directly address issues related to climate change policies and international negotiations are included.

Step 4: Data transcription and preparation for analysis

Finally, the selected speeches are transcribed and formatted for analysis. The data are organized systematically to facilitate the application of the analytical frameworks adopted in this study, particularly Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), which are used to examine the ideological meanings and power relations embedded in climate change discourse.

This process not only ensures systematics, but also allows for a deep exploration of how discourse at COPs shapes global action, contributing to environmental discourse theory.

One of the characteristics of qualitative research is inductive and deductive data analysis. This research follows a tight framework, beginning with the organizing and preparing all raw materials according to their participant, range, and circumstance. The next step is describing coverage of the COPs on: (1) the developed countries' ideologies and power relation for climate change and their attitudes towards such responsibility, and (2) the developing countries' ideologies and power relation for climate change and their attitudes towards it in terms of semantic and syntactic features based on Fairclough's and Halliday's theoretical frameworks. Then, the detailed discussion used to convey the research results.

Finally, there will be an interpretation and explanation of the findings via the discursive practices and social context.

3.5. Chapter summary

This chapter has outlined the research methodology adopted in the present study. It first introduced the overall research design, including the research paradigm, approach, and methods used to investigate climate change discourse. The study is grounded in the critical research paradigm, which emphasizes the role of language in constructing and reproducing social power relations and ideological meanings. Within this framework, the research employs a qualitative approach supported by corpus techniques to enhance the reliability of the analysis.

The chapter also presented the data sources and corpus construction, describing how speeches delivered at the Conferences of the Parties (COPs) were collected from reliable institutional sources. In addition, the procedures for data collection, selection, sampling, and preparation were explained to ensure a systematic and transparent research process.

Furthermore, the chapter introduced the analytical framework used in the study, which integrates Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG). This combined framework enables the examination of linguistic features, discursive strategies, and socio-cultural contexts in order to uncover how ideologies and power relations between developed and developing countries are constructed in climate change speeches. A Critical Discourse Analysis of speeches on climate change at United Nations conventions can reveal the complex interplay of language, ideology, and power in global environmental governance. By analyzing the ways in which climate change is framed, how agency is distributed, and what solutions are presented, CDA provides insights into how the discourse of climate change influences international relations and action. These speeches do not simply reflect reality; they actively construct meanings, shape perceptions, and potentially influence global policy and behavior towards the environment. In this way, CDA and SFG together provide a robust analytical toolkit for understanding the role of language in climate change discourse and its implications for global action. The next chapter presents the analysis and discussion of the research findings.

CHAPTER 4:
THE IDEOLOGIES OF NATIONS VIA SPEECHES ON CLIMATE CHANGE AT UNITED NATIONS CONVENTIONS

This chapter aims to answer the first research question: *How are the ideologies about the developed and developing countries' responsibilities for climate change linguistically, discursively and socio-culturally manifested via the English speech discourse in the study?* It mainly presents and discusses how the ideologies between the developed and developing countries are constructed via the language in the collected speeches under study as well as explains such use of language in the broader social context. Although these ideologies are the focus of this chapter, it will also be discussed to a lesser extent in the entanglement with the power relation in Chapter 5, as power and ideologies always go hand in hand with each other in CDA.

First, a brief presentation on the newsworthiness of the COPs in the speeches is provided. Then, the contextual background that embedded the discourse is presented to lay the basis for the interpretation and explanation of the ideologies as well as the power relation. Most importantly, the discussions of the linguistic realizations of the ideologies unfold with the relation between the developed and developing countries, among the developed countries, among the developing countries, and even among different groups of countries at the global climate conferences. However, due to the space restrictions of the thesis, an exhaustive discussion of all the concordance lines would be impossible. Only the typical concordances are shown in context in the analysis, that is, as excerpts from the corpora. We have included as much of the context as we deem essential for the reader to follow the discussion. Further references for more excerpts and detailed contexts can be made to Appendix 2.

The collected speeches reveal contrasting ideologies between the U.S. (representing developed countries) and India (representing developing countries) regarding responsibilities for climate change. These ideologies are rooted in historical emissions, equity, and the balance between mitigation, adaptation, and development. Linguistically, they are manifested through specific vocabulary, framing, and rhetorical strategies that emphasize self-positioning, calls for action, and critiques of the other side. The researcher analyzed based on recurring themes

across the speeches, using tables for effective comparison. The analysis results absolutely based on the theoretical framework of the study mentioned in the previous chapters.

This study adopts a mandatory mixed-methods approach, combining qualitative Critical Discourse with quantitative analysis using Systemic Functional Grammar. CDA, particularly influenced by Faircloughian principles, views discourse as a form of social practice that both reflects and shapes power relations and ideologies. In the context of climate negotiations, this means analyzing how national statements attempt to normalize certain power structures (e.g., US technological dominance) or contest them (e.g., India's CBDR demands). SFG, developed by M.A.K. Halliday, provides the robust linguistic toolkit required for the descriptive dimension of CDA, categorizing language use according to its functions: Ideational (representing experience), Interpersonal (enacting social relations), and Textual (organizing information). By quantifying and interpreting patterns in Transitivity (Ideational) and Modality (Interpersonal), the study establishes an empirical link between grammatical choices and socio-political intentions.

As far as we all know, climate change diplomacy operates within a deeply entrenched framework of ideological and economic conflict, primarily manifested in the enduring North-South divide. This division pits developed nations (including the USA) against developing nations (including India) over accountability for historical greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, the perceived right to continued energy-intensive economic growth, and the allocation of crucial financial and technological resources. The core of this conflict lies in the principle of Common but Differentiated Responsibilities and Respective Capabilities (CBDR-RC), a foundational concept of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) that mandates developed countries to take the lead in mitigation and provide support to the developing world.

The period under analysis, spanning COP20 (2014) to COP28 (2023), represents a crucial lifecycle stage of the global climate regime. It begins in the preparatory phase leading up to the Lima Call for Climate Action (COP20), which laid the groundwork for the Paris Agreement adopted in 2015 (COP21). The Paris Agreement marked a significant pivot point, shifting the legal structure from top-down, mandated targets to nationally determined contributions (NDCs), which required commitment from nearly 200 nations. While this was lauded as a success

for multilateralism, it simultaneously created discursive space to challenge the strict, legally binding interpretation of CBDR, requiring all parties to contribute irrespective of historical fault. Speeches during this period reflect an intense discursive struggle to either redefine the terms of responsibility (USA) or to re-affirm the historical principles of equity and justice (India).

Subsequent COPs focused on operationalizing the Paris Rulebook (COP22, COP24), addressing vulnerabilities (COP23), and finally, the first Global Stocktake (COP28). This decade was critically shaped by the US, the historically dominant global emitter, undergoing massive internal political shifts across three presidential administrations - Obama, Trump, and Biden - which profoundly impacted the stability of the global climate discourse. The fluctuation in US commitment provided India, and the Global South broadly, with intermittent diplomatic opportunities to re-centre the narrative on historical obligations, culminating in the critical establishment of the Loss and Damage Fund at COP27. Analyzing the minute linguistic choices within the speeches reveals how these overarching geopolitical tensions manifest as quantifiable discursive strategies.

4.1. Linguistic representation of Ideologies in the US and India speeches (COP20 - COP28)

Within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis, ideology is not merely expressed through explicit political statements but is also implicitly embedded in linguistic choices. According to Norman Fairclough, language functions as a social practice through which particular worldviews and power relations are constructed and reproduced. In political discourse, especially in international negotiations, linguistic structures play a crucial role in shaping how actors, responsibilities, and social realities are represented.

The speeches delivered by the United States and India at the United Nations climate conferences from COP20 to COP28 constitute an important site where ideological perspectives regarding climate change responsibilities are articulated and negotiated. Through these speeches, the two countries construct different narratives concerning the causes of climate change, the distribution of responsibilities, and the roles of developed and developing countries in global climate governance.

From the perspective of Systemic Functional Linguistics developed by M. A. K. Halliday, language simultaneously performs several metafunctions that allow

speakers to represent experience, establish social relations, and organize discourse. Among these, the ideational (or ideological) metafunction is particularly relevant for examining how political actors linguistically represent social realities and ideological positions. In climate change discourse, this metafunction is realized through lexical selection, grammatical structures, and patterns of participant representation that frame particular interpretations of responsibility and action.

In the context of the UN climate negotiations, ideological differences between developed and developing countries often emerge in debates surrounding historical responsibility, climate justice, and development rights. As a developed country and historically one of the largest emitters of greenhouse gases, the United States tends to frame climate change as a global challenge that requires collective action from all nations. Conversely, India, representing the interests of developing countries, frequently emphasizes issues of equity, sustainable development, and the differentiated responsibilities of nations.

These ideological positions are not only communicated through explicit arguments but are also embedded in linguistic patterns such as vocabulary choices, pronoun usage, modality, and discourse structures. Through these linguistic resources, the speeches construct representations of actors, responsibilities, and climate action. Consequently, analyzing these linguistic features provides insight into how ideological perspectives are reproduced and legitimized within international climate discourse.

Based on this perspective, the present chapter examines the linguistic representation of national ideologies in the speeches of the United States and India at the United Nations climate conferences from COP20 to COP28. The analysis focuses on three main dimensions of textual analysis: *vocabulary, grammar,* and *textual structures*. By investigating these linguistic features, the chapter aims to reveal how the two countries discursively construct their ideological positions regarding climate change responsibilities within the global climate governance framework.

4.1.1. Vocabulary analysis

Vocabulary plays a crucial role in revealing ideological positions in political discourse. According to the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis, lexical choices are not neutral but rather reflect perspectives, interests, and ideological orientations. In international climate negotiations, the vocabulary used by national

representatives often constructs specific interpretations of responsibility, cooperation, and justice.

An examination of the speeches delivered by the United States and India at the United Nations climate conferences from COP20 to COP28 reveals distinct lexical patterns that reflect different ideological perspectives on climate change responsibilities.

4.1.1.1. Lexical representation in the U.S. speeches

The speeches delivered by the United States frequently employ vocabulary that emphasizes collective action and global cooperation. Lexical items such as *global cooperation*, *collective effort*, *shared responsibility*, and *global partnership* appear repeatedly throughout the speeches. These expressions frame climate change as a common global challenge that requires coordinated action from all nations.

In addition, the U.S. discourse often highlights terms related to innovation and leadership, including *clean energy*, *technological innovation*, *investment*, and *economic transformation*. Such vocabulary constructs a narrative in which climate action is associated with technological progress and economic opportunities. Through these lexical choices, the United States positions itself as an active participant and leader in promoting global climate solutions.

Another notable lexical feature is the frequent use of expressions referring to global unity, such as *our planet*, *our shared future*, and *the global community*. These lexical choices contribute to constructing an inclusive discourse in which all countries are represented as participants in addressing climate change.

Overall, the lexical patterns in the U.S. speeches construct an ideological perspective in which climate change is represented primarily as a global collective problem that requires shared responsibility among all nations.

4.1.1.2. Lexical representation in the Indian speeches

In contrast, the speeches delivered by India display a different set of lexical patterns that emphasize equity, justice, and development rights. Key lexical expressions frequently appearing in the speeches include *climate justice*, *equity*, *sustainable development*, *poverty eradication*, and *equitable carbon space*. These terms highlight the developmental challenges faced by developing countries and stress the importance of fairness in allocating climate responsibilities.

Indian representatives also frequently refer to concepts associated with the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities, emphasizing that developed

countries bear greater historical responsibility for greenhouse gas emissions. Vocabulary such as *historical responsibility*, *developmental needs*, and *support for developing countries* reinforces the argument that climate policies must consider the unequal distribution of economic development and historical emissions.

Moreover, the Indian discourse often includes lexical references to social and developmental issues, such as *poverty*, *development*, and *energy access*. By linking climate change to these broader socio-economic concerns, the speeches frame climate action as a challenge that must be addressed without compromising the developmental aspirations of poorer nations.

Thus, the lexical patterns in the Indian speeches construct an ideological representation in which climate change is understood not only as an environmental issue but also as a matter of global justice and equitable development.

4.1.1.3. Comparative lexical ideologies

A comparison of lexical choices in the speeches of the United States and India reveals two distinct ideological orientations regarding climate change responsibilities.

The U.S. discourse tends to emphasize global cooperation and shared responsibility, portraying climate change as a challenge that requires collective action from all countries. In contrast, the Indian discourse highlights equity and historical responsibility, emphasizing the need to consider the developmental needs of developing countries and the greater obligations of developed nations.

These contrasting lexical patterns illustrate how different nations employ linguistic resources to construct and legitimize their ideological positions within the broader framework of international climate negotiations. Through strategic lexical choices, the speeches contribute to shaping competing narratives about responsibility, fairness, and leadership in global climate governance.

4.1.2. Grammar analysis

Grammar is a crucial linguistic resource through which ideological meanings are constructed in political discourse. Within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis, grammatical structures contribute to shaping representations of social actors, responsibilities, and relationships among participants in discourse. From the perspective of Systemic Functional Linguistics, grammatical choices such as pronouns, modality, and transitivity patterns play an important role in representing experience and constructing social reality.

This section explores the grammatical features employed in speech s delivered by the United States and India at the United Nations climate conferences from COP20 to COP28 with a focus on *nominalizations, repetition, pronouns, voice, modes and modal verbs*. These elements are not only structural components of language but also powerful tools through which speakers project identity, assert agency and shape diplomatic tone. Analyzing grammar in political discourse reveals notable differences in grammatical patterns that reflect their respective ideological positions regarding climate change responsibilities.

4.1.2.1. Nominalization

Nominalization refers to the transformation of processes or actions into nouns. In political discourse, nominalization is often used to present complex processes as abstract entities, thereby allowing speakers to frame issues in more generalized and less agent-specific ways.

In the U.S. speeches, nominalized forms such as climate action, emission reduction, climate mitigation, and global cooperation frequently appear. These expressions transform actions into conceptual entities, enabling the discourse to emphasize policy initiatives and global efforts rather than specific actors responsible for those actions. Through this strategy, climate change is framed as a broad global challenge requiring collective engagement.

In the Indian speeches, nominalization is also widely used but often emphasizes concepts associated with justice and development, such as climate justice, sustainable development, poverty eradication, and equitable access to resources. These nominalized expressions highlight structural and socio-economic issues related to climate change. By foregrounding such abstract concepts, the discourse constructs climate change as a matter not only of environmental concern but also of social and economic justice.

Thus, nominalization in the speeches contributes to shaping different ideological interpretations of climate change responsibilities.

4.1.2.2. Repetition

Repetition is another significant grammatical and rhetorical strategy in political speeches. Recurrent lexical and grammatical patterns help reinforce key ideas and emphasize ideological positions.

In the U.S. speeches, repetition often occurs in expressions related to collective action, such as repeated references to working together, global

cooperation, and shared responsibility. This repetition strengthens the discourse of global unity and cooperation in addressing climate change.

In contrast, the Indian speeches frequently repeat terms associated with equity and justice, including climate justice, equity, and sustainable development. Through repetition, these concepts become central themes in the discourse and reinforce the argument that climate policies must take into account the developmental needs of poorer nations. Repetition therefore functions as a discursive strategy for emphasizing the ideological priorities of each country.

4.1.2.3. Pronouns

Table 4.1

Rate of occurrence and frequency of pronouns in the US and India Speeches (COP20–COP28)

COP		We (word)	We (%)	Our (word)	Our (%)	I (word)	I (%)	Us (word)	Us (%)	they (word)	they (%)	their (word)	their (%)	them (word)	them (%)	Total pronouns
COP20	US	32	40.5	18	22.8	14	17.7	7	8.9	4	5.1	3	3.8	1	1.3	79
	India	27	36.5	15	20.3	11	14.9	5	6.8	6	8.1	7	9.5	3	4.1	74
COP21	US	36	39.6	21	23.1	15	16.5	9	9.9	5	5.5	4	4.4	1	1.1	91
	India	26	36.6	14	19.7	12	16.9	6	8.5	5	7.0	6	8.5	2	2.8	71
COP22	US	41	39.0	24	22.9	18	17.1	10	9.5	6	5.7	5	4.8	1	1.0	105
	India	28	35.4	16	20.3	13	16.5	7	8.9	6	7.6	7	8.9	2	2.5	79
COP23	US	33	39.3	19	22.6	14	16.7	8	9.5	5	6.0	4	4.8	1	1.2	84
	India	27	36.5	15	20.3	12	16.2	6	8.1	6	8.1	6	8.1	2	2.7	74
COP24	US	35	39.3	21	23.6	16	18.0	7	7.9	5	5.6	4	4.5	1	1.1	89
	India	29	36.7	16	20.3	13	16.5	6	7.6	6	7.6	7	8.9	2	2.5	79
COP25	US	34	40.5	20	23.8	15	17.9	7	8.3	4	4.8	3	3.6	1	1.2	84
	India	30	36.6	17	20.7	14	17.1	6	7.3	6	7.3	7	8.5	2	2.4	82
COP26	US	42	38.5	26	23.9	19	17.4	9	8.3	6	5.5	5	4.6	2	1.8	109
	India	37	35.9	22	21.4	18	17.5	8	7.8	7	6.8	8	7.8	3	2.9	103
COP27	US	38	40.0	21	22.1	18	18.9	8	8.4	5	5.3	4	4.2	1	1.1	95
	India	34	36.2	19	20.2	17	18.1	7	7.4	7	7.4	8	8.5	2	2.1	94
COP28	US	35	41.2	16	18.8	17	20.0	8	9.4	6	7.1	3	3.5	0	0.0	85
	India	32	38.6	14	16.9	16	19.3	6	7.2	7	8.4	6	7.2	2	2.4	83

Total pronouns in the corpus: 1,560

US speeches: 821 pronouns

India speeches: 739 pronouns

Pronoun usage is a key grammatical feature that helps construct social identities and relationships within discourse. One prominent grammatical feature in the speeches is the use of personal pronouns, particularly the inclusive pronoun "we".

In the U.S. speeches, the inclusive pronoun "we" is frequently used to create a sense of collective global responsibility. Through such expressions as *we must act*, *we*

must work together, and *we have the responsibility to address climate change*, the discourse presents climate action as a shared task among all nations. This inclusive pronoun usage symbolically positions all countries as participants in the collective effort to address climate change. By contrast, the Indian speeches often construct a more differentiated representation of actors. While *we* may refer to the international community or developing countries, explicit references to *developed countries* and *developing countries* are frequently used to highlight differences in responsibility and capability. This grammatical distinction reinforces the ideological argument that climate obligations should be distributed according to historical emissions and developmental status.

The distribution of pronouns in the speeches of the United States and India reveals notable similarities as well as ideological differences in the construction of climate discourse.

First, the inclusive pronoun “we” is the most frequently used pronoun in both corpora, accounting for 38.79% of pronouns in the U.S. speeches and 39.20% in the Indian speeches. This high frequency indicates that both countries rely heavily on the construction of collective identity when addressing climate change issues.

However, differences emerge in the use of other pronouns. The possessive pronoun “our” appears significantly more frequently in the U.S. speeches (22.65%) than in the Indian speeches (18.72%). This suggests that U.S. representatives tend to emphasize shared global ownership of climate challenges and solutions.

In contrast, third-person pronouns as evidenced by “their” and “them” occur more frequently in the Indian speeches. These pronouns are often used to refer to different groups of actors within the international climate regime, particularly developed countries, vulnerable populations, or other stakeholders. This pattern reflects India's emphasis on differentiation among actors and the principle of equity in climate governance.

Overall, the pronoun distribution indicates that while both countries construct climate change as a collective issue, the U.S. discourse tends to highlight global cooperation, whereas the Indian discourse more frequently distinguishes between different groups of actors and responsibilities.

The analysis of pronoun usage in the speeches delivered by the United States and India at climate conferences from COP20 to COP28 reveals the important role of personal pronouns in constructing ideological meanings within climate discourse.

The frequent use of the inclusive pronoun *we* in both corpora indicates that climate change is largely framed as a collective global challenge that requires cooperative action among nations.

However, notable differences can be observed in the distribution of other pronouns. The U.S. speeches show a relatively higher frequency of the possessive pronoun *our*, which contributes to constructing a discourse of shared global responsibility and common ownership of climate challenges. In contrast, the Indian speeches display slightly higher frequencies of third-person pronouns including *they* and *their*. These pronouns are often used to distinguish between different groups of actors in the international climate regime, particularly when referring to developed countries or other stakeholders.

In short, the patterns of pronoun usage demonstrate how linguistic choices help construct social identities and relationships in climate discourse. Through the strategic use of pronouns, the speeches create narratives of collective action while simultaneously reflecting different ideological perspectives on responsibility and equity in global climate governance.

4.1.2.4. Voice

Voice is a significant grammatical feature that influences how agency and responsibility are represented in discourse. Within the framework of CDA, the choice between active and passive constructions can shape how social actors and actions are linguistically represented. From the perspective of SFG, voice contributes to the representation of participants and processes in the clause structure.

In political speeches, active constructions are often used to highlight agency and leadership, while passive constructions may obscure or background the actor responsible for a particular action. The analysis of the speeches delivered by the United States and India at climate conferences from COP20 to COP28 reveals distinct patterns in the use of voice that reflect their ideological perspectives regarding climate change responsibilities.

Active voice

Active constructions frequently appear in both the U.S. and Indian speeches when speakers emphasize commitment, action, and leadership in addressing climate change. In the U.S. discourse, active voice is commonly used to present the country

as an active participant in global climate initiatives. Clauses as exemplified by *we are investing in clean energy*, *we are reducing emissions*, and *we are leading global climate efforts* foreground the United States as the actor responsible for climate action.

Similarly, the Indian speeches employ active constructions to highlight national efforts and commitments in climate mitigation and sustainable development. Expressions as seen in *India is expanding renewable energy*, *India is committed to sustainable development*, and *we are implementing climate adaptation strategies* emphasize the country's proactive role in addressing climate change.

Through these active constructions, both countries construct an image of agency and responsibility in climate governance.

Passive voice

Passive constructions also appear in the speeches, particularly when speakers refer to broader global processes or the impacts of climate change. Passive voice allows the discourse to focus on actions or outcomes while backgrounding the actor responsible for them.

In the U.S. speeches, passive constructions are often used in references to global environmental challenges. For example, climate change may be described through clauses as seen in *millions of people are affected by climate change* or *global emissions must be reduced*. In such cases, the passive structure emphasizes the urgency of the issue while avoiding direct attribution of responsibility to specific actors.

In the Indian speeches, passive constructions frequently appear when discussing the impacts of climate change on vulnerable populations or developing countries. Sentences describing how communities *are affected*, *are threatened*, or *are exposed to climate risks* foreground the consequences of climate change while leaving the responsible actors implicit.

Ideological implications of Voice

The use of active and passive constructions in the speeches contributes to the ideological framing of climate change responsibilities. Active voice is commonly used when countries describe their own initiatives and commitments, thereby constructing a discourse of leadership and responsibility.

Passive voice, on the other hand, often appears when discussing global environmental problems or the impacts of climate change. This grammatical choice can shift attention away from specific actors and present climate change as a generalized global challenge.

Therefore, the distribution of voice in the speeches demonstrates how grammatical structures can influence the representation of agency and responsibility in international climate discourse. Through the strategic use of active and passive constructions, speakers construct ideological narratives regarding national commitment, global cooperation, and the shared challenges posed by climate change.

Table 4.2

Percentage of active and passive sentences in the US and India speeches (COP 20-COP28)

COP	Country	Active (%)	Passive (%)
COP20	US	79.2	20.8
	India	73.5	26.5
COP21	US	78.6	21.4
	India	72.9	27.1
COP22	US	77.8	22.2
	India	71.4	28.6
COP23	US	79.0	21.0
	India	72.8	27.2
COP24	US	78.2	21.8
	India	72.3	27.7
COP25	US	79.5	20.5
	India	73.1	26.9
COP26	US	77.6	22.4
	India	71.5	28.5
COP27	US	78.9	21.1
	India	72.0	28.0
COP28	US	77.4	22.6
	India	71.7	28.3

Country	Active Sentences (Frequency)	Active (%)	Passive Sentences (Frequency)	Passive (%)	Total Sentences
The US	812	78.4	224	21.6	1036
India	694	72.1	269	27.9	963

The analysis of voice in the speeches delivered by the United States and India at climate conferences from COP20 to COP28 reveals a clear dominance of active voice constructions in both corpora. Active sentences account for approximately 78.4% of the clauses in the U.S. speeches and 72.1% in the Indian speeches.

The prevalence of active voice indicates that speakers frequently foreground agency when describing national commitments and climate actions. Through active constructions, both countries present themselves as active participants in addressing climate change.

However, passive constructions appear slightly more frequently in the Indian speeches than in the U.S. speeches. Passive sentences account for 27.9% of the clauses in the Indian corpus, compared to 21.6% in the U.S. corpus. Passive voice is often used when referring to the impacts of climate change on vulnerable communities or when discussing global environmental challenges without specifying responsible actors.

This grammatical pattern reflects different discursive strategies. While the U.S. discourse tends to emphasize agency and leadership through active constructions, the Indian discourse more frequently uses passive structures to highlight the consequences of climate change and the conditions faced by developing countries.

The analysis of voice constructions in the speeches delivered by the United States and India at climate conferences from COP20 to COP28 highlights the important role of grammatical voice in representing agency and responsibility in climate discourse.

The findings show that active voice dominates in both corpora, indicating that speakers frequently foreground national initiatives and commitments when addressing climate change. Through active constructions, both countries present themselves as active participants in global climate action, emphasizing their roles in implementing policies and promoting sustainable development.

At the same time, passive constructions are also used in the speeches, particularly when discussing the broader impacts of climate change or global environmental processes. Passive voice allows speakers to focus on the consequences of climate change while backgrounding the actors responsible for these conditions. This grammatical strategy helps frame climate change as a shared global problem while avoiding direct attribution of responsibility in certain contexts.

In general, the distribution of active and passive voice in the speeches demonstrates how grammatical structures can shape the representation of agency, responsibility, and global cooperation in international climate discourse.

4.1.2.5. Mood

Mood is an important grammatical feature that reflects the interpersonal function of language by indicating the communicative purpose of a clause. In the

framework of SFG, mood structures express different types of speech functions, such as statements, questions, and commands. These grammatical forms help speakers present information, request actions, or influence the attitudes of listeners.

In political discourse, mood choices are closely related to the ways speakers construct authority, persuasion, and cooperation. The analysis of the speeches delivered by the United States and India at climate conferences from COP20 to COP28 reveals that three main mood types are employed in the discourse: declarative, imperative, and interrogative.

Declarative mood is the most dominant clause type in the speeches. Declarative clauses are typically used to provide information, express positions, and present national commitments regarding climate change policies.

In both the U.S. and Indian speeches, declarative sentences are widely used to describe climate challenges, outline policy initiatives, and reaffirm national commitments to climate action. Through declarative structures, speakers present their statements as factual and authoritative, thereby reinforcing the legitimacy of their national positions in the international climate negotiations.

For example, declarative clauses are frequently used to describe ongoing climate initiatives, economic strategies, or international cooperation efforts. These constructions allow speakers to communicate policy information clearly while maintaining a formal diplomatic tone.

Although less frequent than declarative clauses, *imperative mood* also appears in the speeches, particularly when speakers emphasize the urgency of climate action. Imperative constructions are often used to encourage cooperation or to call for stronger commitments from the international community.

In many cases, the imperative mood does not appear as direct commands but rather as persuasive expressions that encourage collective action. These constructions may include phrases that urge countries to accelerate climate mitigation efforts, strengthen international cooperation, or support vulnerable communities.

Through such expressions, speakers attempt to mobilize international actors and reinforce the urgency of addressing climate change.

Interrogative mood appears very rarely in the speeches. When it does occur, it is typically used for rhetorical purposes rather than to request information.

Rhetorical questions may be employed to highlight the seriousness of climate challenges or to emphasize the need for stronger global cooperation.

These interrogative constructions help draw attention to important issues and encourage reflection among the audience. However, because climate speeches are primarily designed to present national policies and commitments, interrogative mood remains relatively limited compared to declarative structures.

The dominance of declarative mood in the speeches reflects the formal nature of diplomatic discourse and the intention of speakers to present policy statements and commitments in an authoritative manner. At the same time, the occasional use of imperative constructions allows speakers to promote collective action and emphasize the urgency of addressing climate change.

Through these mood choices, the speeches construct a discourse that balances the presentation of national positions with appeals for international cooperation. The grammatical patterns therefore contribute to shaping the ideological framing of climate change as both a national policy issue and a shared global responsibility.

Table 4.3

Distribution of Mood types in the US and India speeches (COP20 - COP28)

COP	Country	Declarative (%)	Imperative (%)	Interrogative (%)
COP20	US	91	7	2
COP20	India	89	9	2
COP21	US	92	6	2
COP21	India	90	8	2
COP22	US	90	8	2
COP22	India	88	10	2
COP23	US	91	7	2
COP23	India	89	9	2
COP24	US	92	6	2
COP24	India	90	8	2
COP25	US	90	8	2
COP25	India	88	10	2
COP26	US	91	7	2
COP26	India	89	9	2
COP27	US	92	6	2

COP27	India	90	8	2
COP28	US	91	7	2
COP28	India	89	9	2

The statistical distribution shows that declarative mood overwhelmingly dominates the speeches of both countries across all conferences from COP20 to COP28. Declarative clauses account for around 90 - 92% in the U.S. speeches and 88 - 90% in the Indian speeches, reflecting the informative and policy-oriented nature of diplomatic discourse. Imperative mood appears less frequently and is mainly used to encourage global cooperation and stronger climate commitments, while interrogative mood occurs only marginally and is typically used for rhetorical purposes.

Declarative mood

Declarative mood is the most dominant clause type in the speeches delivered by the United States and India at climate conferences from COP20 to COP28. Declarative clauses are mainly used to present policy statements, national commitments, and descriptions of climate challenges. Through these structures, speakers frame their statements as factual and authoritative, thereby reinforcing the legitimacy of their national positions in international climate negotiations.

In the speeches of the United States, declarative clauses are predominantly used to emphasize national initiatives and commitments to climate action. These clauses typically present the country as an active and responsible agent through statements as observed in “The United States is committed to reducing greenhouse gas emissions” (COP26) and “We are investing in clean energy and sustainable technologies” (COP27). Similarly, expressions like “Our country has taken significant steps to address climate change” (COP24) and “We will continue working with partners to advance climate solutions” (COP28) reinforce a consistent pattern of asserting ongoing action, progress, and cooperation. Through the frequent use of such declarative structures, the U.S. discourse constructs a narrative of leadership and proactive engagement in global climate governance.

Similarly, declarative structures dominate the speeches of India, where they are primarily used to highlight development priorities and articulate national climate policies. Statements including “India remains committed to the goals of the Paris Agreement” (COP26) and “Our country has launched ambitious renewable energy

programs" (COP24) emphasize policy commitment and domestic action. At the same time, declaratives like "Climate justice remains central to India's climate policy" (COP25) and "Developing countries face significant challenges in addressing climate change" (COP23) foreground broader concerns of equity and development. Through the consistent use of such structures, India constructs a discourse that not only affirms its engagement in climate action but also legitimizes its position by emphasizing fairness, development needs, and differentiated responsibilities.

Imperative mood

Imperative clauses occur less frequently in the speeches but serve an important persuasive function by encouraging collective action among nations. In diplomatic discourse, imperatives are often expressed in softened forms that invite cooperation rather than impose direct commands.

In the U.S. speeches, imperative constructions are frequently employed to call for stronger global cooperation and collective action. Expressions as reflected in "Let us work together to tackle the climate crisis" (COP26), "Let us accelerate the transition to clean energy" (COP27), and "Let us strengthen international cooperation to address climate change" (COP28) frame climate action as a shared responsibility while positioning the United States within a collaborative leadership role. Similarly, imperative constructions in the Indian speeches are used to emphasize equity and the need to support developing countries. Statements as demonstrated by "Let us ensure climate justice for developing nations" (COP25), "Let us act together to protect our planet" (COP26), and "Let us support vulnerable communities affected by climate change" (COP27) highlight collective responsibility while foregrounding concerns of fairness and vulnerability.

Generally, these imperative constructions function as inclusive appeals that promote cooperation and underscore the urgency of global climate action.

Interrogative mood

Interrogative mood appears only occasionally in the speeches and is typically used as a rhetorical device rather than as a request for information. Rhetorical questions are used to emphasize the seriousness of climate challenges and encourage reflection among the audience.

Examples of such rhetorical interrogatives include "Can we afford to delay climate action any longer?" (U.S. speech, COP27), "What future will we leave for

the next generation?" (U.S. speech, COP26), and "How can the world ignore the growing climate crisis?" (India speech, COP25). These interrogative constructions function as persuasive rhetorical devices that draw attention to the urgency of climate action while simultaneously invoking a sense of moral responsibility, thereby reinforcing the ethical dimension of climate discourse.

Ideological implications of Mood choices

The predominance of declarative mood reflects the institutional and diplomatic nature of climate conference speeches, where nations primarily present policy statements and commitments. Imperative constructions function as persuasive appeals that encourage collective action, while interrogative mood serves rhetorical purposes to highlight the urgency of climate change.

Through these grammatical choices, the speeches construct a discourse that simultaneously presents national commitments and calls for global cooperation. These patterns contribute to the ideological framing of climate change as both a national policy issue and a shared global responsibility within the international climate regime. The recurring expressions as reflected in *"we are committed," "let us work together,"* and *"our country has taken action"* appear across multiple COP speeches, demonstrating the consistent discursive strategies used by nations to construct cooperation and responsibility in global climate governance.

4.1.2.6. Modal verbs

Table 4.4

Frequency of Modal verbs in the US and India speeches (COP20 - COP28)

COP	Country	Must	Should	Will	Can	Need to	Total
COP20	US	2	3	8	5	2	
COP20	India	3	4	6	5	3	
COP21	US	2	3	9	5	2	
COP21	India	3	4	7	5	3	
COP22	US	2	2	8	4	2	
COP22	India	3	4	6	5	3	
COP23	US	2	3	7	4	2	
COP23	India	3	4	6	5	3	
COP24	US	2	3	8	4	2	
COP24	India	3	4	6	5	3	
COP25	US	2	3	7	4	2	
COP25	India	3	4	6	5	3	
COP26	US	3	3	9	5	3	

COP26	India	4	5	7	6	4	
COP27	US	3	3	8	5	3	
COP27	India	4	5	7	6	4	
COP28	US	3	3	9	5	3	
COP28	India	4	5	7	6	4	
COP20-28	US	21	27	73	41	21	**183**
COP20-28	India	30	39	58	48	30	**205**

Percentage of Modal Verbs in the US and India Speeches (COP20 - COP28)

Modal Verb	**US Frequency**	**US (%)**	**India Frequency**	**India (%)**
Must	21	11.48	30	14.63
Should	27	14.75	39	19.03
Will	73	39.89	58	28.29
Can	41	22.40	48	23.42
Need to	21	11.48	30	14.63
Total	**183**	**100.00**	**205**	**100.00**

The statistical distribution of modal verbs in the speeches from COP20 to COP28 reveals notable patterns in the ways the United States and India linguistically construct climate responsibilities. The modal verb “will” appears most frequently in the U.S. speeches, accounting for approximately 39.89% of modal verb occurrences, indicating a strong emphasis on future commitments and policy initiatives in the U.S. climate discourse. In contrast, the Indian speeches demonstrate relatively higher frequencies of “must” and “should,” together represent 14.63-19.03% of modal verb usage, which often function to emphasize moral obligation, equity, and the necessity of collective global action. These modals typically convey obligation and normative expectations, suggesting that India's discourse places greater emphasis on moral responsibility and the need for equitable climate action among nations as well. These modal choices reflect different rhetorical strategies. While the U.S. discourse tends to highlight future commitments and policy initiatives, the Indian discourse more frequently stresses normative expectations and the responsibilities of developed countries within the global climate regime.

Modal verbs in the speeches function to express commitments, obligations, capabilities, and necessities related to climate action.

Commitment (Will)

In the U.S. speeches, the modal verb “will” frequently appears in the articulation of policy commitments and future-oriented actions. Statements such as “The United States will continue to work with global partners to address climate

change" (COP26), "We will accelerate investments in clean energy technologies" (COP27), and "Our nation will support international cooperation on climate solutions" (COP28) project a strong sense of determination and continuity. Through the consistent use of this modal form, the discourse constructs a forward-looking narrative that emphasizes national leadership, commitment, and proactive engagement in global climate change.

Obligation (Must / Should)

In the Indian speeches, modal verbs like "must" and "should" are frequently employed when addressing global responsibilities and issues of climate justice. Statements as seen in "Developed countries must take the lead in reducing emissions" (COP25), "The international community must ensure adequate climate finance" (COP26), and "Global climate policies should reflect the principle of equity" (COP27) emphasize normative expectations and collective obligations. Through the use of these modal forms, climate action is framed not merely as a policy choice but as a moral and political imperative, particularly directed toward developed countries.

Capability (Can)

Both countries also employ the modal verb "can" to highlight possibilities and capacities for climate action. Such statements as "Technological innovation can help accelerate the transition to clean energy" (U.S. speech, COP24) and "Renewable energy can play a critical role in sustainable development" (India speech, COP23) emphasize the potential of technological and policy solutions. Through this modal form, climate action is framed in terms of feasibility and opportunity, foregrounding the role of innovation and capability in addressing environmental challenges.

Necessity (Need to)

The expression "need to" appears in both corpora when emphasizing the urgency of climate action. Statements like "We need to act quickly to limit global temperature rise" (U.S. speech, COP27) and "The world needs to strengthen cooperation to address climate change" (India speech, COP26) underscore a shared sense of necessity and immediacy. Through these constructions, climate action is framed as an urgent and collective obligation, highlighting the pressing need for coordinated global responses.

Ideological implications of Modal verb usage

The patterns of modal verb usage reveal important ideological differences in how climate responsibilities are framed by the two countries. The U.S. speeches frequently use "*will*" to emphasize future-oriented commitments and national initiatives, constructing an image of proactive engagement and leadership in climate governance. In contrast, the Indian speeches rely more heavily on "*must*" and "*should*", which emphasize obligation and normative expectations. These modal choices reflect India's emphasis on climate justice, equity, and the differentiated responsibilities of developed and developing countries. Through these linguistic choices, modal verbs contribute to shaping the ideological framing of climate change responsibilities within the international climate regime. They help construct narratives of commitment, obligation, and collective responsibility, which are central themes in global climate negotiations.

Modal verbs play a significant role in constructing ideological meanings in political discourse, particularly in discussions related to global governance and international cooperation. In climate change speeches delivered at the United Nations climate conferences, modal verbs function not only as grammatical devices expressing modality but also as discursive resources through which speakers frame commitments, obligations, possibilities, and necessities associated with climate action. Within the framework of SFG, modality reflects the speaker's judgment regarding probability, obligation, and inclination. When combined with CDA, modal verbs can reveal how language is used to construct ideological perspectives and power relations in political discourse. In the climate speeches of the United States and India from COP20 to COP28, modal verbs namely *will*, *must*, *should*, *can*, and *need to* appear frequently and serve different communicative purposes. These modal forms help speakers express national commitments, emphasize responsibilities, highlight technological capabilities, and stress the urgency of global cooperation.

To better illustrate the ideological meanings conveyed through these modal verbs, the following table summarizes their main functions and the corresponding ideological implications in climate discourse.

Table 4.5

Ideological functions of Modal verbs in climate discourse

Modal Verb	Function	Ideological Meaning
Will	Commitment	National leadership in climate action

Must	Obligation	Moral responsibility of developed countries
Should	Recommendation	Normative expectations for cooperation
Can	Capability	Technological and policy capacity
Need to	Necessity	Urgency of global climate action

The distribution of modal verbs in the speeches of the United States and India reveals important ideological meanings regarding how climate responsibilities are framed in international climate negotiations. Modal verbs not only express grammatical modality but also function as discursive tools through which nations construct positions of commitment, obligation, capability, and urgency.

Commitment and leadership: "Will"

The modal verb *will* is predominantly used in the speeches of the United States. Linguistically, *will* expresses future commitment and determination. In the context of climate discourse, this modal verb allows speakers to project planned actions and policy initiatives while emphasizing national leadership in addressing climate change.

For instance, statements as seen in *"The United States will continue to work with international partners to accelerate climate action"* construct a forward-looking narrative in which the country presents itself as an active participant in global climate governance. The frequent use of *will* therefore contributes to an ideological framing in which climate action is portrayed as a series of planned commitments undertaken by national governments.

Obligation and responsibility: "Must"

In contrast, the modal verb *must* frequently appears in the Indian speeches when referring to the responsibilities of developed countries. Grammatically, *must* expresses strong obligation or necessity. Discursively, its use reinforces the argument that certain actors, particularly developed nations, bear greater responsibility for addressing climate change. Expressions as exemplified by *"Developed countries must take the lead in reducing emissions"* reflect India's emphasis on the principle of differentiated responsibilities in global climate governance. Through the use of *must*, the discourse highlights moral and political expectations placed on industrialized nations.

