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**THE LANGUAGE FUNCTIONS IN WELL-KNOWN
SPEECHES**

VALODAS FUNKCIJAS LABI PAZĪSTAMĀS RUNĀS

BACHELOR THESIS

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ANOTĀCIJA

Bakalaura darbs tika izstrādāts, lai analizētu argumentatīvās, pārliecināšanas un manipulatīvās valodas funkcijas un veidu, kā tās tika lietotas epistēmiskajā un deontiskajā modalitātes aspektā. Kā pētījuma priekšmets tika izmantotas runas, kas ir apkopotas Emmas Beares (Emma Beare) grāmatā „501 runa, kas ir jāzina” (*501 Must-Known Speeches*) (2009). Pētījuma galvenais mērķis ir analizēt gramatisko pieeju, kā valodas funkcijas tiek attēlotas, izmantojot modālos darbības vārdus, kas izsaka epistēmisko un deontisko modalitāti. Lai sekmīgi izstrādātu bakalaura darbu, bija nepieciešams detalizētāks ieskats iepriekšējo autoru veiktajos pētījumos, kā Halideja (2004), van Daika (2011) un Bībera (1999). Pētnieciskā darba izstrādes pamatā ir izmantota diskursa analīzes metode. Iegūtie dati tika analizēti un runu piemēri tika iekļauti pielikumā. Apkopojot analīzes materiālus, tika secināts, ka valodas funkcijas tika atspoguļotas izmantojot dažādus modālos darbības vārdus, tomēr to nozīme ir atšķirīga karam modalitātes tipam. Pētījums rezultāti un secinājumi par valodas funkcijām un to gramatisko attēlojumu, izmantojot modālos darbības vārdus, var būt noderīgi, lai veiktu tālāku izpēti, analizējot leksisko pieeju valodas funkciju atspoguļošanā.

Atslēgvārdi: epistēmiskā un deontiskā modalitāte, manipulācija, argumentācija, pārliecināšana, runas, modalizācija, modulācijā.

ABSTRACT

The bachelor thesis is aimed at analysing the language functions of argumentation, persuasion and manipulation and their presentation through the epistemic and deontic modality. The research object consists of speeches that are issued in *501 Must-Known Speeches* by Emma Beare (2009). The main goal of the current research is to analyse the grammatical approach of how the language functions of argumentation, persuasion and manipulation are presented through modal verbs expressing the epistemic and deontic modalities. To successfully develop the research, it was essential to put an additional emphasis on the previous studies done by Halliday (2004), van Dijk (2011), Biber (1999) and other. The discourse analysis as a research method is applied to carry out the study. The obtained corpora were analysed and the speech examples were included in the appendix. The collected data led to the conclusions that language functions were realized through different modal verbs; however their meaning differed according to the presented type of modality. The results and conclusions of the analysis of language functions and their grammatical presentation of modal verbs may be useful for doing further research, by studying lexical approach of language functions.

Key words: epistemic and deontic modality, manipulation, persuasion, argumentation, speeches, modalization, modulation.

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INTRODUCTION

The human voice is a very powerful instrument of language that can be adjusted to display various emotions, attitudes or to give a response to different situations. It is possible to change the timbre of the voice or pitch and with a help of voice; people can convey certain emotions, for example, express their happiness or grief. However, not everything what is intended for saying to others can be expressed by applying certain alterations to the voice quality. For example, in presentation of public speeches, the human voice is not the only influential factor through which an opinion can be expressed. In these situations, the main goal for the speaker, is to form meaningful arguments, to persuade and also to manipulate, thus making the audience in favour of the stated opinion. Nevertheless, one may question the objectivity of the expressed subject: how listener can be certain that everything what has been said corresponds to actual reality or whether the expressed obligation would not have a negative effect in the future. Thus, it is essential to draw additional attention to the epistemic and deontic modality, i.e. how the speaker's attitude is expressed towards the discussed event. In order to understand the use of modality, it is necessary to analyse two subtypes of modality – modalization and modulation, where modalization studies how modality is used in utterances, depending on the speaker's general knowledge concerning the modalized situation in order to see how aspects of modalization, i.e. probability and usuality, are expressed by the speakers. In modulation, the main emphasis is put on the way how obligation and inclination is expressed in utterances. Accordingly, the paper is aimed at analysing distinguished speeches issued in 501 Must-Known Speeches by Emma Beare (2009). The theme of the term paper concerns the ways how language functions of argumentation, persuasion and manipulation are carried out through the epistemic and deontic modality. The author of the book has grouped the speeches by taking into account diverse areas of life, for example, one chapter is devoted to politics, other to sports, to love, to religion and alike. The corpus of the study consists of speeches that are grouped in the chapter devoted to 'humanity, tyranny and liberty'. The research is considered to be important, because via the epistemic modality the degree of the speaker's commitment to the truth is expressed, at the same time, the deontic modality can be expressed either through the meaning area of obligation or the meaning area of inclination. It is essential to carry out a research in this subject matter in order to see how word-famous speakers have made their speeches trustworthy and believably and how they have created a listener-friendly atmosphere for the target audience. Thereby, the paper analyses the ways how the epistemic and deontic modality are presented through the language functions of argumentation, persuasion and manipulation.