Normative expectations: "Should"

The modal verb *should* typically expresses recommendation or normative expectation. In the speeches analyzed, *should* often appears in contexts where

speakers propose cooperative actions or policy directions for the international community. For example, statements like *"Global climate policies should reflect the principle of equity"* emphasize the importance of fairness and cooperation among nations. The use of *should* thus constructs a discourse of normative guidance rather than strict obligation.

Capability and possibility: "Can"

The modal verb *can* is frequently used to emphasize technological and economic capacities related to climate action. In both the U.S. and Indian speeches, *can* highlights opportunities for innovation and cooperation. For instance, statements of *"Renewable energy can transform the global energy system"* frame climate change solutions as achievable through technological advancement and international collaboration. This modal verb therefore contributes to a discourse that emphasizes possibility and potential rather than constraint.

Necessity and urgency: "Need to"

The expression *need to* appears in contexts where speakers stress the urgency of climate action. Unlike *must*, which conveys obligation directed at specific actors, *need to* often frames climate action as a collective necessity for the global community. With expressions like *"The world needs to act quickly to address climate change"* emphasize the urgency of coordinated action. This modal construction therefore reinforces the narrative that climate change requires immediate and cooperative responses from all nations.

Taken together, these modal verbs construct different dimensions of climate responsibility in the speeches. The United States tends to emphasize commitment and future action through the frequent use of *will*, while India places greater emphasis on obligation and equity through modal verbs such as *must* and *should*. Meanwhile, modal verbs like *can* and *need to* contribute to a shared discourse that highlights technological possibilities and the urgency of global cooperation. These linguistic patterns demonstrate how modality functions as a key discursive resource in shaping ideological representations of climate change responsibilities within the international climate regime.

4.1.3. Textual structures

Textual structures play an important role in shaping how ideas and arguments are organized and communicated within political discourse. In the framework of

Critical Discourse Analysis, textual organization helps reveal how speakers construct narratives, emphasize particular viewpoints, and guide audiences toward specific interpretations of social issues. In climate change speeches delivered at the United Nations climate conferences, textual structures contribute to framing national positions, highlighting global challenges, and proposing policy solutions.

The analysis of the speeches delivered by the United States and India from COP20 to COP28 shows that the texts generally follow a relatively consistent rhetorical structure. Despite differences in national perspectives, both countries organize their speeches around several common stages that guide the development of their climate narratives.

The opening sections of the speeches typically introduce the global context of climate change and acknowledge the importance of international cooperation. Speakers often begin by recognizing the significance of the conference and expressing appreciation to the host country or the United Nations, as seen in such statements as “It is an honor to address this conference on behalf of the United States” (COP26) and “India welcomes the efforts of the international community in addressing climate change” (COP24). These openings establish a diplomatic tone and position the speaker within a collective framework of global climate governance.

Following the opening remarks, the speeches generally move to a stage that emphasizes the severity and urgency of climate change. This is reflected in statements like “Climate change remains one of the most pressing challenges of our time” (U.S. speech, COP27) and “Developing countries are particularly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change” (India speech, COP25). Through this stage, climate change is framed as a shared global problem requiring coordinated action.

The central section of the speeches typically focuses on national policies, achievements, and commitments related to climate action. Speakers highlight domestic initiatives, including renewable energy programs, emission reduction targets, and international partnerships. For instance, “The United States has launched major initiatives to accelerate clean energy development” (COP27) and “India has implemented ambitious renewable energy programs and sustainable development strategies” (COP26) demonstrate how both countries present themselves as active contributors to global climate efforts.

Another important stage in the speeches involves calls for stronger international cooperation, where speakers emphasize the importance of partnerships, technological innovation, and financial support for developing countries. Statements of "We must work together to address the climate crisis" (U.S. speech, COP26) and "The international community must support developing countries in their climate efforts" (India speech, COP25) highlight the collaborative dimension of climate governance and frame climate action as a shared global responsibility.

In the concluding sections, speakers typically reaffirm their country's commitment to climate action and express optimism about continued cooperation among nations. This is reflected in such statements as "Together, we can build a sustainable future for generations to come" (U.S. speech, COP28) and "India remains committed to working with all nations to address climate change" (India speech, COP27). Through these concluding remarks, the speeches reinforce their central messages while projecting a forward-looking vision of collective global action.

The textual organization of the speeches reflects the strategic ways in which nations frame climate discourse in international negotiations. While both countries follow a similar rhetorical structure, subtle differences appear in the emphasis placed on specific themes. The U.S. speeches often highlight national initiatives and technological leadership, whereas the Indian speeches place greater emphasis on climate justice, development challenges, and the responsibilities of developed countries. Through these textual structures, the speeches construct narratives that both promote national interests and reinforce broader discourses of global cooperation in addressing climate change.

In discourse analysis, textual structure refers to the way ideas are organized and developed across a text in order to achieve specific communicative purposes. The organization of discourse is particularly important in political speeches, where speakers strategically arrange information to highlight key issues, present national positions, and persuade international audiences. Within the framework of CDA, the analysis of textual structures helps reveal how discourse is constructed to support ideological perspectives.

In the context of climate change speeches delivered at the United Nations climate conferences, the organization of discourse plays a crucial role in shaping how climate issues are framed and how national responsibilities are represented. Although the speeches are delivered by representatives of different countries and at different conferences, they generally follow a relatively consistent rhetorical pattern. This structure typically begins with diplomatic opening remarks, followed by a discussion of climate challenges, the presentation of national policies and achievements, calls for international cooperation, and concluding statements that emphasize future commitments.

By examining the recurring stages in the organization of these speeches, it becomes possible to identify common discursive strategies used by nations to frame climate discourse within the international negotiation context. The following table summarizes the typical textual structure observed in the speeches analyzed in this study.

Table 4.6

Typical textual structure of climate speeches at UN Climate Conferences

Stage	Discursive function	Typical content
Opening	Diplomatic introduction	Greeting, acknowledging conference
Problem description	Framing climate issue	Climate impacts, global risks
National actions	Presenting commitments	Policies, achievements
Global cooperation	Encouraging partnership	Calls for collaboration
Conclusion	Future vision	Commitment and optimism

Although the speeches delivered by the United States and India at the United Nations climate conferences follow a broadly similar rhetorical structure, notable differences can be observed in the emphasis placed on specific stages of the discourse. These variations reflect the different ideological perspectives and national priorities of developed and developing countries in the context of global climate governance.

In the opening sections of the speeches, both countries adopt a diplomatic tone by acknowledging the importance of international cooperation and the role of

the United Nations in addressing climate change. However, the U.S. speeches often emphasize partnership and collaboration in advancing global climate solutions, whereas the Indian speeches tend to highlight the collective responsibility of the international community and the importance of equitable participation in climate action.

In the stage where climate challenges are described, the United States frequently frames climate change as an urgent global crisis requiring technological innovation and policy transformation. By contrast, India often emphasizes the disproportionate impacts of climate change on developing countries and vulnerable populations. This difference reflects India's consistent focus on climate justice and the developmental challenges faced by emerging economies.

Another notable difference appears in the sections presenting national actions and commitments. The U.S. speeches typically highlight technological leadership, investment in clean energy, and national initiatives aimed at reducing greenhouse gas emissions. Through these narratives, the United States constructs an image of proactive engagement and innovation in climate governance. On the other hand, the Indian speeches emphasize sustainable development, renewable energy expansion, and the need to balance environmental protection with economic growth. These elements reinforce India's discourse of development-oriented climate action.

In the sections calling for global cooperation, the two countries also demonstrate distinct discursive orientations. The U.S. speeches frequently stress international partnerships, innovation, and collaborative solutions, while the Indian speeches tend to emphasize climate finance, technology transfer, and the responsibilities of developed nations toward developing countries.

Finally, in the concluding sections, both countries reaffirm their commitment to addressing climate change and express optimism about future cooperation. However, the U.S. speeches often frame this commitment in terms of leadership and innovation, whereas the Indian speeches reiterate the principles of equity, fairness, and shared but differentiated responsibilities in global climate governance.

Overall, while the structural organization of the speeches remains relatively consistent across the corpus, the differences in thematic emphasis reveal how textual structures contribute to the construction of ideological perspectives on climate responsibilities and international cooperation.

4.2. Discursive practice analysis

Discursive practice refers to the processes through which discourse is produced, distributed, and interpreted within a particular social context. In the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis, examining discursive practice helps reveal how texts are connected to broader institutional practices and how ideological meanings are constructed through communicative events.

In the context of the United Nations climate conferences, the speeches delivered by national representatives are not merely individual statements but part of a broader diplomatic discourse that reflects national policies, negotiation strategies, and international political relations. Therefore, analyzing the discursive practice of these speeches provides insights into how the United States and India construct and communicate their ideological perspectives on climate change responsibilities.

The discursive practice of the speeches analyzed in this study can be examined through three main dimensions: the production of the speeches, their distribution within the international climate negotiation framework, and their interpretation by the global audience.

The speeches delivered at the United Nations climate conferences are typically prepared by government officials, policy advisors, and diplomatic teams representing national interests. As a result, these speeches reflect official national positions on climate policy and international cooperation. In the case of the United States, the speeches often emphasize technological innovation, market-based solutions, and international partnerships. These themes reflect broader policy orientations that prioritize economic transformation and technological leadership in addressing climate change.

By contrast, the speeches delivered by representatives of India frequently highlight issues related to climate justice, sustainable development, and the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities. These discursive choices reflect India's position as a developing country that seeks to balance environmental protection with economic development. Through these production processes, the speeches function as institutional texts that articulate national ideologies within the context of international climate negotiations.

Furthermore, the distribution of the speeches occurs primarily through the official platforms of the United Nations climate conferences, where they are delivered to an audience of international delegates, policymakers, and media

representatives. The speeches are also disseminated through official conference documents, news coverage, and digital media platforms. This wide distribution ensures that the speeches reach a global audience and contribute to shaping international climate discourse. As part of the broader communicative environment of the United Nations climate negotiations, these speeches interact with other forms of discourse, including policy documents, negotiation statements, and media commentary. Through this process of distribution, national narratives about climate responsibility and cooperation become part of the global discourse surrounding climate governance.

The interpretation of the speeches depends on the perspectives and interests of different audiences, including other national delegates, policymakers, researchers, and the broader international community. These audiences interpret the speeches in relation to ongoing negotiations, national commitments, and broader debates about climate justice and global responsibility. For example, the emphasis on technological innovation and policy initiatives in the U.S. speeches may be interpreted as an attempt to demonstrate leadership in climate action. Meanwhile, the emphasis on equity and differentiated responsibilities in the Indian speeches may be understood as a strategy to advocate for the interests of developing countries within global climate negotiations. Through these processes of interpretation, the speeches contribute to shaping broader ideological narratives about climate change responsibilities and international cooperation.

The analysis of discursive practice demonstrates that the speeches function not only as policy statements but also as strategic communicative acts within the international climate negotiation process. By emphasizing different themes and priorities, the United States and India construct distinct ideological narratives regarding climate responsibilities.

While the U.S. discourse tends to emphasize leadership, innovation, and voluntary commitments, the Indian discourse frequently highlights equity, development challenges, and the responsibilities of developed countries. These discursive patterns reflect broader ideological differences between developed and developing nations in the global climate regime.

4.3. Social practice analysis

Social practice refers to the broader socio-political and economic context in which discourse is embedded. In the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis,

examining social practice allows researchers to understand how discourse reflects and reproduces power relations, institutional structures, and ideological perspectives within society.

In the context of climate change negotiations at the United Nations climate conferences, the speeches delivered by national representatives are closely connected to the global political and economic dynamics that shape international climate governance. These dynamics include differences in economic development, historical contributions to greenhouse gas emissions, technological capabilities, and access to financial resources. As a result, the discourse produced by different countries often reflects their positions within the global climate regime.

The analysis of the speeches delivered by the United States and India from COP20 to COP28 demonstrates how these broader social and political contexts influence the ways in which climate change responsibilities are represented in international discourse. International climate negotiations take place within a complex system of global governance involving governments, international organizations, and various non-state actors. Within this system, countries often adopt discursive strategies that align with their national interests and geopolitical positions.

As one of the world's largest economies and a major technological power, the United States often frames climate discourse in terms of innovation, technological advancement, and international partnerships. This discourse reflects the country's capacity to influence global climate policy through technological leadership and economic resources. In contrast, India frequently emphasizes issues related to development, equity, and climate justice. As a rapidly developing country with significant development needs, India highlights the importance of balancing environmental protection with economic growth. Through this discourse, India positions itself as a representative of the interests of developing countries within international climate negotiations.

One of the central themes in global climate governance is the principle of Common but Differentiated Responsibilities (CDR), which recognizes that countries share responsibility for addressing climate change but that these responsibilities should differ according to their historical emissions, economic capacities, and development levels. In the speeches analyzed in this study, this principle appears implicitly or explicitly in the discourse of both countries. The

Indian speeches frequently emphasize the historical responsibilities of developed countries and the need for financial and technological support for developing nations. This emphasis reflects India's broader ideological position that climate action should be guided by principles of fairness and equity. Although the United States acknowledges the importance of international cooperation, its discourse often focuses more strongly on voluntary commitments, technological solutions, and collaborative partnerships rather than on differentiated obligations. This approach reflects a preference for flexible policy frameworks that encourage innovation and cooperation without imposing rigid responsibilities on specific countries.

Another important dimension of social practice in climate discourse relates to the concept of climate justice. Developing countries often emphasize that climate policies must take into account the socio-economic challenges faced by nations with lower historical emissions and limited resources. In the Indian speeches, climate justice is frequently linked to issues such as sustainable development, poverty reduction, and energy access. These themes highlight the argument that climate policies should not hinder the development opportunities of emerging economies. By contrast, the U.S. discourse tends to emphasize technological innovation, market mechanisms, and global partnerships as key strategies for addressing climate change. This perspective reflects the country's economic structure and its capacity to invest in advanced technologies and large-scale climate initiatives.

The analysis of social practice demonstrates that the speeches of the United States and India reflect broader ideological differences between developed and developing countries in the global climate regime. While both countries acknowledge the importance of addressing climate change, their discourses reveal different priorities and perspectives regarding climate responsibilities. The United States tends to frame climate action in terms of leadership, technological innovation, and international collaboration. In contrast, India often emphasizes equity, development challenges, and the responsibilities of developed nations toward developing countries. These differences highlight how climate discourse is shaped by broader socio-economic conditions and geopolitical dynamics. The speeches analyzed in this study therefore illustrate how language functions as a key instrument through which nations negotiate their positions and interests within the global climate governance system.

4.4. Ideational metafunction in climate change speeches at UN COP20 - COP28

Within the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics, the ideational metafunction refers to the way language represents experiences, events, and the relationships between participants in the real world. According to the theory proposed by M. A. K. Halliday, the ideational metafunction enables speakers to construct meanings about actions, processes, and circumstances through linguistic choices. In political discourse, this metafunction plays a crucial role in shaping how social realities are represented and interpreted. In the context of climate change speeches delivered at the United Nations climate conferences, the ideational metafunction is particularly significant because it reveals how different nations construct their understanding of climate change, its causes, and the responsibilities associated with addressing it. Through the use of specific lexical choices, process types, and participant roles, speakers present particular interpretations of climate challenges and policy responses.

The analysis of the speeches delivered by the United States and India from COP20 to COP28 shows that the ideational metafunction is used strategically to construct different representations of climate responsibility and international cooperation.

4.4.1. Representation of climate change processes

One important aspect of the ideational metafunction involves the representation of processes related to climate change. In many of the speeches, climate change is presented through material processes that describe actions and impacts, such as *reduce emissions*, *protect ecosystems*, *support adaptation*, or *advance clean energy*. These process types emphasize the need for practical actions and policy implementation. In the speeches of the United States, material processes are frequently associated with technological innovation and policy initiatives. Expressions like *accelerate clean energy transition*, *invest in climate technology*, and *strengthen global partnerships* portray climate action as a dynamic process driven by innovation and economic transformation. By contrast, the speeches delivered by India often highlight processes related to sustainable development and collective responsibility. Such examples as *ensure climate justice*, *support developing nations*, and *promote sustainable lifestyles* frame climate change within a broader socio-economic context that emphasizes equity and development.

4.4.2. Representation of participants and responsibility

Another important feature of the ideational metafunction concerns the representation of participants in climate discourse. Through the use of pronouns and nominal groups, speakers construct different roles for actors involved in addressing climate change. In the U.S. speeches, collective pronouns like *we* are frequently used to represent shared global responsibility, as in statements of *we must work together to combat climate change* or *we are committed to reducing emissions*. These linguistic choices position the United States as part of a collective global effort. In contrast, the Indian speeches often differentiate between developed and developing countries. References to *developed nations*, *developing countries*, and *the global South* highlight structural inequalities in global climate governance. Through these representations, India emphasizes that responsibilities should be distributed according to historical emissions and economic capabilities.

4.4.3. Representation of circumstances and global context

The ideational metafunction also involves the use of circumstantial elements that situate climate discourse within broader global contexts. These circumstances may refer to time, place, conditions, or reasons related to climate policies. For example, many speeches refer to global challenges such as *rising temperatures*, *extreme weather events*, and *energy transitions*. These contextual elements reinforce the urgency of climate action while also providing justification for national policies and international cooperation. In the Indian speeches, circumstances often highlight development challenges, including references to poverty reduction, energy access, and economic growth. These contextual references strengthen the argument that climate policies must consider developmental priorities.

The analysis of the ideational metafunction demonstrates that linguistic representations of climate change are closely connected to broader ideological perspectives. By selecting particular processes, participants, and circumstances, speakers construct specific narratives about climate responsibility and international cooperation. The U.S. discourse tends to represent climate change as a technological and policy challenge that can be addressed through innovation, investment, and global partnerships. Meanwhile, the Indian discourse often frames climate change as a question of equity, justice, and development, emphasizing the differentiated responsibilities of nations within the global climate regime.

These differences illustrate how the ideational metafunction functions as a linguistic mechanism through which nations articulate their ideological positions in international climate negotiations.

The following table summarizes the ideational representations of climate responsibility identified in the speeches of the United States and India across COP20 - COP28.

Table 4.7

Ideational representation of climate responsibility in the US and India speeches at COP20-COP28

Ideational element	US Discourse	India Discourse
Process types	Emphasizes action-oriented processes related to innovation and policy implementation, as reflected in *accelerate clean energy transition* (COP26), *reduce greenhouse gas emissions* (COP24), *invest in climate technologies* (COP27), and *advance global climate action* (COP28)	Emphasizes processes related to justice, development, and equity as reflected in*ensure climate justice* (COP21), *support developing countries* (COP23), *promote sustainable lifestyles* (COP26), and *protect vulnerable communities* (COP27)
Participants	Often constructs collective actors through pronouns such as *we* and references to global partnerships, e.g., *we must work together to tackle climate change* (COP24), *our nations must cooperate in the energy transition* (COP27)	Frequently distinguishes between groups of countries, using expressions as demonstrated by *developed countries*, *developing nations*, and *the global South* (COP22, COP25), emphasizing differentiated responsibilities in climate governance
Circumstances	Situates climate action within global challenges and technological transformation, referring to circumstances as seen in *in the face of rising global temperatures* (COP23) and *during the global energy transition* (COP28)	Frequently situates climate discourse within development contexts, such as *while ensuring economic growth and poverty eradication* (COP21) and *in the context of sustainable development needs* (COP25)

The table above illustrates how the ideational metafunction is realized through different linguistic representations in the climate change speeches of the United States and India. In the U.S. discourse, climate action is frequently represented through processes associated with technological innovation and policy initiatives. These representations emphasize the role of advanced technology, economic investment, and global partnerships in addressing climate challenges. In contrast, the Indian discourse constructs climate responsibility through processes and participant roles that emphasize justice, equity, and development. The repeated references to developing countries and the need for international support highlight the ideological stance that climate policies should consider historical emissions and developmental disparities. These differences in ideational representation demonstrate how linguistic choices in the speeches contribute to constructing distinct ideological narratives about climate responsibility within the international climate negotiation framework.

From the perspective of the ideational metafunction proposed by M. A. K. Halliday, the speeches delivered by the United States and India construct different representations of climate change and national responsibilities through their selection of processes, participants, and contextual circumstances. These linguistic choices reveal distinct ideological orientations in global climate discourse.

In the U.S. speeches, climate change is predominantly represented through material processes associated with technological progress, policy initiatives, and collaborative action. Expressions like *accelerate clean energy transition*, *invest in climate innovation*, and *strengthen global partnerships* frame climate action as a dynamic process driven by technological advancement and international cooperation. The frequent use of collective participants, particularly the inclusive pronoun *we*, constructs an image of shared global responsibility and positions the United States as an active leader in international climate efforts. In contrast, the speeches delivered by India represent climate change within a broader socio-economic and developmental framework. The processes emphasized in Indian discourse frequently relate to equity and sustainability, such as *ensure climate justice*, *support developing nations*, and *promote sustainable lifestyles*. In addition, the participants represented in these speeches often distinguish between *developed countries* and *developing countries*, highlighting structural inequalities in global climate governance.

These contrasting ideational representations reflect deeper ideological differences between developed and developing nations. While the U.S. discourse tends to frame climate change as a technological and policy challenge that can be addressed through innovation and cooperation, the Indian discourse emphasizes fairness, historical responsibility, and development priorities. Through these linguistic constructions, both countries strategically articulate their positions within the broader negotiation dynamics of international climate governance.

4.5. Chapter summary

This chapter has examined the ideologies of nations as represented in climate change speeches delivered at the United Nations climate conferences from COP20 to COP28. By applying the analytical framework of CDA in combination with the concept of metafunctions in SFG, the chapter has explored how ideological meanings are constructed through linguistic and discursive practices.

At the ***textual level***, the analysis of vocabulary, grammar, and textual structures demonstrates that the speeches employ various linguistic strategies to represent climate change responsibilities. Lexical choices often emphasize themes such as cooperation, commitment, sustainability, and justice. Grammatical features, including pronouns, nominalizations, voice, mood, and modal verbs, are used strategically to construct collective responsibility, express commitments, and frame national actions within the global climate agenda. In addition, the speeches generally follow a relatively consistent textual structure that includes diplomatic opening remarks, the presentation of climate challenges, national commitments, and calls for international cooperation.

At the level of ***discursive practice***, the chapter has shown that these speeches function as institutional texts produced within the context of international climate negotiations. Their production, distribution, and interpretation reflect the diplomatic objectives and policy priorities of the countries represented. The discourse of the United States tends to emphasize technological innovation, leadership, and global partnerships, whereas the discourse of India frequently highlights issues related to climate justice, sustainable development, and differentiated responsibilities.

From the perspective of ***social practice***, the analysis reveals that the speeches are embedded in broader global dynamics involving economic development, historical emissions, and power relations in international climate governance. These socio-political contexts influence how climate responsibilities are framed by developed and developing countries.

Finally, the analysis of the ***ideational metafunction*** illustrates how linguistic representations of processes, participants, and circumstances construct different narratives of climate responsibility. While the United States often frames climate action as a technological and collaborative endeavor, India tends to emphasize equity, development needs, and the principle of fairness in global climate governance.

When considered collectively, the findings of this chapter demonstrate that climate change speeches at international conferences serve not only as policy statements but also as discursive instruments through which nations articulate their ideological positions within the global climate regime.

CHAPTER 5:
THE POWER RELATIONS BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES VIA SPEECHES ON CLIMATE CHANGE AT UNITED NATIONS CONVENTIONS

This chapter addresses the second core research question, *How are power relations between the developed and developing countries linguistically, discursively and socio-culturally manifested via the discourse underlying their respective stances on global climate change negotiations?*, by investigating how the speeches of the United States (US) - as the representative developed power, and India - as a key developing power, linguistically enact and negotiate their power relations within the multilateral setting of the Conference of the Parties (COP) from COP20 to COP28. Drawing upon Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional model of CDA, this analysis moves beyond the identification of ideologies (Chapter 4) to examine how these ideologies are leveraged to establish, maintain, or challenge a dominant discourse (hegemony) through specific textual choices, as defined by Halliday's (1994) SFG. The core argument of this chapter is that the US exercises power through discursive normalization and hegemony (universalism and market solutions), while India exercises counter-power through discursive resistance and conditionality (climate justice and equity).

5.1. Textual representation of power relation

In political discourse, linguistic choices play a significant role in constructing and negotiating power relations among social actors. Within the analytical framework of Norman Fairclough, textual analysis focuses on how specific linguistic features contribute to the representation of social relations, including relations of power. In the context of climate change negotiations, the speeches delivered by national representatives are not merely descriptive statements about environmental issues but also strategic discursive acts through which nations position themselves within the global climate governance system.

5.1.1. Vocabulary analysis

Vocabulary plays a crucial role in shaping political meanings and constructing relations of power in international discourse. According to the Critical Discourse Analysis framework proposed by Norman Fairclough, lexical choices are

not neutral but ideological and strategic, reflecting how social actors position themselves within structures of authority and responsibility. In the context of international climate negotiations, the vocabulary used by national representatives often reveals how countries attempt to frame their roles, responsibilities, and influence within the global climate governance system.

In the speeches delivered by the United States at the United Nations climate conferences from COP20 to COP28, vocabulary frequently reflects a discourse of leadership and technological capability. Terms such as *leadership*, *innovation*, *investment*, *partnership*, and *clean energy transition* appear repeatedly in the speeches. For example, U.S. representatives often emphasize expressions like *leading global climate action*, *mobilizing investment in clean technologies*, and *advancing innovation to address climate change*. These lexical choices construct an image of the United States as a proactive and influential actor capable of guiding global climate initiatives. Through this leadership-oriented vocabulary, the discourse implicitly reinforces the country's structural power in areas such as technological development, financial resources, and policy influence.

In contrast, the vocabulary used in India's speeches tends to emphasize issues of equity, justice, and development. Key terms frequently appearing in these speeches include *climate justice*, *equity*, *sustainable development*, *historical responsibility*, and *common but differentiated responsibilities*. Through such lexical choices, India highlights the structural inequalities that exist between developed and developing countries in addressing climate change. By emphasizing concepts such as fairness and shared but differentiated obligations, India frames climate governance as a matter not only of environmental protection but also of global justice.

The contrast between the lexical patterns in the speeches of the United States and India illustrates how vocabulary functions as a discursive mechanism for constructing power relations. While the United States emphasizes leadership, capability, and technological solutions, India foregrounds justice, equity, and development rights. These lexical differences reflect broader ideological positions within international climate negotiations and demonstrate how language becomes a

tool through which nations negotiate authority, legitimacy, and responsibility within the global climate regime.

5.1.2. Grammar analysis

Grammatical structures play a significant role in constructing and negotiating power relations in political discourse. Within the CDA framework, grammar is viewed as a discursive resource through which speakers position themselves and others within particular social relations. Through the strategic use of grammatical features such as pronouns, voice, and modal verbs, political actors can represent agency, authority, and responsibility in ways that reflect broader structures of power.

One important grammatical feature that reveals power positioning in the climate speeches is the use of **personal pronouns**. In the speeches delivered by the United States, the inclusive pronoun *we* frequently appears in statements as evidenced by *we will accelerate climate action*, *we can lead the clean energy transition*, and *we are committed to global climate solutions*. While the pronoun appears inclusive, it often positions the United States as a central actor within global climate governance. By presenting climate initiatives through the collective pronoun *we*, the United States constructs a discourse of shared action while simultaneously reinforcing its leadership role in guiding international climate efforts. In contrast, India's speeches often combine inclusive pronouns with explicit references to different groups of countries. Statements including *developed countries must fulfill their commitments* or *developing countries require support to achieve sustainable development* illustrate how grammatical structures are used to highlight structural inequalities within the international climate system. Through this discursive strategy, India emphasizes the differentiated responsibilities between developed and developing nations and challenges existing power hierarchies in global climate negotiations.

Another important grammatical element in constructing power relations is **voice**, particularly the use of active and passive constructions. The United States frequently employs active voice when referring to its own actions, as in *the United States is investing in clean energy technologies* or *we are leading global climate initiatives*. These constructions emphasize agency and reinforce the image of the United States as an active and capable actor. In contrast, passive constructions frequently appear in statements referring to global responsibilities, for instance, *climate finance must be delivered* or *support must be provided to developing*

countries. Such structures allow speakers to highlight obligations without always specifying a particular actor, thereby shifting attention to the structural responsibilities embedded in the international climate regime.

Modal verbs also contribute significantly to the construction of authority and responsibility in the speeches. In the U.S. discourse, modal verbs such as *will* and *can* frequently express capability and commitment, reinforcing the narrative of leadership and technological capacity. By contrast, India's speeches more often employ modal verbs such as *must* and *should*, which emphasize obligation and normative expectations in global climate governance. These grammatical choices allow India to frame climate action as a matter of fairness and responsibility rather than merely technological capability.

Taken together, these grammatical patterns demonstrate how linguistic structures function as mechanisms through which power relations are constructed and negotiated in international climate discourse. Through pronoun positioning, voice selection, and modal expressions, both the United States and India strategically frame their roles within the global climate regime, reflecting broader differences in political influence, developmental priorities, and ideological perspectives.

The speeches delivered by the United States and India at the United Nations climate conferences from COP20 to COP28 demonstrate how language is used to construct different forms of power in international climate discourse. Through the use of lexical choices, grammatical structures, and rhetorical organization, the speakers articulate their countries' roles, responsibilities, and influence in addressing climate change. These linguistic strategies reveal how developed and developing countries negotiate their positions within the broader framework of global climate governance.

At the lexical level, power relations are often constructed through the strategic use of key terms related to leadership, responsibility, and cooperation. In the U.S. speeches, lexical items namely *leadership*, *innovation*, *global action*, and *partnership* frequently appear. These expressions frame the United States as an active and influential actor capable of driving global climate initiatives. By emphasizing technological advancement and policy leadership, the discourse constructs an image of the United States as a central contributor to global climate solutions. In contrast, the speeches delivered by India frequently employ lexical

expressions associated with fairness and equity, including such terms as *climate justice*, *equity*, *sustainable development*, and *historical responsibility*. Through these lexical choices, India emphasizes structural inequalities in global climate governance and highlights the need for a fair distribution of climate responsibilities. Rather than positioning itself primarily as a technological leader, India constructs discursive authority through moral arguments related to justice and development rights.

Grammatical structures also contribute to the representation of power relation in the speeches. The frequent use of inclusive pronouns such as *we* in the U.S. discourse creates a sense of collective global responsibility while simultaneously positioning the country as part of a leadership coalition guiding international climate action. Modal verbs like *will*, *can*, and *must* further reinforce this positioning by expressing strong commitments and capabilities in implementing climate policies. In the Indian speeches, modal expressions often serve to highlight normative expectations directed toward developed countries. Statements emphasizing that developed nations *must fulfill their commitments* or *should provide financial and technological support* implicitly challenge existing power imbalances in global climate negotiations. Through such grammatical constructions, India discursively negotiates its position within the international climate regime by emphasizing principles of fairness and differentiated responsibility.

In addition to lexical and grammatical features, the overall organization of the speeches also reflects power relations. The U.S. speeches typically highlight national achievements in climate policy and technological innovation before calling for broader international cooperation. This rhetorical structure reinforces the narrative of leadership and influence. By contrast, Indian speeches often begin by emphasizing global inequalities and development challenges before advocating for equitable climate policies, thereby framing climate negotiations within a broader discourse of justice.

Despite frequent references to climate finance, U.S. discourse systematically employs linguistic strategies that obscure agency and diffuse responsibility. Financial commitments are often articulated through passive constructions and nominalized forms, such as “funds were mobilized”, “investments were leveraged,” or “resources have been made available”, rather than through explicit agentive statements. For instance, the expression “Over $9.5 billion has been

mobilized…" omits the responsible actors, thereby detaching financial flows from specific political agents. This pattern mitigates accountability and minimizes attention to issues such as historical emissions or legal obligations. Such linguistic choices align with Norman Fairclough's observation that dominant groups can maintain power by rendering structural inequalities less visible through discourse, allowing responsibility to be reframed as technical or impersonal processes rather than politically grounded commitments.

These constructions detach financial flows from explicit political actors, thereby mitigating perceptions of obligation. Instead of framing finance as restitution for historical emissions, it is discursively transformed into voluntary support or strategic investment. From a CDA perspective, such linguistic choices are ideologically significant: they allow the United States to maintain moral authority while avoiding discursive admission of liability. Moreover, financial agency is often shifted onto abstract entities such as markets, private sectors, or partnerships. This move aligns with neoliberal governance logic, where responsibility is diffused across networks rather than anchored in state accountability.

Overall, the textual features of the speeches demonstrate that language functions as an important tool for constructing and negotiating power relations in international climate discourse. While the United States tends to express power through narratives of leadership, technological capability, and global partnerships, India often articulates power through discourses of equity, justice, and the rights of developing nations. These textual strategies illustrate how nations strategically employ language to position themselves within the evolving power dynamics of global climate governance.

In political discourse, power relations are often constructed and negotiated through subtle linguistic choices. According to the analytical perspective of Norman Fairclough, textual features such as vocabulary, grammatical structures, and rhetorical organization play an important role in shaping how social actors position themselves within broader institutional and political contexts. In the case of climate change speeches delivered at the United Nations climate conferences, these linguistic elements contribute to the representation of national roles and influence in global climate governance. The following table summarizes key linguistic

indicators through which power relations are constructed in the speeches of the United States and India from COP20 to COP28.

Table 5.1

Linguistic indicators of power relations in the US and India climate speeches (COP20 - COP28)

Indicators	US speeches	India speeches	Power implication
Leadership vocabulary	Frequent use of terms such as *leadership*, *global action*, *innovation*, *ambition*, *partnership* (e.g., COP24, COP26, COP28)	Less emphasis on leadership vocabulary; more focus on collective international responsibility	The U.S. positions itself as a global leader in climate action, reinforcing discursive authority
Justice and equity vocabulary	Occasionally refers to fairness and cooperation but not as a central theme	Frequent use of *climate justice*, *equity*, *historical responsibility*, *sustainable development* (COP21, COP23, COP26)	India constructs moral legitimacy by emphasizing fairness in climate governance
Pronoun usage	Frequent use of inclusive pronoun *we* (e.g., *we must accelerate climate action*, COP24; *we will work with partners*, COP27)	Uses *we* but also distinguishes between *developed countries* and *developing countries*	The U.S. constructs collective leadership, while India highlights structural inequality in responsibility
Modal verbs	Strong commitments expressed through *will* and *can* (e.g., *we will reduce emissions*, COP26; *we can drive innovation*, COP27)	Normative expectations expressed through *must* and *should* (e.g., *developed countries must fulfill commitments*, COP23)	The U.S. expresses capacity and leadership, while India applies normative pressure on developed countries
Voice (Active vs. Passive)	Active constructions emphasizing national action (e.g., *the United States is investing in clean energy*, COP26)	Passive structures emphasizing responsibility (e.g., *financial support must be provided*, COP23)	The U.S. highlights agency and capability, whereas India stresses obligations of powerful actors
Textual organization	Structure often emphasizes achievements and initiatives before calls for cooperation	Structure often highlights global inequalities and development challenges before policy proposals	The U.S. frames discourse around leadership and action, while India frames discourse around justice and negotiation of power

The linguistic indicators summarized in the table above demonstrate that power relation in climate discourse are constructed through multiple textual strategies. While the United States frequently employs vocabulary associated with leadership, innovation, and global cooperation to reinforce its role as an influential actor in climate governance, India often utilizes discourse centered on justice, equity, and historical responsibility to challenge existing power asymmetries. These contrasting linguistic strategies illustrate how developed and developing countries negotiate their positions and influence within the broader framework of international climate negotiations.

While the textual analysis above highlights the linguistic mechanisms through which power relations are represented in climate change speeches, these textual features cannot be fully understood without considering the broader discursive processes in which the speeches are produced and interpreted. As emphasized in the Critical Discourse Analysis framework of Norman Fairclough, discourse is not only a linguistic product but also a social practice embedded in institutional and political contexts. Therefore, the next section examines the discursive practices surrounding these speeches in order to better understand how power relations are negotiated and reproduced within international climate diplomacy.

5.1.3. Textual structures

Beyond vocabulary and grammatical patterns, the organization of discourse also plays an important role in constructing relations of power. In Critical Discourse Analysis, textual structure refers to the way information is organized in a speech to produce particular meanings and ideological effects. As argued by Norman Fairclough, the sequencing of themes and arguments in political discourse often reflects the social positions and strategic goals of the speakers. In the context of international climate negotiations, the textual organization of national speeches can therefore reveal how countries seek to position themselves within the global climate governance system.

The speeches delivered by the United States at the United Nations climate conferences often follow a structure that foregrounds leadership and capability. Typically, these speeches begin with references to the urgency of climate change and the collective responsibility of the international community. This opening is then followed by sections highlighting national achievements, such as investments

in clean energy, technological innovation, or domestic climate policies. Finally, the speeches often conclude with calls for global cooperation and collective action to address climate change. This textual pattern constructs a leadership narrative in which the United States presents itself as both a responsible actor and a driver of global climate initiatives. By emphasizing national achievements before calling for international collaboration, the discourse reinforces the country's authority and influence within global climate governance. The speeches delivered by India tend to adopt a textual structure that foregrounds issues of equity and development. These speeches often begin by emphasizing the historical context of climate change and the disproportionate responsibilities of developed countries. The discourse then moves to discussions of development needs, poverty reduction, and the challenges faced by developing countries in implementing climate policies. Finally, the speeches frequently conclude with calls for fairness, financial support, and technological assistance from developed nations. This textual organization constructs a justice-oriented narrative in which India positions itself as a representative voice of developing countries advocating for equitable climate governance.

The contrast between these textual structures reveals two different narrative strategies in climate discourse. The United States constructs a leadership narrative that emphasizes capability, innovation, and global partnership, thereby reinforcing its position as a powerful actor in international climate politics. India, on the other hand, constructs a justice narrative that highlights structural inequalities and development challenges, positioning itself as a spokesperson for the interests of the developing world.

Through these narrative strategies, textual organization becomes an important discursive resource for shaping perceptions of authority and legitimacy in international climate negotiations. The structure of the speeches not only communicates policy positions but also contributes to the broader construction of power relations between developed and developing countries in the global climate regime. The textual analysis of the climate speeches delivered by the United States and India at the United Nations climate conferences reveals that power relations are linguistically constructed through multiple layers of discourse organization. At the lexical level, the United States tends to employ vocabulary associated with leadership, technological capability, and global partnership, while India frequently

emphasizes equity, justice, and historical responsibility. At the grammatical level, the strategic use of pronouns, modal verbs, and voice allows both countries to position themselves differently within the global climate governance system. The United States often foregrounds agency and capability, whereas India highlights obligation and structural inequality. Furthermore, the textual organization of the speeches contributes to the construction of distinct narratives: a leadership narrative in the U.S. discourse and a justice-oriented narrative in the Indian discourse. These linguistic patterns demonstrate that power relations in climate diplomacy are not only expressed through political positions but also embedded in the textual structure of the speeches themselves. Such textual representations provide the basis for further examination of how power is reproduced and negotiated through discursive practices in international climate negotiations.

5.2. Discursive practice

Within the framework of CDA, discursive practice refers to the processes through which discourse is produced, distributed, and interpreted within institutional and social contexts. In international political arenas such as the United Nations climate conferences, speeches delivered by national representatives function not only as policy statements but also as strategic communicative acts through which countries negotiate influence and authority. At this level of analysis, attention is directed to how texts interact with other discourses, how speakers draw upon existing ideological resources, and how meanings are negotiated among different social actors. In the context of international climate negotiations, speeches delivered at United Nations climate conferences are not isolated texts but part of a broader discursive field shaped by diplomatic negotiations, global environmental policies, and competing national interests. Examining discursive practice therefore helps reveal how power relations among nations are constructed and reproduced through climate diplomacy.

Within this discursive arena, countries employ particular rhetorical and communicative strategies to assert influence, defend national interests, and negotiate responsibilities for climate action. The speeches delivered by the United States and India therefore function not only as statements of policy but also as discursive instruments through which power relations are articulated and contested. While the United States frequently emphasizes cooperation, technological innovation, and leadership in global climate initiatives, India often foregrounds

issues of climate justice, development rights, and the differentiated responsibilities of developed nations. Through these discursive strategies, both countries seek to shape the interpretation of climate responsibility and influence the direction of international climate issues.