For the research purpose the study has formulated its goal: to analyse the grammatical approach of how the language functions of argumentation, persuasion and manipulation are presented through modal verbs expressing the epistemic and deontic modalities.

Thus, the study has set its enabling objectives:

- to read and analyse the theoretical writings concerning the research subject;
- to study theories that deal with the discourse analysis as a research method;
- to analyse the corpus of the study;
- to draw conclusions.

In view of the above stated, the study has set the following research questions:

1. Which modal verbs are used in speeches to express the epistemic and deontic modality?
2. What communicative effects are reached by using the modal verbs?

The research methods have applied the following:

The Secondary research methods include the study of relevant theoretical materials relating the research subject. The general theories and ideas on discourse analysis, modality and language functions were summarized thus, applicable conclusions were drawn.

The Primary methods contain the use of the discourse analysis.

The paper consists of three chapters. Chapter 1 establishes the theoretical background for the present research, where the author explains the applied research method in details, outlines the main differences between spoken and written mode of communication, offers the theoretical writings on the epistemic and deontic modality, thus defining the modalization and modulation, presents the modal verbs through which the modality types are carried out in the text and finally refers to the language functions of argumentation, persuasion and manipulation. Chapter 2 establishes the methodology of the present study. Chapter 3 offers the results of the study and offers the discussion of the research results.

1. THE LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1. Discourse analysis as a research method

In the field of linguistics, the term ‘discourse analysis’ is of a frequent occurrence. According to Paltridge (2006), “it has gained a remarkable importance in the disciplines that concern humanities and social sciences, as it deals with the ways that language works in our engagements with the world and also our interaction with each other” (Paltridge,2006:1). An additional reasons why this approach has spread among the linguists so widely is: it being an approach that is based on different interdisciplinary approaches that has employed elements from diverse disciplines, for example, from sociology, psychology, cultural studies and alike; thus it can be used to explore many different social domains in different types of studies (Jorgensen, Phillips, 2002:1). Still what makes discourse analysis different from other linguistic approaches? In order to find the answer to this question, first of all, it is important to define the terms ‘discourse’ and ‘analysis’.

1.1.1. Discourse

According to Johnstone (2007), linguists and language analysts consider that the term ‘discourse’ reveals all the instances of communicative action (Johnstone, 2007:2). In some theoretical sources, it is possible to see a broader definition of ‘discourse’, as, for example, stated by Bloomaert (2007) “discourse comprises the symbolic behaviour that makes sense to others in any mode” (Bloomaert, 2007:2). No matter if the language under analysis is a written or spoken mode of communication, as long as it contains meaningful and comprehensive sense, it is considered to be a discourse. In the Discourse by Cook (1989), the author defines that discourse may be composed of one or more well-formed grammatical sentences, but at the same time, it can have grammatical ‘mistakes’ (Cook, 1989:7). For instance, the statement ‘a knight the dragon killed.’ is grammatically incorrect (the word order is wrong), but it is still possible to understand what has been said. Cook (1989) also says that ‘discourse can be anything from a grunt or single expletive, through short conversations and scribbled notes, right up to lengthy novels, like Leo Tolstoy’s War and Peace’ (ibid.). Thus, the essence of the text does not strictly lies only on the grammatical structure but on the fact that is a part of communication and is recognized by the others as being coherent stretch of interaction. In *Discourse Analysis* (2007), Johnstone mentions that the term ‘discourse analyses’ is more appropriate than ‘language analysis’, the main reason being that while doing the study, the researchers do not centrally focus on language as an abstract system (Johnstone, 2007:3). On the contrary, it is interested in what happens when people apply their knowledge

which they have about the language, how they use their memory and gained experience to interpret things (ibid.). Cutting (2002) puts forward a statement that ‘pragmatics and discourse analysis both look at discourse, i.e. how pieces of language become meaningful and unified for their user’ (Cutting, 2002:2). Thus, when thinking about language as an abstract phenomenon, it should be stated that it goes hand in hand with a set of rules or general meanings the words have, however, ‘discourse’ as a term is much broader. According to Johnstone (2007) the term comprises two matters, i.e. “The source of knowledge (the way how people generalize the language by using the set rules) and the way how they interpret it by applying what they already know” (Johnstone, 2007:4).

A well-known scholar Fairclough (1992) was the first who introduced the term ‘discourses’, where he enumerated certain types of discourses. He states:

“I believe I have in fact added to its meanings: treating it sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements” (Fairclough, 1992, 32).

Thus, Fairclough (2003) considers that “the discourse is the analysis of domain of ‘statements’ (that include texts and utterances as a pieces of text), where the main emphasis is put on the analysis of the approaches and rules that govern the text, not detailed analysis of the text itself” (Fairclough, 2003:123). He remarks that particular aspects of the world are presented differently, thereby, there is a different relationship between discourses:

“Different discourses are different perspectives on the world, and they are associated with the different relations people have to the world, which in turn depends on their positions in the world, their social and personal identities, and the social relationships in which they stand to other people.”(ibid.).

Thereby, in order to achieve a successful communication among the people, it is essential to understand that a particular field of communication requires a definite discourse. Thus, a discourse used in a one domain may not be relevant in other. Consequently, Fairclough (2003), uses the ‘discourse’ in a plural form, and suggests that “due to the variety of domains, one should also apply different discourses to analyse the language in use.” (Fairclough, 2003:123

1.1.2. Analysis

In the field of linguistics, a term ‘discourse’ frequently is linked with a term ‘analyses’. Thereby, it is crucial to study the reason why linguists have established the term ‘discourse

analysis' and not used other term. According to Johnstone (2007), 'it could have been called 'discourseology' on the analogy of 'phonology', however, in view of the profound study in the field of linguistics, the term 'discourse analysis' have emerged and set its position in the field of linguistics (Johnstone, 2007:4). The main reason, why the word 'analysis' has been added to the word 'discourse', is that 'discourse analysis generally focuses on the analytical processes in a relatively explicit way' (ibid.). In other words, the discourse analysts can pose various research questions in order to carry out the study. It signifies that the discourse analysts often can propose questions that share certain common features not only within the field of linguistics, but also with other disciplines. As a result, one branch of discourse analysis refers to the questions that are traditionally posed in the field of linguistics, for example, concerning the linguistic structure, language change and word meaning. Other discourse analysis poses questions that are of a more interdisciplinary nature. For instance, 'it might seek the answers to the research questions as to what social roles and relations are displayed in the discourse, or how communication and identity meant to be shown' (ibid.). Johnstone (2007) claims:

"The main essence that describes discourse analysis lies not in the questions that discourse analysts ask, but in the ways how these questions are answered, i.e. by examining the aspects of structure and the function of language in use" (ibid.).

In the field of chemistry, for example, the word 'analysis' is known as 'the process of separating something into their elementals' (Online 1), where different compounds are separated into their elemental parts. In the field of linguistics, the term 'analysis' also tends to draw things apart, for example, Johnstone (2007) says:

"The discourse analysts find it useful to divide longer stretches of discourse into separate parts, according to various features and afterwards analysing each part separately by applying the proposed characteristics" (Johnstone, 2007:5).

The stated division of the text can be proposed taking into account different aspects, for instance, 'who is talking, thus analysing the paragraph boundaries, when the two parties change the topic, or pay attention to grammatical structures, if the both participants in the communication process share different social background' (ibid.). One can also split the text in much more smaller stretches of interaction, where certain words, their occurrence or origin is analysed.