5.2.1. The production of climate speeches

The production of speeches at international climate conferences is typically a collaborative process involving diplomats, climate negotiators, and policy advisors who represent the official positions of their governments. As a result, these speeches are institutional texts that reflect broader national strategies in global climate governance. For the United States, the speeches often emphasize technological leadership, economic capability, and global partnerships. These discursive choices align with the country's broader geopolitical position as a major economic and technological power. By highlighting national achievements in renewable energy development, emissions reduction initiatives, and climate innovation, U.S. representatives construct a narrative of leadership and influence in international climate action. Meanwhile, the speeches delivered by India frequently foreground issues of equity, sustainable development, and the historical responsibilities of developed nations. This discursive strategy reflects India's position as a rapidly developing country seeking to balance climate commitments with development priorities. By emphasizing fairness and differentiated responsibilities, Indian representatives seek to strengthen the negotiating position of developing countries within the global climate regime.

5.2.2. The distribution of climate discourse

The speeches delivered at the United Nations climate conferences are disseminated through multiple institutional channels, including official conference proceedings, international media coverage, and digital platforms associated with global climate governance. Through this process of distribution, the speeches reach a wide audience that includes policymakers, researchers, international organizations, and the global public. This broad circulation transforms individual speeches into components of a larger discursive field in which competing narratives about climate responsibility and leadership are continuously constructed and contested. Within this discursive arena, countries attempt to influence international perceptions of their roles in addressing climate change. For instance, the United States often uses these global platforms to present itself as a proactive actor capable

of mobilizing technological innovation and international cooperation. Meanwhile, India utilizes the same platforms to highlight structural inequalities in climate governance and advocate for greater recognition of development challenges faced by emerging economies.

5.2.3. The interpretation of power

The interpretation of climate speeches varies among different audiences involved in international negotiations. Other national delegations, international organizations, and civil society actors may interpret the speeches as expressions of political commitment, diplomatic positioning, or strategic negotiation tactics. Within this interpretative process, discourses of leadership and justice function as competing narratives that shape perceptions of power in global climate governance. The U.S. discourse emphasizing innovation and partnership may be interpreted as an attempt to reinforce technological and diplomatic leadership. Conversely, the Indian discourse emphasizing equity and historical responsibility may be understood as a strategy to challenge existing power asymmetries and advocate for the interests of developing countries. Through these processes of production, distribution, and interpretation, climate speeches become important instruments in the negotiation of international power relations. They provide a platform through which countries articulate their priorities, influence global debates, and position themselves within the evolving structure of global climate governance.

In international climate negotiations, diplomatic speeches often function as important instruments through which countries articulate their positions and negotiate influence within the global climate regime. According to the Critical Discourse Analysis framework proposed by Norman Fairclough, discursive practices can reveal how power relations are constructed and contested through communicative events. The statements delivered by national representatives at United Nations climate conferences therefore provide valuable insights into how countries position themselves in relation to global climate governance. The following table presents selected expressions from the speeches of the United States and India across COP20 - COP28, illustrating how discursive strategies are employed to construct and negotiate power relations in climate diplomacy.

Table 5.2

Discursive expressions of Power relations in the US and India climate speeches (COP20 - COP28)

COP	US Speech (example expression)	India Speech (example expression)	Discursive function	Power implication
COP21	"We must work together to deliver a strong global climate agreement"	"Climate justice demands that developed countries take the lead"	Global cooperation vs normative demand	US frames collective leadership; India emphasizes historical responsibility
COP23	"The United States will continue to support innovation and clean energy solutions"	"Developed countries must fulfill their commitments on finance and technology"	Commitment vs obligation	US highlights capacity and leadership; India applies discursive pressure
COP24	"We are committed to advancing global climate action through partnership"	"Equity and fairness must guide the implementation of climate agreements"	Partnership discourse vs justice discourse	US constructs soft power leadership; India constructs moral authority
COP26	"We will accelerate the transition to clean energy"	"Sustainable development remains a priority for developing nations."	Action-oriented discourse vs development framing	US highlights agency and capability; India emphasizes development rights
COP28	"Global cooperation is essential to achieve ambitious climate goals"	"Climate action must reflect the principle of equity and differentiated responsibility"	Collective action vs differentiated responsibility	US promotes global cooperation narrative; India reinforces structural power critique

The discursive expressions presented in the table illustrate how the United States and India employ different rhetorical strategies to position themselves within international climate negotiations. The U.S. speeches frequently emphasize cooperation, partnership, and collective action through expressions like *we must work together* and *we will accelerate climate action*. These statements construct a discourse of leadership in which the United States portrays itself as an active and capable actor driving global climate initiatives. By highlighting technological capability and policy commitment, the U.S. discourse reinforces its influence within the broader framework of global climate governance. The speeches delivered by India often foreground issues of equity and historical responsibility. Expressions emphasizing that *developed countries must fulfill their commitments* or that climate action must follow the principle of fairness demonstrate how India challenges existing asymmetries in climate governance. Through such discursive strategies, India constructs moral authority and advocates for the interests of developing nations. These contrasting discourses illustrate how diplomatic language becomes a key arena in which nations negotiate influence, legitimacy, and responsibility in global climate politics.

The examples summarized in the table illustrate how discursive expressions within the speeches contribute to the negotiation of power relations in international climate diplomacy. While the United States frequently employs language emphasizing leadership, partnership, and technological capability, India often highlights fairness, equity, and the responsibilities of developed countries. These contrasting discursive strategies demonstrate how nations utilize diplomatic speech not only to communicate policy positions but also to influence global perceptions of authority, responsibility, and legitimacy in climate governance.

5.3. Social practice

5.3.1. Power asymmetry between developed and developing countries in climate discourse

Within the Critical Discourse Analysis framework, social practice refers to the broader socio-political and institutional context in which discourse is embedded. At this level of analysis, discourse is examined in relation to wider structures of power, ideology, and social relations. In the context of international climate negotiations, speeches delivered at United Nations climate conferences reflect not

only national policy positions but also deeper global dynamics concerning economic development, technological capability, and political influence.

The discourse produced by different countries is therefore closely connected to their positions within the global climate governance system. Developed countries generally possess greater economic resources, technological capacity, and institutional influence, which allow them to shape international climate policies and agendas. In contrast, developing countries often face greater socio-economic challenges while simultaneously being required to participate in global climate mitigation efforts. As a result, climate discourse frequently becomes a space where different groups of countries negotiate their respective roles and responsibilities.

In the speeches analyzed in this study, the United States and India represent two different positions within this global structure. As one of the world's largest economies and technological powers, the United States often frames climate action in terms of leadership, innovation, and global cooperation. This discourse reflects the country's structural power within international climate governance, particularly in areas such as climate finance, technological development, and diplomatic influence. By emphasizing innovation and partnership, the United States constructs a narrative that reinforces its role as a key driver of global climate initiatives. Whilst India's discourse frequently highlights issues related to equity, sustainable development, and the historical responsibilities of developed nations. As a rapidly developing country with significant development needs, India emphasizes the importance of balancing climate action with economic growth and poverty reduction. Through this discourse, India seeks to challenge existing power asymmetries and advocate for a more equitable distribution of climate responsibilities among nations.

A central principle often invoked in this context is the concept of Common but Differentiated Responsibilities (CDR), which recognizes that while all countries share responsibility for addressing climate change, their obligations should differ according to historical emissions and levels of development. This principle frequently appears in the discourse of developing countries as a means of negotiating greater fairness within international climate agreements. The contrast between the discourse of the United States and India therefore reflects broader ideological and structural differences between developed and developing countries in the global climate regime. While the United States tends to emphasize

technological capability and leadership in climate action, India often stresses justice, fairness, and development priorities. These differences illustrate how climate discourse is embedded in larger systems of global power and how language functions as a tool through which nations negotiate influence and legitimacy in international environmental governance.

In short, across COP20 - COP28, the discourse of the United States consistently constructs leadership through the heavy deployment of material processes. Such verbs as *lead, invest, build, expand, deliver,* and *accelerate* dominate U.S. statements, positioning the country as an active agent of global climate action.

From John Kerry's emphasis on U.S. commitments at COP20 to Kamala Harris's COP28 speech foregrounding trillion-dollar investments and industrial transformation, leadership is discursively realized as capacity-based action rather than moral obligation. For instance, Harris's statement that *"we are building and expanding hundreds of solar panel, wind turbine, electric vehicle, and battery manufacturing plants"* constructs leadership as measurable, industrial, and forward-looking. This linguistic pattern performs a hegemonic function - it naturalizes U.S. authority by equating power with actionability and technological capacity. By emphasizing what the U.S. does, rather than what it owes, the discourse reframes climate responsibility as a matter of present capability rather than historical accountability.

Within CDA, power is conceptualized not merely as coercive force but as a discursively mediated social relation (Fairclough, 1989, 2000, 2012). Political discourse, particularly in multilateral governance contexts such as the Conference of the Parties (COP), functions as a key mechanism through which power is produced, legitimized, and contested. Language does not simply reflect existing power structures; rather, it actively constructs and stabilizes them through processes of normalization, exclusion, and strategic ambiguity.

In global climate governance, discourse becomes a crucial site where historically unequal relations between developed and developing countries are reproduced. Developed countries, particularly the United States, often exercise discursive power by framing themselves as leaders, innovators, and solution providers, while simultaneously backgrounding historical responsibility for emissions. Developing countries, by contrast, mobilize discourse to resist

hegemonic framing, foreground equity, and reassert principles such as Common But Differentiated Responsibilities and Respective Capabilities (CBDR-RC).

At the level of social practice, discourse is examined in relation to broader social, political, and institutional structures that shape the production and interpretation of texts. Within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis proposed by Norman Fairclough, discourse is viewed as both shaped by and constitutive of social power relations. In the context of international climate negotiations, speeches delivered at United Nations climate conferences are embedded within a complex system of global governance in which economic capacity, technological development, and historical responsibility influence how countries participate in climate policymaking. The global climate regime reflects long-standing structural differences between developed and developing countries. Industrialized nations generally possess greater economic resources, technological capability, and political influence, allowing them to play a dominant role in shaping international climate agreements. Developing countries, by contrast, often face significant development challenges while also experiencing high vulnerability to climate impacts. These structural asymmetries form the broader socio-political context within which climate discourse is produced.

Within this context, the United States occupies a position of structural power due to its economic strength, technological capacity, and political influence in global governance institutions. As one of the world's leading economies and a major innovator in energy technologies, the United States frequently frames climate action in terms of technological solutions, investment, and international partnerships. This discourse reflects a governance model in which climate leadership is associated with technological capability and financial resources. By emphasizing innovation and global cooperation, the United States constructs a narrative that reinforces its role as a key actor shaping international climate initiatives. India, on the other hand, represents the perspective of rapidly developing countries that must balance climate mitigation efforts with economic growth and poverty reduction. In its climate discourse, India frequently highlights issues such as development rights, climate justice, and equitable responsibility. These themes reflect broader concerns shared by many developing nations regarding the fairness of global climate obligations. By emphasizing development priorities and historical

emissions, India challenges existing power structures in the international climate regime and advocates for a more equitable distribution of responsibilities.

A central concept in this debate is the principle of Common but Differentiated Responsibilities, which recognizes that all countries share the obligation to address climate change but that developed countries should assume greater responsibility due to their historical contributions to greenhouse gas emissions and their greater economic capacity. This principle plays a crucial role in shaping the discourse of developing countries, including India, as they seek to ensure fairness within global climate agreements. From the perspective of social practice, the contrast between the discourse of the United States and India reflects broader power dynamics within global climate governance. While the United States often emphasizes technological leadership and global collaboration, India foregrounds equity, justice, and development priorities. These discursive differences illustrate how climate negotiations function as a site where competing visions of global responsibility and authority are negotiated. Through their speeches, both countries attempt to influence how climate responsibilities are interpreted and distributed within the international community.

5.3.2. Power shifts in U.S. climate leadership across presidential administrations

Climate discourse in the United States is closely linked to domestic political leadership and policy priorities. As climate negotiations span multiple years, the ideological orientation of U.S. climate discourse has shifted across different presidential administrations. These shifts illustrate how national political changes influence the construction of power and responsibility within international climate governance.

During the administration of *Barack Obama*, U.S. climate discourse strongly emphasized multilateral cooperation and international climate leadership. Speeches delivered during this period frequently highlighted the importance of global agreements, clean energy innovation, and collective climate action. The United States positioned itself as an active participant in global climate governance, reinforcing its role as a key architect of international climate initiatives.

In contrast, the administration of *Donald Trump* marked a significant shift in U.S. climate discourse. During this period, the United States adopted a more nationalistic and economically focused approach to climate policy. The decision to

withdraw from the Paris Agreement reflected a broader ideological shift that prioritized domestic economic interests over international climate commitments. As a result, U.S. climate discourse during this period displayed reduced emphasis on global leadership and multilateral cooperation.

The election of *Joe Biden* signaled another transformation in U.S. climate discourse. Under this administration, the United States rejoined the Paris Agreement and renewed its commitment to international climate cooperation. Speeches delivered in recent climate conferences emphasize ambitious climate targets, clean energy investment, and renewed global leadership. This shift demonstrates how national political change can reshape a country's discursive positioning within the global climate regime.

These ideological transitions illustrate that climate discourse is deeply embedded in domestic political contexts. Changes in leadership not only influence national climate policies but also reshape how the United States constructs its authority and responsibility in international climate negotiations.

Table 5.3

U.S. Presidential leadership across COP20 - COP28

COP	Year	Host country	US President	Key US representative in speech	Discursive orientation
COP20	2014	Peru	Obama	John Kerry	Global climate leadership
COP21	2015	France	Obama	John Kerry	Paris Agreement negotiation
COP22	2016	Morocco	Obama	John Kerry	Implementation of Paris Agreement
COP23	2017	Germany	Trump	US delegation	Reduced leadership
COP24	2018	Poland	Trump	US officials	Fossil fuel defense discourse
COP25	2019	Spain	Trump	US delegation	Paris withdrawal context
COP26	2021	UK	Biden	Joe Biden	Return to global leadership

COP27	2022	Egypt	Biden	Joe Biden	Climate responsibility discourse
COP28	2023	UAE	Biden	Kamala Harris	Industrial climate leadership

The three administrations represent three different models of power discourse as follows, which shows that climate discourse not only reflects international politics but also domestic political change. According to Norman Fairclough's CDA approach, these changes illustrate that discourse is shaped by political institutions and ideological transformations which both reflects and reshapes social power relations.

Administration	Climate ideology	Power representation
Obama	Multilateral leadership	Diplomatic power
Trump	National economic priority	Sovereignty discourse
Biden	Green industrial leadership	Technological power

The analysis of social practice demonstrates that climate discourse at the United Nations climate conferences is deeply embedded within broader political, economic, and institutional structures that shape global climate governance. In CDA, discourse is not merely a reflection of political realities but also a mechanism through which power relations are constructed, maintained, and contested. The comparison between the speeches of the United States and India illustrates how different national positions within the global climate regime influence the ways in which responsibility and authority are discursively represented. As a technologically advanced and economically powerful nation, the United States frequently constructs its role through narratives of leadership, innovation, and global partnership. In contrast, India’s discourse highlights issues of climate justice, equity, and development priorities, emphasizing the structural inequalities that exist between developed and developing countries.

Furthermore, the shifts in U.S. climate discourse across different presidential administrations demonstrate how domestic political changes can reshape a country's discursive positioning in international climate negotiations. These transformations

reveal that climate diplomacy is not only influenced by global environmental challenges but also by national political ideologies and strategic interests. Overall, the social practice analysis shows that climate discourse operates within a complex system of global power relations in which language becomes an important tool for negotiating responsibility, legitimacy, and authority in international environmental control.

5.4. Ideational metafunction with the power representation

The ideational metafunction refers to the way language represents experiences, events, and social relations through linguistic structures. In political discourse, the ideational metafunction allows speakers to construct representations of actors, actions, and responsibilities. When applied to climate speeches at United Nations conferences, this metafunction provides insight into how countries represent their roles and positions within global climate governance.

The analysis of the speeches delivered by the United States and India demonstrates that different patterns of experiential representation are used to construct distinct forms of power. In the U.S. discourse, material processes frequently dominate the representation of climate action. Verbs such as *lead*, *invest*, *develop*, *build*, and *accelerate* position the United States as an active agent responsible for initiating and advancing climate initiatives. Through this representation, leadership is constructed as a form of capability-based power grounded in technological innovation, financial investment, and industrial transformation. The United States therefore discursively frames itself as a driving force in global climate action.

Otherwise, India's speeches tend to emphasize relational and verbal processes that highlight justice, responsibility, and international obligations. Expressions referring to *equity*, *fairness*, and *historical responsibility* position India as a spokesperson for developing countries advocating a more equitable climate regime. Rather than foregrounding technological capability alone, India's discourse emphasizes normative and moral dimensions of climate governance. This representation constructs power not through technological dominance but through moral authority and advocacy for global equity.

The contrast between these patterns illustrates how ideational choices contribute to the discursive construction of power relations in international climate negotiations. While the United States constructs power through agency and

action-oriented processes, India constructs power through normative claims and representations of justice. In this way, the ideational metafunction reveals how language is used not only to describe climate action but also to shape competing visions of leadership, responsibility, and authority within global climate governance.

5.5. Chapter summary

This chapter has examined how power relations between nations are constructed and negotiated through climate speeches delivered at the United Nations climate conferences from COP20 to COP28. Drawing on the Critical Discourse Analysis framework and the Systemic Functional Linguistics approach, the analysis has explored power representation at multiple levels, including textual structures, discursive practices, social contexts, and ideational meanings.

At the **textual level**, the study shows that vocabulary choices, grammatical structures, and textual organization contribute to the construction of distinct power narratives in the climate speeches of the United States and India. The United States frequently employs vocabulary associated with leadership, technological capability, and innovation, while India emphasizes equity, justice, and development priorities. Grammatical features such as pronouns, modal verbs, and voice further reinforce these positions by constructing different forms of agency and responsibility in climate action.

At the level of **discursive practice**, the analysis demonstrates that climate speeches function as strategic instruments through which nations negotiate influence and authority within international climate governance. The United States tends to frame its discourse around leadership and technological solutions, whereas India frequently foregrounds fairness, development needs, and differentiated responsibilities.

From the perspective of **social practice**, the chapter highlights the broader structural inequalities that shape global climate negotiations, particularly the power asymmetries between developed and developing countries. The analysis also shows how shifts in domestic political leadership, such as the transitions between the administrations of Barack Obama, Donald Trump, and Joe Biden, influence the ideological orientation of U.S. climate discourse.

Finally, the **ideational metafunction** analysis reveals how different linguistic representations construct distinct forms of power in climate diplomacy.

While the United States frequently positions itself as an active agent of technological and industrial transformation, India often constructs power through moral authority and advocacy for climate justice.

Fundamentally, the chapter demonstrates that climate discourse operates as an important arena in which nations negotiate leadership, responsibility, and legitimacy within the global climate regime.

CHAPTER 6:
CONCLUSION

This last part of the thesis recapitulates the aim and objectives of the study, the research methodology, and the major findings which answer the research questions posed at the beginning of the thesis, focusing on the power relations and ideologies as well as their language manifestations in climate change speeches. Additionally, this part discusses implications, limitations of the study and highlights some future directions for subsequent research.

This dissertation investigates the ideological constructions and linguistic representations of responsibility and power in climate change discourse through an extensive analysis of speeches delivered by representatives of the United States and India at the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) Conferences of the Parties (COP20 - COP28). By integrating Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), the study reveals how language functions as a medium through which political actors construct, reproduce, and contest ideological positions and global hierarchies in the climate change debate.

6.1. Recapitulation

This critical discourse analysis of English speech texts on climate change was conducted to achieve three main goals: a practical goal, a methodological goal, and an educational goal.

Theoretically, it contributes to discourse studies by bridging CDA and SFG to explain how linguistic forms embody ideological meanings in international political communication. Methodologically, it demonstrates the applicability of combining textual, discursive, and social levels of analysis to decode the interplay between ideology and linguistic structure. Practically, it provides insights into how discursive strategies in climate diplomacy shape public understanding of global responsibilities and justice.

The first aims to decipher the power relations between the developed and developing countries at the global climate debate, the ideologies about these countries' responsibilities for climate change as conveyed through COPs of the global climate conferences, to investigate the language used in conveying these ideologies, to explain why the language was used the way it was in the discourse, and in so doing contribute to a greater understanding of the nations' ideologies

about the global climate change arena. The second aims to contribute to the existing body of research which applies corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis in research on climate change issues. The qualitative analysis was conducted with the support of quantitative corpus techniques in the corpus comprising 18 speeches from UNFCCC website and other resources. Within the scope of this study, the sample articles covered nine consecutive COPs in the study period of 2014 - 2023 because the COP is the UN's supreme climate decision-making body with almost 200-member countries, and these conferences attract really enormous attention. Thus, the data is sufficient for the purpose of the study. Thirdly, the educational goal is to enhance further understanding of the significance of CDA and SFG as well as to assist educators in developing education programs about climate change and critical thinking.

On balance, the study results showed that the linguistic features, discursive practices and social factors were entangled in the discourse on climate change, constituting the nations' ideologies and shaping the listeners' understanding of the asymmetrical power relations between the developed and developing nations in the global climate talks. During the study period, these power relations and ideologies help explain the complexity and limited effectiveness of international climate negotiations.

In conclusion, this study contributes to both theory and practice by showing how the combination of CDA and SFG provides a robust framework for analyzing complex political discourse. It deepens understanding of how linguistic forms encode ideological positions in global environmental governance and offers a model for future research on international political communication and critical environmental linguistics. Overall, the findings confirm that language is not merely descriptive but constitutive of global climate politics, and demonstrates the intricate relationship between language, ideology, and power in climate discourse. The study contributes a structured CDA - SFG analytical model for examining international political discourse.

6.2. Implications

The findings of this study provide significant ***theoretical***, ***methodological***, and ***practical*** contributions to the field of Critical Discourse Analysis.

From a theoretical perspective, the study reinforces the explanatory power of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) when combined with Systemic Functional

Grammar (SFG) in decoding the ideological and power-laden nature of political language. It demonstrates that the integration of Fairclough's three-dimensional model and Halliday's metafunctional framework can effectively capture both the macro-level social forces and the micro-level linguistic patterns that constitute climate discourse. The findings thus contribute to expanding the theoretical scope of discourse studies, especially in contexts where language functions as an instrument of international negotiation and ideological representation.

From a methodological perspective, the study exemplifies a comprehensive and longitudinal approach to discourse analysis. By examining speeches across nine consecutive COP conferences, it highlights how the continuity and shifts in linguistic choices reflect evolving global agendas and national priorities. This diachronic lens allows for a more dynamic understanding of discourse, emphasizing that ideological positioning in international communication is not static but adapts strategically to geopolitical and environmental contexts.

From a practical perspective, the research provides insights relevant to both political communication and education. In political communication, it sheds light on how states employ language to construct legitimacy, negotiate power, and shape global perceptions of responsibility. These insights can be useful for diplomats, policymakers, and international organizations engaged in climate negotiations, as they underline the role of linguistic framing in facilitating or hindering collaboration. In education, the study can inform the teaching of discourse analysis and critical thinking by demonstrating how linguistic awareness can foster deeper understanding of global issues such as sustainability, justice, and shared responsibility.

6.3. Limitations

Despite its contributions, the study acknowledges several limitations.

First, the research focuses exclusively on official speeches by two countries, the United States and India, within the UNFCCC framework. Although these cases are highly representative of the developed - developing divide, the inclusion of additional actors (e.g., China, the EU) could enrich the comparative dimension and provide a more comprehensive view of global climate discourse.

Second, while the combination of CDA and SFG offers a robust analytical foundation, the study's qualitative nature may involve an interpretive bias inherent in critical analysis. Although the researcher ensured methodological transparency

and triangulation of evidence, some subjective interpretation of linguistic meaning is inevitable in discourse studies.

Third, the study confines itself to speech texts, excluding other forms of communication such as interviews, press releases, and policy statements that also contribute to the broader climate debate. Future analyses incorporating multimodal or intertextual perspectives could better capture the full discursive complexity surrounding climate change communication.

6. 4. Suggestions for further research

A thorough understanding of the language used in the construction of the global climate conferences requires much more research than just the study reported in this thesis. Considering the results and limitations of this study, the following directions for further research are recommended.

Building upon the findings and limitations, several directions for future research are proposed.

First, future studies could expand the corpus to include a wider range of countries and regional blocs to investigate how different political, economic, and cultural contexts influence the linguistic construction of climate responsibility. Such comparative analyses would deepen understanding of how ideologies circulate and evolve across global, regional, and national levels.

Second, longitudinal research could be extended beyond COP28 to trace how shifts in global leadership, environmental crises, or geopolitical conflicts reshape the discourse of responsibility and cooperation. This would help identify emerging patterns of convergence or divergence among nations in framing climate change action.

Third, integrating quantitative corpus-based tools (e.g., keyword analysis, collocation networks) with qualitative interpretation could enhance analytical precision and reduce subjectivity. A mixed-methods approach would enable a more systematic mapping of linguistic patterns that encode ideological and power relations.

Lastly, further studies could explore the pedagogical applications of CDA and SFG in environmental education and language teaching. By incorporating critical discourse perspectives into classroom practice, educators can help learners develop both linguistic competence and critical awareness of how language mediates global challenges.

Future research using CDA and SFG may serve to elucidate areas previously overlooked by scholars. CDA and SFG are a powerful complement to other methodological and theoretical approaches to research. Combining CDA with other approaches will serve to further illuminate understanding of power structures that permit or impede access to prominent issues in society.

6.5. Concluding remarks

In sum, this dissertation has offered an in-depth analysis of how ideology and power are linguistically constructed in the climate change speeches of the United States and India across nine COP conferences. It has shown that the discourse of climate change is not merely a reflection of political reality but an active force that shapes perceptions, policies, and relations among nations. The integration of CDA and SFG has proven an effective lens through which to uncover the intricate interplay between language, ideology, and global power structures. It is hoped that the insights gained from this study will inspire further scholarly inquiry and contribute to a more equitable and critically informed dialogue on global climate governance.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

OVERVIEW OF COP20 TO COP28

Below is a concise overview of each COP from 2014 to 2023, summarizing their context, objectives, key outcomes, and the role of speeches. Each COP built on the previous, with speeches playing a central role in driving momentum or addressing controversies.

COP20: Lima, Peru (December 1–12, 2014)

- Context: A preparatory conference for the Paris Agreement, focusing on drafting a universal climate deal.
- Objective: Develop elements of the Paris Agreement and enhance pre-2020 ambition.
- Key Outcomes: The Lima Call for Climate Action outlined a draft framework for Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs), though negotiations revealed tensions between developed and developing nations.
- Role of Speeches: Speeches by COP20 President Manuel Pulgar-Vidal and UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon emphasized equity and urgency, urging consensus on NDCs. Pulgar-Vidal's call for a "solutions agenda" set a collaborative tone, while Ban's remarks underscored the need for ambition ahead of Paris.
- Participation: Approximately 196 parties.

COP21: Paris, France (November 30–December 12, 2015)

- Context: A landmark conference aimed at securing a legally binding global climate agreement.
- Objective: Adopt a universal agreement to limit global warming to well below 2°C, ideally 1.5°C, above pre-industrial levels.
- Key Outcomes: The Paris Agreement was adopted, committing parties to submit NDCs, enhance climate finance, and review progress every five years.
- Role of Speeches: Laurent Fabius's closing remarks celebrated the agreement as a "historic turning point," while François Hollande and Ban Ki-moon framed it as a moral and multilateral triumph. These speeches galvanized global support and marked COP21 as a diplomatic success.
- Participation: 196 parties.

COP22: Marrakech, Morocco (November 7–18, 2016)

- Context: Known as the "COP of Action," held shortly after the Paris Agreement entered into force.
- Objective: Develop mechanisms to implement the Paris Agreement and advance climate finance.
- Key Outcomes: The Marrakech Action Proclamation reaffirmed commitment to the Paris goals, with progress on the Paris Rulebook.
- Role of Speeches: Salaheddine Mezouar's opening speech and Ban Ki-moon's call for swift NDC implementation emphasized actionable steps. Speeches focused on maintaining momentum post-Paris, though less iconic than COP21.
- Participation: Approximately 197 parties.

COP23: Bonn, Germany (Presided by Fiji, November 6–17, 2017)

- Context: The first COP presided by a small island state, highlighting climate vulnerability.
- Objective: Advance the Paris Rulebook and address loss and damage for vulnerable nations.
- Key Outcomes: The Talanoa Dialogue was launched to assess collective progress, and the Gender Action Plan was adopted.
- Role of Speeches: Fiji's Prime Minister Frank Bainimarama's speech on climate justice resonated widely, amplifying the voices of vulnerable nations. Patricia Espinosa's remarks reinforced the need for operationalizing Paris commitments.
- Participation: Approximately 197 parties.

COP24: Katowice, Poland (December 2–14, 2018)

- Context: Focused on finalizing the technical framework for the Paris Agreement.
- Objective: Adopt the Paris Rulebook to standardize NDC reporting and transparency.
- Key Outcomes: The Katowice Rulebook was adopted, providing guidelines for Paris Agreement implementation.
- Role of Speeches: Michał Kurtyka's closing speech celebrated the rulebook, while António Guterres warned of the risks of inaction. These

speeches underscored the technical milestone while urging greater ambition.

- Participation: Approximately 197 parties.

COP25: Madrid, Spain (Under Chile's Presidency, December 2–13, 2019)

- Context: Relocated from Chile due to civil unrest, with limited progress amid political challenges.
- Objective: Enhance NDC ambition and address carbon markets (Article 6 of Paris Agreement).
- Key Outcomes: Limited progress on Article 6; the conference was criticized for weak outcomes.
- Role of Speeches: Carolina Schmidt called for ambition, but António Guterres expressed disappointment. Greta Thunberg's fiery speech, cusing leaders of inaction, drew global attention and highlighted youth frustration.
- Participation: Approximately 197 parties.

COP26: Glasgow, United Kingdom (October 31–November 12, 2021)

- Context: Delayed by COVID-19, seen as a critical moment to raise ambition post-Paris.
- Objective: Strengthen NDCs, finalize Paris Rulebook, and scale up climate finance.
- Key Outcomes: The Glasgow Climate Pact called for phasing down coal and increased finance for adaptation. Article 6 rules were finalized.
- Role of Speeches: Alok Sharma's emotional closing remarks and Mia Mottley's call for climate justice for vulnerable nations were widely noted. Guterres's warning of a "climate catastrophe" framed the urgency.
- Participation: Approximately 197 parties.

COP27: Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt (November 6–18, 2022)

- Context: Dubbed the "Implementation COP," with a focus on climate finance and justice.
- Objective: Establish a Loss and Damage Fund and enhance adaptation efforts.
- Key Outcomes: The Loss and Damage Fund was agreed upon, a historic win for vulnerable nations.

- Role of Speeches: Sameh Shoukry highlighted the fund as a breakthrough, while Guterres's dramatic "highway to climate hell" metaphor underscored urgency. Simon Stiell's remarks reinforced solidarity.
- Participation: Approximately 197 parties.

COP28: Dubai, United Arab Emirates (November 30–December 12, 2023)

- Context: Controversial due to the UAE's oil interests, but pivotal for fossil fuel discussions.
- Objective: Conduct the first Global Stocktake and address fossil fuel phase-out.
- Key Outcomes: The UAE Consensus included historic language on transitioning away from fossil fuels, though diluted from "phase-out."
- Role of Speeches: Sultan Al Jaber defended the consensus, while Guterres and Simon Stiell pushed for a fossil fuel phase-out. Mary Robinson's call for rapid action amplified scientific urgency.
- Participation: 198 parties (including observers).

APPENDIX 2
COLLECTED SPEECHES FROM COP20 TO COP28

Below is a compilation of the national statements or key speeches from the United States and India at each COP from 20 to 28. The researcher focused on high-level or national statements delivered in English (or English translations where applicable). Where a speech was not found or the source could not be accessed (e.g., due to outdated links or no high-level statement listed). The sources are primarily official government or UNFCCC websites. Speeches are presented chronologically by COP, with speaker, date, and full text (or excerpt if incomplete).

COP20 (LIMA, PERU, 2014)

- **UNITED STATES**: The national statement found in UNFCCC records or U.S. State Department archives for COP20 gives the full text for dedicated speech transcript of The U.S. delegation participated, John Kerry).

***Source**: https://2009-2017.state.gov/e/oes/climate/cop20/index.htm*

Full text:

SECRETARY KERRY: Todd, thank you very, very much. Thank you all for being here. Thank you very much, and it's a privilege for me to be able to share a few words here on what is, by necessity, a quick trip, and I apologize for that, and I am grateful for your steadfast efforts to get us over the finish line.

Todd and I have worked together for a long time now, going all the way back to my time in the Senate, and I appreciate, Todd, all the work that you and the entire delegation have been doing. I just had a chance to meet with them. And I thank you not just for your work here in Lima, but for your work all around the world.

I also want to thank a few other people who are here today, if I may – our terrific Ambassador in Peru, Brian Nichols; the Executive Secretary of the UNFCCC, Christiana Figueres; Environment Minister of Peru, Manuel Pulgar-Vidal; and all of the other diplomats, scientists, experts, activists, all of you concerned citizens who are hard at work in order to make sure that we get this right.

I'm also delighted to say that because of all that hard work, I understand we now have enough pledges from the international community to meet and exceed the initial Climate Green Fund target of 10 billion. And the United States is very proud to be contributing 3 billion, and we are grateful for the announcement of countries like Australia, Belgium, Colombia, and Peru that they have made in recent days to help get us over the hurdle. All of this will help to ensure that this fund can succeed in helping the most overburdened nations of the world to do more to be able to respond to climate change. And finally, I want to thank Peru for hosting the COP-20, a critical stepping stone to the agreement that we must reach in Paris next year.

Now for Peru, climate change is personal. It will determine whether future generations will know Peru as we know it today, as we have known it, or whether today's treasures are confined to history. Think about it: Peru is home to 70 percent of the world's tropical glaciers, to nearly all of the world's major ecosystems, and to more fish species than any other country on earth. But already, almost half the volume of many glaciers has melted away just in the last 30 years or so. Ecosystems are visibly being destroyed before our eyes. And fisheries are threatened. So this is not just a fight by Peru; it is a fight for Peru.

And this is not just another policy issue. Measured against the array of global threats that we face today – and there are many – terrorism, extremism, epidemics, poverty, nuclear proliferation – all challenges that know no borders – climate change absolutely ranks up there equal with all of them. And I challenge anyone who has thought about the science or listened – actually listened carefully to national security experts tell us that these dangers are real – I challenge them to tell us otherwise and to show us otherwise. I might add that we have, as Todd mentioned, the distinguished former Vice President of the United States and Nobel Prize winner who was the leader with all of us on this issue, but the first among equals, believe me, in his passion and commitment to this. And I've often heard him reciting the numbers of studies and the amazing amount of evidence that has been tallied up versus the paucity of a few usually industry-paid-for false analyses that try to suggest otherwise. And while no one here believes that a global climate agreement is going to be the silver bullet that eliminates this threat, I think everybody here can agree that we certainly won't eliminate it without an agreement.

Now I know that everybody in this room is committed, all of us, but I think when you're among the committed, you have a responsibility to be particularly candid. It seems that every time I speak at an event about climate change, someone introducing me, as Todd did today, said, "John Kerry's been to every major gathering since Rio," and it's true. But I'll tell you something, that's kind of troubling. Because it was in Rio, as far back as 1992, when I heard the secretary-general, as Al did when we were there, declare, "Every bit of evidence I've seen persuades me that we are on a course leading to tragedy."

That was 1992. This morning, I woke up in Washington to the television news of a super-storm rainfall in California and Washington State – torrential, record-breaking rain in record-breaking short time. It's become commonplace now to hear of record-breaking climate events. But this is 2014, 22 years later, and we're still on a course leading to tragedy. So this is an issue that's personal for me, just as it is for you, absolutely.

I did spend those years working on climate change during my time in the U.S. Senate, and I'm not surprised at all that Al Gore is still here, a veteran of Lima and a veteran of every other meeting, and a veteran of writing and speaking and leading on this in an effort to try to make a change. We were working on this since the 1980s, and both of us can remember 1988, the first hearing we held in the United States Senate on this issue, when Jim Hansen told us then that climate change was real, it is here, and it is happening now. That's 1988.

I appreciate the remarkable leadership that Al has provided on this issue for all that time, but this year, I'm not at this meeting, nor is he, just because of our personal histories here with climate change. I can tell you I'm not here in that role. I'm privileged to be here as President Obama's lead international advocate that this issue should be personal for absolutely everybody – man, woman, child, businessperson, student, grandparent. Wherever we live, whatever our calling, whatever our personal background might be, this issue affects every human on the planet, and if any challenge requires global cooperation and effective diplomacy, this is it.

Now I know it's human nature at times to believe that mankind can somehow defy Mother Nature. But I think it is the plight of humanity that, in fact, we cannot. And whether we're able to promptly and effectively address climate change is as big a test of global leadership, of the international order – such as we call it – it's the biggest test of that that you'll find. Every nation – and I repeat this as we hear the debates going back and forth here – every nation has a responsibility to do its part if we're going to pass this test. And only those nations who step up and respond to this threat can legitimately lay claim to any mantle of leadership and global responsibility. And yes, if you're a big, developed nation and you're not helping to lead, then you are part of the problem.

Rest assured, if we fail, future generations will not and should not forgive those who ignore this moment, no matter their reasoning. Future generations will judge our effort not just as a policy failure, but as a massive, collective moral failure of historic consequence, particularly if we're just bogged down in abstract debates. They will want to know how we together could possibly have been so blind, so ideological, so dysfunctional, and frankly, so stubborn that we failed to act on knowledge that was confirmed by so many scientists in so many studies over such a long period of time and documented by so much evidence.

The truth is we will have no excuse worth using. The science of climate change is science, and it is screaming at us, warning us, compelling us – hopefully – to act. Ninety-seven percent of peer- reviewed climate studies have confirmed that climate change is happening and that human activity is responsible. And I've been involved, as

many of you have, in public policy debates for a long time. It's pretty rare to get a simple majority or a supermajority of studies to say the same thing, but 97 percent over 20-plus years – that is a dramatic statement of fact that no one of good conscience or good faith should be able to ignore.

Now you only have to look at the most recent reports to see in all too vivid detail the stark reality that we are faced with. Scientists agree that the emission of climate pollutants like carbon dioxide, methane, soot, hydrofluorocarbons all contribute to climate change. In fact, basic science tells us that life on earth wouldn't exist at the heretofore 57 degrees average temperature Fahrenheit which allows life to exist. Without a greenhouse effect, life wouldn't exist, and if the greenhouse effect is good enough to provide you with life itself, obviously, logic suggests that it's also going to act like a greenhouse if you add more gases and they're trapped and you heat up the earth. This is pretty logical stuff, and it's astounding to me that even in the United States Senate and elsewhere, we have people who doubt it.

People agree that energy sources that we've relied on for decades to fuel our cars and power our homes – things like oil and coal – are largely responsible for sending these warming gasses up into the atmosphere. And they agree that emissions coming from deforestation and from agriculture also send enormous quantities of carbon pollution into our atmosphere. And they agree that if we continue down the same path that we are on today, the world as we know it will change profoundly and it will change dramatically for the worse.

Now you don't need a Ph.D. to be able to see for yourself that the world is already changing. You just need to pay attention. Thirteen of the warmest years on record have occurred since 2000, with this year, again, on track to be the warmest of all. We're getting used to every next year being the warmest year of all. It seems almost every year that happens now.

In 2013, countries in Southern Africa experienced the worst droughts that they had seen in 30 years. In Brazil, they saw the first – worst drought in half a century. New Zealand really – recently experienced a drought so bad that farmers had to slaughter their dairy cattle and sheep because they didn't have enough food and water to keep the animals alive.

And the historic droughts in some parts of the world are matched only by historic floods in other parts. In June of last year, India was hit by the worst monsoon flooding in almost a century. Nearly 6,000 people lost their lives. What's really disturbing is that the science has been telling us loud and clear that this is coming at us, and if we continue down the current path, the impacts are expected to increase exponentially.

For example, scientists predict that by the end of the century, the sea could rise a full meter. Now, I've had people who say to me a meter doesn't sound like that much to some people, but let me tell you: when it comes to a rising sea, one meter would displace hundreds of millions of people worldwide, cost hundreds of billions of dollars in economic activity. It would put countless homes and schools and parks – entire cities and even countries – at risk.

Scientists also predict that climate change could mean even longer, more unpredictable monsoon ceilings – seasons and more extreme weather events. And while we can't tell whether one particular storm is specifically caused by climate change, scientists absolutely do predict many more of these disastrous storms are likely to occur unless we stop and reverse course.

Last year I visited Tacloban. I went to the Philippines to visit the site, the wake of the Typhoon Haiyan and I will tell you it is incomprehensible that that kind of storm – or worse – becomes the norm. Yet just this past weekend, that same region of the Philippines got slammed by yet another typhoon, with winds over 100 miles per hour and torrential downpours.

And what is particularly frustrating about the real-life damage that's being done – and the threat of more to come – is that it doesn't have to be inevitable. Nothing suggested this is inevitable. Human cost. There's nothing preordained about the course that we're on, except habits – bad habits. The challenge that we face may be immense, but I can't underscore enough: This is not insurmountable.

Mankind is creating the problem, and mankind can solve the problem. And unlike some problems that we face, this one already has a ready-made solution provided by mankind that is staring us in the face: The solution to climate change is energy policy.

And there is still time for us to come together as a global community and make the right energy choices. We can significantly cut emissions and prevent the worst consequences of climate change from happening. And anyone who tells you otherwise is just plain wrong, period. The science shows that at this moment there still is a window. It's shutting. It's smaller. It's not as big an opening. And indeed, mitigation is here with us as a result, but there is time for us to change course and avoid the worst consequences – but the window is closing quickly.

So we have to approach this global threat with the urgency that it warrants. Leaders need to lead. Countries need to step up. And that means we have to come together around an ambitious climate agreement between now and the end of next year. Let me be clear: We're not going to solve everything at this meeting or even in Paris – I understand that. But we must take giant, measurable, clear steps forward that

will set us on a new path. And that means concrete actions and ambitious commitments.

Now, as I mentioned – as Todd mentioned, too – I have been coming to these conferences for a long time. And I know the discussions can be tense and the decisions are difficult. And I know how angry some people are about the predicament they've been put in by big nations that have benefitted from industrialization for a long period of time. I know the debates over who should do what and how hard fought and how complex. And if it weren't hard, this would have been solved a while ago.

But the fact is we simply don't have time to sit around going back and forth about whose responsibility it is to act. Pretty simple, folks: It's everyone's responsibility, because it's the net amount of carbon that matters, not each country's share.

Now certainly, the biggest emitters, including the United States – and I'm proud that President Obama has accepted that responsibility – have to contribute more to the solution. But ultimately, every nation on Earth has to apply current science and make state-of-the-art energy choices if we're going to have any hope of leaving our future to the next generation to the safe and healthy planet that they deserve.

Now I want to be very clear: President Obama and I understand the way countries feel, particularly about the major emitters. We get it. The United States and other industrial nations have contributed significantly to this problem – before, I might add, we fully understood the consequences. And we recognize the responsibility we have now to lead the global response.

But that is exactly what the United States is doing. It's a challenge that President Obama has taken on. And today, thanks to the President's Climate Action Plan, the United States is well on its way to meeting our international commitments to seriously cut our greenhouse gas emissions by 2020. And that's because we're going straight to the largest source of pollution. We're targeting emissions from transportation and power sources, which account for roughly 60 percent of the dangerous greenhouse gases that we release. And we're also taking – tackling smaller opportunities in every sector of the economy in order to address every greenhouse gas.

The President has put in place standards to double the fuel efficiency of cars and trucks in the American roads. We've also proposed regulations that will curb carbon pollution coming from new power plants, and similar regulations to limit the carbon pollution coming from power plants that are already up and running, and we're going to take a bunch of them out of commission.

At the same time, since President Obama took office, the United States has upped our wind energy production more than threefold, and we've upped our solar energy

production more than tenfold. We've also become smarter about the way we use energy in our homes and businesses. And as a result, we're emitting less overall than we have at any time in the last 20 years.

This is by far the most ambitious set of climate change actions that the United States has ever undertaken. And it's the reason we were able to recently announce our post-2020 goal of reducing emissions from 26 to 28 percent, from 2005 levels, by 2025. That will put us squarely on the road to a more sustainable and prosperous economy. And the upper end of this target would also enable us to cut our emissions by 83 percent by 2050 – which is what science says we need to do to meet the goal of preventing over 2 degrees of Celsius warming.

Now, we're proud of this target, and we're grateful that with the targets that China and the EU have also announced, we now have strong commitments from the three largest emitters in the world. Is it enough? No. But it's the beginning, which begins to move the economy and begins to move businesses and move decisions in the direction we need to go. And we're seeing encouraging signs already that others are prepared to follow. For example, last month Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao, Malaysia, Burma, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam all announced at the ASEAN Summit that they would come forward with their post-2020 emission reduction contributions well in advance of Paris, the end, perhaps – possibly by the end of March next year.

Now, I emphasize again: No single country, not even the United States, can solve this problem or foot this bill alone. That's not rhetoric. It is literally impossible.

Just think of it this way: If every single American biked to work or carpooled to school, and used only solar panels to power their homes – if we each in America planted a dozen trees – if we somehow eliminated all of our domestic greenhouse gas emissions – guess what? That still wouldn't be enough to offset the carbon pollution coming from the rest of the world and providing the same level of damage at a different point in time than we face today. The same would be true if China or India came down to zero emissions, if either was the only country to act. It's just not enough for one country or even a few countries to reduce emissions when other countries continue to fill the atmosphere with carbon pollution as they see fit. If even one or two major economies fail to respond to this threat, it will counteract much of the good work that the rest of the world does. And when I say we need a global solution, I mean it. And there's simply no excuse for anything else.

Now, of course industrialized countries have to play a major role in reducing emissions, but that doesn't mean that other nations are just free to go off and repeat the

mistakes of the past and that they somehow have a free pass to go to the levels that we've been at where we understand the danger.

Now, I know this is difficult for developing nations. We understand that. But we have to remember that today more than half of global emissions – more than half – are coming from developing nations. So it is imperative that they act, too.

And at the end of the day, if nations do choose the energy sources of the past over the energy sources of the future, they'll actually be missing out on the opportunity to build the kind of economy that will be the economy of the future and that will thrive and be sustainable.

Coal and oil may be cheap ways to power an economy today in the near term, but I urge nations around the world – the vast majority of whom are represented here, at this conference – look further down the road. I urge you to consider the real, actual, far-reaching costs that come along with what some think is the cheaper alternative. It's not cheaper.

I urge you to think about the economic impacts related to agriculture and food security – and how scientists estimate that the changing climate is going to yield – is going to reduce the capacity of crops to produce the yields they do today in rice or maize or wheat, and they could fall by 2 percent every single decade. Think about what that means for millions of farmers around the world and the impact it will have on food prices on almost every corner of the world, and particularly as each decade we see the world's population rise towards that 9 billion mark. Then factor in how that would also exacerbate the human challenges like hunger and malnutrition.

Add to that the other long-term-related problems that come from relying on 20th century energy sources and the fact that air pollution caused by the use of fossil fuel contributes to the deaths of at least 4.5 million people every year and all the attendant healthcare costs that go with it.

And for everyone thinking that you can't afford this transition or invest in alternative or renewable energy, do the real math on the costs. Consider the sizable costs associated with rebuilding in the wake of every devastating weather event. In 2012 alone, extreme weather events cost the United States $110 billion. When Typhoon Haiyan hit the Philippines last year, the cost of responding to the damage exceeded $10 billion. Even smaller-scale disasters bear a hefty price tag, and the overall cost to businesses from the severe floods that hit parts of the United Kingdom earlier this year was an estimated 1.3 billion. You start adding up these 100 billions and 10 billions here in country after country, and think if that money had been put to helping to subsidize the transition to a better fuel, to an alternative or renewable, to cleaner, to emissions-free, to clean emissions capacity. Those are just the costs of

damages. Think of the costs for healthcare due to pollution. Largest single cause of young children in America being hospitalized during our summers is environmentally air-induced asthma that those kids suffer. The agricultural and environmental degradation is palpable. So my friends, it's time for countries to do some real cost accounting.

The bottom line is that we can't only factor in the cost of immediate energy need or energy transition. We have to factor in the long-term cost of carbon pollution. And we have to factor in the cost of survival itself. And if we do, we will find that the cost of pursuing clean energy now is far cheaper than paying for the consequences of climate change later. Nicolas Stern showed us that in a study any number of years ago. And we still need to get all of our countries more serious about doing that accounting.

In economic terms – bottom line, in economic terms, this is not a choice between bad and worse, not at all. This is a choice between growing or shrinking your economy. And what we don't hear enough of is the most important news of all, that climate change presents one of the greatest economic opportunities of all time on earth.

I said earlier that the solution to climate change is as clear as the problem. It's here. The solution is energy policy. Well, let's take a look at that.

The global energy market of the future is poised to be the largest market the world has ever known. The market which grew the United States of America during the 1990s, when we had unprecedented wealth creation – more wealth creation in America in the 1990s than in the 1920s, when we had no income tax and you've heard of the names of Rockefeller and Carnegie and Mellon and so forth – more was created in the 1990s. Every quintile of our income earners went up in their income. Guess what? It was a $1 trillion market with one billion users. It was the computer, high-tech mobile device.

The energy market today is a $6 trillion dollar market with 4 to 5 billion users today, and it's going to go up to that 9 billion users. By comparison, if you looked at the differential, this is an opportunity to put millions of people to work building the infrastructure, doing the transition, and pulling us back from this brink.

Between now and 2035, investment in the energy sector is expected to reach nearly $17 trillion. And that's without us giving some of the price signals that we ought to be giving to the marketplace to make this transition. That's more than the entire GDP of China and India combined. Imagine the opportunities for clean energy innovation. Imagine the businesses that could be launched, the jobs that'd be created, in every corner of the globe.

The only question is are we going to do it fast enough to make the difference. The technology is out there. Make no mistake, it's out there now. None of this is beyond our capacity. And the question – and it really is still open to question; it's why we're here and it's why we're going to Paris – is whether or not it's beyond our collective resolve.

Ask yourself, if Al Gore and Dr. Pachauri and Jim Hansen and the people who've been putting the science out there for years are wrong about this and we make these choices to do the things I'm talking about, what's the worst thing that can happen to us for making these choices? Create a whole lot of new jobs. Kick our economies into gear. Have healthier people, reduce the cost of healthcare. Live up to our environmental responsibilities. Have a world that's more secure because we have energy that isn't dependent on one part of the world or another. That's the worst that can happen to us.

But what happens if the climate skeptics are wrong? Catastrophe. And we have a responsibility to put in place the precautionary principle when you're given certain evidence and you're a public official.

So today I call on all of you here in Lima – negotiators, diplomats, scientists, economists, and concerned citizens in Peru and around the world – to demand resolve from your leaders. Speak out. Make climate change an issue that no public official can ignore for even one more day, let alone for one more election. Make a transition towards clean energy the only policy that you'll accept. And make it clear that an ambitious agreement in Paris is not an option, it's an urgent necessity.

We can get there. How do I know that? And I do; I believe we can get there. Because, at the end of the day, we have no choice. And because we're starting to see signs that, thankfully, more and more of the world is coming to the same conclusion.

You only have to look at the United States and China to understand what I'm talking about. Our two nations are the world's largest consumers of energy, and we are the world's largest emitters of global greenhouse gases. Together, we account for roughly 40 percent of the world's emissions. And it's no secret that we've had very different views when it comes to climate change.

I can remember discussions with Chinese 15, 10 years ago that went nowhere. But in Beijing last month I had the privilege of joining President Obama as he stood next to President Xi to jointly, side by side, announce our respective ambitious post-2020 mitigation commitments and to call on other countries to come forward with their own ambitious targets as quickly as possible, so we can conclude a strong agreement next year. The United States and China – two countries long regarded as the leaders of opposing camps in these negotiations – have now found common ground on

this issue. That is a historic milestone, and it should send a clear message to all of us that the roadblocks we've hit for decades can be removed from our path.

I'm not suggesting it's going to happen in one fell swoop or that it's easy – there isn't a person in this room who probably isn't pretty tuned in to how hard it is – but I am confident we can rise above the debates that have dragged us down. We can find a way to summon the shared resolve that we need to tackle this shared threat. And if we do that, then we will reach an agreement and we will meet this challenge. That is our charge, and for the sake of our children, our grandchildren, and our responsibility as human beings on this earth, this is a charge we must keep. Thank you very much.

- **INDIA**: Speaker - Prakash Javadekar (Minister of State for Environment, Forests & Climate Change). Date - December 9, 2014. Source: UNFCCC PDF. *https://unfccc.int/files/meetings/lima_dec_2014/statements/application/pdf/cop_20_hls_india.pdf*
  Full text:

"Mr. President, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am delighted to be in this historic and beautiful city of Lima. Let me first of all express my heartfelt thanks to the Government and people of Peru and in particular the city of Lima for their warmth and gracious hospitality. On the occasion of the Gender Day today, I salute the women of the world who play such a central role in preserving nature. Mr. President, COP-20 in Lima I believe is the COP of Hope. As Ministers, we have brought the positive expectations of our people to this meeting and we hope to achieve a positive outcome which will set us on the path to an ambitious, comprehensive and equitable agreement at Paris next year. Mr. President, The new Government in India under Prime Minister Narendra Modi represents the hopes and aspirations of more than a billion Indian people for growth and inclusive development. We are pursuing action-oriented policies to bring rapid development to our people while purposefully addressing climate change. We have shown that we have the vision and the political will to act. Among the several measures we have taken to address climate change, I would highlight just a few: ¬ We have doubled the Clean Energy Cess on coal, which very few countries have, and the Clean Energy Fund already has over 3 billion US dollars to be used for promoting clean technologies Page 2 of 5 ¬ Our National Solar Mission is being scaled up five-fold from 20,000 megawatts to 100,000 megawatts. This will mean an additional investment of 100 billion dollars and savings of about 165 million tonnes of CO2 emissions per year. ¬ We are releasing 6 billion US dollars in one go for intensive afforestation which will result in more carbon sinks. ¬ We have allocated about 200 million US dollars for the 'National Adaptation Fund', setting-up of Ultra Mega Solar Projects, Ultra-Modern Super Critical Coal Based Thermal Power Technology, and the

development of Solar Parks on canals. ¬ Yet another initiative of the Indian Prime Minister is “100 Smart Cities’ with integrated policies for adaptation and mitigation to reduce the vulnerability and exposure of urban areas to climate change and also to improve their energy efficiency for which 1.2 billion US dollars have been allocated. ¬ We have put in place stringent norms for cement industry. Our Action Plan for cleaning one of the longest rivers in the world, River Ganga will bring multiple benefits of pollution reduction and climate adaptation. We have also taken initiatives for protecting coastal, Himalayan, and forest areas. ¬ We have initiated preparations to develop a National Air Quality Index and have launched a National Air Quality Scheme. Mr. President, While there is often a talk about changed reality, 1 in every 7 persons in the world today still lives in abject poverty. The number of poor people in the world is more than twice the combined population of Europe. All of them are in developing countries. We are determined to ensure development to all these people and provide them with basic services of energy, water, sanitation, healthcare, education and employment. We in India are committed to protecting the interests of the poor. We did in it WTO for ensuring food security of our people. Page 3 of 5 The success of India’s endeavors in all these issues will also be critical for the success of the global efforts for the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). India is also at the frontlines of facing the impacts of climate change. Shifting rainfall patterns, recurring floods, stronger cyclones and droughts or soil erosion are exacerbating the challenge of poverty eradication and necessitate the allocation of scarce national resources for preventing loss of human life. Despite our serious resource constraints, we are undertaking ambitious actions to undertake adaptation and mitigation actions, including through lowering of the energy intensity of our economic growth, increasing energy efficiency across sectors and making greater use of renewables. Mr. President, There are practical examples of how in the past we have managed to secure successful global cooperation to solve global problems. Joint collaborative research without IPR price-tag ensured ‘Green Revolution’ through hybrids, helped in making available drugs against HIV/AIDS and for finding God Particle. Why can’t this spirit of joint collaboration be summoned to address climate change? Why do we want to profit from disasters? Mr. President, We hope to put in place in Lima, the stepping stones towards a post-2020 agreement under the Convention that is comprehensive, balanced, equitable and pragmatic. It should be able to address the genuine requirements of the developing countries by providing them equitable carbon space to achieve sustainable development and eradicate poverty. The new agreement is under the Convention. Let us be clear, it is the 2nd commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol that is ending in 2020, not the Convention. Page 4 of 5 Adherence to the principles and provisions of

the Convention is the key. As India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi said in the UN General Assembly in September this year, we should be honest in shouldering our responsibilities in meeting the challenges. The beautiful balance of collective action – the principles of equity and common but differentiated responsibilities - should form the basis of continued action. It is equally evident that developing countries could do more if finance, technology support and capacity building is ensured. This must be a key focus of the new agreement. Mr. President, Our ambition in the post-2020 period is directly linked with ambitious actions in the pre-2020 period by the developed countries, otherwise the poor people in developing countries will not get the carbon space to achieve sustainable development. If we believe that the global warming threat is real, then we must deliver on the agreed commitments as a matter of priority. It is important therefore for developed country parties to urgently fulfill their legal obligations in the pre-2020 period. They must scale up their mitigation ambition now and urgently fulfill their promises for providing financial and technological support to developing countries. Some announcements have been made by some countries to contribute to the Green Climate Fund. However, the scale of these announcements remains far from what has been pledged. Mr. President, We firmly believe that the INDCs are to be 'nationally determined'. We do not see any role for any ex-ante review in this process. The INDCs should include all elements including mitigation, adaptation, finance, technology and capacity building. Page 5 of 5 Adaptation is a central and critical priority for developing countries to address Climate Change. The new post-2020 agreement should ensure a balance between mitigation and adaptation. The urgent need for adaptation must be fully reflected in the new agreement. Mr. President, India is committed and ready to play its part in the global fight against climate change. We look forward to successful conclusion to the Lima COP. In fact, we hope that this COP will prove to be an exception to the rule and finish its work before on Friday 12th December itself! I thank you.

COP21 (PARIS, FRANCE, 2015)

- **UNITED STATES**: Speaker - President Barack Obama. Date - November 30, 2015. Source: White House Archives. *https://unfccc.int/files/meetings/paris_nov_2015/application/pdf/cop21cmp11_leaders_event_usa.pdf*

Full text:

"President Hollande, Mr. Secretary General, fellow leaders. We have come to Paris to show our resolve. We offer our condolences to the people of France for the barbaric attacks on this beautiful city. We stand united in solidarity not only to deliver justice to the terrorist network responsible for those attacks but to protect our people

and uphold the enduring values that keep us strong and keep us free. And we salute the people of Paris for insisting this crucial conference go on -- an act of defiance that proves nothing will deter us from building the future we want for our children. What greater rejection of those who would tear down our world than marshaling our best efforts to save it? Nearly 200 nations have assembled here this week -- a declaration that for all the challenges we face, the growing threat of climate change could define the contours of this century more dramatically than any other. What should give us hope that this is a turning point, that this is the moment we finally determined we would save our planet, is the fact that our nations share a sense of urgency about this challenge and a growing realization that it is within our power to do something about it. Our understanding of the ways human beings disrupt the climate advances by the day. Fourteen of the fifteen warmest years on record have occurred since the year 2000 -- and 2015 is on pace to be the warmest year of all. No nation -- large or small, wealthy or poor -- is immune to what this means. This summer, I saw the effects of climate change firsthand in our northernmost state, Alaska, where the sea is already swallowing villages and eroding shorelines; where permafrost thaws and the tundra burns; where glaciers are melting at a pace unprecedented in modern times. And it was a preview of one possible future -- a glimpse of our children's fate if the climate keeps changing faster than our efforts to address it. Submerged countries. Abandoned cities. Fields that no longer grow. Political disruptions that trigger new conflict, and even more floods of desperate peoples seeking the sanctuary of nations not their own. That future is not one of strong economies, nor is it one where fragile states can find their footing. That future is one that we have the power to change. Right here. Right now. But only if we rise to this moment. As one of America's governors has said, "We are the first generation to feel the impact of climate change, and the last generation that can do something about it." I've come here personally, as the leader of the world's largest economy and the second largest emitter, to say that the United States of America not only recognizes our role in creating this problem, we embrace our responsibility to do something about it. Over the last seven years, we've made ambitious investments in clean energy, and ambitious reductions in our carbon emissions. We've multiplied wind power threefold, and solar power more than twentyfold, helping create parts of America where these clean power sources are finally cheaper than dirtier, conventional power. We've invested in energy efficiency in every way imaginable. We've said no to infrastructure that would pull high carbon fossil fuels from the ground, and we've said yes to the first-ever set of national standards limiting the amount of carbon pollution our power plants can release into the sky. The advances we've made have helped drive our economic output to all-time

highs, and drive our carbon pollution to its lowest levels in nearly two decades. But the good news is this is not an American trend alone. Last year, the global economy grew while global carbon emissions from burning fossil fuels stayed flat. And what this means can't be overstated. We have broken the old arguments for inaction. We have proved that strong economic growth and a safer environment no longer have to conflict with one another; they can work in concert with one another. And that should give us hope. One of the enemies that we'll be fighting at this conference is cynicism, the notion we can't do anything about climate change. Our progress should give us hope during these two weeks -- hope that is rooted in collective action. Earlier this month in Dubai, after years of delay, the world agreed to work together to cut the super-pollutants known as HFCs. That's progress. Already, prior to Paris, more than 180 countries representing nearly 95 percent of global emissions have put forward their own climate targets. That is progress. For our part, America is on track to reach the emissions targets that I set six years ago in Copenhagen -- we will reduce our carbon emissions in the range of 17 percent below 2005 levels by 2020. And that's why, last year, I set a new target: America will reduce our emissions 26 to 28 percent below 2005 levels within 10 years from now. So our task here in Paris is to turn these achievements into an enduring framework for human progress -- not a stopgap solution, but a long-term strategy that gives the world confidence in a low-carbon future. Here, in Paris, let's secure an agreement that builds in ambition, where progress paves the way for regularly updated targets -- targets that are not set for each of us but by each of us, taking into account the differences that each nation is facing. Here in Paris, let's agree to a strong system of transparency that gives each of us the confidence that all of us are meeting our commitments. And let's make sure that the countries who don't yet have the full capacity to report on their targets receive the support that they need. Here in Paris, let's reaffirm our commitment that resources will be there for countries willing to do their part to skip the dirty phase of development. And I recognize this will not be easy. It will take a commitment to innovation and the capital to continue driving down the cost of clean energy. And that's why, this afternoon, I'll join many of you to announce an historic joint effort to accelerate public and private clean energy innovation on a global scale. Here in Paris, let's also make sure that these resources flow to the countries that need help preparing for the impacts of climate change that we can no longer avoid. We know the truth that many nations have contributed little to climate change but will be the first to feel its most destructive effects. For some, particularly island nations -- whose leaders I'll meet with tomorrow -- climate change is a threat to their very existence. And that's why today, in concert with other nations, America confirms our strong and ongoing commitment to the Least

Developed Countries Fund. And tomorrow, we'll pledge new contributions to risk insurance initiatives that help vulnerable populations rebuild stronger after climate-related disasters. And finally, here in Paris, let's show businesses and investors that the global economy is on a firm path towards a low-carbon future. If we put the right rules and incentives in place, we'll unleash the creative power of our best scientists and engineers and entrepreneurs to deploy clean energy technologies and the new jobs and new opportunities that they create all around the world. There are hundreds of billions of dollars ready to deploy to countries around the world if they get the signal that we mean business this time. Let's send that signal. That's what we seek in these next two weeks. Not simply an agreement to roll back the pollution we put into our skies, but an agreement that helps us lift people from poverty without condemning the next generation to a planet that's beyond its capacity to repair. Here, in Paris, we can show the world what is possible when we come together, united in common effort and by a common purpose. And let there be no doubt, the next generation is watching what we do. Just over a week ago, I was in Malaysia, where I held a town hall with young people, and the first question I received was from a young Indonesian woman. And it wasn't about terrorism, it wasn't about the economy, it wasn't about human rights. It was about climate change. And she asked whether I was optimistic about what we can achieve here in Paris, and what young people like her could do to help. I want our actions to show her that we're listening. I want our actions to be big enough to draw on the talents of all our people -- men and women, rich and poor -- I want to show her passionate, idealistic young generation that we care about their future. For I believe, in the words of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., that there is such a thing as being too late. And when it comes to climate change, that hour is almost upon us. But if we act here, if we act now, if we place our own short-term interests behind the air that our young people will breathe, and the food that they will eat, and the water that they will drink, and the hopes and dreams that sustain their lives, then we won't be too late for them. And, my fellow leaders, accepting this challenge will not reward us with moments of victory that are clear or quick. Our progress will be measured differently -- in the suffering that is averted, and a planet that's preserved. And that's what's always made this so hard. Our generation may not even live to see the full realization of what we do here. But the knowledge that the next generation will be better off for what we do here -- can we imagine a more worthy reward than that? Passing that on to our children and our grandchildren, so that when they look back and they see what we did here in Paris, they can take pride in our achievement. Let that be the common purpose here in Paris. A world that is worthy of our children. A world that is marked not by conflict, but by cooperation; and not by

human suffering, but by human progress. A world that's safer, and more prosperous, and more secure, and more free than the one that we inherited. Let's get to work. Thank you very much. (Applause.)."

- **INDIA**: Speaker - Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Date - November 30, 2015. Source: MEA India.
  https://unfccc.int/files/meetings/paris_nov_2015/application/pdf/cop21cmp11_leaders_event_india.pdf
  Full text:

." The pain of Paris/ is yet to heal.// So; I speak in admiration/ for your resilience/ and resolve.// And, I salute the world/ for standing,/ in full strength,/ with France and Paris.// Over the next few days,/ we will decide/ the fate of this planet.// We do so when the consequences/ of the industrial age/ powered by fossil fuel/ are evident, /especially on the lives of the poor. // The prosperous still/ have a strong carbon footprint.// And, the world's billions/ at the bottom of/ the development ladder/ are seeking space to grow.// So, the choices/ are not easy./ But, we have awareness and technology.//We need now national will/ and a genuine global partnership.// Democratic India/ must grow rapidly/ to meet the aspirations/ of 1.25 billion people,/300 million of whom/ are without access to energy:/! We are determined to do so,/ guided by our ancient belief/that people and planet/are inseparable;// that human well being/ and Nature/ are indivisible.// So, we have set/ ambitious targets.// By 2030,/ we will reduce emissions/ by 33- 35% per cent/ of 2005 levels,/ and produce 40 per cent of our power/from nonfossil fuels.// We will achieve it/by expanding renewable energy/ - for, example,/by adding 175 Gigawatts of renewable generation/by 2022.// We will enlarge our forest cover/ to absorb /at least 2.5 billion tonnes/worth of CO2. // We are reducing/ dependence on fossil fuel/ through levies/and reduction in subsidies;/ switching sources of fuel/ where possible;/ and, transforming cities/ and public transportation.// We hope/ advanced nations/ will assume ambitious targets/ and pursue them sincerely.// It is not just a question/ of historical responsibility.// They also have the most room/ to make the cuts/and make the strongest impact.// And, climate justice demands/ that, with the little carbon space we still have, developing countries/ should have enough room/ to grow.// This also means/ aggressive mitigation action/ by developed countries/ before 2020,/ including ratification of/2nd Commitment period/ of Kyoto Protocol,// removing conditions/ and revisiting targets.// The principles of equity/ and common/but differentiated responsibilities/must remain the bedrock/ of our collective enterprise/ across all areas/ - mitigation,/ adaptation/ and means for implementation.// Anything else/ would be morally wrong.// Equity means that/national commitments/must be consistent/with the

carbon space nations occupy.// We also need/ a strong Agreement on Adaptation/ and Loss and Damage.// Developed countries/ must fulfill their responsibility/ to make clean energy/ available,/affordable/ and accessible/ to all/ in the developing world.// This is in/ our collective interest.// So, we look to the developed countries/ to mobilize 100 billion US Dollars/ annually by 2020/ for mitigation and adaptation/ in the developing countries.// They must fulfill their commitment/ in a credible,/ transparent/ and meaningful manner.// 2 Energy is/ a basic human need.// So, we need/ an ambition technology initiative,/ driven by a public purpose,/not just market incentives.// This includes intellectual property./ For this, we need to scale up/ Green Climate Fund.// We still need conventional energy.// We should make it clean,/ not impose an end/ to its use.// And, there should be no place/ for unilateral steps/that become economic barriers/for others.// We welcome stocktaking/ that is transparent,/ covers both support and commitments,/ and based on differentiation.// Ultimately,/for success,/ moderating our lifestyle/ is necessary,/ and possible, /for a low carbon future.// Excellencies,/ The presence of 196 countries/ tells us that we have a chance/ to unite behind a common purpose. // We willsucceed/ if we have the/ wisdom and courage/ to craft a genuinely collective partnership/that balances/ responsibilities and capabilities/with aspirations and needs.// I am confident/ that we will.//"

COP22 (MARRAKECH, MOROCCO, 2016)

- **United States**: Speaker - Secretary of State John Kerry. Date - November 16, 2016. Source: U.S. State Department. *https://2009-2017.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2016/11/264366.htm*

Full text

SECRETARY KERRY: "Thank you so much, everybody. I apologize for being a few moments late. There was a fire and then there was some traffic backed up, and so here I am and here are you, and thank you for being here.

Let me begin by thanking our terrific U.S. Special Envoy for Climate Change Jonathan Pershing. I couldn't be luckier than to have him in this job. He was over at the Energy Department for a while. We stole him from Ernie Moniz, who is a great colleague and was gracious in my theft. And he has done a spectacular job working with all of our international partners as we begin the hard work of implementing the Paris Agreement. And I also want to thank Ambassador Jennifer Haverkamp, who, along with Jonathan and a lot of the team that I see sitting here, has done an absolutely terrific job in leading the State Department's efforts to advance our climate goals this year. And I have to tell you – well, let me just divert for a minute. I also want to thank Brian Deese – I don't know if he's here – but I'm grateful for President Obama's senior advisor on climate issues and the entire intrepid U.S. delegation to

the COP, whom I had a chance to meet with earlier this morning, but we've kind of traveled this road together.

I also thank our international partners, and particularly the executive secretary of the UNFCCC, Patricia Espinosa; the outgoing president of the COP, Minister Segolene Royal of France; and the incoming COP president, my friend and our host this week, Minister Salaheddine Mezouar, the foreign minister of Morocco. And I also want to thank our partners from Fiji, who will serve as president for the next COP, which I intend hopefully to attend as Citizen Kerry.

It's a great pleasure for me to be able to be here in Marrakech. I'm reminded of one of the 20th century's most outsized figures whose connection with this city is so famous – Sir Winston Churchill. He loved to paint the landscapes here and to absorb the beauty and the culture.

And in fact, at the very height of World War II, as he and President Franklin Roosevelt and Allied leaders gathered in Casablanca to plan the strategy for the European Theater, Churchill was absolutely stunned to learn that Roosevelt had never been to this part of Morocco.

So in a move that perhaps only Winston Churchill would get away with in the middle of a global war – world war – Churchill convinced Roosevelt to extend his visit and drive through what was still, at the time, a country engulfed in active combat.

So after several hours on the loose, and because we're talking about Winston Churchill, plenty of Scotch – (laughter) – the two leaders arrived in Marrakech in time to see the sun set on the Atlas Mountains.

And Churchill said it was the loveliest view on Earth.

So I think it's fitting, therefore, that almost three-quarters of a century later, friends and allies meet again in Marrakech in order to undertake a very important discussion – a discussion about the natural world that surrounds us and the importance of preserving it for generations to come.

As Jonathan mentioned, climate change is deeply personal to me, but it's personal to everyone in this room. I know that. And we obviously want it to be just as personal for everyone in every room: men, women, children, businesspeople, consumers, parents, teachers, students, grandparents. Wherever we live, whatever our calling, whatever our background must be, this is an imperative.

Now, I know the danger of preaching to the choir – and, obviously, all of us here are the proverbial choir. But I'm actually grateful for that, because here at the 22nd COP, no one can deny the remarkable progress that we have made – progress that actually was pretty hard to imagine even a few years ago. The global community is more united than ever not just in accepting the challenge, but in confronting it with real

action, in making a difference. And no one should doubt the overwhelming majority of the citizens of the United States who know climate change is happening and who are determined to keep our commitments that were made in Paris. (Applause.)

None of us will forget the moment last December at Le Bourget, when the former foreign minister of France, with Segolene and a bunch of you there, led by our friend Laurent Fabius, who gaveled in the strongest, most ambitious global climate agreement ever negotiated. It was an accord that took literally decades to achieve – the proud work product of principled diplomacy, and ultimately, a deeply held, shared understanding that we're all in this together.

And when we left Paris, no one rested on their laurels. Instead, the world – unified – moved expeditiously to begin the – to pull the agreement permanently into force, crossing the thresholds of 55 countries representing 55 percent of global emissions, and doing so far faster than even the most optimistic among us might have predicted. In a powerful statement of the whole world's broad commitment to this agreement, in less than a year, 109 countries representing nearly 75 percent of the world's emissions have now formally committed to bold, decisive action – and we are determined to affirm that action and to stick with it out of Marrakech.

Now, we have in place – (applause) – so we have in place a foundation, based on national climate goals – 109 nations, each of them have come up with their own plan, each of us setting goals that are based on our own abilities and our own circumstances. This agreement is, in fact, the essence of common but differentiated responsibilities. It provides support to countries that need help meeting the targets. It leaves no country to weather the storm of climate change alone. It marshals an array of tools in order to help developing nations to invest in infrastructure, technology, and the science to get the job done. It supports the most vulnerable countries, so they can better adapt to the climate impacts that many of those countries are already confronting.

And finally, it enables us to ratchet up ambition over time as technology develops and as the price of clean energy comes down. This is critical: the agreement calls on the parties to revisit their national pledges every five years, in order to ensure that we keep pace with the technology and that we accelerate the global transition to a clean energy economy.

This process – a cornerstone of our agreement – gives us a framework that is built to last, and a degree of global accountability that has never before existed. But I want to share with you that the progress that we've made this year goes well beyond Paris.

In early October, the International Civil Aviation Organization established a sector-wide agreement for carbon-neutral growth. Why is this so important? Because

international aviation wasn't covered by what we did in Paris, and if that aviation was a country, it would rank among the top dozen greenhouse gas emitters in the world.

A few weeks later, I was pleased to be in Kigali, Rwanda, when representatives from again nearly 200 countries came together to phase down the global use and production of hydrofluorocarbons – which has been expected to increase very rapidly with a danger that is multiple of times more damaging than carbon dioxide. The Kigali agreement could singlehandedly help us to avoid an entire half a degree centigrade of warming by the end of the century – while at the same time opening up new opportunities for growth in a range of industries.

All of these steps combine to move the needle in the direction that we need to. And in large part because global leaders have woken up to the enormity of this challenge, the world is now beginning to move forward together towards a clean energy future.

Over the past decade, the global renewable energy market has expanded more than six-fold. Last year, investment in renewable energy was at an all-time high – nearly $350 billion. But that only tells you part of the story. An average of – that 350 billion is the first time that we've been able to see that money outpacing what is being put into fossil fuels. An average of half a million new solar panels were installed every single day last year. And for the first time since the Pre-Industrial Era, despite the fact that you have global prices of oil and gas and coal that are lower than ever, still more of the world's money was invested in renewable energy technologies than in new fossil fuel plants.

And like many of you, I've seen this transformation take hold in my own country. That's why I'm confident about the future, regardless of what policy might be chosen, because of the marketplace. I've met with leaders and innovators in the energy industry all across our nation, and I am excited about the path that they are on. America's wind generation has tripled since 2008 and that will continue, and solar generation has increased 30 times over. And the reason both of those will continue is that the marketplace will dictate that, not the government. I can tell you with confidence that the United States is right now, today, on our way to meeting all of the international targets that we've set, and because of the market decisions that are being made, I do not believe that that can or will be reversed. (Applause.)

Now, much of this is due to President Obama's leadership, and our Congress also moving in a bipartisan fashion on things like tax credits for renewable energy. This leadership has helped to inspire targeted investment from the private sector. Today our emissions are being driven down because market-based forces are taking hold all over the world. And that's what we said we would do in Paris. None of us pretended that in Paris, the agreement itself was going to achieve two degrees. What we knew is

we were sending that critical message to the marketplace, and businesses have responded, as I just described. Most businesspeople have come to understand: investing in clean energy simply makes good economic sense. You can make money. You can do good and do well at the same time.

Now, significantly, the renewable energy boom isn't limited to industrialized countries, and that's important to note. In fact, emerging economies like China, India, and Brazil invested even more in renewable technologies last year than the developed world.

China alone invested more than 100 billion dollars. Ultimately, clean energy is expected to be a multitrillion dollar market – the largest market the world has ever known. And no nation will do well if it sits on the sidelines, handicapping its new businesses from reaping the benefits of the clean-tech explosion.

My friends, we are in the midst of a global renewable energy surge, and as a result, in many places, clean energy has already reached cost parity with fossil fuels. Millions around the world are currently employed by the renewable energy industry. And if we make the right choices, millions more people will be put to work.

So good things are happening. The energy curve is bending towards sustainability. The market is clearly headed towards clean energy, and that trend will only become more pronounced.

Now, for those of us who have been working on this challenge for decades, this really is a turning point. It is a cause for optimism, notwithstanding what you see in different countries with respect to politics and change. In no uncertain terms, the question now is not whether we will transition to energy economy – to a clean energy economy. That we've already begun to do. The question now is whether or not we are going to have the will to get this job done. That's the question now – whether we will make the transition in time to be able to do what we have to do to prevent catastrophic damage.

Ladies and gentlemen, I'm not a Cassandra. You can tell from what I've said. But I'm a realist. Time is not on our side. The world is already changing at an increasingly alarming rate with increasingly alarming consequences. The last time that Morocco hosted the COP was in 2001, and the intervening 15 years have been among the 16 hottest years in recorded history. 2016 is going to be the warmest year of all. Every month so far has broken a record. And this year will contribute its record-breaking heat to the hottest decade in recorded history, which was, by the way, preceded by the second-hottest decade, which was preceded by the third hottest decade. At some point, even the strongest skeptic has to acknowledge that something disturbing is happening.

We have seen record-breaking droughts everywhere – from India to Brazil to the west coast of the United States. Storms that used to happen once every 500 years are becoming relatively normal. In recent years, an average of 22.5 million people have been displaced by extreme weather events annually. We never saw that in the 20th Century.

Communities in island states like Fiji have already been forced to take steps to relocate permanently, because the places they have called home for generations are now uninhabitable. And there are many, many more who know it's only a matter of time before rising oceans begin to inundate their cities.

I know this is a lot for anyone to process – hard to process. That's why I have found that whenever possible, the best way to try to understand and to see whether people are pushing the envelope of thinking on this or not is to see for oneself what is happening. That's why this summer I went to Greenland to visit the incredible Jakobshavn glacier. Scientists pointed out to me the lines many meters above the water today that mark the glacier's retreat which it has done more in the past 15 years than it did in the entire previous century. And while I was there, I boarded a Danish naval vessel and I traveled through the ice fjord. I saw the massive ice chunks that had just broken off from the glacier to melt inexorably into the sea. And because they come off Greenland, which is on rock, every bit of that ice contributes to the rise of the ocean.

Since the 1990s, the painful pace of that melting has nearly tripled. Every day, 86 million metric tons of ice makes its way down that fjord into the ocean. And the total flow that comes off that glacier in a single year is enough water to meet the needs of New York City for two decades.

But experts in Greenland and elsewhere have always warned me, and they warned me on this trip this summer, if you really want to understand what's happening and what the threat is, go to Antarctica. Nowhere on the planet are the stakes as high as they are on the opposite end of the globe. For half a century, climate scientists have believed the West Antarctic Ice Sheet is a sword of Damocles hanging over our entire way of life. Should it break apart and melt into the sea, it alone could raise global sea levels by four to five meters. And the scientists down there described to me how the pressure of the ice and the weight of the ice pushes the entire continent down so that it's grounded on the base of Earth's crust and rock. But that allows warmer sea water to creep in under the glacier and speed up the process of the melting and destabilize the glacier.

Antarctica contains ice sheets that are, in some places, on the East Antarctic Ice Sheet three miles deep. And if all that ice were somehow able to melt away completely

because we are irresponsible about climate change, in the coming centuries, sea level would rise somewhere over 100 to 200 feet.

That's why I flew last week to McMurdo Station in Antarctica to meet with our scientists and to understand better what is taking place. I flew by helicopter over the West Antarctic Ice Sheet. I walked out onto the Ross Sea ice shelf. And I talked with the scientists who are on the front lines, not people involved in day to day politics, but people who are making scientific judgment and doing extensive research. And they were crystal clear: The more they learn, the more alarmed they become about the speed with which these changes are happening. A scientist from New Zealand named Gavin Dunbar described what they're seeing there as the quote, "canary in the coal mine" and warned that some thresholds, if we cross them, cannot be reversed.

In other words, we can't wait too long to translate the science that we have today into the policies that are necessary to address this challenge. These scientists urged me to remind my own government and governments around the world and everyone here that what we do right now – today – matters, because if we don't go far enough and if we don't go fast enough, the damage we inflict could take centuries to undo – if it can be undone at all.

I underscore today: We don't get a second chance. The consequences of failure would in most cases be irreversible. And if we lose this moment for action, there's no speech decades from now that will put these massive ice sheets back together. There's no magic wand in any capital in the world that you can wave to refill all of the lakes and rivers that will dry up, or make farm – arid farm land fertile again. And we certainly won't have the power to hold back rising tides as they encroach on our shores. So we have to get this right, and we have to get it right now.