However, the analysis may involve other division that is not directly connected with a conventional language analysis, i.e. the grammatical or lexical approach. Thus, the stretches of texts might be analysed by taking into consideration other approaches which function

differently from the previously stated example. Johnstone (2007), asserts that, ‘When analysing the text from the other perspective, it is important to systematically ask a number of questions, at the same time taking into account different perspectives (Johnstone, 2007:5).

“This approach to analysis could include, for example, braking-down the text into functions (e.g. what is persuasive discourse like?), or according to the number of participants (e.g. how do particular profession people talk? what are characteristics among the male-talk?)” (Johnstone, 2007:5). There could be a number of divisions that could be proposed to analyse the linguistic material.

All in all, discourse analysis is a very broadly used method not only in linguistics, but also in other disciplines. Because of this reason, the two terms ‘discourse’ and ‘analysis’ are combined together, as they try to find answers to a variety of questions, related not only to the branch of linguistics, but also to many social sciences.

According to Schiffrin (2001),

“When doing a research, where a particular aspect of language (e.g. syntax or semantics) has been put under the scope, it is important to understand that discourse cannot be analysed in isolation; the study eventually should have correlations with other fields” (Schiffrin, 2001:200).

Thereby, the analyst has to be aware of other disciplines (e.g. their applied methods and drawn findings) in order to carry out a research. Schiffrin (2001) claims that the analysed data may range from small units (sentence) to larger and abstract entities (e.g. novels or courtroom trials). When studying them, one is expected to consider all small units of their composition. Schiffrin (2001) puts forward a statement, that:

“By using tools developed for the analysis of turns of speech or sentences to understand the functions, meanings and structurings of the larger and more abstract unit called ‘discourse’” (Schiffrin, 2001:200).

As the present paper is aimed at analysing language functions in distinguished speeches, it is very important to put additional an emphasis on the context. According to Cutting (2002), that ‘context is one of the common features that is shared by pragmatics and discourse analysis’ (Cutting, 2002:2). When looking at the context, both approaches study the meaning of words. As Brown and Yule (1983) state:

“The speaker’s meaning is dependent on the assumptions of the knowledge that are shared by both speaker and hearer.”(Brown and Yule, 1983: 34).

In other words, the main goal for the speaker in pragmatics and discourse analysis is ‘to construct a message, where he has implied a meaning, where the listener interprets the message and infers the meaning’ (ibid.). Thus, the interpretation of the context is a very

important aspect, because it may highlight certain characteristics and peculiarities that are particular to the context, where the speeches have been expressed.

To sum up, discourse analysis tends to be relevant method that can be applied for the present research, because the study analyses the language ‘beyond the sentence’, i.e. taking into consideration the context and aspects of pragmatics (e.g. the ability to understand the ways how speakers have used particular language functions). The aim of the present study is to analyse how through the types of modality, language functions are presented. Thus, the research seeks to find answers to different questions posed which concern both – the grammatical representation of modal verbs (the linguistic approach) and the way how through the modality the language functions of manipulation, persuasion and argumentation (the social approach) are carried out.

1.2. Differences between spoken and written mode of communication

The present paper deals with the analysis of distinguished speeches, thus the corpus of the study consists of several speeches that have been published in ‘501 Must - Know Speeches’ by Emma Beare (2009). Consequently, as the speeches are in their written form, it is essential to explore the differences between two modes of communication, i.e. written and spoken.

In accordance with Leech’s (1994) statement,

“English, like other languages, makes use of two channels: speech and writing, consequently, as long as people use language as a tool for communication and express it through coherent and cohesive means, language can communicate and can be expressed through written and spoken modes” (Leech, 1994: 10).

However, both varieties of communication are used and expressed differently. As a result, there are different features and approaches that have to be taken into consideration in order to analyse spoken and written modes of communication. The following paragraphs characterize the main differences between two varieties of communication, mentions the differences between spoken and written discourse (the role of the speaker and writer) and the ways how uttered idea is transmitted into a text.

1.2.1. Speech vs. text

As stated by Jahandarie (1999), “documented differences existing between writing and speech for the most part form the dissimilar situation in which these two verbal modes are habitually learned and used” (Jahandarie, 1999: 133). One of the first differences stated by the author is ‘the use of prosodic features in speech and punctuation in writing’ (ibid.). Spoken language

has the advantages of using various prosodic features, for example, the use of intonation, pause and stress that highlight certain nuances of meaning. The author provides an example:

“By pausing at the boundaries between phrases and sentences, the speaker signals the completion of a unit of speech, or while stressing a word or phrase, the speaker can indicate its significance or set new information apart from the old” (Jahandarie, 1999: 133).