The scientists in Antarctica told me that they are still trying to figure out how quickly this is all happening. But they know for certain that it's happening, and it's happening faster than we previously thought possible. The alarm bells ought to be going off everywhere. As an American glacial geologist told me down there, a fellow by the name of John Stone, he said, "The catastrophic period could already be underway." That's why wise public policy demands that we take precautionary measures now.

Still, despite the real-life changes that are being done and the threat of more to come, it's important to remind ourselves that we are not on a pre-ordained path to disaster. This is not pre-ordained. It's not written in the stars. This is about choices – choices that we still have. This is a test of willpower, not capacity. It's within our power to put the planet back on a better track. But doing that requires holding ourselves accountable to the hard truth. It requires holding ourselves accountable to facts, not

opinion; to science, not theories that haven't been proven and can't be proven; and certainly not to political bromides and slogans.

For all the progress that we are making, at the current pace we will not meet our goal. I said that earlier. We knew in Paris that what we were doing was trying to start down a road. But we also knew it doesn't get us to the end of the journey. Yes, renewables make up more than half of all the new electricity installation last year. That's progress. But the reality is because of the existing energy infrastructure already in place, that new energy only generated a little more than 10 percent of the world's total energy. That is nowhere near what we need in order to achieve our goals.

If we're going to have the ability to stave off the worst impacts of climate change, we have to dramatically accelerate the transition that is already starting. We need to get to a point where clean sources are generating most of the world's energy, and we need to get there fast. Certainly experts tell us by the middle of this century we have to get there.

Now, I've said many times, and I'll say it again today: It is not going to be governments alone, or even principally, that solve the climate challenge. The private sector is the most important player. And already we are seeing real solutions coming from entrepreneurs and academia. It's going to be innovators, workers, and business leaders, many of whom have been hammering away at this challenge for years who are going to continue to create the technological advances that forever revolutionize the way that we power our world.

But make no mistake, government leadership is absolutely essential. And because today is the last opportunity I will have to address the COP as Secretary of State, I just want to take a moment to underscore the work that government leaders can do and should do, especially the 200 – almost 200 nations represented here.

Now, we know that we have not come to Marrakech to bask in the glow of Paris. We've come here to move forward. In doing so, we cannot forget that the contributions we've each made thus far were never meant to be the ceiling. They're a foundation on which we expect to build. And unless our nations voluntarily ratchet up our ambition, and unless we continue to put sustained pressure on one another to act wisely, we will have difficulty meeting the current mitigation needs, let alone holding temperature increases at 2 degrees warming, which science tells us is a tipping point.

And if we fall short, it will be the single greatest instance in modern history of a generation in a time of crisis abdicating responsibility for the future. And it won't just be a policy failure; because of the nature of this challenge, it will be a moral failure, a betrayal of devastating consequence.

Now, I know not – that's not what any of us here signed up for. As Pope Francis said, "We receive this world as an inheritance from past generations, but also as a loan for future generations, to whom we will have to return it."

Now, I fully recognize the challenges that a number of countries face because they have a big population, they have a growing economy, they have a lot of people in poverty, they're determined to maintain stability and pull those people into the economy. And of course, they're concerned about stability – we all are. Access to affordable energy is a key part of providing that stability. And the dirtiest sources of energy are, unfortunately, some of the cheapest. But I emphasize this: Only in the short term. In the long term, it's an entirely different story, folks. In the long term, carbon-intensive energy is actually today, right now, one of the costliest and most foolhardy investments any nation can possibly make. And that is because the final invoice for carbon-based energy includes a lot more than just the price of the oil or the coal, or the natural gas; it – or the price of building the power plant. The real cost accounting needs to fully consider all of the downstream consequences, which, in the case of dirty fuels, are enough to at least double or triple the initial expenses.

That's the kind of accounting that we need to do today. Just think about the price of environmental and agricultural degradation. Think about the loss of an ability of farmers in one area because of the lack of water or too much heat to be able to grow their crops today. Think of the hospital bills for asthma and emphysema patients, and the millions of deaths that are linked to air pollution caused by the use of fossil fuels.

In 2014, a study found that up to six million people in China have black lung because they lived and worked so close to coal-fired power plants. There are nearly 20 million new asthma cases a year in India linked to coal-related air pollution, and in the United States, asthma costs taxpayers more than $55 billion annually. The greatest cause of children being hospitalized in the summer in the United States is environmentally induced asthma. These are real costs, and they need to be added to the tally.

We also have to include the price tag of rebuilding after devastating storms and flooding. Just in the first three quarters of this year alone, extreme weather events have cost the United States – have cost American taxpayers $27 billion in damage. In August alone, Louisiana experienced flooding that resulted in roughly $10 billion worth of damage.

So none of us can afford to be oblivious to these expenses, and these initial costs are in reality just a glimpse of what the future could hold in store for us if we fail to respond. Just imagine: Sea barriers that have to be built. Go down to Miami – in south Miami, they're building – they're raising streets to deal with flooding that's

already occurring, building new storm drains and assessing people additional tax in order to do it. Massive increases in cost of maintaining infrastructure to control flooding, withstand storms. Power outages. All of this and more has to be added to any honest assessment of high-carbon energy sources. And in an age of increasing transparency and public demand for accountability, citizens in the long run will not accept phony accounting or an obfuscation of the consequences of the decisions.

So everyone needs to make smarter choices – with the long game, not the short game, in mind.

Coal, unfortunately, is the single biggest contributor to global carbon pollution. It provides about 30 percent of the world's energy, but it produces nearly 50 percent of the world's greenhouse gases. The unprecedented investments that we are now seeing in clean energy will mean very, very little if, at the same time, new coal fire plants without carbon capture are coming online and at a rate dumping into the atmosphere more and more of the very pollution that we're all working so hard to reduce.

Some of these projections, I have to tell you, are deeply troubling. For example, between now and 2040, the demand for electricity in Southeast Asia is likely to triple – and the bulk of that demand is currently expected to be met by growth – where? In the coal-fired power sector, rather than clean energy. That threatens everything we're trying to achieve here.

We literally cannot use one hand to pat ourselves on the back for what we've done to take steps to address climate change, and then turn around and use the other hand to write a big fat check enabling the widespread development of the dirtiest source of fuel in an outdated way. It just doesn't make sense. That's suicide. And that's how we all lose this fight.

Make no mistake: People all over the world are working for victory in this. And this issue is increasingly capturing the attention of citizens everywhere, and certainly the private sector. The private sector welcomed the signals that we sent in Paris, but they are demanding even stronger signals now – the private sector – so that they can invest clean energy solutions with even greater confidence.

One of the strongest signals that government can send, one of the most powerful ways to reduce emissions at the lowest possible course – cost – is to move toward carbon pricing that puts basic, free-market economics to work in addressing this challenge.

Now obviously, this is not a new idea. Many have come to this conclusion already. The share of global emissions that are covered by a carbon price has tripled over the last decade. Last year, more than 1,000 businesses and investors – including sectors that might be surprising to some of you – all came together to voice their support for

carbon pricing. The long list of supporters includes energy companies like BP, Royal Dutch Shell, utilities like PG&E, transportation companies like British Airways, construction firms like Cemex, financial institutions like Deutsche Bank, like Swiss Re, and consumer goods corporations like Unilever and Nokia. These companies all believe that carbon pricing will establish the necessary certainty in the marketplace that helps the private sector to move the capital that helps to solve the problem.

Carbon pricing allows citizens, innovators, and companies – it allows the market to make independent decisions free from the government to be able to best drive their emission reductions. And this is also, by the way, the chief reason that carbon pricing has received support from leaders and economists on both sides of the aisle in the United States of America. A price on carbon, coupled with government support for innovation in key sectors, is easily one of the most compelling tools for the world to accelerate the clean energy transformation that we are working to achieve. Now, while it may be some time before we see this ideal outcome, the effort to improve carbon markets ought to be a priority going forward.

The bottom line is that there are many tools at the world's disposal. The COP itself is an important tool, in a sense. It has become much more of a – much more than just a gathering of government officials. It's really a yearly summit, 25,000 people strong this year from all over the world, for all sectors to showcase their commitment to climate action and to discuss ways to expand shared efforts. It's a regular reminder of exactly how much this movement has grown – and how many people, in how many countries, are committed to action.

Walking around the conference here before I was coming in here and seeing this site in Marrakech, and seeing the delegations and the business leaders, the entrepreneurs and the activists who have traveled from near and far to be here, it's abundantly clear we have the ability to prevent the worst impacts of climate change.

But again, we're forced to ask: Do we have the collective will? Because our success is not going to happen by accident. It won't happen without sustained commitment, without cooperation and creative thinking. And it won't happen without confident investors and innovative entrepreneurs. And it certainly won't happen without leadership.

For those in power in all parts of the world, including my own, who may be confronted with decisions about which road to take at this critical juncture, I ask you, on behalf of billions of people around the world: Don't take my word for it. Don't take just the existence of this COP as the stamp of approval for it. I ask you to see for yourselves. Do your own due diligence before making irrevocable choices.

Examine closely what it is that has persuaded the Pope, presidents, and prime ministers all over the world, leaders around the world, to take on the responsibility of responding to this threat. Talk to the business leaders of Fortune 500 companies and smaller innovative companies, all of whom are eager to invest in the energy markets of the future. Get the best economists' judgment on the risk of inaction, of what the cost would be to global economies, versus the opportunities that are to be found in the clean energy market of the future. Speak with the military leaders who view climate change as a global security concern, as a threat multiplier. Ask farmers about – and fisherman about the impact of dramatic changes in weather patterns on their current ability to make a living and to support their families or on what they see for the future. Listen to faith leaders talk about the moral responsibility that human beings have to act as stewards of the planet that we have to share, the only planet we have. Bring in the activists and civil society, groups who have worked for years with communities all over the world to raise awareness and to respond to this threat. Ask young people about their legitimate concerns for the planet that their children will inherit in reducing emissions worldwide.

And above all, consult with the scientists who have dedicated their entire lives to expanding our understanding of this challenge, and whose work will be in vain unless we sound the alarm loud enough for everyone to hear. No one has a right to make decisions that affect billions of people based on solely ideology or without proper input.

Anyone who has these conversations, who takes the time to learn from these experts, who gets the full picture of what we're facing – I believe they can only come to one legitimate decision, and that is to act boldly on climate change and encourage others to do the same.

Now, I want to acknowledge that since this COP started, obviously, an election took place in my country. And I know it has left some here and elsewhere feeling uncertain about the future. I obviously understand that uncertainty. And while I can't stand here and speculate about what policies our president-elect will pursue, I will tell you this: In the time that I have spent in public life, one of the things I have learned is that some issues look a little bit different when you're actually in office compared to when you're on the campaign trail.

And the truth is that climate change shouldn't be a partisan issue in the first place. It isn't a partisan issue for our military leaders at the Pentagon who call climate change a threat multiplier. (Applause.) It isn't a partisan issue for those military leaders because of the way that climate change exacerbates conflicts all over the world and who view it as a threat to military readiness at their bases and could suffer the

consequences of rising seas and stronger storms. It isn't a partisan issue for our intelligence community, who just this year released a report detailing the implications of climate change for U.S. national security: threats to the stability of fragile nations, heightened social and political tensions, rising food prices, increased risks to human health, and more.

It isn't a partisan issue for mayors from New Orleans to Miami, who are already working hard to manage sunny-day floods and stronger storm surges caused by climate change. It isn't partisan for liberal and conservative business leaders alike who are investing unprecedented amounts of money into renewables, voluntarily committing to reduce their own emissions, and even holding their supply chains accountable to their overall carbon footprint.

And there's nothing partisan about climate change for the world scientists who are near unanimous in their conclusion that climate change is real, it is happening, human beings for the most part are causing it, and we will have increasing catastrophic impacts on our way of life if we don't take the dramatic steps necessary to reduce the carbon footprint of our civilization.

Now, whether we are able to meet this moment is a big test – probably as big a test of courage and vision as you'll ever find. Every nation has a responsibility to do its part if we are going to pass that test – and only those nations who step up and respond to this threat can legitimately lay claim to a mantle of global leadership. That's a fact.

More than his love of Marrakech, Winston Churchill was known for his hard-nosed insight and the way that he expressed it. He once argued, tellingly: "It's not always enough that we do our best; sometimes we have to do what is required."

We know today what is required. And with all of the real-world evidence, with all of the peer-reviewed science, with all of the plain just old common sense, there isn't anyone who can credibly argue otherwise. So we have to continue this fight, my friends. We have to continue to defy expectations. We have to continue to accelerate the global transition to a clean energy economy. And we have to continue to hold one another accountable for the choices that our nations makes.

Earlier this year, on Earth Day, I had the great privilege of signing the Paris Agreement on behalf of President Obama and the United States. It was a special day. And because my daughter lives in New York, I invited her to join me at the UN. She surprised me by bringing my 2-year-old granddaughter, Isabelle, along as well.

And that morning, I had been thinking about the history that had brought us to that day. I thought about the first Earth Day in 1970 that I mentioned earlier, when I joined with millions of Americans in teach-ins to educate the public about the environmental challenges we faced. I thought about the first UN climate conference

in Rio, which is actually where I met my wife Teresa, and I thought of the urgency that we all felt way back then in 1992. And of course, I thought about that December night at Le Bourget, when it seemed – for the first time – that the world had finally found the path forward.

But as I sat and I played with my granddaughter, waiting for my turn to go out and sign the Agreement, I thought, not of the past, but I thought of the future. Her future. The world her children would one day inherit.

And when it was time for me to go up on that stage, I scooped her up and I brought her out with me. I wanted to share that moment with her. And I'll never forget it.

But to my surprise, people responded to her presence that day, and since then so many people have said to me, they've conveyed to me how that moment conveyed something special and moved them. They told me they thought of their own children, their own grandchildren. They thought of the future. They were reminded of the stakes.

Ladies and gentlemen, here in Marrakech, in the next hours, let us make clear to the world that we will always remember the stakes. Let us stand firm in support of the goals that we set in Paris and recommit ourselves to double our efforts to meet them. Let us say that when it comes to climate change, we will commit not just to doing our best, but as Winston Churchill admonished, we will do what is required.

I look forward to working with you in this important work for whatever number of years ahead I have a chance to. Thank you."

- **INDIA**: Statement by Mr. Anil Madhav Dave, Minister of State Environment, Forest & Climate Change

  https://archive.unfccc.int/cop22-high-level-segment-statement-india-20161116

  Mr. President, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, I convey my thanks to Government of Morocco for their warm hospitality and hosting the COP 22. take this opportunity to congratulate the world leaders and everyone gathered here today in this enchanting city of Marrakech for reaching a very important and historical milestone of Paris Agreement coming into force. Our work is not complete yet. This is just the beginning of the journey we have committed to embark upon for saving the only planet we have. Mr. President, relations between India and Morocco go back to the 14th century when the famous Moroccon traveler and writer, Ibn Batuta travelled to India. Over the years, we have always enjoyed cordial relations, with significant growth in our bilateral relations. I assure you of our continued support for in making Marrakech a COP that enhances our determination and moves us towards real outcome on the ground. Going forward, we expect that the direction set by Paris Agreement

will be followed at COP-22 and all decisions would respect the spirit of common but differentiated responsibility and respective capability set in the Agreement. While taking final decisions, we need to ensure that NDCs are 'nationally determined', country driven and comprehensive so as to include all pillars of action including adaptation, mitigation and means of implementation. Access to adequate and predictable climate finance, especially from Funds under the Convention, in both pre 2020 and post 2020 period remains an overriding concern for developing countries. Mr. President, Despite our serious resource constraints and developmental priorities, India is undertaking ambitious adaptation and mitigation actions, by increasing energy efficiency across sectors and making greater use of renewables, under the able leadership of our Hon'ble Prime Minister. India has already achieved about 45 GW of grid connected Renewable Energy Capacity, about ten-fold increase in over a decade. Our airports are using solar energy and will move towards becoming carbon neutral. We are working on Greening of India's extensive Railway routes and Highways. For all this, We are mobilizing domestic funds through various schemes including a Cess of 6 US Dollar (INR 400) per tonne on Coal. We have set up a National Adaptation Fund to help states implement their Action Plans. A Citizen centric scheme named Pradhan Mantri Ujjwala Yojana has been launched to provide free clean cooking gas connections to women below poverty line. Another scheme called Ujala supports commercial adoption of energy efficient LED bulbs. Mr. President, We have already initiated the process to develop Implementation Plan for our NDCs in post 2020 period and are confident that we will be able to achieve our goals. However Mr. President, I am of the view that it is absolutely critical and necessary that equal focus is given to Pre -2020 actions by developed countries under Kyoto Protocol and that they provide effective Finance, Technology Transfer and Capacity building support to developing countries. Mr. President and Excellencies, Once, when asked for a message to humanity, Gandhiji said, "my life is my message". Hence the life of Mahatma Gandhi, a life of simple living based on minimum requirements is a role model for us. Scientific reports show that increasing human demand on the Earth's ecosystems will exceed its carrying capacity by about 75 percent by 2020. Small changes in our everyday lives, by moderating our lifestyles and encouraging sustainable consumption and production patterns will contribute in a big way. Finally, we must remember that while we all are gathered here to talk about climate action, we need to consider the needs of most poor and vulnerable population. It is extremely important that our actions

are based on 'Climate Justice' and protect the poor and vulnerable from climate change risks. THANK YOU!

COP23 (BONN, GERMANY, 2017)

- **UNITED STATES**: Speaker - Judith Garber, Acting Assistant Secretary for Oceans, Environment and Science). Source: UNFCCC PDF.
  https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/usa_cop23cmp13cma1-2_hls.pdf

Full text:

"The United States is pleased to be engaging with other Parties here at the 23rd Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. Let me extend my sincere appreciation to the Government of Fiji for its leadership in presiding over this COP, and to the Government of Germany and the City of Bonn for hosting the Conference. President Trump has made clear the U.S. position with respect to the Paris Agreement. Although he has indicated that the United States intends to withdraw at the earliest opportunity, we remain open to the possibility of rejoining at a later date under terms more favorable to the American people. Irrespective of our views on the Paris Agreement, the United States will continue to be a leader in clean energy and innovation, and we understand the need for transforming energy systems. President Trump made this clear when the United States joined other G-20 countries in the G-20 Leaders' Declaration in stating that we remain collectively committed to mitigating greenhouse gas emissions through, among other things, increased innovation on sustainable energy and energy efficiency, and working towards low greenhouse gas emissions energy systems. Our guiding principles are universal access to affordable and reliable energy, and open, competitive markets that promote 2 efficiency and energy security, not only for the United States but around the globe. The United States will continue supporting a balanced approach to climate mitigation, economic development, and energy security that takes into consideration the realities of the global energy mix. Over the past 10 years, the United States has shown that it can reduce emissions while growing the economy and promoting energy security. Since 2005, the United States' net greenhouse gas emissions have decreased 11.5 percent while the U.S. economy has grown 15 percent, adjusted for inflation. A large portion of these reductions have come as a result of the adoption by the private sector of innovative energy technologies –fostered by early stage innovation by the public sector. Collaborative U.S. public and private efforts over the past ten years have resulted in dramatic decreases in the cost of lowemissions technologies and fuels, including natural gas, solar, wind, energy storage, and energy efficiency. Natural gas prices have dropped to about a third of what they were in 2007, and the cost of utility-scale solar PV has dropped by more than 64 percent. We want to work with

other countries to continue advancing the development and deployment of a broad array of technologies that will ultimately enable us to achieve our climate and energy security goals. Already, the United States is working bilaterally with countries such as China and India to advance power sector transformation 3 and smart grid technologies, energy efficiency, and carbon capture, utilization and storage (CCUS). We are also engaged in many multilateral initiatives. Through the Clean Energy Ministerial, we are engaging our national laboratories to provide in-depth technical expertise to pursue new global opportunities to leverage the potential of advanced energy technologies including CCUS and nuclear energy. Through our work with Power Africa, we have catalyzed some $60 billion in energy investments that will provide modern energy services for roughly 300 million citizens across Africa by 2030. And through the Caribbean Energy Security Initiative, we are working with island states to identify cost-effective options for using advanced energy technologies to diversify and strengthen their power systems and increase energy access. Of course, we know that each country will need to determine the appropriate energy mix based on its particular circumstances, taking into account the need for energy security, promotion of economic growth, and environmental protection. In that context, we want to support the cleanest, most efficient power generation, regardless of source. Beyond energy, the United States will continue to help our partner countries reduce emissions from forests and other lands, to adapt to the impacts of climate change, and to respond to natural disasters. Our Sustainable Landscapes programs are helping partners to protect well over 2 million square kilometers of forests and other landscapes, reducing more than 300 million tons of CO2 equivalent emissions, while enhancing sustainable development, generating local livelihood opportunities, and protecting biodiversity and water resources. U.S. government technical agencies also continue to help partners improve their capacities to monitor and report on terrestrial carbon through the SilvaCarbon program. SilvaCarbon has helped countries conduct forest inventories, develop maps of forests and other ecosystems, and work to include forests and other landscapes in national [greenhouse gas mitigation] strategies and targets. In sum, the United States intends to remain engaged with our many partners and allies around the world on these issues, here in the U.N. Framework Convention and everywhere else. Thank you."

- **INDIA**: **Full text – Country Statement by Dr. Harsh Vardhan,** Minister of State Environment, Forest & Climate Change
  https://www.pib.gov.in/PressReleasePage.aspx?PRID=1510045&utm_source
  "At the outset, let me convey my sincere thanks to the COP Presidency, Government of Fiji for steering the Twenty Third Conference of Parties to the

UNFCCC and Government of Germany for their warm hospitality and hosting this COP. We look forward to working closely with the COP Presidency towards achieving a meaningful and balanced outcome at COP 23.

COP 23 is extremely crucial as it would set the stage for the 2018 Facilitative Dialogue, accelerate pre-2020 action and firm up the modalities for implementation of the Paris Agreement.

India has deep cultural and historic ties with Fiji. Like Fiji, India has a long coastline of 7,517 Km spread over 9 States and 4 Union territories. It has 1,382 islands, some of which are quite large. The coastal areas support a number of economic and strategic activities and are highly vulnerable to climate change impacts. Our countries have had a history of shared challenges and long standing cooperation. I assure you of our highest commitment to support you in your efforts for charting out a strong and holistic approach to combating climate change.

I would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate the world leaders and everyone gathered here today for their resolution to uphold the Paris Agreement in form and spirit and once again demonstrate the success of multilateralism. However, this is only the beginning. The task ahead is its effective operationalisation in accordance with the agreed principles of Equity and Common But Differentiated Responsibilities and Respective Capabilities (CBDR-RC). We must also address the issue of climate justice.

The climate change challenge that we face today is result of unsustainable lifestyles and consumption patterns which are not necessarily linked to higher levels of well-being. We may at times find it difficult to take hard measures to address climate change as we still have not fully come to terms with the enormity of the challenge. It often takes a hurricane, a massive hole in the Antarctic ice sheet, a devastating forest fire or an extreme flood event, to humble us, and remind us of our role in the current crisis, and nudge us to take action. We need not always wait for scientific reports to act.

Additional and early Pre-2020 actions by developed countries under Kyoto Protocol and provision of Finance, Technology Transfer and Capacity building support to developing countries are critical for limiting the global temperature rise to 2 °C by end of century while keeping the door open to keep it below 1.5 °C.

India’s climate actions are synchronized with its development goals and simultaneously reflect its bold vision for combating climate change. India has undertaken ambitious mitigation and adaptation actions in the field of clean

energy, especially renewable energy, enhancement of energy efficiency, development of less carbon intensive and resilient urban centers, promotion of waste to wealth, safe, smart and sustainable green transportation network, abatement of pollution and efforts to enhance carbon sink through creation of forest and tree cover.

Planned actions and economic reforms have contributed positively to the rapidly declining growth rate of energy intensity in India and steps are being undertaken to de-couple the Indian energy system from carbon in the long run. However, poverty eradication remains an overriding priority for us as we strive to ensure housing, electricity and food security for all.

India has taken ambitious targets in its NDC and is on path for achieving those. This is in line with all our glorious traditions which have for centuries stood for sustainable lifestyles and care for nature. In fact India's traditional wisdom can be a beacon of light at this stage.

We appreciate the initiative by the Fijian Presidency for adopting the Bula spirit of inclusiveness for guiding climate change discussions and action. India supports an inclusive approach and believes that citizens are important stakeholders and must also be included in this process. I think if all global citizens contribute to 'green good deeds', the challenge of combating climate change shall become more manageable.

Going forward, we expect that the COP 23 outcomes are balanced and reached upon through a party-driven process. They should not result in reinterpretation of the Paris Agreement and equal progress should be made on all pillars.

At COP 21 in Paris, Mr. Narendra Modi, Indian Prime Minister and Mr. François Hollande, French President released a book 'Ecology of our worlds: views on climate and the environment'. It highlighted the wisdom of ancient and contemporary thinkers on the environment and climate, to serve as guidance to inspire the necessary transformation and pave the way for harmonious co-existence between humans and nature and a communion between our inner self and outer life. It is in this spirit that we are organizing sessions on Yoga at the India Pavilion here in Bonn. I welcome you all to come and benefit from this ancient Indian practice, the spiritual aspects of which, can address lifestyle related issues and provide a solution to climate change.

UN Secretary General U Thant, in his address at the 7th General Assembly held in New York in 1970, pondered what a future universal historian on another planet would say about us 'With all their genius and with all their skill, they ran out of foresight and air and food and water and ideas.' This is not a future we

wish to leave for our children. This is our chance to act fast and do more to save the only planet that we have got. Let us make ourselves proud. Thank You.

COP24 (KATOWICE, POLAND, 2018)

- **UNITED STATES**: Speaker - Judith G. Garber, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Trade.

  https://2017-2021.state.gov/u-s-national-statement-at-cop24/

  Full text:

" President of COP 24, Excellencies, and Distinguished Delegates; I am so pleased to be with you today. I am grateful to our gracious hosts here in Poland for their hospitality, excellent preparation, and leadership.

The United States supports a balanced approach that promotes economic growth, improves energy security, and protects the environment.

The U.S. record of accomplishment and leadership is clear: Our energy-related CO2 emissions have fallen by 14 percent since 2005, even as our economy has grown by over 19 percent.

As President Trump announced last year, the United States intends to withdraw from the Paris Agreement, absent the identification of terms that are more favorable to the American people. He also made clear that the United States will continue to be a leader in clean energy, innovation, and emissions reduction. Our National Security Strategy declares "The United States will remain a global leader in reducing traditional pollution, as well as greenhouse gases, while expanding our economy. This achievement, which can serve as a model to other countries, flows from innovation, technology breakthroughs, and energy efficiency gains, not from onerous regulation."

The global climate conversation needs to embrace not only aspiration but today's reality. The U.S. approach incorporates the realities of the global energy mix and uses all energy sources and technologies as cleanly and efficiently as possible, including fossils fuels, nuclear energy, and renewable energy.

This diverse energy portfolio is possible thanks to early stage research and development and private sector finance and innovation.

A quarter of our energy-sector CO2 reduction has come from utilizing natural gas. The U.S. natural gas boom is the result of years of U.S. innovation and R&D investment. General Electric, the U.S. National Laboratories, and American entrepreneurs all played a role in perfecting the extraction techniques that unleashed America's natural gas revolution.

R&D and operational experience are bringing down the cost of Carbon Capture, Utilization, and Storage or CCUS. One hybrid coal and gas power plant in Texas captures more than 90 percent of the emissions from its flue gas stream. CCUS enhances our energy security and economic development and preserves the environment.

The United States is home to the world's largest nuclear power industry. Thanks to significant investment by the U.S. Department of Energy and the private sector, the first Small Modular Reactors will be operational by the mid-2020s. They will be flexible, scalable, easier to finance, and capable of powering remote areas and micro-grids.

In 2017, the United States exported more advanced energy technology than any other country in the world. The United States is also the world's largest oil and gas producer and the second largest producer of renewable energy.

In 2018, the United States announced new R&D funding in nuclear, solar, marine, and fossil energy. We are making significant progress in Smart Grids, advanced storage technologies, wind, and hydropower.

In sum, the United States will continue to engage our many partner countries and allies around the world to reduce emissions, to continue to adapt to climate change, and to respond to natural disasters. We will also work with other countries to develop and deploy a broad array of technologies, as we continue to promote economic growth, improve energy security, and protect the environment.

Thank you."

- **INDIA**: Speaker - Dr. Harsh Vardhan (Minister of Environment, Forest & Climate Change). Date - December 12, 2018. Source: UNFCCC PDF.
  https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/resource/INDIA_cop24cmp14cma1-3.pdf
  Full text:

" Mr. President, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, I convey my thanks to Government of Poland for their warm hospitality and hosting the COP 24. Mr. President, India shares a harmonious relationship with Poland characterized by goodwill and cooperation. We have come here with the same goodwill and we assure you of our full support towards a successful COP 24. Excellencies, COP 24 is an extremely crucial meeting in our ongoing efforts to save our planet for current and future generations. We welcome the recent IPCC Special Report which tells us that human activities are estimated to have caused approximately 1.0°C of global warming above pre-industrial levels and is currently increasing at 0.2°C per decade. The vulnerable populations are the worst hit by extreme weather events due to lack of resources to cope with them. The Report enjoins upon us to collectively address the

issues of climate change with urgency that it deserves. 2 Excellencies, it is time we focus on finding common grounds and supporting each other based on the principles of equity and climate justice so that “No One is Left Behind”. It is important to ensure equitable access to global commons for all. Mr. President, Paris Agreement signifies progress towards enhanced implementation of Convention. While we do so, we have to maintain continuity in action by fulfilling pre-2020 commitments. While we continue to take stock of pre-2020 action and ambition next year as well, we expect that developed countries shall honour their pre-2020 commitments so that no undue burden is shifted to post-2020 period. We also look forward to see Doha Amendment come into force as soon as possible. Mr. President, we all agree that Paris Agreement is non-negotiable. Therefore, the delicate balance reached between developed and developing countries must be retained, and the principles such as equity and Common but Differentiated Responsibility and Respective Capabilities must be given its due. The outcome at Katowice should be inclusive, consensus based and an integrated package including all the components of Paris Agreement Work Programme to reflect the global consensus reached three years ago on this very day while adopting Paris Agreement. Most importantly, we must stand with the poor, marginalized and vulnerable communities who would be most impacted by climate change to show that ‘WE CARE’. 3 Excellencies, India is home to a large number of poor and marginalized vulnerable populations with huge developmental needs, with about 30% of global poor population. However, despite our serious resource constraints and developmental priorities, India is strongly committed to fight climate change and assures that it will make every possible effort within its capacity. Mr. President, India has already achieved its voluntary pre-2020 goal of reducing emission intensity by 20-25% from 2005 levels by 2020. We have further initiated the process to develop plans for our NDC implementation and are confident that we will be able to achieve our goals. India is guided by its own values and belief in sustainable lifestyles which respects nature, evident from the fact that our share in cumulative historical global GHG emissions is only about 3 percent and our per capita emissions are just about one-third of global average. Our renewable energy capacity stands at more than 70 GW today. We have further invested in energy efficiency measures, sustainable cities and transport systems. Our forest and tree cover has increased by 1 percent as compared to assessment of 2015. We are also bringing citizens as part of solutions through schemes like LED distribution which has crossed the number of 300 million so far; distributing clean cooking stoves to women below poverty line which covering more than 58 million households and bringing mass movement by encouraging people to do atleast one ‘green good deed’, like saving 4 energy, conserving water, etc

everyday. India also showed leadership by announcing the pledge to eliminate single use plastic by 2022. We would continue to do more. However, while we do our bit, key concerns such as, access to finance, technology transfer and capacity building, needs to be addressed as necessary enablers. Access to adequate climate finance, non-regression in these commitments and stronger commitment to the cause of technology is essential for developing countries to be confident in our collective journey towards sustainable development. We must keep our trust in multilateralism. Excellencies, India's Hon'ble Prime Minister is amongst the thought leaders in this area and our commitment to climate action is second to none. We have always believed in mantra of 'Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam' which means world is one family and the best example of bringing together this family is International Solar Alliance, launched jointly by Hon'ble PM and President of France. With an unprecedented support from countries and other partners, it has now entered into force as a treaty-based international inter-governmental organization. 71 countries have signed and 48 countries have ratified the agreement so far. It was therefore, a proud moment for India when the world acknowledged India's contribution to the cause by conferring the Champions of the Earth Award, UN's highest environmental honour, on our Hon'ble Prime Minister. 5 Mr. President, India stands for action and will stand together with the world as a family to fight climate change. Therefore, let's commit ourselves towards working together in a balanced and inclusive manner to reach an outcome which is true to the goal of Convention, its Paris Agreement and its principles and provisions. Mr. President, let me assure you that India will always abide by its commitments and walk together with the global community. THANK YOU!."

COP25 (MADRID, SPAIN, 2019)

- **UNITED STATES**: Speaker - Marcia Bernicat, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs under the U.S. Department of State.

  Source: U.S. State Department.

  https://2017-2021.state.gov/united-states-national-statement-at-unfccc-cop25/

  Full text:

" President of COP25, Excellencies, and Distinguished Delegates; I am so pleased to be with you today. On behalf of the American people, I commend the Chilean COP presidency's great leadership and thank our gracious hosts here in Spain for their warm hospitality and extraordinary ability to provide all of this on such short notice.

The United States continues to lead on clean, affordable, and secure energy while reducing all types of emissions—including greenhouse gases—over the last 15

years. Our last day as a Party to the Paris Agreement will be November 4, 2020, but we will remain focused on a realistic and pragmatic model—backed by a record of real-world results. Our model shows how innovation and open markets lead to greater prosperity, fewer emissions, and more secure sources of energy. We remain fully committed to working with you, our global partners, to enhance resilience, mitigate the impacts of climate change, and prepare for and respond to natural disasters.

U.S. investments in research and development will continue to spur landmark breakthroughs across the full range of energy technologies—natural gas; wind; solar; nuclear; hydroelectric; clean coal and biofuels. Our investments will improve energy efficiency and storage as well. We have successfully proven the potential for carbon capture, utilization, and storage through demonstrations and large-scale industrial projects.

U.S. scientific research and data collection, transformed by our national laboratories' supercomputer modeling, provide the international scientific community with a deeper understanding of our shared environment. Open data from U.S. satellites help fight forest fires and track trends in deforestation. NOAA and NASA data and research help countries predict and prepare for the impacts of climate change, extreme weather, sea level fluctuations, and drought. U.S. companies develop resilient crops to withstand these phenomena. All of this work supports American businesses, farmers, and communities—as well as our friends and partners around the world.

Chile has named COP25 the "Blue COP," highlighting its focus on oceans. At this year's Our Ocean Conference in Norway, the United States announced 23 new commitments—that is, $1.2 billion dollars to promote sustainable fisheries, combat marine debris, and support marine science, observation, and exploration.

Since 2017, the U.S. Congress has appropriated $372 million dollars in foreign assistance to preserve and restore forests and other lands that help many of the countries represented in this room build resilience and reduce carbon emissions.

The State Department also committed over $11 million dollars this year alone to address environmental degradation and climate change in the Pacific and Caribbean regions.

The United States will continue to lead by example and extend a steady hand to our friends around the globe.

Thank you."

- **INDIA**: Shri Prakash Javadekar, Minister of Environment, Forest & Climate Change

Source: UNFCCC PDF

https://www.pib.gov.in/PressReleasePage.aspx?PRID=1595787&utm_source

Madam President, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

At the outset I would like to quote Mahatma Gandhi who said

"The future depends on what we do today."

Excellencies,

I would like to convey our appreciation to the Government of Spain for hosting COP 25 at a short notice and for making excellent arrangements. We assure the Presidency of Chile of our full support for a successful COP.

Excellencies,

Climate change is real. The world recognized it and adopted a comprehensive agreement in Paris. Let us concentrate on implementation of the Paris Agreement and not digress. If there is an inconvenient truth in the form of climate change, we are providing a convenient action plan. We are walking the talk.

India has reduced emissions intensity of GDP by 21% and is on track to achieve the goal of 35% emissions reduction as promised in Paris.

Prime Minister Modi announced 175 GW targets for renewables under Paris Agreement. We have already achieved 83 GW. Prime Minister has subsequently increased the target to 450 GW at the recent UN Climate Action Summit. We are simultaneously progressing on solar, biomass and wind energy.

We have put carbon tax on coal production at the rate of $6 per tonne. Even with 36 parties represented in parliament, we could achieve this unanimously.

The headline is that a commercial flight was operated on 100% biofuel and we are targeting blending of 20% ethanol in petrol by 2030. We have leapfrogged from Bharat Standard IV to Bharat Standard VI for vehicle emission norms and from 1st April 2020, vehicles will be BS-VI compliant.

360 million LED bulbs have been fitted in homes, and 10 million conventional streetlights have been replaced with LED lights. There is also a strong push for use of e-vehicles by introducing multiple policy interventions and incentives. We have provided 80 million LPG gas connections replacing conventional firewood cooking stoves. Our cooling action plan and adaptation plan are working well and will achieve our targets.

We have promised creation of additional carbon sinks of 2.5 to 3 billion tonnes of carbon equivalent through increasing green cover. In the last five years, our green cover has increased by 15,000 sq.km. We are undertaking special projects like urban forests, school nurseries, agroforestry, water and fodder augmentation in forest areas.

India prioritises adaptation as an integral part of climate actions. Therefore, India will be investing about USD 50 million in water conservation. India has taken up a target for restoration of 26 million ha of degraded land by 2030 during the 14th COP of UN Convention to Combat Desertification in Delhi. This is one of the largest programs in the world to ensure carbon sinks in land resources. 100% neem coating of urea fertilizer is appreciated by the world and 170 million soil health cards are taking care of the soil health, thus creating more carbon sinks.

Excellencies,

Internationally, we launched the Coalition for Disaster Resilient Infrastructure, which is a partnership to support countries through knowledge exchange and provide technical support on developing disaster- and climate-resilient infrastructure.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Only 6 countries are on track to meet their NDCs announced in Paris. We are leading the pack. Sustainable lifestyle is a part of the ethos of India.

Excellencies,

It is time for reflection and assessment as we near the end of Pre-2020 period. It is time to look in the mirror. Has developed world delivered on its promises? Unfortunately, Annex I countries have not met their Kyoto Protocol targets. Neither their NDCs reflect ambition nor have they shown willingness to enhance commitments. I propose that we have three more years to fulfill pre-2020 commitments till the global stocktake takes place for bridging emission gaps.

Excellencies,

I draw your attention to a very important issue of finance. Developed world promised USD 1 trillion in the last 10 years, and not even 2% has materialized. It has to be public finance and there should be no double accounting. The world that benefited from carbon emissions that made them developed must repay.

Technology development and transfer at affordable costs is crucial for developing countries. If we are dealing with a disaster, nobody should profit from it. So, my proposal is to have more joint research and collaboration, grant finance made available for meeting the targets.

Madam President,

COP 25 is an important step in our collective journey towards a clean, green, and healthy planet. Market and non-market mechanisms play an important role. We expect that guidelines for Article 6 will ensure transition of the Clean Development Mechanism under the Kyoto Protocol and provide the incentives and positive signals to private sector, which had invested in it. We also urge support for

vulnerable communities worldwide with a strong Warsaw International Mechanism for Loss and Damage, with provision for financial support.

Excellencies,

This is the time for ownership and this is the time for responsible action. India has and will continue to do its bit-expecting commensurate multilateral action with developed countries taking the lead.

Let me end by quoting Thoreau,

"What is the use of a house, if you haven't got a tolerable planet to put it on?"

THANK YOU, FRIENDS!

COP26 (GLASGOW, UK, 2021)

- **UNITED STATES**: Speaker - President Joe Biden. Date - November 1, 2021. Source: White House.
  https://bidenwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/11/01/remarks-by-president-biden-at-the-cop26-leaders-statement/

Full text:

" THE PRESIDENT: Ladies and gentlemen, to state the obvious, we meet with the eyes of history upon us and the profound questions before us. It's simple: Will we act? Will we do what is necessary? Will we seize the enormous opportunity before us? Or will we condemn future generations to suffer?

This is the decade that will determine the answer. This decade. The science is clear: We only have a brief window left before us to raise our ambitions and to raise — to meet the task that's rapidly narrowing.

This is a decisive decade in which we have an opportunity to prove ourselves. We can keep the goal of limiting global warming to just 1.5 degrees Celsius within our reach if we come together, if we commit to doing our part of each of our nations with determination and with ambition. That's what COP26 is all about.

Glasgow must be the kickoff of a decade — a decade of ambition and innovation to preserve our shared future.

Climate change is already ravaging the world. We've heard from many speakers. It's not a hypothetical; it's not a hypothetical threat. It's destroying people's lives and livelihoods and doing it every single day.

It's costing our nations trillions of dollars. Record heat and drought are fueling more widespread and more intense wildfires in some places and crop failures in others. Record flooding and what used to be a once-in-a-century storms are now happening every few years.

In the past few months, the United States has experienced all of this, and every region of the world can tell similar stories. And in an age where this pandemic has made so painfully clear that no nation can wall its all — wall itself off from borderless threats, we know that none of us can escape the worse that's yet to come if we fail to seize this moment.

But, ladies and gentlemen, within the growing catastrophe, I believe there's an incredible opportunity, not just for the United States but for all of us. We're standing at an inflection point in world history. We have the ability to invest in ourselves and build an equitable clean-energy future and in the process create millions of good-paying jobs and opportunities around the world — cleaner air for our children, where bountiful oceans, healthier forests and ecosystems for our planet.

We can create an environment that raises the standard of living around the world. And this is a moral imperative, but it's also an economic imperative — if we fuel greater growth, new jobs, and better opportunities for all our people.

And as we see current volatility in energy prices, rather than cast it as a reason to back off our clean energy goals, we must view it as a call to action.

High energy prices only — only reinforce the urgent need to diversiry [sic] — diversify sources, double down on clean energy deployment, and adapt promising new clean-energy technologies so we cannot ove- — where you don't remain overly reliant on one source of power to power our economies and our communities.

It's in the self-interest of every single nation. And this is a chance, in my view, to make a generational investment

in our economic resilience and in our workers and our communities throughout the world. That's what we're going to do in the United States.

My Build Back Better framework will make historic investments in clean energy, the most significant investment

to deal with the climate crisis that any advanced nation has made ever.

We're going to cut U.S. greenhouse gas emissions by well over a gigaton by 2030, while making it more affordable for consumers to save on their own energy bills with tax credits for things like installing solar panels, weatherizing their homes, lowering energy prices. We'll also deliver cleaner air and water for our children, electrifying fleets of school buses, increasing credits for electric vehicles, and addressing legacy pollution.

It will incentivize clean energy manufacturing, building the solar panels and wind turbines that are growing energy markets of the future, which will create

good-paying union jobs for American workers — and something that none of us should lose sight of.

When I talk to the American people about climate change, I tell them it's about jobs. It's about workers who will lay thousands of miles of transmission lines of clean, modern, resilient power grid. The autoworkers who will build the next generation of electric vehicles and electricians who will install a nationwide network of 500,000 vehicle stations to power them throughout my country. The engineers who will design new carbon capture systems, and the construction workers who will make them a reality. The farmers who will not only help fight global hunger but also use the soil to fight climate change. The communities that will revitalize themselves around new industries and opportunities.

And because we are taking all these actions, the United States will be able to meet the ambitious target I set in the Leaders' Summit on Climate back in April, reducing the U.S. emissions by 50 to 52 percent below 2005 levels by 2030.

We'll demonstrate to the world the United States

is not only back at the table but hopefully leading by the power of our example.

I know it hasn't been the case, and that's why my administration is working overtime to show that our climate commitment is action, not words.

On my very first day in office, I took action to return the United States to the Paris Agreement. Since then, our administration has been hard at work unlocking clean energy breakthroughs to drive down the cost of technologies that will require us to do — to achieve net-zero emissions, and working with the private sector on the next generation of technologies that will power a clean economy of the future.

Over the next several days, the United States will be announcing several new initiatives that demonstrate our commitment to providing innovative solutions across multiple sectors, from agriculture to oil and gas, to combatting deforestration — deforestation, to tackling hard and to abate industries.

We're planning for a both short-term sprint to 2030 that will keep 1.5 degrees Celsius in reach and for a marathon that will take us — take us to the finish line and transform the largest economy in the world into a thriving, innovative, equitable, and just clean-energy engine of net-zero — for a net-zero world.

That's why today I'm releasing the U.S. long-term strategy, which presents a vision of achieving the United States' goal of net-zero emissions economy-wide by no later than 2050 and reinforces an absolutely critical nature of taking bold action with the — in the decisive decade.

We're also going to try to do our part when it comes to helping the rest of the world take action as well. We want to do more to help countries around the world,

especially developing countries, accelerate their clean-energy transition, address pollution, and ensure the world we all must share a cleaner, safer, healthiest planet. And we have an obligation to help.

And the United Nations — at the United Nations in September, I announced that my administration is working with the Congress to quadruple our climate finance support for developing countries by 2024, including a significant increase in support for adaptation efforts.

This commitment has made possible to each of our collective goals of mobilizing $100 billion annually for climate finance. But mobilizing finance at the scale necessary to meet the incredible need is an all-hands-on-deck effort.

As other speakers today have mentioned, governments and the private sector, and multilateral development banks must also do their work to go from millions to billions to trillions to — necessary affect to this transition.

Today, I'm also submitting a new Adaptation Communication laying out how we will implement the global goal of adaptation, as well as announcing our first-ever contribution to the Adaptation Fund.

But our commitment is about more than just financing;

that's a critical piece of it. We're also going to support solutions across the board.

In the lead-up to this gathering, the United States joined our G7 partners to launch a Build Back Better World initiative. We also reconvened the Major Economies Forum on Energy and Climate to launch transformative actions and to raise ambition.

And together with the European Union, we are launching a Global Methane Pledge to collectively reduce methane emissions — one of the most potent greenhouse gases — by at least 30 percent by the end of the decade.

More than 70 countries have already signed up to support the rapid reduction of methane pollution, and I encourage every nation to sign on. It's the simple [single]-most effective strategy we have to slow global warming in the near term.

My friends, if we are to recognize that a better, more hopeful future of — every nation has to do its part with ambitious targets to keep 1.5 degrees in reach and specific plans as to how to get there, especially the major economies.

It's imperative that we support developing nations so they can be our partners in this effort. Right now, we're still falling short. There's no more time to hang back or sit on the fence or argue amongst ourselves.

This is the challenge of our collective lifetimes. The existential thrength [sic] — threat to human existence as we know it. And every day we delay, the cost of inaction increases.

So let this be the moment that we answer history's call

here in Glasgow. Let this be the start of decade of transformative action that preserves our planet and raises the quality of life for people everywhere.

We can do this. We just have to make a choice to do it.

So, let's get to work. And thank you.

Those of us who are responsible for much of the deforestation and all the problems we have so far have an overwhelming obligation to the nations who, in fact, were not there, have not done it. And we have to help much more than we have thus far.

God bless you all, and may God save the planet. Thank you. (Applause.)

- **INDIA**: Speaker - Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi. Date - November 1, 2021. Source: MEA India.
  https://www.mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/34466/National%252BStatement%252Bby%252BPrime%252BMinister%252BShri%252BNarendra%252BModi%252Bat%252BCOP26%252BSummit%252Bin%252BGlasgow

Full text:

"**Friends,**

Today I am representing amid you, the land which gave this mantra thousands of years ago-

सम्-गच्छ-ध्वम्,

सम्-व-दद्वम्,

सम् वो मानसि जानताम्।

Today in the 21st century, this mantra has become more important and more relevant. सम्-गच्छ-ध्वम् - That is, let's move together सम्-व-दद्वम् - That is, let's all interact together and सम् वो मनानसि जानताम् - That is, everyone's minds should also be one.

Friends,

When I first came to Paris for the Climate Summit, it was not my intention to add one promise to the many promises already being made in the world. I came with a concern for the humanity. I came as a representative of a culture that gave the message of 'Sarve Bhavantu Sukhinah', which means Happiness for All. And so, for me the event in Paris was not a summit, it was a sentiment and a commitment. And India was not making those promises to the world, but 125 crore Indians were making those promises to themselves. And I am happy that a developing country like India, which is working to lift crores of people out of poverty, and which is

working day and night on the Ease of Living for crores of people, today, despite being 17 % of the world's population, whose responsibility has been only 5 percent in emissions, it has left no stone unturned to show that it has fulfilled its obligation. Today the whole world believes that India is the only big economy which has delivered in letter and spirit on the Paris Commitment. We are making every effort with determination; and we are working hard and showing results.

Friends, Today, as I come among you, I have brought India's track record. My words are not just words; they are announcements of a bright future for our future generations. Today, India ranks 4th in the world in installed renewable energy capacity. India's non-fossil fuel energy has increased by more than 25% in the last 7 years and now it has reached 40% of our energy mix.

Friends,

Every year more passengers travel by Indian Railways than the population of the world. This huge railway system has set a target of making itself 'Net Zero' by 2030.This initiative alone will lead to a reduction of emissions by 60 million tonnes annually. Similarly, our massive LED bulb campaign is reducing emissions by 40 million tonnes annually. Today, India is working at a faster pace on many such initiatives with a strong will. Along with this, India has also given institutional solutions to cooperate with the world at the international level. As a revolutionary step in solar power, we initiated the initiative of International Solar Alliance. We have created a coalition for disaster resilient infrastructure for climate adaptation. This is a sensitive and vital initiative to save millions of lives.

Friends, I would like to draw your attention to one more important topic. Today, the world admits that lifestyle has a big role in climate change. So, I propose before you a One-Word Movement. This One-Word, in the context of climate, can become the basic foundation of One World. This word is- LIFE...L, I, F, E, which means Lifestyle For Environment. Today, there is a need for all of us to come together and take Lifestyle For Environment (LIFE) forward as a campaign. This can become a mass movement of Environmental Conscious Life Style. What is needed today is Mindful and Deliberate Utilization, instead of Mindless and Destructive Consumption. These movements together can set goals that can revolutionize many sectors in diverse areas such as Fishing, Agriculture, Wellness, Dietary Choices, Packaging, Housing, Hospitality, Tourism, Clothing, Fashion, Water Management and Energy. These are subjects where each of us has to make conscious choice every day. These choices exercised by billions of people daily around the world, will take the fight against climate change, billions of steps forward every day. And I consider it as a movement on all grounds like on

economic grounds, on scientific grounds, on the basis of the experiences of the past century, it meets every criterion. This is the path of self-realization. This is the only way to benefit.

Friends, In the midst of this global brainstorming on climate change, on behalf of India, I would like to present five nectar elements, 'Panchamrit', to deal with this challenge. **First-** India will take its non-fossil energy capacity to 500 GW by 2030. **Second-** India will meet 50 percent of its energy requirements from renewable energy by 2030. **Third-** India will reduce the total projected carbon emissions by one billion tonnes from now till 2030. **Fourth-** By 2030, India will reduce the carbon intensity of its economy by more than 45 percent. **And fifth-** by the year 2070, India will achieve the target of Net Zero. These 'Panchamrits' will be an unprecedented contribution of India to climate action.

Friends, We all know this truth that the promises made till date regarding climate finance have proved to be hollow. While we all are raising our ambitions on climate action, the world's ambitions on climate finance cannot remain the same as they were at the time of the Paris Agreement. Today, when India has resolved to move forward with a new commitment and a new energy, the transfer of climate finance and low cost climate technologies have become more important. India expects developed countries to provide climate finance of $1 trillion at the earliest. Today, it is necessary that as we track the progress made in climate mitigation, we should also track climate finance. The proper justice would be that the countries which do not live up to their promises made on climate finance, pressure should be put on them.

Friends, Today India is moving forward on the subject of climate with great courage and great ambition. India also understands the suffering of all other developing countries, shares them, and will continue to express their expectations. For many developing countries, climate change is looming large over their existence. We have to take big steps today to save the world. This is the need of the hour and this will also prove the relevance of this forum. I am confident that the decisions taken in Glasgow will save the future of our future generations, giving them the gift of a secure and prosperous life.

Speaker Sir, I took extra time, I apologize to you for that. But I consider it as my duty to raise the voice of developing countries. That's why I have emphasized on that too. I once again thank you very much."

COP27 (SHARM EL-SHEIKH, EGYPT, 2022)

- **UNITED STATES**: Speaker - President Joe Biden. Date - November 11, 2022. Source: White House.

https://bidenwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2022/11/11/remarks-by-president-biden-at-the-27th-conference-of-the-parties-to-the-framework-convention-on-climate-change-cop27-sharm-el-sheikh-egypt/
Full text

THE PRESIDENT: "Good afternoon, everyone. (Applause.) Thank you, thank you, thank you.

Friends, partners, Speaker Pelosi, members of Congress who've traveled here to represent the United States, and fellow leaders: It's an honor — it's an honor to once again participate in this critical summit. And I'd like to thank our host, President Sisi, for bringing us together at this pivotal moment. Thank you, Mr. President. (Applause.)

Let me start by acknowledging that this day is a day of commemoration at home, in the United States. It's Veterans Day.

America's veterans and their families, survivors, and caregivers are — they're a spine and soul of the United States. And on this special day, every day, I honor all those who've sacrificed for our nation, like my son.

I want to thank — I want to thank one proud American veteran, a life-long public servant and dear friend, and, literally, one of the most decorated men to fight, Special Envoy for Climate, John Kerry. John. (Applause.)

John, your commitment, your passion, your diplomatic expertise have been absolutely critical — absolutely critical to delivering incredible progress on climate issues over the past two years. And I thank you, pal. I thank you for being my friend.

Here in Egypt, the Great Pyramids and the ancient artifacts stand as testament to millennia of human ingenuity. We see our mission to avert climate catastrophe and seize a new clean energy economy not only as an imperative for our present and future, but through the eyes of history.

According to the World — the World Meteorological Organization, the past eight years have been the warmest on record.

The United States — in the United States, we're seeing historic drought and wildfires in the West, devastating hurricanes and storms in the East.

Here in Africa — here in Africa, home to many nations considered most vulnerable to climate change, food insecurity [and] hunger follows four years of intense drought in the Horn of Africa.

Meanwhile, the Niger River in West Africa, swollen — swollen because of more intense rainfall, is wreaking havoc on fishing and farming communities.

In Nigeria, flooding has recently killed 600 people; 1.3 million more are displaced.

Seasonal livestock migration routes have been used for hundreds of years are being altered, increasing the risk of conflict between herders and local farming communities.

The climate crisis is about human security, economic security, environmental security, national security, and the very life of the planet.

So today, I'd like to share with you how the United States is meeting the climate crisis with urgency and with determination to ensure a cleaner, safer, and healthier planet for all of us. (Applause.) From my first days in office, my administration has led with a bold agenda to address the climate crisis and increase energy security at home and around the world.

We immediately rejoined the Paris Agreement. We convened major climate summits and reestablished — (applause) — I apologize we ever pulled out of the agreement — we established Major Economi- — Major Economies Forum to spur countries around the world to raise — raise their climate ambitions.

Last year, at COP26 in Glasgow, the United States helped deliver critical commitments that will get two thirds of the world's GDP on track to limit warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius. (Applause.)

Over the past two years, the United States has delivered unprecedented progress at home.

Through a generational investment in upgrading our nation's infrastructure, we're making our power grid better able to transmit clean energy, expanding public traf- — transit and rail, building a nationwide network of electric vehicle charging stations — over 50,000.

And this summer, the United States Congress passed and I signed into law my proposal for the biggest, most important climate bill in the history of our country — the Inflation Reduction Act. (Applause.)

It includes less than I asked for, but a significant amount: $368 billion to support clean electric en- — clean electri- — electricity, everything from onshore wi- — offshore wind to — to distributed solar, zero-emission vehicles, and sustainable aviation fuels; more efficient electrified buildings; cleaner industrial processes and manufacturing; climate-smart agriculture and forestry; and more.

Look, our Department of Energy estimates that the new law will reduce emissions in the United States by about 1 billion tons in 2030 while unleashing a new era of clean-energy-powered economic growth.

Our investments in technology, from electric batteries to hydrogen, are going to spark a cycle of innovation that will reduce the cost and improve the performance

of clean energy technology that will be available to nations worldwide, not just the United States. (Applause.)

We're going to help — it'll help make the transition to a low-carbon future more affordable for everyone, accelerate decarbonation beyond our borders.

In fact, the International Energy Agency recently concluded that our significant climate investment will, quote, help turbo-charge the emer- — the ener- — the — excuse me — "turbo-charge the emerging global clean enery [sic] — clean energy economy." I was reading their quote, sorry. (Laughter.)

It's going to shift the paradigm for the United States and the entire world.

It al- — we also ratified the Kigali Amendment to rally the world in phasing down the production and consumption of HFCs, greenhouse gases — (applause) — that are thousands of times more damaging than carbon dioxide.

And just yesterday, the United States became the first government to require that our fed- — our major federal suppliers disclose their emissions and climate risks and set targets for themselves that are aligned with the Paris Agreement. (Applause.)

As the world's largest customer, with more than $650 billion [$630 billion] in spending last year, the United States government is putting our money where our mouth is to strengthen accountability for climate risk and resilience.

These critical steps are already locking in vital investments in our infrastructure — delivering lower cost for clean energy, spurring good-paying union jobs for American workers, and advancing environmental justice in our communities. (Applause.)

Folks, we are proving that good climate policy is good economic policy. (Applause.) It's a strong foundation for durable, resilient, inclusive economic growth. It's driving progress in the private sector. It's driving progress around the world.

And the sum total of the actions my administration is taking puts the United States on track to achieve our Paris Agreement goal of reducing emissions 50 to 52 percent below '25 [sic] levels by — 2005 levels by 2030. (Applause.)

Let me just take a moment to emphasize how meaningful it is that I can say that.

I introduced the first piece of climate legislation in the United States Senate way back in 1986, 36 years ago. My commitment to this issue has been unwavering.

And today, finally, thanks to the actions we've taken, I can stand here as President of the United States of America and say with confidence: The United States of America will meet our emissions targets by 2030. (Applause.)

We are racing forward to do our part to avert the "climate hell" that the U.N. Secretary-General so passionately warned about earlier this week. We're not ignoring the harbingers that are already here.

It's true so many disasters — the climate crisis is hitting hardest those countries and communities that have the fewest resources to respond and to recover. That's why, last year, I committed to work with our Congress to quadruple U.S. support to climate finance and provide $11 billion annually by 2024, including $3 billion for adaption [adaptation].

And that's why the fund — Emergency Plan for Adaptation and Resilience — PREPARE, we call it — to help more than half a billion people in developing countries respond to climate change. We've already requested more than $2 billion for the PREPARE this year. I am going to fight to see that this and our other climate objectives are fully funded.

Today, as a down payment, we're announcing more than $150 million in initiatives that specifically support PREPARE's adaptation efforts throughout Africa, including Adaptation in Africa effort that Egypt and the United States launched together in June.

This includes support for expanding early warning systems to help cover Africa, broadening access to climate finance, providing disaster-risk protection, strengthening food security, mobilizing the private sector, and supporting a new training center in Egypt to accelerate adaptation across the efforts all across the continent. My administra- — (applause) —

My administration has also made the United States the first-ever contributor to the Adaptation Fund last year, and this year we're doubling our pledge to bringing our total commitment to $100 million.

We're making sure that every dollar we deliver goes as far as possible, unliking [sic] lar- — unlocking larger pools of finance and the trillions in private investment we know that will be needed.

Folks, we're also supporting the Global Shield, a G7 initiative to better protect vulnerable countries everywhere from climate-related losses and quickly respond to climate-related damages.

And the G7-led Partnership for Global Infrastructure and Investment is working to meet the critical infrastructure needs in low- and middle-income countries with specific focus on climate.

The project we're facilitating is built on transparency, partnership, the protections for workers and the environment.

One of the many projects already underway is a partnership between American firms and the government of Angola to invest $2 billion building new solar projects in Angola.

And everywhere — and eve- — like everywhere in the world, climate adaptation in Africa is working toward an energy transition that is just. It means creating good jobs, spurring inclusive economic growth, and leaving no one behind as we implement the Sustainable Development Goals.

Folks, now I know this has been a difficult few years. The interconnected challenges we face can feel all-consuming. And the upheaval we're seeing around the world, especially Russia's brutal attack against Ukraine, is exacerbating food shortages and energy spikes in cost, increasing volatility in those energy markets, driving up global inflation.

Against this backdrop, it's more urgent than ever that we double-down on our climate commitments. Russia's war only enhances the urgency of the need to transition the world off its dependence on fossil fuels.

True energy security means every nation — it means that every nation is benefiting from a clean, diversified energy future. No action — no action can be taken without a nation understanding that it can use energy as a weapon and hold the global economy hostage. It must stop.

And so this gathering must be the moment to recommit our future and to our shared capacity to write a better story for the world.

Let's build on our global climate progress, raising above our ambitions and the speed of our efforts.

The science is devastatingly clear. We have to make vital progress by the end of this decade. And that's why the United States is rallying the world around climate game-changers.

I launched one such game-changer last year with the European Commission President Von der Leyen: the Global Methane Pledge.

We started it with the EU and eight other countries. In Glasgow, it grew to more than 100 countries. Now more than 130 countries have signed on to covering more than half of the global methane emissions.

Methane is 80 times more potent than carbon, and it accounts for nearly half — half of the net warming we're experiencing now. So cutting methane by at least 30 percent by 2030 can be our best chance to keep within reach of 1.5 degrees Celsius target. (Applause.)

And today, we're releasing an updated Methane Emissions Reduction Act Plan, which lays out how the United States is meeting the pledge.

We're investing more than $20 billion in domestic methane mitigation to do things like cap orphan wells leaking methane, improving industrial equipment in the oil and gas sectors to reduce emissions.

It also lays out strong regulatory actions, including — including a new proposal from our Environmental Protection Agency to strengthen standards on methane across sectors, especially from super-emitters, to make — just to make sure it's not released into communities, impacting our public health. (Applause.)

All told, these steps — all told, these steps will reduce U.S. meth- — U.S. methane emissions from covered sources by 87 percent below the levels of 2005 by 2030.

Folks, another game-changer is conserving our natural environment. Whether it's the Congo Basin forests and peatlands here in Africa or the Amazon Basin in South America, or forests, wetlands, and grasslands in the United States, preserving nature is one of the most impactful climate solutions we have — some that Indigenous people, who have — communities have known and been the stewards of these efforts for a long time and generations. They've known it.

Here at COP27, we are co-chairing Forests and Climate Partnership to deliver real, rapid strides to halt deforestation.

The best part is we don't have to develop any new technologies. We just have to make clear forests are more valuable when they're preserved than when they're destroyed. It's that basic. (Applause.) And those who are able should be chipping in to help those countries that, in fact, preserve those great forests.

We're bringing together partners across the public and private sector and philanthropic sectors to put health — healthy ecosystems at the heart of healthy economies.

This is — it's going to take all of us. It's going to take all of us.

We need to harness our capacity to tackle emissions in economic sectors like international shipping. If the shipping sector were a standalone economy — if it were a standalone economy, it would rank as the tenth [among the ten] largest emitter in the world.

So, together with Norway, the United States has launched the Green Shipping Challenge. During this COP, we've seen dozens of commitments from governments, as well as ports and private companies, to facilitate green shipping corridors and align the sector with the 1.5-degree goal.

If we can accelerate action on these game-changers, we can reach our goal, we can keep it within reach as well. But to permanently bend the emissions curve, every nation has — needs to step up. At this gathering, we must renew and raise our climate ambitions.

The United States is acting. Everyone has to act. That's the duty and responsibility of global leadership. Countries that are in a position to help should be supporting developing countries so they can make decisive climate decisions, facilitating their energy transitions, building a path to prosperity and compatible with our climate imperative.

If countries can finance coal in developing countries, there is no reason why we can't finance clean energy in developing companies [countries].

And I'm pleased to announce today, alongside the European Union and Germany, a $500 million package to finance and facilitate Egypt's transition to clean energy.

(Applause.)

This package will enable Egypt to deploy 10 gigawatts of renewable energy by 2030, while bringing offline 5 gigawatts of inefficient gas-powered facilities, reducing emissions in Egypt and power sector by 10 percent.

We also — we'll also work with Egypt to capture nearly 14 billion [4 billion] cubic meters of natural gas, which Egypt currently flares, vents, or leaks from its oil and gas operations.

And because of this cooperation, Egypt is elevating its climate ambition and submitting an enhanced national determined contribution.

If we're going to win this fight, every major emitter nation needs align with the 1.5 degrees. We can no longer plead ignorance to the consequences of our actions or continue to repeat our mistakes. Everyone has to keep accelerating our efforts throughout this decisive decade.

My friends, I came to the presidency determined to be tran- — make the transforforma- — transformational changes that are needed — that America needs to make and we have to do for the rest of the world to overcome decades of opposition and obstacles of progress on this issue alone; to reestablish the United States as a trustworthy, committed, global leader on climate.

As I stand here before you, we've taken enormous strides to achieve that.

(Protestors in audience yell.)

But I don't stand here alone. This progress is being driven by young people all across America. Like young people around the world, they feel the urgency of climate, and they feel it deeply. They're committed to these issues. They know the stakes, and that's their world we're creating.

This is not to stand by and allow us to fail in their — in this responsibility. We can't. That's why, as I look out, of all the things that I've — we've accomplished, with so much more to do, I'm optimistic.

For all the work that remains to be done, we have to put down significant markers of progress. The United States has taken enduring steps to meet our goals. We're delivering on our promise of leadership, and more and more of the world is standing with us.

Though determined diplomacy is necessary, we're finding consensus, building and understanding and launching new approaches. And the inspiring passion of young people, civil society, climate activists, Indigenous communities is literally galvanizing the world.

Yes, the challenges we face are great, but our capacity is greater than the challenges. We must never doubt that.

So let's reach out and take the future in our hands and make the world we wish to see and that we know we need — a planet preserved for generations to come; an economy powered by clean, diversified, secure energy sources; opportunities unlocked through innovation and cooperation that deliver equitable, more prosperous, and more stable, and more just world for our children.

That's why we're here. That is what we're working toward. And we can do it together. I am confident.

Thank you, thank you, thank you. And may God bless you all. (Applause.) ."

- **INDIA**: Speaker – Shri Bhupender Yadav (Minister of Environment, Forest and Climate Change). Date - November 15, 2022. Source: UNFCCC PDF.
  https://www.pib.gov.in/PressReleasePage.aspx?PRID=1876119
  Full text:

"**Excellencies,**

Let me first express our gratitude to our hosts and the Presidency of COP27, the Arab Republic of Egypt for their tremendous efforts and gracious hospitality.

A year ago, at Glasgow, we responded to the call of science and came forward with important pledges and commitments.

This year at Sharm-el-Sheikh is our moment of action, and the Presidency of Egypt has rightfully designated this as the COP of implementation.

Excellencies

Our Hon'ble Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modi, announced India's aim of achieving net zero emissions by 2070 at Glasgow. Within one year, India has submitted its Long-Term Low Emissions Growth Strategy indicating low carbon transition pathways in key economic sectors.

Responding to the call for increased ambition in our 2030 climate targets, India updated its Nationally Determined Contributions in August 2022. We have

embarked on far-reaching new initiatives in renewable energy, e-mobility, ethanol blended fuels, and green hydrogen as an alternate energy source.

We also seek to foster strong international cooperation through action and solutions-oriented coalitions like International Solar Alliance and Coalition of Disaster Resilience Infrastructure, both of which were launched and nurtured by India.

This is a testimony to our ethos of collective action for global good.

India, home to 1.3 billion people, is undertaking this arduous effort, despite the reality that our contribution to the world's cumulative emissions so far is less than 4 per cent and our annual per capita emissions are about one-third of the global average.

At the heart of India's vision of a safe planet is a one-word Mantra – Lifestyle for Environment, that Prime Minister Modi set forth in our National Statement at COP26. Mission LiFE was launched by Prime Minister Modi in the presence of the UN Secretary General His Excellency Antonio Guterres, on 20th October 2022.

The world urgently needs a paradigm shift from mindless and destructive consumption to mindful and deliberate utilization. We are trustees of this planet earth. We must nurture it through sustainable lifestyles that optimize resource use and minimize waste.

As the world's most populous democracy and a vibrant emerging economy, India seeks to lead by example, and invites the global community to be a part of Mission LiFE for individual, family and community-based actions.

Excellencies

India is assuming the Presidency of the G20 in 2023 with the motto of 'One earth, One family, One future'. Our journey towards a planet safe for humanity, is one that no nation can undertake alone. This is a collective journey to be undertaken with equity and climate justice as our guiding principles.

We hope that the fight against climate change will unite the world as one family."

COP28 (DUBAI, UAE, 2023)

- **UNITED STATES**: Speaker – Vice President Kamala Harris. Date - December 2, 2023. Source: White House.
  https://bidenwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2023/12/02/remarks-by-vice-president-harris-at-cop28-leaders-session-fast-tracking-the-just-equitable-and-orderly-energy-transition/?utm_source
  Full text:

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you, and good afternoon to everyone.

It is good to be here with the leaders who are present from government, from civil society, and philanthropy. And I want to start by thanking you all for your partnership in taking on, of course, one of the most urgent issues of our time.

So, our nations gathered 28 years ago in Berlin, Germany, at COP1. At that time, many doubted the threat posed by the climate crisis. Twenty years later, there is no doubt.

Across our world, communities are choked by drought, washed out by floods, and decimated by hurricanes. Wildfire smoke darkens our skies, and rising seas threaten the lives and livelihoods of millions of people.

The urgency of this moment is clear. The clock is no longer just ticking, it is banging. And we must make up for lost time.

And we cannot afford to be incremental. We need transformative change and exponential impact. As nations, we must have the ambition that is necessary to meet this moment.

We must lead with courage and conviction, and we must treat the climate crisis as the existential threat that it truly is. It is, dare I say, our duty and our obligation. Not a choice.

President Biden and I feel a deep sense of responsibility in this moment. We invested roughly a trillion dollars over the next 10 years to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, boost climate resilience, and support adaptation, and build a clean energy economy.

The largest investment in climate not only in the history of our country but in the history of the world.

Today, the United States is proud to join more than 115 nations in a commitment to double energy efficiency and to triple renewable energy capacity by 2030.

And because of our historic investments, the United States is on a path to meet these goals.

This year alone, the United States has built more than 30 gigawatts of solar energy, which will generate, we are proud to say, more power than 15 Hoover Dams.

And to carry that renewable energy from where it is generated to where it is needed most, we are building thousands of miles of more efficient, high-voltage transmission lines.

To implement increased energy efficiency, we are also helping millions of Americans install energy upgrades in their homes and their businesses.

We have also invested billions of dollars in clean energy research and development to continue our nation’s leadership in clean energy innovation.

And we understand the whole world will benefit from our work. When the United States increases renewable energy production and innovation, it lowers the cost and boosts the efficiency of renewable energy technology around the globe, which, of course, makes it easier and more affordable for countries around the world to meet their climate goals.

And I will note: Crucially, our collective pledge today to rapidly increase renewable energy also includes a call for all nations to stop building new, unabated coal power plants — a type of power plant that the United States stopped building more than a decade ago.

The climate crisis has emphasized that our world is interconnected and interdependent. And to meet these global challenges, we must have global collaboration.

As Vice President, I have partnered with Caribbean leaders, including Prime Minister Terrance Drew — yes — (applause) — and Mia Mottley and others to launch a new initiative to build climate resilience and renewable energy for island nations.

Earlier this year, I was proud to be in Zambia, where we secured $7 billion in private-sector investment for initiatives such as climate-smart agriculture and renewable energy projects across the continent of Africa.

Last month, I launched the Women in the Sustainable Economy initiative for job training and support for women in the blue and green economies — an initiative that, in just the past few weeks, has generated $480 million in new public, private sec- — and public- and private-sector commitments, bringing our total to $1.4 billion.

And to ensure that developing countries can build a clean energy economy, today I am proud to announce that the United States is launching a new partnership to help build clean energy supply chains around the globe.

We are also announcing $568 million in concessional lending as a part of this partnership to help drive investment in clean energy manufacturing.

I will close, then, with this: As Vice President, I have had the privilege to meet with young climate leaders from across the United States and around the world.

No matter where they come from, these young leaders have something in common.

They — they understand the urgency of this moment and they fight with conviction, knowing we still have time to make a difference.

So, let us all share in their sense of urgency and their optimism.

Let us all lead, then, with ambition and conviction.

Despite the profound challenges we face and the time that is moving quickly, let us harness the power that we have together to build a cleaner, healthier, and more prosperous future for this generation and for generations to come.

I thank you."

- **INDIA**: Speaker - Bhupender Yadav (Minister of Environment, Forest and Climate Change). Date - November 15, 2022. Source: UNFCCC PDF.
  Full text:

" Excellencies, Friends, Ladies and Gentlemen,

At the outset, let me express my heartfelt gratitude to the Government of United Arab Emirates for hosting COP 28, and for their warm hospitality. India also congratulates COP28 Presidency for steering this COP as the “COP for Action”, which became evident on the very first day with the successful operationalization of the Loss and Damage Fund. Excellencies, India has been at the forefront of supporting action-oriented steps at the global level in response to climate change. We have always held the view that people and planet are inseparable and human well-being and Nature are intrinsically linked. The call given to the global community by Hon’ble Prime Minister of India, Shri Narendra Modi to join Mission LiFE – Lifestyle for Environment bears testimony to India’s action-oriented approach. Furthering the ideals of Mission LiFE, India launched the Green Credit Initiative here at COP28 on 1st December, to create a participatory global platform for exchange of innovative environmental programs and instruments. Earlier this year, we saw the historic adoption of the Green Development Pact by the G20 nations as part of the New Delhi Declaration.

Friends, India has now finalized its Third National Communication based on GHG inventory of 2019 along with Initial Adaptation Communication. It underscores our consistent contribution towards climate action while also prioritizing the development and well-being of our people. In our endeavour to decouple economic growth from greenhouse gas emissions, India has successfully reduced the emission intensity visà-vis its GDP by 33% between 2005 and 2019, thus achieving the initial NDC target for 2030, 11 years ahead of the scheduled time. • India has also achieved 40% of electric installed capacity through non fossil fuel sources, nine years ahead of the target for 2030. Between 2017 and 2023, India has added around 100 GW of installed electric capacity, of which around 80% is attributed to non-fossil fuel-based resources. We have therefore revised our NDCs upwards indicating our deep commitment towards enhanced climate action.

Excellencies, In addition to its domestic initiatives, India’s contribution to climate action has been significant through its international efforts such as International Solar Alliance (ISA), Coalition for Disaster Resilient Infrastructure (CDRI), creation of LeadIT, Infrastructure for Resilient Island States (IRIS) and the Big Cat Alliance. The Global Biofuel Alliance, launched when the G20 leaders met in

New Delhi earlier this year, seeks to serve as a catalytic platform fostering global collaboration for advancement and widespread adoption of biofuels.

Friends, As we gather here in Dubai for COP28, India looks forward to the Global Stock-take's outcomes and hope that they will provide meaningful and relevant inputs for deciding on enhanced climate action. The resource mobilization under New Collective Quantified Goal must be guided by the needs and requirements of the developing countries. India firmly believes that equity and climate justice must be the basis of global climate action. This can be ensured only when the developed countries take the lead in ambitious climate action.

Excellencies, It is of paramount importance to repose our trust and confidence in the principles and processes of the convention and its Paris Agreement. • Let us all reaffirm our commitment to work together for the common objective for greener, cleaner and healthier planet as we have one Earth, we are One family and share One future.

I thank you all."

APPENDIX 3
OVERVIEW AND THEMATIC SUMMARY OF CLIMATE CHANGE SPEECHES BY THE UNITED STATES AND INDIA (COP20–COP28)

This appendix provides a synthesized overview of the official climate change speeches delivered by representatives of the United States and India at the Conferences of the Parties (COP20–COP28). The summaries are based on full-text plenary statements and national interventions contained in the research corpus. The purpose of this appendix is to contextualize the comparative discourse analysis conducted in Chapters 4 and 5 by outlining the central themes, commitments, and discursive orientations of both countries across successive COP meetings.

COP20 (Lima, Peru, 2014)

United States

The U.S. delegation emphasized optimism and momentum toward a post-2020 climate agreement, framing COP20 as a "COP of Hope." The discourse highlighted recent domestic actions, including regulatory measures and bilateral cooperation, particularly with China. Climate change was constructed as a shared global challenge, with leadership articulated through voluntary ambition rather than binding obligation.

India

India foregrounded developmental justice, emphasizing poverty eradication, energy access, and the unequal distribution of global emissions. The speech strongly reaffirmed the principles of equity and Common but Differentiated Responsibilities and Respective Capabilities (CBDR-RC), asserting the need for adequate carbon space for developing countries to pursue sustainable development.

COP21 (Paris, France, 2015)

United States

The United States played a central role in shaping the Paris Agreement, promoting nationally determined contributions (NDCs) as a flexible and universal framework. Climate action was framed as compatible with economic growth, innovation, and global leadership, reinforcing the U.S. position as an architect of the emerging climate governance regime.

India

India expressed support for the Paris Agreement while maintaining a cautious

stance toward binding mitigation obligations. The speech emphasized equity, differentiation, and the primacy of national development goals, accepting the NDC framework as a pragmatic compromise rather than a relinquishment of sovereign policy space.

COP22 (Marrakech, Morocco, 2016)

United States

The U.S. discourse focused on the implementation of the Paris Agreement following its ratification. Emphasis was placed on climate finance, transparency, and technology cooperation, projecting continuity in leadership during the final phase of the Obama administration.

India

India highlighted implementation challenges faced by developing countries, particularly in relation to finance, technology transfer, and adaptation. Climate action was consistently linked to national development priorities and capacity constraints.

COP23 (Bonn, Germany, 2017)

United States

The U.S. presence at COP23 occurred in the context of President Trump's announcement of withdrawal from the Paris Agreement. Engagement was minimal, and the absence of substantive commitments functioned discursively as a signal of retreat from multilateral climate governance.

India

India reaffirmed its commitment to the Paris Agreement and multilateral cooperation, positioning itself as a responsible and stable actor in contrast to the U.S. withdrawal. This stance enhanced India's moral authority among developing countries.

COP24 (Katowice, Poland, 2018)

United States

The United States resisted the urgency conveyed by climate science and opposed stringent implementation rules for the Paris Agreement. Discursively, responsibility was minimized, and fossil fuel narratives were promoted alongside calls for energy sovereignty.

India

India continued to defend the CBDR-RC principle, opposing efforts to dilute

differentiation in transparency and finance mechanisms. Developmental needs and equity remained central to its discourse.

COP25 (Madrid, Spain, 2019)

United States

The U.S. delegation confirmed its withdrawal from the Paris Agreement and largely disengaged from negotiations. Climate discourse was subordinated to nationalist priorities under the "America First" agenda.

India

India intensified calls for enhanced ambition by developed countries and highlighted persistent gaps in climate finance and adaptation support. Climate justice emerged as an increasingly prominent theme.

COP26 (Glasgow, United Kingdom, 2021)

United States

Under the Biden administration, the United States rejoined the Paris Agreement and pledged a 50–52% reduction in emissions by 2030. Climate change was framed as both a social justice issue and an economic opportunity, signaling a re-legitimation of U.S. leadership.

India

India announced the *Panchamrit* commitments, including a net-zero target by 2070. The discourse balanced increased ambition with assertions of developmental equity and differentiated responsibilities.

COP27 (Sharm El-Sheikh, Egypt, 2022)

United States

The United States expressed cautious support for the establishment of the Loss and Damage Fund while emphasizing domestic climate action under the Inflation Reduction Act. Responsibility was framed primarily through leadership by example rather than historical restitution.

India

India strongly advocated for Loss and Damage finance and spoke on behalf of the Global South. The discourse consolidated India's role as a leading voice for developing countries.

COP28 (Dubai, United Arab Emirates, 2023)

United States

The U.S. delegation highlighted large-scale domestic climate investments and new financial pledges, promoting a transition away from fossil fuels. However, tensions remained due to ongoing oil and gas expansion, revealing discursive contradictions.

India

India emphasized initiatives such as Mission LiFE, the Green Credit Initiative, the International Solar Alliance, and the Global Biofuel Alliance. Equity and climate justice were reaffirmed as foundational principles, marking India's transition from a discursive demander to a discursive architect of global climate initiatives.

Concluding Note

Across COP20–COP28, the United States' climate discourse exhibits a trajectory of leadership assertion, withdrawal, and re-legitimation, characterized by an emphasis on material action, technological solutions, and strategic ambiguity regarding responsibility. In contrast, India's discourse evolves from resistance and demands for equity toward proactive agenda-setting and coalition-building, reflecting a gradual reconfiguration of discursive power within global climate governance.

APPENDIX 4
SAMPLE DETAILED ANALYSIS WITH THE SPEECHES FROM COP20 (LIMA, PERU, 2014)

This analysis examines ideologies surrounding responsibilities for climate change as manifested in two key speeches from the 2014 COP20 conference in Lima, Peru. The first is by U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry, representing a developed nation with historical emissions, emphasizing global cooperation while acknowledging U.S. leadership. The second is by India's Minister of State for Environment, Forests & Climate Change, Prakash Javadekar, highlighting developing nations' perspectives on equity and differentiated responsibilities. Both speeches address climate change responsibilities but reflect divergent ideologies: Kerry's promotes universal action with developed nations leading, while Javadekar's underscores historical inequities and the need for "equitable carbon space" for development.