Intonation usually is used as a signal to listeners that informs, whether the expressed statement has contained a question, a demand or a request. According to Brown and Yule (1983), ‘the speaker also has to control his or her expressions of paralinguistic cues, for example, leaning forward or smiling, while these expressions are denied to the writer’ (Brown and Yule, 1983:4). At the same time, there is a greater pressure put on the speaker, ‘as he/she has not only to control the production of communicative systems, but also has to proceed with the production of speech taking into consideration certain circumstances, for instance, one has to monitor the speech and has to determine whether it matches the intentions of the listener and above that, the speaker simultaneously has to plan the next utterance by fitting it into the overall pattern of the speech’ (ibid.). The writer, on the contrary, has different approaches how to deal with the production of the text. According to Brown and Yule (1983):

“He/she can put a pause after each word, thus avoiding the idea that interlocutor may interrupt him or misunderstand the intended message. He/she can take as much time as it is needed to find an appropriate word to express himself. The writer can edit whatever he has written and change so it fits the writer’s intentions at any time” (Brown and Yule, 1983:5).

However, in contrary to the process of writing, the speaker has other advantages which are applied as the speech proceeds. As it is claimed by Brown and Yule (1983):

“The speaker can observe his interlocutor and, if he wishes to, modify what he is saying to make it more accessible or acceptable to his hearer, nevertheless, the writer has no access to immediate feedback and simply has to imagine reader’s reaction” (ibid.).

1.2.2. The textual realization of speech

Other difference shared by written and spoken discourse is that ‘spoken words are transient, on the other hand, in writing, the words are permanent’ (Jahandarie, 1999:134). Jahandarie (1999), states that ‘spoken word tends to disappear as soon it is uttered and there is no possibility of backtracking or salvaging it’ (ibid.). However, it is different in the written message.

“Written words are lasting, they can be preserved on paper and thus, they can be returned over and over again” (Jahandarie, 1999:134).

Halliday (1978) claims that:

‘A process/product distinction is a relevant one for linguists because it corresponds to that between our experience of speech and our experience of writing: writing exists whereas speech happens.’ (Halliday, 1978:121).

Thus, the writing can be seen as a ‘product’, but speech as ‘process’. These two modes of communication build different bridges also to the way how they are comprehended. Jahandarie (1999), states that:

“In writing, difficult passages can be reread to assure their meaning, long sentence whose meaning becomes clear only after the last word is read may be retracted” (Jahandarie, 1999:135).

Consequently, Jahandarie (1999), concludes that ‘while a printed page preserves the message until the moment a complete comprehension has been achieved, in speech comprehension this task must be somehow performed by human memory’ (ibid).

In general, the written and spoken discourse differ in many aspects. While the spoken mode of communication is highly based on a personal interaction between two or more speakers, writing can be seen as an individual process, where a writer can devote as much time as it is needed to improve the text. However, two varieties of communication are different not only in the process how they are produced but also in the way how they are presented.

A complex aspect in the field of linguistics is to find the most appropriate way how to represent actual speech as a written text. According to Brown and Yule (1983), ‘the discourse analysts work with different recordings, from which they then make a written transcription’ (Brown and Yule, 1983:9). The authors emphasize:

“He (the discourse analyst) has to determine what constitutes the verbal event, and what form he will transcribe it in” (Brown and Yule, 1983:9).

The written representation of a spoken text can be seen in two ways. First, the discourse analyst can transcribe the text by using a phonetic transcription. Nevertheless, Brown and Yule (1983), argue that:

“This system is understood only by the specialists of the field of linguistics (as the system uses a specific phonetic symbols and diacritic marks that add a special pronunciation)

and it is not customary to find any details relating to, for instance, person's sex, age or education status''(Brown and Yule, 1983:10).