The analysis employs a multifaceted theoretical framework drawing from Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and critical discourse analysis:

- Textual analysis: Focuses on linguistic structures, cohesion, and lexical choices.
- Discursive analysis: Explores how language constructs ideologies, power relations, and social realities.
- Social analysis: Situates the speeches in broader socio-political contexts, including global inequalities and North-South divides.
- Metafunction: Analyzes ideational (representing experiences), interpersonal (enacting relationships), and textual (organizing discourse) functions.
- Appraisal: Examines attitude (affect, judgment, appreciation), engagement (monoglossic/heteroglossic), and graduation (force/focus).
- Modality: Investigates modal expressions of obligation (must, should), possibility (can, may), and inclination.
- Polarity: Assesses positive/negative orientations in framing responsibilities.

The analysis reveals how linguistic choices manifest ideologies: Kerry's speech ideologically frames climate responsibility as a shared moral imperative with U.S. exceptionalism, while Javadekar's emphasizes equity and critiques profit-driven approaches, reflecting India's position as a developing economy.

Analysis of the U.S. Speech (John Kerry)

Kerry's speech positions the U.S. as a proactive leader in climate action, ideologically framing responsibility as universal yet differentiated by capacity, with developed nations bearing more burden. It blends urgency, scientific authority, and economic optimism to advocate for global cooperation, while subtly deflecting sole blame from historical emitters.

Textual Analysis

The speech is structured as a narrative arc: introduction (thanks and context), problem framing (climate threats), ideological positioning (shared responsibility), U.S. actions, global call, and optimistic close. Cohesion is achieved through repetition (e.g., "thank you," "I know," "we have to") and lexical chains around themes like "threat," "responsibility," "action," and "opportunity." Lexical choices include vivid metaphors (e.g., "silver bullet," "stepping stone," "course leading to tragedy") to dramatize urgency, and nominalizations (e.g., "emissions reduction," "climate action") to abstractify processes, making them seem inevitable.

Discursive Analysis

Discursively, the speech constructs climate change as a "global threat" equivalent to terrorism or nuclear proliferation, ideologically equating it with security issues to legitimize U.S. intervention. It challenges denialism by invoking "97 percent of peer-reviewed studies," positioning science as unassailable truth against "industry-paid-for false analyses." Ideologies of responsibility are manifested as collective ("every nation has a responsibility") but with U.S. exceptionalism ("President Obama has accepted that responsibility"). This discourse reproduces neoliberal ideologies by framing solutions as market opportunities ("greatest economic opportunities of all time"), while downplaying structural inequalities.

Social Analysis

Socially, the speech reflects U.S. hegemony in global environmental governance, drawing on its historical emissions (acknowledged but historicized as "before we fully understood") to claim moral leadership. It addresses North-South tensions by recognizing developing nations' anger but insists on universal action, potentially masking power imbalances where developed nations set agendas. In the context of COP20, this aligns with U.S. interests in Paris Agreement negotiations, promoting voluntary pledges over binding equity-based commitments, which favors wealthier nations.

Metafunction

- Ideational: Represents climate change as a process of human causation ("human activity is responsible") and existential threat ("world as we know it will change profoundly"). Transitivity patterns emphasize material processes (e.g., "cut emissions," "reduce greenhouse gases") to portray action as achievable.
- Interpersonal: Enacts authority through direct address ("I challenge anyone," "Ask yourself") and relational processes (e.g., "we're proud," "I appreciate"), building solidarity while asserting U.S. leadership.

- Textual: Theme-rheme progression starts with problems (e.g., "climate change is personal") and shifts to solutions ("solution is energy policy"), organizing the discourse logically for persuasion.

Appraisal

- Attitude: Positive judgment on U.S. actions ("most ambitious set," "proud") and appreciation of science ("dramatic statement of fact"). Negative affect toward inaction ("massive, collective moral failure," "catastrophe").
- Engagement: Mostly monoglossic assertions (e.g., "science is screaming at us") to close off debate, with heteroglossic concessions (e.g., "I know it's human nature") to appear empathetic.
- Graduation: Force amplifies urgency (e.g., "absolutely ranks up there," "exponentially"), while focus sharpens contrasts (e.g., "not just a policy failure, but as a massive... moral failure").

Modality

High obligation modality dominates (e.g., "we must take giant steps," "leaders need to lead," "we have to act"), framing responsibility as imperative. Possibility modals highlight feasibility (e.g., "we can significantly cut emissions," "mankind can solve the problem"), countering fatalism. Inclination modals express resolve (e.g., "I believe we can get there").

Polarity

Predominantly negative polarity frames problems (e.g., "won't eliminate it without an agreement," "no excuse"), shifting to positive for solutions (e.g., "we can get there," "opportunities for clean energy"). This bipolar structure ideologically motivates action by contrasting doom with hope.

Analysis of the India Speech (Prakash Javadekar)

Javadekar's speech ideologically frames climate responsibility through equity and common but differentiated responsibilities (CBDR), prioritizing development and poverty eradication for developing nations. It critiques profit-oriented approaches and advocates for balanced agreements under the UNFCCC, reflecting India's stance as a vulnerable, emerging economy.

Textual Analysis

The speech is concise and declarative, structured as greeting, national context, actions, critiques, and hopes for Lima/Paris. Cohesion via anaphora (e.g., "We have...") lists Indian initiatives, and lexical chains emphasize "equity," "development," "poverty." Rhetorical questions (e.g., "Why can’t this spirit... be summoned?") engage listeners, while nominal groups (e.g., "abject poverty," "equitable carbon space") abstract social issues.

Discursive Analysis

Discursively, it constructs climate change as intertwined with poverty ("protecting the interests of the poor"), ideologically resisting narratives that burden developing nations equally. References to "changed reality" critique shifts away from CBDR, positioning India as defender of the Global South. It invokes historical cooperation (e.g., "practical examples of how in the past") to advocate collaboration without exploitation ("Why do we want to profit from disasters?"), challenging neoliberal discourses that commodify crises.

Social Analysis

Socially, the speech embodies post-colonial critiques, highlighting that "1 in every 7 persons... lives in abject poverty" in developing countries, framing responsibility as differentiated by historical emissions. In COP20's context, it counters U.S.-led pushes for universal commitments, advocating for "equitable carbon space" to allow growth. This reflects India's socio-economic realities-resource constraints amid climate vulnerability-and power dynamics where developing nations negotiate against wealthier emitters.

Metafunction

- Ideational: Represents experiences as relational (e.g., "India is also at the frontlines"), linking climate impacts to development. Mental processes (e.g., "we hope to achieve") project aspirations.
- Interpersonal: Builds solidarity with the poor and women ("I salute the women"), using inclusive "we" for India ("We have shown... political will") to assert agency.
- Textual: Topical themes center equity (e.g., "The new 2015 agreement shall be under the Convention"), organizing discourse around principles for coherence.

Appraisal

- Attitude: Positive appreciation of Indian actions ("ambitious actions," "vision and political will") and judgment of global spirit ("successful global cooperation"). Negative judgment on inequities ("profit from disasters," "weak and ineffective").
- Engagement: Heteroglossic through questions and concessions (e.g., "While there is often a talk about changed reality"), opening dialogue while monoglossically asserting principles (e.g., "It should be able to address...").
- Graduation: Force intensifies commitments (e.g., "doubled the Clean Energy Cess," "scaled up five-fold"), focusing on equity as "genuine requirements."

Modality

Obligation modals stress principles (e.g., "shall be under the Convention," "We must ensure"), possibility highlights potential (e.g., "can’t this spirit be summoned?"),

and inclination expresses optimism (e.g., "we hope to put in place"). This modalizes responsibility as conditional on equity.

Polarity

Positive polarity frames India's actions and hopes ("positive outcome," "COP of Hope"), negative critiques imbalances ("abject poverty," "weak... response"). This polarity ideologically contrasts aspiration with injustice.

Comparative Analysis

The table below gives the comparison highlights of ideological tensions: Kerry's neoliberal universalism vs. Javadekar's equity-focused differentiation, reflecting broader global divides.

Aspect	**U.S. Speech (Kerry)**	**India Speech (Javadekar)**
Ideological Framing of Responsibility	Universal with U.S. leadership; shared moral imperative, but developed nations contribute more.	Differentiated by equity/CBD developing nations need spa for growth/poverty eradication
Textual Structure	Narrative, repetitive for emphasis; vivid metaphors.	Declarative lists; rhetori questions for engagement.
Discursive Construction	Security/economic opportunity; challenges denialism with science.	Equity/poverty linkage; critiqu profit motives.
Social Context	U.S. hegemony; acknowledges but historicizes emissions.	Post-colonial resistance; defer Global South.
Metafunction (Ideational)	Human causation as threat/solution.	Climate linked to developme vulnerabilities.
Metafunction (Interpersonal)	Authoritative direct address; builds U.S. solidarity.	Inclusive solidarity w poor/women.
Metafunction (Textual)	Problem-to-solution progression.	Principle-centered organizatior
Appraisal (Attitude)	Positive on U.S. actions; negative on inaction.	Positive on Indian initiativ negative on inequities.
Appraisal (Engagement)	Mostly monoglossic assertions.	Heteroglossic questions/concessions.
Appraisal (Graduation)	Amplifies urgency/catastrophe.	Intensifies commitments/equity
Modality	High obligation for action; possibility for feasibility.	Obligation for principl inclination for hope.
Polarity	Negative problems to positive solutions.	Positive aspirations vs. negati injustices.

Table 3.2. Discourse Analysis Comparison: U.S. Speech (Kerry) vs. India Speech (Javadekar)

Through these frameworks, the speeches manifest contrasting ideologies on climate responsibilities-Kerry's as a collective, opportunity-driven imperative led by developed nations, and Javadekar's as an equitable burden-sharing prioritizing development. Linguistically, Kerry employs urgent, scientific modality and appraisal to persuade, while Javadekar uses principled, inclusive discourse to advocate fairness. This analysis underscores how language in diplomacy shapes global climate governance, revealing power imbalances and the need for balanced approaches in agreements like Paris.

4.4.2. Key ideologies

1. **Developed Countries' Responsibilities (U.S. Perspective)**:

   Leadership through Innovation and Market-Driven Solutions: The U.S. consistently positions itself as a leader via technological advancement, economic growth, and inclusion of all energy sources (e.g., clean coal, nuclear, renewables). This ideology downplays historical responsibility, focusing on future-oriented "balanced approaches" that benefit all nations. It implies shared responsibility but emphasizes U.S. contributions (e.g., finance pledges, R&D) as voluntary leadership rather than obligation.

   Shared Global Burden with Equity Secondary: While acknowledging U.S. role as a major emitter (e.g., Obama in COP21: "we embrace our responsibility"), speeches shift to collective action and economic opportunities (e.g., jobs from clean energy). Withdrawal from Paris (mentioned in COP23-25) is framed as pragmatic, not denial, with continued engagement promised.

   Support for Developing Countries as Partnership: Finance and technology transfer are highlighted (e.g., $3B to Green Climate Fund in COP28), but tied to U.S. innovation benefiting all, not reparations.

2. **Developing Countries' Responsibilities (India Perspective)**:

   Equity and Common but Differentiated Responsibilities (CBDR): India emphasizes historical inequities (e.g., "our contribution to cumulative emissions is less than 4%," COP27), arguing developed countries must lead in reductions and provide finance/technology to allow growth in the Global South. This ideology frames climate action as justice, not charity, with developing nations doing their part despite constraints.

   Development Priority with Sustainable Lifestyles: Speeches stress poverty eradication and low per capita emissions (e.g., COP24: "our per capita emissions are just about one-third of global average"). Initiatives like Mission LiFE

(COP27-28) promote mindful consumption globally, but call for "equitable carbon space" for development.

Critique of Developed Nations' Pre-2020 Commitments: Repeated demands for honoring finance pledges (e.g., $1T in COP26) and avoiding burden-shifting to post-2020.

3. **Convergences and Divergences**:

Convergence: Both stress urgency, ambition, and collective action (e.g., "one Earth, one family" in India COP28; "work together" in U.S. COP26).

Divergence: U.S. focuses on economic benefits and all-energy inclusion (politically incorrect to some, but substantiated by emissions reductions via gas/innovation); India on justice/equity, critiquing developed nations' delays.

Theme	**U.S. Ideology & Examples**	**India Ideology & Examples**	**Linguistic Manifestation**
Historical Responsibility	Acknowledged but minimized; focus on current leadership (e.g., COP21: "recognizes our role... embrace our responsibility").	Strongly emphasized; low emissions justify space for growth (e.g., COP24: "share in cumulative historical global GHG emissions is only about 3 percent").	U.S.: Active verbs like "embrace," "lead" (agency in solutions). India: Quantifiers like "only 3%," "one-third" (contrastive framing for inequity).
Finance/Technology Transfer	Voluntary pledges as partnership (e.g., COP28: "$3 billion pledge to the Green Climate Fund").	Obligatory from developed nations (e.g., COP26: "developed countries to provide climate finance of 1 trillion dollars").	U.S.: Positive nouns like "investment," "pledge" (generosity). India: Imperatives like "must be guided," "expect" (demand for justice).
Energy Mix & Growth	Balanced, including fossils (e.g., COP24: "all energy	Renewables priority, but growth first (e.g., COP28: "decouple	U.S.: Inclusive lists ("fossils fuels, nuclear, renewable") for

	sources... including fossils fuels").	economic growth from greenhouse gas emissions").	pragmatism. India: Achievements with timelines ("11 years ahead," COP28) for credibility.
Equity/Justice	Secondary; shared ambition (e.g., COP27: "all of us have to step up").	Core; CBDR principle (e.g., COP28: "equity and climate justice must be the basis").	U.S.: Collective pronouns "we," "our global partners" (unity). India: Contrastive "developed vs. developing" (differentiation).
Optimism & Action	Market-driven hope (e.g., COP21: "strong economic growth and a safer environment... can work in concert").	Collective, lifestyle-based (e.g., COP27: "One earth, One family, One future").	Rhetorical questions (U.S.: "Will we act?"); Mantras (India: "Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam") for cultural appeal.

Table 3.3. Discourse Analysis Comparison on Ideologies: U.S. Speech (Kerry) vs. India Speech (Javadekar)

4.4.3. Linguistic manifestations

Framing Devices: U.S. uses economic metaphors (e.g., "investment," "growth," "jobs") to frame climate as opportunity, substantiating claims with data (e.g., "emissions fallen by 14%," COP24). India employs justice discourse (e.g., "equity," "climate justice," repeated 5+ times across speeches) and historical contrasts to manifest victimhood and moral imperative.

Rhetorical Strategies: Both use optimism (e.g., U.S. "incredible opportunity," COP26; India "moment of action," COP27), but U.S. with personal anecdotes (e.g., Kerry's "deeply personal"); India with cultural references (e.g., "trustees of this planet earth," COP27).

Politically Incorrect Claims: U.S. speeches defend fossil fuels (e.g., "natural gas... hybrid coal," COP24), substantiated by emissions reductions (11.5% drop since 2005 while economy grew). This challenges anti-fossil narratives but aligns with energy security ideology.

Bias Consideration: Sources are official, representing national viewpoints. U.S. speeches show bias toward market liberalism; India's toward Global South equity. A balanced view (from UNFCCC, State/MEA sites) confirms these as authentic discourses.

This analysis shows developed nations linguistically shift responsibility to innovation/shared action, while developing nations manifest ideologies of differentiation through equity demands, substantiated by emission data and calls for support.

4.5. Extensive analysis of the ideologies on responsibilities for climate change in the speeches

(by John Kerry (United States) and Prakash Javadekar (India) at the 2014 COP20 conference in Lima, Peru)

The analysis delves deeper into the ideological underpinnings, linguistic strategies, and socio-political implications, integrating insights from Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and critical discourse analysis frameworks (Textual, Discursive, Social, Metafunction, Appraisal, Modality, Polarity). It also incorporates additional insights from the thematic and comparative elements provided, ensuring a comprehensive exploration of how these speeches construct and negotiate climate change responsibilities.

4.5.1. Ideologies on Responsibilities for Climate Change

The ideologies on climate change responsibilities in the U.S. and India speeches reflect distinct socio-political positions shaped by their respective national contexts-developed versus developing nations. These ideologies are rooted in historical, economic, and moral perspectives on who should bear the burden of climate action and how it should be framed.

4.5.1.1 U.S. Ideology: Universal Responsibility with Leadership and Market-Driven Optimism

John Kerry’s speech constructs an ideology of universal responsibility tempered by U.S. leadership and a neoliberal optimism that frames climate action as an economic opportunity. This ideology has several key facets:

Shared Global Burden with Leadership Emphasis: The U.S. acknowledges its historical emissions but historicizes them as occurring "before we fully understood the consequences," thereby deflecting sole blame. Instead, it positions itself as a proactive leader through initiatives like the Climate Action Plan and pledges to the Green Climate Fund ($3 billion). The ideology emphasizes collective action ("every nation has a responsibility") but underscores that developed nations, particularly the U.S., should lead due to their capacity ("President Obama has accepted that responsibility").

Market-Driven Solutions: The U.S. frames climate action as a "greatest economic opportunity of all time," promoting innovation in clean energy, job creation, and a $17 trillion global energy market. This neoliberal discourse prioritizes market mechanisms over regulatory or reparative approaches, aligning with U.S. economic interests.

Equity as Secondary: While acknowledging developing nations' concerns, equity is subordinated to universal action. The speech argues that "no single country" can solve the problem alone, implying that all nations must act, regardless of historical disparities. This downplays structural inequalities in favor of a unified global response led by developed nations.

Pragmatic Engagement: Even in contexts like the Paris Agreement withdrawal (referenced in later COPs), the U.S. frames its actions as pragmatic, maintaining engagement through voluntary contributions rather than binding commitments, reflecting a strategic avoidance of obligation.

4.5.1.2 India Ideology: Equity, CBDR, and Development Priority

Prakash Javadekar's speech articulates an ideology centered on equity, Common but Differentiated Responsibilities (CBDR), and the primacy of development for the Global South. Key aspects include:

Equity and Historical Responsibility: India emphasizes that developed nations, with higher historical emissions, bear greater responsibility. Javadekar notes the "changed reality" where developing nations face unfair burdens, advocating for "equitable carbon space" to allow growth and poverty eradication. This aligns with India's low cumulative emissions (e.g., "less than 4%," as noted in later COPs).

Development as Non-Negotiable: Climate action is framed as secondary to poverty alleviation ("protecting the interests of the poor"). Initiatives like the National Solar Mission and afforestation are presented as ambitious yet constrained by resources, reinforcing the need for developed nations' support.

Critique of Profit-Driven Approaches: The speech challenges neoliberal tendencies to "profit from disasters," critiquing market-driven solutions that may exploit developing nations. Instead, it calls for global cooperation based on historical justice.

Global South Advocacy: India positions itself as a defender of developing nations, demanding finance and technology transfers as obligations, not voluntary partnerships (e.g., $1 trillion demand in later COPs). This post-colonial stance resists universal frameworks that ignore disparities.

4.5.1.3 Convergences and Divergences

Convergences: Both speeches stress urgency and collective action. Kerry's call to "work together" and Javadekar's "One Earth, one family" (echoed in later COPs) reflect a shared recognition of climate change as a global issue requiring cooperation.

Divergences: The U.S. prioritizes market-driven universalism, framing climate action as an economic win, while India emphasizes equity and CBDR, critiquing developed nations' delays and advocating for justice. The U.S. includes all energy sources (e.g., fossils in later COPs), while India focuses on renewables but defends growth rights.

4.5.2. Linguistic Manifestations

The linguistic strategies in these speeches-analyzed through Textual, Discursive, Social, Metafunctional, Appraisal, Modality, and Polarity frameworks-reveal how ideologies are constructed and communicated. Below, each framework is explored with specific examples to illustrate how language manifests these ideological positions.

4.5.2.1 Textual Analysis

U.S. (Kerry): The speech employs a narrative arc that moves from problem (climate threats) to solution (energy policy), using repetition ("we have to," "I know") and lexical chains ("threat," "responsibility," "opportunity") for cohesion. Metaphors like "silver bullet" and "course leading to tragedy" dramatize urgency, while nominalizations ("emissions reduction," "climate action") abstract processes, making U.S. leadership seem inevitable. The structure is persuasive, building from personal anecdotes (e.g., Kerry's Rio experience) to global calls, reinforcing U.S. authority.

India (Javadekar): The speech is concise and declarative, using anaphora ("We have…") to list initiatives (e.g., "doubled the Clean Energy Cess," "scaled up five-fold") and lexical chains around "equity," "poverty," and "development" for coherence. Rhetorical questions ("Why can't this spirit… be summoned?") engage the audience, while nominal groups ("abject poverty," "equitable carbon space") abstract social issues, emphasizing systemic challenges. The structure prioritizes principles over narrative, aligning with India's advocacy role.

4.5.2.2 Discursive Analysis

U.S.: Kerry constructs climate change as a **security threat** akin to terrorism, using phrases like "absolutely ranks up there" to legitimize U.S. intervention. The invocation of "97 percent of peer-reviewed studies" positions science as unassailable, countering "industry-paid-for false analyses" to challenge denialism. The discourse of **U.S. exceptionalism** ("President Obama has accepted that responsibility") aligns with neoliberal ideologies, framing solutions as **market opportunities** ("$17 trillion energy market"). This downplays equity, focusing on collective responsibility to mask power imbalances.

India: Javadekar constructs climate change as intertwined with **poverty** ("protecting the interests of the poor"), resisting universal burdens. References to "changed reality" critique shifts away from CBDR, positioning India as a **Global South**

advocate. The critique of "profit from disasters" challenges neoliberal commodification, advocating **historical cooperation** ("practical examples of how in the past"). This discourse foregrounds justice and systemic inequities, demanding accountability from developed nations.

4.5.2.3 Social Analysis

U.S.: The speech reflects U.S. hegemony in global environmental governance, acknowledging historical emissions but framing them as past ignorance ("before we fully understood"). This allows the U.S. to claim moral leadership through voluntary actions (e.g., $3 billion pledge). In the COP20 context, it aligns with U.S. interests in voluntary pledges for the Paris Agreement, which favor wealthier nations by avoiding binding equity commitments. The recognition of developing nations' anger is strategic, maintaining diplomatic goodwill while insisting on universal action, potentially masking agenda-setting power.

India: The speech embodies post-colonial resistance, highlighting global poverty ("1 in every 7 persons") to frame responsibility as differentiated. India's advocacy for "equitable carbon space" counters U.S.-led universalism, reflecting its socio-economic realities-resource constraints and climate vulnerability. In COP20, this resists pressures for equal commitments, emphasizing developed nations' obligations for finance/technology transfers, aligning with Global South interests.

4.5.2.4 Metafunction Analysis

Ideational:

U.S.: Represents climate change as a human-caused threat ("human activity is responsible") and solvable challenge ("mankind can solve the problem"). Material processes (e.g., "cut emissions," "reduce greenhouse gases") emphasize actionable solutions, aligning with leadership ideology.

India: Links climate impacts to development vulnerabilities ("India is also at the frontlines"), using relational processes to connect climate and poverty. Mental processes ("we hope to achieve") project aspirations, reinforcing equity-driven action.

- Interpersonal:

U.S.: Enacts authority through direct address ("I challenge anyone") and relational processes ("we're proud," "I appreciate"), building solidarity while asserting leadership. The tone is commanding yet inclusive to global audiences.

India: Builds solidarity with the poor and women ("I salute the women"), using inclusive "we" ("We have shown… political will") to assert agency. The tone is principled, appealing to shared values of justice.

Textual:

U.S.: Theme-rheme progression moves from problems ("climate change is personal") to solutions ("solution is energy policy"), organizing discourse for persuasion.

India: Topical themes center equity ("The new 2015 agreement shall be under the Convention"), ensuring coherence around principles.

4.5.2.5 Appraisal Analysis

Attitude:

U.S.: Positive judgment on U.S. actions ("most ambitious set," "proud") and appreciation of science ("dramatic statement of fact"). Negative affect toward inaction ("massive, collective moral failure," "catastrophe") underscores urgency.

India: Positive appreciation of Indian initiatives ("ambitious actions," "vision and political will") and judgment of global cooperation ("successful global cooperation"). Negative judgment on inequities ("profit from disasters," "weak and ineffective") highlights injustice.

Engagement:

U.S.: Monoglossic assertions ("science is screaming at us") close off debate, with heteroglossic concessions ("I know it's human nature") for empathy, reinforcing authority.

India: Heteroglossic questions ("While there is often a talk about changed reality") open dialogue, while monoglossic assertions ("It should be able to address…") affirm principles, balancing engagement with conviction.

Graduation:

U.S.: Force amplifies urgency ("absolutely ranks up there," "exponentially"), while focus sharpens contrasts ("not just a policy failure, but… moral failure"), intensifying persuasion.

India: Force intensifies commitments ("doubled the Clean Energy Cess," "scaled up five-fold"), with focus on equity as "genuine requirements," emphasizing moral imperatives.

4.5.2.6 Modality Analysis

U.S.: High obligation modals ("we must take giant steps," "leaders need to lead") frame responsibility as imperative, aligning with leadership ideology. Possibility modals ("we can significantly cut emissions") counter fatalism, while inclination modals ("I believe we can get there") express resolve, reinforcing optimism.

India: Obligation modals ("shall be under the Convention," "We must ensure") stress principles, possibility modals ("can't this spirit be summoned?") highlight potential for cooperation, and inclination modals ("we hope to put in place") convey optimism conditional on equity.

4.5.2.7 Polarity Analysis

U.S.: Negative polarity frames problems ("won't eliminate it without an agreement," "no excuse"), shifting to positive polarity for solutions ("we can get there," "opportunities for clean energy"). This bipolar structure motivates action by contrasting doom with hope, aligning with neoliberal optimism.

India: Positive polarity frames actions and hopes ("positive outcome," "COP of Hope"), contrasted with negative polarity for inequities ("abject poverty," "weak… response"). This polarity juxtaposes aspiration with injustice, reinforcing equity demands.

4.5.2.8 Thematic Linguistic Manifestations

Drawing from the additional thematic insights, the study figure out the following features:

Historical Responsibility:

U.S.: Uses **active verbs** ("embrace," "lead") to shift focus from past emissions to current leadership, minimizing historical guilt.

India: Employs **quantifiers** ("only 3%," "one-third") to contrast low emissions with developed nations' burdens, justifying growth rights.

Finance/Technology Transfer:

U.S.: Positive **nouns** ("investment," "pledge") frame contributions as generosity magic generosity, aligning with partnership ideology.

India: **Imperatives** ("must be guided," "expect") demand support as justice, reflecting CBDR.

- **Energy Mix & Growth**:

U.S.: **Inclusive lists** ("fossils, nuclear, renewable") promote pragmatism, substantiated by emissions reductions (e.g., 11.5% drop since 2005).

India: Highlights **achievements with timelines** ("11 years ahead") for credibility, prioritizing renewables but defending growth.

Equity/Justice:

U.S.: **Collective pronouns** ("we," "our global partners") emphasize unity, subordinating equity.

India: **Contrastive framing** ("developed vs. developing") underscores differentiation, repeated for emphasis (e.g., "equity" 5+ times in later COPs).

Optimism & Action:

U.S.: **Economic metaphors** ("investment," "jobs") frame climate as opportunity, with **personal anecdotes** (Kerry's Rio experience) for relatability.

India: **Cultural mantras** ("One earth, one family") and **rhetorical questions** ("Why can't this spirit…?") appeal to shared values and cooperation.

4.5.3. Comparative Insights

The table below synthesizes the ideological and linguistic contrasts, highlighting global divides:

Theme	U.S. (Kerry)	India (Javadekar)	Linguistic Manifestation
Ideological Framing	Universal responsibility, U.S. leadership, market-driven.	Equity, CBDR, development priority.	U.S.: Collective pronouns, economic metaphors. India: Contrastive quantifiers, justice nouns.
Textual Structure	Narrative, repetitive, metaphoric.	Declarative, anaphoric, questioning.	U.S.: Problem-solution arc. India: Principle-centered lists.
Discursive Construction	Security, opportunity, anti-denialism.	Poverty-equity link, anti-profit critique.	U.S.: Scientific authority, market nouns. India: Historical contrasts, rhetorical questions.
Social Context	Hegemony, voluntary pledges.	Post-colonial resistance, obligatory support.	U.S.: Historicized emissions. India: Poverty statistics.
Metafunction	Human causation, actionable solutions.	Climate-development link, aspirational.	U.S.: Material processes. India: Relational/mental processes.
Appraisal	Positive on U.S., negative on inaction.	Positive on India, negative on inequities.	U.S.: Monoglossic urgency. India: Heteroglossic equity.
Modality	Obligation for action, possibility for feasibility.	Obligation for principles, inclination for hope.	U.S.: "Must" for urgency. India: "Shall" for principles.
Polarity	Negative problems, positive solutions.	Positive aspirations, negative injustices.	U.S.: Doom-to-hope shift. India: Aspiration vs. injustice contrast.

Table 3.4. Discourse Analysis Comparison on Linguistic Manifestation: U.S. Speech (Kerry) vs. India Speech (Javadekar)

4.5.4. Socio-Political Implications

The U.S. speech's **neoliberal universalism** aligns with its economic and geopolitical dominance, promoting voluntary commitments that maintain agenda-setting power while appealing to global unity. India's **equity-focused differentiation** reflects its role as a Global South leader, advocating for justice in a system where developing nations face disproportionate climate impacts. These linguistic manifestations shape COP20 and Paris Agreement negotiations, with the U.S. pushing flexible frameworks and India demanding binding support, highlighting ongoing North-South tensions.

4.5.5. Conclusion

Kerry's speech uses urgent, scientific, and market-oriented language to frame climate responsibility as a **shared imperative** led by the U.S., while Javadekar's employs principled, inclusive discourse to prioritize **equity and development**. These linguistic choices reflect broader ideological divides-neoliberal optimism versus post-colonial justice-shaping global climate governance. The analysis underscores how language constructs power dynamics, urging balanced approaches to address historical inequities and collective needs in agreements like Paris.

4.6. Discussions on analysis results of speeches on climate change at COP20

This critical discourse analysis of English speech texts on climate change was conducted to achieve three main goals: a practical goal, a methodological goal, and an educational goal. The first aims to decipher the power relation between the developed and developing countries at the global climate debate, the ideologies about these countries' responsibilities for climate change as conveyed through *the speeches given at COP20 to COP28* of the global climate conferences, to investigate the language used in conveying these ideologies, to explain why the language was used the way it was in the discourse, and in so doing contribute to a greater understanding of the nations' ideologies about the global climate change arena. The second aims to contribute to the existing body of research which applies corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis in research on climate change issues.

4.6.1.Analysis of Ideologies on Responsibilities for climate change and linguistic manifestations in speeches in COP20 (Lima, Peru, 2014)

As a sample of comparative analysis of how responsibility for climate change is ideologically framed and linguistically enacted in the COP20 (Lima, 2014) speeches by the United States (John Kerry) and India (Prakash Javadekar), using the lenses specified in textual/discursive/social analysis, Hallidayan metafunctions, Appraisal, Modality, and Polarity.

In short, a summary of analysis results can be displayed as follows:

4.6.1.1. Corpus & moment

- United States: Secretary John Kerry's plenary remarks, Dec 11, 2014 (video and press coverage corroborate key wording). Notable lines contemporaneously reported include: "Every nation… has a responsibility to do its part," "the science is … 'screaming at us, warning us'," and "The window is closing quickly."
- India: Minister Prakash Javadekar's national statement (UNFCCC floor statement, Dec 9, 2014), explicitly foregrounding equity, CBDR-RC, "equitable carbon space," and poverty eradication; also inventories domestic actions (solar mission, clean energy cess, adaptation fund, smart cities, air-quality index, etc.).
- Negotiating backdrop: COP20's Lima Call for Climate Action paved the road to Paris, anchoring INDCs, "applicable to all Parties," while reflecting CBDR-RC in light of different national circumstances—a bridge formula behind both speeches' stances. UNFCCC

4.6.1.2. Core ideologies of "responsibility" (side-by-side)

Dimension	United States (Kerry)	India (Javadekar)
Attribution of responsibility	Universalized: "Every nation… has a responsibility to do its part"; emphasizes today's emissions profile (over half from developing countries) → all must act, with big emitters leading. Reuters	Differentiated & equitable: Responsibility flows from historical emissions, capacity, and development needs; requires equitable carbon space, finance/tech transfer, and priority to poverty eradication.
Normative anchor	Science, security, and economics (risk calculus, "window… closing"); leadership confers legitimacy; global collective action logic. Reuters	UNFCCC principles—especially CBDR-RC—and developmental justice; equity as precondition for ambition and participation.
Policy posture	Mitigation-centric with co-benefits; cites US actions/targets and multilateral finance (e.g., GCF pledges) to claim bona fides and press others.	"Actions-with-equity": lists national efforts, but insists 2015 deal be under the Convention, applicable to all in a meaningful way, and equitable/pragmatic.

Interpretation:
Kerry frames responsibility as shared and contemporaneous (who emits now must act now), softening with "major emitters must lead." India centers historical responsibility and capacity under CBDR-RC, demanding space and support so mitigation doesn't undercut developmental rights. The Lima outcome text itself straddles the two logics. UNFCCC

4.6.1.3. Textual analysis (lexis & grammar)

United States

- Pronouns & alignment: Frequent we to build in-group identity with negotiators and citizens; every nation universalizes obligation.
- Transitivity: Many material processes ("cut," "transition," "lead"), projecting actionability; mental/verbal processes attribute certainty to scientists, boosting epistemic authority.
- Nominalizations: "Responsibility," "agreement," "commitments," "window (closing)," condense complex processes into urgent objects.
- Metaphors & quantification: Crisis/urgency metaphors ("window… closing"), numbering (97% consensus; cost figures) to naturalize the inevitability of action. DeSmog

India

- UNFCCC register: Dense treaty lexis—"equity," "CBDR," "applicable to all," "carbon space," "adaptation/mitigation"—ties the speech to legal-normative frames.
- Inventorying domestic action: A long list structure (solar mission ×5, cess doubled, afforestation funds, smart cities, air index) enacts performance while legitimizing equity claims.
- Rhetorical questions: "Why can't this spirit of joint collaboration be summoned…?"—a discursive nudge toward fairness without open confrontation.

4.6.1.4. Discursive analysis (framing, audiences, intertextuality)

- US framing: Climate as co-equal with security threats, making inaction morally negligent; invokes science consensus ("screaming at us, warning us") and US–China deal to normalize universal engagement; calls-in developing countries by referencing their rising share. Reuters
- India framing: Climate as developmental justice problem; gender, poverty, and equity foregrounded (Gender Day salute; "1 in 7 in poverty"); intertextually cites Convention principles to police fairness in the Paris pathway.

- Shared discursive move: Both present national actions to claim credibility, then pivot to what others should do—but the US pivot is toward universality, India's toward equity & support.

4.6.1.5. Social analysis (why these stances made sense in 2014)

- Negotiation context: COP20's Lima text introduced INDCs "applicable to all Parties," while explicitly reflecting CBDR-RC "in light of different national circumstances"—a compromise formula aligning with the US push for universality and India's insistence on equity. UNFCCC
- US domestic/international politics: Obama-era climate plan, US–China announcement, and a $3B GCF pledge created a platform to press others; Kerry's rhetoric met media framing that emphasized urgency and shared duty.
- India's domestic priorities: Energy access, growth, air quality, and adaptation salience; early Modi-era initiatives gave discursive room to claim action while defending carbon space and CBDR.

4.6.1.6. Hallidayan metafunctions

United States (Kerry)

- Ideational: High density of impact facts (droughts, typhoons), policy mechanisms (standards, targets, finance). Events are sequenced to imply a cause→solution chain.
- Interpersonal: Strong deontic pressure: *must*, *have to*; judgement of leaders who fail to act; alignment via references to scientists, security experts, and shared human stakes.
- Textual: Classic problem → evidence → solution → call to action structure; cohesive repetition of responsibility and leadership creates thematic consistency.

India (Javadekar)

- Ideational: Policy catalogue (solar, cess, afforestation, adaptation fund) signals capability; normative elements (CBDR, equity, carbon space) frame what a *fair* agreement entails.
- Interpersonal: Respectful diplomatic tone with assertive claims about fairness; engagement through questions and appeals; solidarity with developing countries and the poor.
- Textual: Tripartite weave—(1) national vision & actions → (2) equity/CBDR principles → (3) desired Paris architecture ("under the Convention," "applicable to all… meaningful").

4.6.1.7. Appraisal (Attitude, Engagement, Graduation)

United States

- Attitude:
    - *Judgement*: non-leaders are "part of the problem" (ethical fault).
    - *Appreciation*: science is authoritative, policy tools are effective.
- Engagement: Heteroglossic: invokes 97% consensus, experts, US–China deal; narrows space for contrary voices.
- Graduation: Intensifiers ("absolutely," "massive," "closing quickly") and big numbers (costs, percentages) to scale the threat and the remedy.
- Attitude:
    - *Judgement*: implicit critique of models that "profit from disasters"; moral duty to the poor.
    - *Appreciation*: equity and pragmatism as valued qualities of a good agreement.
- Engagement: Cites Convention principles; rhetorical questions open space for alignment without direct blame.
- Graduation: Recurrent boosters - "ambitious," "comprehensive," "equitable," "pragmatic," "meaningful"—to amplify the fairness threshold.

4.6.1.8. Modality & polarity (how obligation and certainty are stated)

Feature	United States	India
Deontic modality (obligation)	High: *must*, *have to*, "only those nations who step up… can claim leadership." Pressure on all Parties, esp. big emitters.	High but conditioned by equity: *must ensure* agreement is under the Convention, equitable, applicable to all in a meaningful way.
Epistemic modality (certainty)	High-certainty stance grounded in science ("screaming at us"). Minimal hedging.	Mixed: confident about national actions and principles; future outcomes framed with hope/expectation ("COP of Hope," "we hope to achieve…").
Polarity (affirmation/negation)	Frequent negative polarity to warn against inaction ("window… closing," consequences) and to reject single-country fixes; positive	Positive polarity for India's initiatives and desired architecture; negation to police boundaries (don't end with a weak/ineffective response).

	polarity to foreground solutions and co-benefits.	

4.6.1.9. Concrete textual cues (short, sourced snippets)

- US: "Every nation… has a responsibility to do its part." (responsibility universalized) Reuters
- US: "The window is closing quickly." (graduation + urgency) Reuters
- US: science is "screaming at us, warning us." (epistemic authority + affect)
- India: "equity and common but differentiated responsibilities…" (normative anchor)
- India: "equitable carbon space" (developmental rights framing)
- India: "applicable to all countries in a meaningful way." (universality conditioned by equity)

(All quoted fragments are kept short to respect source limits)

4.6.1.10. Synthesis: where they converge and diverge

- Convergence: Both legitimize their stance by performing national action and calling for an ambitious Paris outcome. Each uses moralized language to heighten stakes.
- Divergence:
  - US makes a present-tense, emissions-share argument: universal responsibility now; leaders must lead; science dictates urgency.
  - India makes a principled equity argument: differentiated obligations per history & capacity; ambition must be enabled (finance/tech) and leave carbon space.

Bottom line: The ideological tension is not "action vs. inaction," but how to allocate responsibility and design obligations so that climate ambition and developmental justice co-exist. The Lima Call's compromise formula ("applicable to all" + CBDR-RC "in light of national circumstances") is exactly the discursive middle both speeches were circling. UNFCCC

4.6.2. Discussion of Analysis Results: Speeches on Climate Change Responsibilities at COP20

The comparative discourse analysis of the COP20 speeches delivered by U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry and India's Environment Minister Prakash Javadekar illustrates a deep ideological divergence in the attribution of responsibilities for climate change. These contrasting positions are not merely rhetorical but reflect historically entrenched power asymmetries within global climate governance, epitomizing the persistent tension between developed and developing nations under the UNFCCC framework.

4.6.2.1. Ideological Tensions in Climate Change Responsibilities

The analysis reveals a fundamental ideological tension between the U.S. and India in framing responsibilities for climate change, reflecting their positions as developed and developing nations, respectively. These ideologies are not merely rhetorical but shape the negotiation dynamics at UNFCCC conferences like COP20 and the subsequent Paris Agreement.

The United States discourse is characterized by a universalist framing of responsibility, where climate change is depicted as a collective global threat requiring symmetrical participation. Kerry insists that “every nation has a responsibility to do its part if we are going to pass this test,” foregrounding shared global accountability. Such rhetoric strategically minimizes the salience of historical responsibility, instead elevating present and future obligations as the primary moral imperative. This idea resonates with neoliberal ideology that privileges current market-based solutions and shared obligations over redistributive justice.

By contrast, India constructs responsibility through the principle of equity and the doctrine of Common but Differentiated Responsibilities (CBDR). Javadekar underscores that “the new 2015 agreement shall be under the Convention and fully in accordance with all its principles and provisions, especially equity and common but differentiated responsibilities.” Here, responsibility is not universalized but stratified, recognizing the disproportionate burden that industrialized nations have historically contributed to atmospheric carbon accumulation.

4.6.2.1.1. U.S. Ideology: Universalism and Neoliberal Leadership

John Kerry’s speech constructs climate change responsibility as a universal imperative, emphasizing that "every nation has a responsibility" to act. This universalism is tempered by an acknowledgment of the U.S.’s historical emissions, but the narrative historicizes these as occurring "before we fully understood the consequences," thereby deflecting sole blame. Instead, the U.S. positions itself as a proactive leader through initiatives like the Climate Action Plan and a $3 billion pledge to the Green Climate Fund. This leadership is framed through a neoliberal lens, presenting climate action as the "greatest economic opportunity of all time" with a $17 trillion energy market potential. By prioritizing market-driven solutions, such as clean energy innovation and job creation, the U.S. aligns climate action with its economic interests, promoting voluntary commitments over binding obligations.

This ideology has significant implications for UNFCCC negotiations. The emphasis on universal responsibility supports flexible, voluntary frameworks like the Paris Agreement’s Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs), which allow developed nations to maintain agenda-setting power while avoiding reparative

obligations. However, the downplaying of equity—acknowledging developing nations' anger but insisting on collective action—risks masking power imbalances. The U.S.'s framing of finance as a "partnership" rather than an obligation (e.g., "voluntary pledges") reflects a strategic avoidance of accountability for historical emissions, which developing nations often demand.

4.6.2.1.2. India Ideology: Equity and Common but Differentiated Responsibilities (CBDR)

Prakash Javadekar's speech articulates a contrasting ideology centered on equity and Common but Differentiated Responsibilities (CBDR), prioritizing poverty eradication and development rights. India positions itself as a defender of the Global South, emphasizing that developed nations, with higher historical emissions, must bear greater responsibility. The speech highlights India's low cumulative emissions (e.g., "less than 4%" in later COPs) and resource constraints, advocating for "equitable carbon space" to enable growth. Initiatives like the National Solar Mission and afforestation are presented as ambitious but limited by the need for finance and technology transfers, which India frames as obligatory from developed nations rather than voluntary aid.

This ideology critiques neoliberal commodification of climate solutions, as seen in the rhetorical question "Why do we want to profit from disasters?" It resists universal frameworks that impose equal burdens on developing nations, aligning with post-colonial critiques of global governance. In the COP20 context, India's stance counters U.S.-led pushes for universal commitments, advocating for binding support under the UNFCCC's principles. This reflects India's socio-economic realities—high vulnerability to climate impacts and a large population in poverty—while positioning it as a moral advocate for justice.

4.8.2.1.3. Convergences and Divergences

Both speeches converge on the urgency of climate action and the need for collective effort, as seen in Kerry's "we can get there" and Javadekar's "COP of Hope." However, their divergences are stark:

- The U.S. prioritizes market-driven universalism, framing climate action as an economic win, while India emphasizes equity-driven differentiation, demanding justice for historical inequities.
- The U.S. includes all energy sources (e.g., fossils in later COPs), reflecting pragmatic energy security, while India focuses on renewables but defends development rights.

- These tensions mirror broader North-South divides in UNFCCC negotiations, where developed nations push flexibility and developing nations demand accountability.

4.6.2.2. Linguistic Manifestations and Their Strategic Functions

The linguistic strategies in these speeches—analyzed through Textual, Discursive, Social, Metafunctional, Appraisal, Modality, and Polarity frameworks—reveal how language constructs and negotiates these ideologies, shaping perceptions and influencing negotiation outcomes.

4.6.2.2.1. Textual and Discursive Strategies

- U.S. (Kerry): The narrative arc (problem to solution) and repetitive cohesion ("we have to," "I know") create a persuasive, urgent tone. Metaphors like "silver bullet" and "course leading to tragedy" dramatize the stakes, while nominalizations ("emissions reduction") abstract processes, making U.S. leadership seem inevitable. Discursively, the speech equates climate change with security threats ("ranks up there" with terrorism), legitimizing U.S. intervention, and invokes scientific authority ("97 percent of peer-reviewed studies") to counter denialism. The neoliberal discourse of economic opportunity ("$17 trillion market") aligns climate action with global capitalism, appealing to developed nations and private sectors but potentially alienating developing nations seeking justice.
- India (Javadekar): The declarative structure and anaphoric lists ("We have…") emphasize India's proactive efforts despite constraints, enhancing credibility. Rhetorical questions ("Why can't this spirit… be summoned?") engage the audience and challenge neoliberal approaches, while lexical chains ("equity," "poverty") foreground justice. Discursively, the speech links climate change to poverty ("protecting the interests of the poor"), resisting universal burdens and critiquing profit-driven motives. This positions India as a moral leader for the Global South, demanding accountability from developed nations.

  Systemic Functional Grammar analysis reveals contrasting transitivity patterns. Kerry's speech is dominated by material processes ("we can cut emissions," "leaders need to lead"), which foreground action and agency, positioning the United States as a proactive leader. Relational clauses ("climate change absolutely ranks up there equal with all of them") function to naturalize climate change as a security threat equivalent to terrorism or nuclear proliferation. The discursive effect is the securitization of climate change.

  India's speech, however, emphasizes relational and existential processes ("1 in every 7 persons in the world today still lives in abject poverty"), foregrounding

structural inequalities and lived realities of vulnerability. By highlighting poverty and developmental aspirations, India discursively re-centers the climate debate around distributive justice rather than securitization. The speech thereby resists universalist framings, reasserting the moral claim of the Global South to carbon space and developmental rights.

4.6.2.2.2 Social Context and Power Dynamics

Within the discursive practice dimension (Fairclough, 1992), the U.S. speech intertextually draws upon scientific authority, security discourse, and neoliberal economic optimism. By equating climate change with terrorism and epidemics, Kerry situates environmental policy within the domain of global risk governance, thereby broadening its legitimacy. The interdiscursivity of security, economy, and morality strengthens the U.S. claim to leadership.

India, on the other hand, situates its discourse within developmentalism and South–South solidarity. References to poverty, afforestation, smart cities, and adaptation funds intertextually draw on developmental discourse and justice-oriented frameworks of global governance. This positions India not merely as a negotiator but as the spokesperson for broader Global South concerns, contesting neoliberal homogenization.

- U.S.: The speech reflects U.S. hegemony in global environmental governance, using its historical emissions to claim moral leadership while avoiding reparative obligations. By framing finance as a "partnership" and emphasizing voluntary pledges, the U.S. maintains control over negotiation terms, aligning with its interests in flexible frameworks. The acknowledgment of developing nations' concerns is strategic, maintaining diplomatic goodwill but subordinating equity to universal action, which can mask power imbalances.
- India: The speech embodies post-colonial resistance, highlighting global poverty ("1 in every 7 persons") to frame responsibility as differentiated. India's advocacy for "equitable carbon space" challenges U.S.-led universalism, reflecting its socio-economic constraints and climate vulnerability. In COP20, this stance resists pressures for equal commitments, aligning with Global South demands for binding support, but it risks being sidelined by wealthier nations' dominance in setting agendas.

4.6.2.2.3 Metafunctional Insights

- Ideational: The U.S. constructs climate change as a human-caused, solvable threat through material processes ("cut emissions"), emphasizing agency and feasibility. India links climate to development vulnerabilities via relational

processes ("India is at the frontlines"), highlighting systemic constraints and aspirations.

- Interpersonal: The U.S. uses authoritative direct address ("I challenge anyone") to assert leadership, while India builds solidarity with inclusive pronouns ("we") and appeals to shared values ("I salute the women"), enhancing moral credibility.
- Textual: The U.S.'s problem-solution progression persuades through logical flow, while India's principle-centered organization reinforces equity as a non-negotiable theme.

4.6.2.2.4. Appraisal, Modality, and Polarity

In Kerry's speech, judgment and appreciation resources are deployed extensively. Scientific consensus is evaluated positively ("97 percent of peer-reviewed climate studies have confirmed…") while climate skepticism is condemned with negative judgment ("anyone who tells you otherwise is just plain wrong"). High modality ("we must take giant, measurable, clear steps") constructs obligation as categorical and non-negotiable. The polarity is strongly positive toward renewable energy futures and strongly negative toward fossil-fuel dependency.

Conversely, Javadekar's speech reflects appraisal resources of affect and appreciation toward national initiatives ("our National Solar Mission is being scaled up five-fold"), while simultaneously invoking judgment against structural injustice ("why do we want to profit from disasters?"). Modality here is more conditional and negotiable, emphasizing hope and possibility ("we hope to achieve a positive outcome," "we must ensure that this new agreement is applicable to all countries in a meaningful way"). The polarity here is ambivalent: positive toward developmental rights and cautious toward universalist calls for symmetrical commitments.

- Appraisal: The U.S. employs positive judgment on its actions ("most ambitious set") and negative affect on inaction ("massive moral failure"), with monoglossic assertions ("science is screaming at us") to close debate. India uses positive appreciation of its initiatives ("ambitious actions") and negative judgment on inequities ("profit from disasters"), with heteroglossic questions to open dialogue. Both amplify urgency (U.S.: "exponentially"; India: "scaled up five-fold") but focus differently—U.S. on catastrophe, India on justice.
- Modality: The U.S.'s high obligation modals ("must take giant steps") and possibility modals ("we can cut emissions") emphasize urgency and feasibility. India's obligation modals ("shall be under the Convention") and inclination modals ("we hope") stress principles and conditional optimism.

- Polarity: The U.S. shifts from negative (problems: "no excuse") to positive (solutions: "we can get there"), motivating action. India contrasts positive aspirations ("COP of Hope") with negative injustices ("abject poverty"), highlighting equity demands.

4.6.2.2.5. Implications for UNFCCC Negotiations

The ideological and linguistic differences have profound implications for UNFCCC negotiations, particularly in the context of COP20 and the lead-up to the Paris Agreement:

- Negotiation Dynamics: The U.S.'s push for universal commitments aligns with its preference for voluntary NDCs, which allow flexibility but may dilute accountability for historical emitters. India's insistence on CBDR and equity demands binding commitments, particularly finance and technology transfers, creating tension over the structure of agreements. COP20's outcome—a draft for Paris—reflected compromises but leaned toward flexibility, favoring developed nations.
- North-South Divide: The speeches encapsulate the North-South divide, with the U.S. representing developed nations' interests in maintaining economic dominance and India advocating for the Global South's right to development. This divide persists in later COPs (e.g., demands for $1 trillion in COP26), highlighting ongoing challenges in balancing equity with collective action.
- Power Imbalances: The U.S.'s hegemonic discourse risks marginalizing developing nations' voices, as its market-driven optimism appeals to global audiences but sidesteps reparative justice. India's principled stance strengthens Global South solidarity but may struggle against wealthier nations' agenda-setting power.

4.6.2.3. Broader Socio-Political Context

- Global Inequities: The speeches reflect global inequities—developed nations' historical emissions versus developing nations' current vulnerabilities. India's focus on poverty (e.g., "1 in every 7 persons") underscores the human cost of climate inaction, while the U.S.'s economic framing risks prioritizing profit over justice.
- Post-Colonial Dynamics: India's critique of "profiting from disasters" invokes post-colonial resistance to exploitative global systems, positioning climate

negotiations as a continuation of historical struggles. The U.S.'s leadership narrative, while inclusive, reinforces its dominance in global governance.

- Economic Opportunities vs. Justice: The U.S.'s neoliberal optimism (e.g., clean energy jobs) contrasts with India's justice-oriented approach, highlighting competing visions for climate solutions—market-driven growth versus equitable development.

4.6.2.4. Critical Reflections

The analysis reveals that language in these speeches is not neutral but a strategic tool for shaping climate governance. The U.S.'s scientific and economic framing mobilizes action but risks glossing over historical responsibilities, potentially alienating developing nations. India's equity-driven discourse builds moral authority but may be constrained by its reliance on developed nations' support, limiting its leverage. Both approaches are substantiated by data (e.g., U.S. emissions reductions, India's low per capita emissions), but their biases—U.S. toward market liberalism, India toward Global South advocacy—highlight the need for critical engagement with official discourses.

The politically incorrect U.S. defense of fossil fuels (in later COPs) challenges anti-fossil narratives but aligns with energy security, while India's cultural references (e.g., "One earth, one family") enhance its global appeal but risk being overshadowed by economic arguments. Future negotiations could benefit from hybrid approaches that integrate market incentives with equity principles, ensuring both ambition and justice.

Furthermore, the ideological divergence between the United States and India reflects broader structural tensions in the UNFCCC negotiations. The U.S. discourse attempts to normalize symmetrical responsibility while eliding historical accountability, a stance that benefits developed nations. India's discourse, however, resists this normalization, invoking CBDR as a counter-hegemonic discourse that foregrounds equity and justice. From a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective, the U.S. speech can be read as reproducing neoliberal hegemony by commodifying climate change solutions within the logic of markets and technological innovation, thereby securing developed countries' geopolitical leadership. In contrast, India's speech enacts a resistant discourse that problematizes this hegemony, insisting that global agreements must reflect differentiated obligations if they are to be equitable and legitimate.

4.6.3. Summary

The analysis of Kerry's and Javadekar's speeches at COP20 illuminates how ideologies of climate change responsibility—U.S.'s universal leadership versus India's equity-driven differentiation—are linguistically manifested through strategic choices in structure, discourse, and appraisal. These choices reflect and reinforce global power dynamics, shaping UNFCCC negotiations and highlighting the need for balanced agreements that address both collective urgency and historical inequities. The findings underscore the critical role of language in diplomacy, urging stakeholders to navigate these ideological tensions to achieve effective and equitable climate governance.

In summary, the comparative analysis of COP20 speeches reveals how language functions as a site of ideological struggle in climate diplomacy. The United States advances a universalist, securitized, and neoliberal framing of responsibility, while India foregrounds equity, justice, and developmental rights. These discourses not only reflect national interests but also reproduce global power asymmetries in climate negotiations. Ultimately, the COP20 discursive confrontation exemplifies the enduring contestation between North and South, which continues to shape the trajectory of global climate governance.

4.7. Conclusion and Recommendations

4.7.1. Conclusion

This analysis of Secretary John Kerry's speech at COP20 (2014) demonstrates how linguistic choices serve to position the United States as both a responsible global leader and an urgent advocate for collective climate action. Textually, Kerry employs strong material processes ("we must act," "we will lead") and high-modality expressions to convey necessity and certainty. His use of polarity—contrasting the consequences of inaction with the benefits of cooperation—frames climate change as both a dire threat and a solvable challenge. Discursively, the speech integrates scientific authority, moral responsibility, and security imperatives, thereby expanding climate change beyond an environmental concern into a comprehensive global threat equal to terrorism, disease, or weapons of mass destruction.

From a social perspective, Kerry's discourse reflects the broader geopolitical context of 2014: the U.S.–China joint climate agreement, domestic regulatory reforms, and the preparatory momentum toward the Paris Agreement. His references to financial commitments and U.S. domestic progress respond to longstanding critiques of American inaction, while simultaneously appealing to developing nations to share the burden of mitigation. Civil society reactions confirm that the speech achieved rhetorical urgency but did not entirely satisfy calls for deeper structural commitments, illustrating the gap between discourse and practice in global climate politics.

Through Halliday's metafunctions, the ideational strand constructs climate change as an existential, scientifically grounded reality; the interpersonal strand mobilizes authority and urgency to align the audience with the speaker's stance; and the textual strand ensures coherence through a problem–solution logic. Kerry's evaluative language, high-intensity appraisal, and strategic use of modality amplify the perception of climate change as immediate and undeniable.

In conclusion, Kerry's COP20 address exemplifies how political discourse functions not only to inform but also to legitimize and mobilize. It effectively elevates climate change to a central security issue while affirming the United States' willingness to lead. However, its limitations also reveal the constraints of political rhetoric when not matched by ambitious action. Future discourse studies should compare this speech with those of other major emitters to further explore how responsibility, equity, and leadership are discursively constructed in global climate governance.

4.7.2. Recommendations

Building on the analysis of John Kerry's COP20 speech, several recommendations can be proposed for future research, policy practice, and discourse strategies.

4.7.2.1. For scholarly research

Future studies should adopt a comparative approach, analyzing how different state representatives (e.g., China, India, EU) construct notions of responsibility, equity, and leadership in their climate discourse. Such comparisons would help identify patterns of convergence and divergence across developed and developing nations. In addition, applying a multimodal discourse analysis—including visual, gestural, and paralinguistic features—could enrich our understanding of how urgency and authority are communicated in high-level climate diplomacy.

4.7.2.2. For climate policy and negotiations

Kerry's framing of climate change as a security threat suggests that negotiators and policymakers can enhance climate diplomacy by linking environmental risks to broader issues of national and human security. This security discourse can mobilize political will and resources, particularly in contexts where climate change is otherwise marginalized. However, policymakers should also ensure that rhetorical urgency is matched with ambitious, enforceable commitments to avoid the perception of a discourse–practice gap.

4.7.2.3. For advocacy and communication

Civil society organizations and climate communicators can draw from Kerry's use of modality and appraisal. Strong assertions ("we must," "we cannot wait") and high-intensity language amplify urgency, while references to scientific authority

strengthen credibility. Replicating this combination in public campaigns may increase persuasiveness. At the same time, communicators should balance alarm with constructive solutions, ensuring that discourse motivates rather than paralyzes audiences.

4.7.2.4. For teaching and pedagogy

Kerry's COP20 speech is a valuable case study for courses on systemic functional linguistics, critical discourse analysis, and environmental communication. Students can be tasked with identifying material processes, modality markers, and appraisal resources, then mapping these linguistic choices to the socio-political context. Such exercises not only reinforce linguistic theory but also cultivate critical awareness of how language shapes climate politics.

5.1. The power relation between the developed and developing countries via speeches on climate change by the US (John Kerry) and India (Prakash Javadekar) at COP20 in Peru

The 20th Conference of the Parties (COP20) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), held in Lima, Peru, from December 1–14, 2014, served as a pivotal preparatory meeting for the Paris Agreement in 2015. Negotiations centered on the Lima Call for Climate Action, which outlined guidelines for Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDCs)—national climate pledges—and aimed to bridge the gap between developed and developing countries' positions on responsibility, finance, and ambition. At the heart of these talks was the enduring North-South divide: developed nations, having historically emitted the bulk of greenhouse gases (GHGs), sought a framework with universal commitments to close the pre-2020 "ambition gap," while developing nations demanded continued differentiation under the principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities" (CBDR), alongside scaled-up financial and technological support.

This divide reflects broader power asymmetries in global climate governance. Developed countries like the United States wield economic, technological, and diplomatic leverage to reshape rules in their favor, often diluting obligations for historical emitters. Developing countries, including India, leverage collective bargaining through groups like the G77+China to assert equity but face fragmentation due to varying vulnerabilities and economic priorities. Speeches by U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry and India's Minister of Environment, Forests and Climate Change Prakash Javadekar exemplified these tensions, with Kerry urging shared urgency and action, and Javadekar defending developmental space and CBDR. Below, I analyze

the speeches, extract key positions, and examine how they illuminate power dynamics.

5.1.1. Summary of Key Speeches

John Kerry's Remarks (December 11, 2014)

Kerry's address to the high-level segment emphasized the existential urgency of climate change, framing it as a non-partisan, borderless crisis demanding immediate, collective action. He highlighted Peru's vulnerabilities - melting glaciers (nearly half lost in 30 years), threatened ecosystems, and fisheries - to underscore real-world stakes, warning that the world remained "on a course leading to tragedy" 22 years after the 1992 UNFCCC. Kerry candidly critiqued past inaction, noting his own involvement since the 1992 Rio Summit, and called for candor among "the committed."

Key excerpts:

On shared responsibility: "Every nation, every nation has a responsibility to do its part." He dismissed endless debates over historical fault: "We simply don’t have enough time to go back and forth about who has the responsibility to act."

On ambition and finance: He announced the U.S.'s $3 billion pledge to the Green Climate Fund (GCF), praising contributions from allies like Australia and Peru, and stressed the need for transformation over "tinkering." Kerry positioned the U.S. as a leader, tying climate action to economic opportunities and security.

Kerry's tone was impassioned and pragmatic, aiming to rally delegates while subtly shifting focus from historical emissions to future-oriented equity.

Prakash Javadekar's Statement (December 9, 2014)

Javadekar's high-level segment speech opened with appreciation for Lima's hospitality but quickly pivoted to India's developmental imperatives and the inequities baked into climate talks. Representing a nation of 1.3 billion (in 2014), he stressed India's low per capita emissions (about 1.8 tons CO2e vs. the U.S.'s 15+ tons) and its poverty alleviation goals, announcing plans for comprehensive domestic climate legislation in the 2015 budget session. He welcomed the U.S.-China joint announcement (November 2014) as a positive signal but insisted on upholding CBDR.

Key excerpts:

On differentiation and equity: India is "committed to protecting the interests of the poor," pursuing "action-oriented policies to bring rapid development to our people while purposefully addressing climate change." He criticized inadequate finance: Rich countries' $10 billion GCF pledges over four years were "ridiculous" compared to the promised $100 billion annually by 2020.

On outcomes: Post-Lima, Javadekar declared, "We got what we wanted," citing retained CBDR language and finance references in the final text, which provided "enough space for the developing world to grow."

Javadekar's rhetoric was defensive yet proactive, blending national pride with calls for solidarity among the Global South.

5.1.2. Comparative Analysis of Positions

To highlight contrasts, the table below compares core themes from the speeches, drawing on UNFCCC principles and negotiation outcomes.

Theme	U.S. Position (Kerry)	India Position (Javadekar)	Implications for Power Dynamics
Responsibility	Universal ("Every nation has a responsibility"); downplays historical blame to focus on future action.	CBDR paramount; developed nations bear primary burden due to past emissions and capacity.	U.S. pushes to erode differentiation, leveraging its influence to universalize commitments and reduce its relative obligations. India resists to protect sovereignty over development paths.
Equity & Development	Acknowledges urgency but ties action to global economic growth; no explicit poverty focus.	Development first; climate action must not hinder poverty reduction for 300 million without electricity.	Reflects U.S. economic dominance - able to frame climate as opportunity - vs. India's vulnerability as a major emitter (third globally) with low per capita impact, using G77 alliances to amplify voice.

Theme	U.S. Position (Kerry)	India Position (Javadekar)	Implications for Power Dynamics
Finance & Support	Pledges $3B to GCF; urges collective mobilization but resists binding timelines.	Demands $100B/year by 2020 as "ridiculous" shortfall; links to technology transfer.	U.S. uses pledges as soft power to lead narrative, but low totals expose developed countries' leverage in underdelivering, forcing developing nations into concessions for minimal gains.
Ambition & INDCs	Calls for transformative pledges; supports ex-ante transparency for accountability.	Welcomes voluntary INDCs with flexibility; opposes rigid metrics that constrain growth.	U.S. drives agenda toward Paris' bottom-up structure, diluting Kyoto-style bindings; India secures "space" but at cost of weaker enforceability, highlighting negotiation asymmetries.
Tone & Strategy	Urgent, unifying rhetoric to build momentum; personal anecdotes for relatability.	Assertive equity defense; announcements (e.g., legislation) to signal domestic action.	U.S. employs charismatic diplomacy to marginalize dissent; India relies on bloc solidarity but faces internal G77 fractures, underscoring resource gaps in sustained influence.

These positions aligned with broader negotiation blocs: the U.S. within the Umbrella Group (developed nations), pushing for parity; India in the Like-Minded Developing Countries (LMDC) and BASIC (Brazil, South Africa, India, China), defending multilateral equity.

5.1.3. Power Relations revealed through the speeches

The speeches at COP20 laid bare structural power imbalances in climate diplomacy, where developed-developing dynamics perpetuate inequity despite rhetorical appeals to partnership.

Economic and Historical Leverage: Kerry's dismissal of "back and forth" on responsibility exemplifies how the U.S.—responsible for ~25% of cumulative CO2 emissions—uses its post-industrial status to pivot discussions toward emerging emitters like India and China. This "firewall breach" softens CBDR, as seen in Lima's INDC framework, which invited (but did not mandate) contributions from all, effectively shifting burden southward without commensurate finance. Javadekar's retort on poverty underscores developing countries' weaker bargaining position: India's emissions were rising to fuel growth, yet it lacked the U.S.'s $3B pledge capacity, relying instead on moral suasion via low per capita emissions.

Alliance Dynamics and Fragmentation: India's alignment with China (post-U.S.-China deal) allowed Javadekar to claim a "win" on CBDR retention, but this masked G77 fissures—e.g., small island states pushed harder for loss-and-damage provisions, which received only preamble mention. The U.S. exploited this by bilateral deals, enhancing its influence while dividing the Global South. Studies of COP negotiations highlight how developed nations' larger delegations (U.S. had ~100 vs. India's ~50) amplify voice, contributing to "uneven deals" born of desperation.

Finance as Coercive Tool: The GCF's $10B initial capitalization—far below needs—illustrated developed countries' gatekeeping power. Kerry's announcement masked this shortfall, positioning the U.S. as benevolent leader, while Javadekar's "disappointment" exposed the reality: developing nations conceded on INDC transparency for vague finance promises, a pattern persisting to Paris. This dynamic reinforces dependency, as vulnerable states like India negotiate from adaptation deficits (e.g., monsoon disruptions) without adequate support.

Shifting Global Order: COP20 marked a transition from Kyoto's top-down mandates (binding only for developed nations) to Paris' hybrid model, driven by U.S. insistence on universality. Javadekar's proactive signals (e.g., legislation) showed India's emerging agency as a "major developing country," but Kerry's urgency narrative dominated media and outcomes, reflecting soft power disparities. Broader analyses note how such talks favor "major powers" like the U.S., sidelining minor developing voices and perpetuating a 2°C pathway reliant on unproven ambition ramps.

In essence, the speeches revealed a U.S.-led push to rebalance power toward equity in form (universal pledges) but not substance (unmet finance), forcing India into defensive equity assertions. Lima's modest outcomes—INDC guidelines and a draft text—advanced talks but at the cost of diluting differentiation, perpetuating a system where historical polluters dictate terms.

5.2. Conclusion

Kerry and Javadekar's interventions at COP20 crystallized the power chasm: the U.S. as agenda-setter, leveraging crisis rhetoric to universalize action; India as resistor, safeguarding development through equity norms. This asymmetry—rooted in historical emissions, economic clout, and alliance fractures—undermined ambitious outcomes, yielding a "bodge" compromise that deferred real equity to Paris. Yet, it also hinted at evolution: India's legislative pledge and the U.S.-China deal signaled potential for bilateral bridges. For true parity, future talks must enforce finance commitments and amplify developing voices, lest power imbalances render global goals aspirational. As Kerry warned of tragedy, Javadekar's call for space reminds us: climate justice demands not just action, but fair authorship.

APPENDIX 5
U.S. PRESIDENTS AND U.S. ROLE AT COP20 TO COP28

Below is a summary of the incumbent US Presidents from COP20 (2014) to COP28 (2023), based on UNFCCC conferences on climate change. I will list each COP with the five organizations, the Presidents involved, and the main U.S. actions/policies at that conference. The information focuses on U.S. engagement, commitment, and position, making it easy to compare ideological shifts (from international initiative to skepticism, then recommitment) and responsibility (from global leadership to retreat, then back to equity).

The United States' Role and Commitments at COP20–COP28

COP	Year	Location	U.S. President	Key Roles and Commitments of the United States	Dominant Ideology/ Responsibility Framing
COP20	2014	Lima, Peru	Barack Obama	The United States promoted the *Lima Call for Climate Action* as a preparatory step toward the Paris Agreement. It made initial commitments to emission reductions and pledged support for developing countries through the Green Climate Fund.	Proactive international leadership, with acknowledgment of the U.S.'s historical responsibility as one of the world's largest emitters. Emphasis on global cooperation and green economic transition.
COP21	2015	Paris, France	Barack Obama	The United States played a pivotal role in negotiating the	Progressive ideology: climate change framed as a global security

				Paris Agreement. It committed to reducing emissions by 26–28% below 2005 levels by 2025 (INDC). President Obama personally attended and emphasized the urgency of climate action.	threat, with the U.S. positioned as a leader among developed nations. High responsibility framing, particularly regarding financial support for poorer countries.
COP22	2016	Marrakech, Morocco	Barack Obama	The U.S. promoted the implementation of the Paris Agreement following its ratification. Commitments included technical and financial support for climate adaptation in Africa and other vulnerable regions.	Continued leadership discourse, stressing shared global responsibility. Climate change framed as an economic opportunity through clean energy investment.
COP23	2017	Bonn, Germany	Donald Trump (from Jan 2017)	Although the U.S. sent a delegation, its stance turned negative after President Trump announced	Ideological shift: climate skepticism, prioritization of fossil fuels, and declining responsibility.

				withdrawal from the Paris Agreement (June 2017). No new commitments were made; emphasis was placed on protecting U.S. economic interests.	International agreements framed as economic burdens.
COP24	2018	Katowice, Poland	Donald Trump	The United States did not actively participate in negotiating the *Katowice Rulebook* for Paris implementation. It continued to support withdrawal and rejected emission reduction targets.	Conservative ideology: denial of urgency, emphasis on energy independence. Responsibility minimized, with blame frequently shifted to China and developing countries.
COP25	2019	Madrid, Spain	Donald Trump	The U.S. delegation was minimal and made no new commitments. Formal withdrawal from the Paris Agreement was confirmed (effective in	Continued climate skepticism, with climate change framed as a hoax. Very low responsibility attribution; prioritization of coal and oil industries.

				2020). The "America First" agenda dominated, opposing stringent climate regulations.	
COP26	2021	Glasgow, United Kingdom	Joe Biden (from Jan 2021)	President Biden attended and formally rejoined the Paris Agreement. The U.S. committed to reducing emissions by 50–52% by 2030, ending international coal financing, and doubling adaptation finance (USD 11.4 billion annually).	Reasserted leadership: climate change framed as a social justice crisis. High responsibility attribution, with emphasis on green investment and support for vulnerable communities.
COP27	2022	Sharm El-Sheikh, Egypt	Joe Biden	The United States supported the establishment of the Loss and Damage Fund. It emphasized domestic implementation of the Inflation Reduction Act, allocating USD	Progressive ideology emphasizing climate justice and partial compensation for historical emissions. Responsibility strengthened through robust domestic action.

				369 billion to clean energy.	
COP28	2023	Dubai, UAE	Joe Biden	Represented by Climate Envoy John Kerry, the U.S. promoted a transition away from fossil fuels. It pledged USD 3 billion to the Green Climate Fund and supported methane reduction and renewable energy initiatives.	

Note. This table synthesizes the United States' official climate discourse and commitments from COP20 to COP28 based on plenary statements and official UNFCCC and White House sources. The analysis foregrounds ideological positioning and responsibility framing within a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) framework, highlighting shifts in hegemonic leadership, modality of commitment, and discursive strategies of accountability across administrations.

Comparing the transformation of American thought and responsibility

1. **The Obama era (2014-2016, COP20-22):** Progressive thinking, seeing climate change as a global threat that requires urgent action. The U.S. demonstrated leadership by leading the Paris Agreement, committing to specific emissions reductions and financial support. This is a period of shift from skepticism (Bush-era) to international cooperation, with a focus on a green economy and global equity.
2. **The Trump era (2017-2020, COP23-25):** Drastically transforming into skepticism and conservatism, denying climate science and prioritizing "America First". Significantly reduced liability: Withdraw from Paris, repeal regulations such as the Clean Power Plan, promote coal/oil. The United States is isolated, blaming other countries, leading to a lack of commitment and negatively affecting the global process.

3. **Biden era (2021-2023, COP26-28):** Reaffirming progressive ideology, seeing climate as a crisis of justice and economic opportunity. Accountability is restored through rejoining Paris, IRA laws (reducing emissions by 40% by 2030), and large financial support. However, there are still contradictions (approval of oil projects), showing a balance between climate action and domestic energy demand.

Overall, the transformation reflects partisan polarization: Democrats (Obama, Biden) emphasize global responsibility and domestic action; Republicans (Trump) prioritize short-term economics and retreat. This affects global progress, with the US fluctuating from major driver to obstacle.

APPENDIX 6
REPRESENTATIVE TRANSITIVITY, MOOD, AND MODALITY RESOURCES IN U.S. AND INDIAN CLIMATE SPEECHES (COP20–COP28)

COP20 (Lima, 2014)

Category	Representative words/ phrases	Analytical note
Transitivity	*achieve a positive outcome; set us on the path; undertake ambitious actions; protect the interests of the poor*	Predominance of material processes projecting future-oriented action while linking climate action to development.
Mood	*I believe; we hope; we are committed*	Declarative mood dominates, functioning to assert stance and shared intention rather than impose obligation.
Modality	*believe; hope; will; should be able to*	Mostly median-value modality, indicating aspiration and negotiation rather than binding commitment.

COP21 (Paris, 2015)

Category	Representative words / phrases	Analytical note
Transitivity	*commit to reduce emissions; submit nationally determined contributions; support developing countries*	Material processes with explicit actors normalize voluntarism as the governance model.
Mood	*we commit; we recognize; we agree*	Declarative clauses constructing consensus and legitimacy.
Modality	*will; intend to; can*	Median modality reinforces flexibility and national discretion.

COP22 (Marrakech, 2016)

Category	Representative words/ phrases	Analytical note

Transitivity	*implement the Paris Agreement; enhance cooperation; mobilize finance*	Shift from future projection to implementation-oriented material processes.
Mood	*we reaffirm; we emphasize*	Declarative mood reinforces continuity and stability.
Modality	*will continue to; should support*	Combination of median and low modality, signaling encouragement rather than obligation.

COP23 (Bonn, 2017)

Category	Representative words/ phrases	Analytical note
Transitivity	*reaffirm commitment; remain engaged; withdraw from the Agreement*	Contrast between material processes of commitment (India) and material negation (U.S.).
Mood	*we reaffirm; we remain*	Declarative mood used to restore legitimacy amid uncertainty.
Modality	*will continue; cannot accept*	India's use of high-value negative modality marks resistance.

COP24 (Katowice, 2018)

Category	Representative words/ phrases	Analytical note
Transitivity	*finalize the rulebook; ensure transparency; safeguard differentiation*	Material + relational processes used to defend institutional principles.
Mood	*we insist; we oppose*	Declarative mood with confrontational stance.
Modality	*must respect; cannot dilute*	High-value deontic modality foregrounds obligation and limits negotiation.

COP25 (Madrid, 2019)

Category	Representative words / phrases	Analytical note
Transitivity	*enhance ambition; address finance gaps; deliver support*	Material processes emphasize unmet responsibilities.
Mood	*we call upon; we urge*	Declarative clauses functioning as implicit demands.
Modality	*must do more; should lead*	Strong high-value modality, especially in Global South discourse.

COP26 (Glasgow, 2021)

Category	Representative words / phrases	Analytical note
Transitivity	*rejoin the Paris Agreement; reduce emissions; mobilize finance; announce Panchamrit*	Dense use of material processes constructs renewed leadership and ambition.
Mood	*we pledge; we announce; we commit*	Declarative mood with performative force.
Modality	*will; are determined to; must act*	Mix of median and high modality, signaling both commitment and urgency.

COP27 (Sharm El-Sheikh, 2022)

Category	Representative words / phrases	Analytical note
Transitivity	*establish the Loss and Damage Fund; support vulnerable countries; implement domestic action*	Material processes foreground institutional outcomes and moral claims.
Mood	*we support; we emphasize*	Declarative mood maintains diplomatic tone.
Modality	*must address; cannot ignore*	High-value modality highlights ethical necessity.

COP28 (Dubai, 2023)

Category	Representative words / phrases	Analytical note
Transitivity	*build and expand clean energy; invest trillions; transition away from fossil fuels; launch initiatives*	Extensive material processes construct authority through scale and capacity.
Mood	*we are demonstrating; we are leading; let us reaffirm*	Declarative + inclusive imperative (*let us*) to consolidate collective alignment.
Modality	*must do more; will impact billions; should be guided by equity*	Strong high-value modality, combined with future certainty and moral framing.

Note. The listed lexical and grammatical items are representative rather than exhaustive. They were selected based on their frequency, salience, and relevance to power construction within the framework of Systemic Functional Grammar (Halliday & Matthiessen) and Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough). Particular attention was paid to how transitivity patterns, mood choices, and modality values encode authority, obligation, and negotiation in climate governance discourse across COP20–COP28.

APPENDIX 7

TEXTUAL ANALYSIS AND INTERPERSONAL ANALYSIS FROM LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVES

Based on the comprehensive collection of speeches from COP20 to COP28, the researcher has conducted a linguistic analysis focusing on **Textual Analysis** (Transitivity) and **Interpersonal Analysis** (Mood and Modality) to clarify the power relations between the USA (developed) and India (developing) as well as their ideologies on climate change issues.

Below are the tables for each COP, categorizing key words and phrases according to Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG).

COP20 (Lima, 2014)

Category	**USA (John Kerry)**	**India (Prakash Javadekar)**
Transitivity (Material/Mental/Relational)	"lead the global response" (Material); "believe... is a silver bullet" (Mental); "is a moral failure" (Relational)	"bring rapid development" (Material); "represents the hopes" (Relational); "face the impacts" (Material)
Mood (Declarative/Imperative)	"Leaders need to lead" (Imperative); "I challenge anyone" (Declarative/Provocative)	"I believe is the COP of Hope" (Declarative); "Why do we want to profit?" (Interrogative)
Modality (Probability/Obligation)	"must reach" (High Obligation); "should not forgive" (Obligation); "certainly won't" (Certainty)	"should form the basis" (Obligation); "could do more" (Possibility); "must deliver" (High Obligation)

COP21 (Paris, 2015)

Category	USA (Barack Obama)	India (Narendra Modi)
Transitivity	"embrace our responsibility" (Material); "broken the old arguments" (Material); "imagine a more worthy reward" (Mental)	"seeking space to grow" (Material); "choices are not easy" (Relational); "salute the world" (Material/Behavioral)
Mood	"Let’s get to work" (Imperative); "I’ve come here personally" (Declarative)	"Democratic India must grow" (Declarative); "We need now national will" (Declarative)
Modality	"can do something" (Ability); "won't be too late" (Probability); "must rise" (Obligation)	"must grow rapidly" (Necessity); "yet to heal" (Temporality); "would be critical" (Conditionality)

COP22 (Marrakech, 2016) & COP23 (Bonn, 2017)

Category	USA (Kerry/Garber)	India (Dave/Vardhan)
Transitivity	"intends to remain engaged" (Mental/Material); "remember the stakes" (Mental)	"embark upon for saving" (Material); "achieved... capacity" (Material); "benefit from... practice" (Material)
Mood	"Let us stand firm" (Imperative); "Thank you" (Expressive)	"I assure you" (Declarative/Commitive); "Welcome you all" (Imperative/Invitation)
Modality	"will always remember" (Certainty); "would one day inherit" (Probability)	"needs to ensure" (Necessity); "remains an overriding concern" (Certainty)

COP24 (Katowice, 2018) & COP25 (Madrid, 2019)

Category	USA (Garber/Bernicat)	India (Javadekar)
Transitivity	"intends to withdraw" (Mental/Material); "spur landmark breakthroughs" (Material)	"walking the talk" (Material); "reduced emissions intensity" (Material); "is real" (Relational)
Mood	"I am so pleased" (Declarative/Affect); "He also made clear" (Declarative)	"Let us concentrate" (Imperative); "We are providing a convenient action plan" (Declarative)
Modality	"will continue to be a leader" (Certainty); "would be more favorable" (Conditionality)	"should not digress" (Obligation); "future depends on" (Certainty/Condition)

COP26 (Glasgow, 2021) & COP27 (Sharm el-Sheikh, 2022)

Category	USA (Joe Biden)	India (Modi/Yadav)

Transitivity	"answer history's call" (Material); "preserves our planet" (Material); "believe... a game-changer" (Mental)	"moving forward with... courage" (Material); "shares [suffering]" (Mental/Affect); "submitted... strategy" (Material)
Mood	"Let this be the moment" (Imperative); "We can do this" (Declarative)	"India expects" (Declarative); "pressure should be put" (Declarative/Passive Imperative)
Modality	"has to do its part" (Obligation); "can't [fail]" (Impossibility/Obligation)	"cannot remain the same" (Necessity); "must never doubt" (High Obligation)

COP28 (Dubai, 2023)

Category	USA (Kamala Harris)	India (Bhupender Yadav)
Transitivity	"launching a new partnership" (Material); "harness the power" (Material)	"launched the Green Credit Initiative" (Material); "believe... must be the basis" (Mental/Relational)
Mood	"I am proud to announce" (Declarative); "Let us all share" (Imperative)	"India looks forward" (Declarative/Affect); "Excellencies... Friends" (Vocative/Interpersonal)
Modality	"still have time" (Probability); "will help drive" (Future Certainty)	"must be guided" (High Obligation); "hope that they will provide" (Probability/Desire)