Brown and Yule (1983), state that: 'the transcription also does not pay an additional attention to rhythmical or temporal features of speech and also to the tempo (speeding up or speeding down the pace of the speech)' (ibid.). Jahandarie (1999) points out that 'in the written mode of communication there is a lack of prosodic features, thus the observers may assume that texts have no comparable mechanisms that are able to perform some of the same functions as prosody does for speech '(Johandarie, 1999:133). Nevertheless, the statement mentioned above, is not entirely true. Jahandarie (1999) proceeds with a statement that:

“Punctuation can substitute many of these tasks. For instance, periods, commas, colons and semicolons perform the same functions as pauses in speech. Underlining, CAPITALIZATION, italicization, or **bold-facing** can emphasize words or phrases just as stress does in speech. And Question marks, exclamation marks, and periods perform some of the functions of intonation’’ (Johandarie, 1999:134)

Though, these two mechanisms, i.e. punctuation and prosody cannot substitute each other in equal parts. Johandarie (1999), claims that:

“The difference lies not only on the proficiency of how both mechanisms perform a particular function, but also whether one has the capacity to do it. For example, there is no counterpart in spoken discourse for quotation marks and the tone of a voice that marks a request cannot be duplicated in writing’’ (Johandarie, 1999:134).

Brown and Yule (1983) believe that, 'in the process of transmitting speech into a written format, it is important to emphasize that perception and interpretation of each text is essentially subjective' (Brown and Yule, 1983:11).

According to Brown and Yule (1983):

“Different individuals pay attention to different aspects of texts and the content of the text appeals to them or fits into their experience differently’’ (Brown and Yule, 1983:10).

As a result, to avoid an idea that the interpretation of a particular text might be imposed, occasionally, analysts propose different interpretations of the same speech, thus giving the opportunity to find the solution of the interpretation where both – reader and the text analyst share common point of view.

All in all, the process of transmitting the speech into a written mode of communication requires a thorough interpretation of the text. It is essential to put all necessary punctuation marks, thereby representing the intended stress and intonations patterns as it is in the uttered speech act.

1.3. Semantic category of modality

The term ‘modality’ in linguistics refers to the term that has been broadly discussed, researched and analysed by many linguists. However, there does not exist one fixed definition that names and defines the term. Modality in general is defined similarly by several authors, for instance, according to Bybee and Perkins (1993), modality can be defined as:

‘the grammaticalized expression of the subjective attitude and opinions of the speaker including possibility, probability, necessity, obligation, permissibility, ability, desire and contingency’ (Bybee, et al., 1993: 176).

Other definition, mentioned by Wales (2001) is:

‘modality is concerned with speakers’ attitudes and stance towards the propositions they express ’ (Wales, 2001:255)

Judging from the above presented definitions, it is possible to select particular key terms that are used to characterize modality. Firstly, the term is ‘subjectivity’, because the overall judgment of the event lies on the speaker’s individual perception. Secondly, it is ‘attitude’- as the language is used not only to communicate factual information, but also to express feelings that can express through two approaches i.e. probability or possibility and obligation or permission. Finally, the term ‘proposition’ could be selected as one of the key words that characterize modality, because it resembles the speech act of a statement or assertion. Thus, modality allows the language user to express what it is, would be, what may be and what should be.

The term ‘modality’ includes a broad sense in its meaning. According to Narrog (2012), “It has become one of the most vibrant areas of the linguistic studies in the past decade, and linguists have come to recognize its importance for language and communication” (Narrog, 2012: 1).

Bybee and Fleischman (1995), state that:

“Modality is a very important aspect in linguistics and it asks of putting a special attention to it, and as modality is a semantic domain, it involves elements of meaning that the language express” (Bybee, 1995: 2). To illustrate the way how the modality works, the author of this paper has decided to use an example, mentioned by Downing and Locke (2006):

“From the semantic point of view, in making an assertion such as It’s raining, speakers express a proposition and at the same time commit themselves to the factuality of that proposition. In other words, speakers know that they are saying a fact. On the other hand, if speakers say It must/may be raining, they are not making a categorical assertion, but are rather modifying their commitment in some degree expressing certainty or possibility based on evidence or inference” (Downing and Locke, 2006: 379-380).

Thus, through modality, it is possible to trace the speaker’s individual and personal stance towards a particular event or situation. By doing so, the listener is able to understand the speaker and the message of the interaction better. Downing and Locke (2006), argue that ‘the matter of the discussion is not about its factuality, but it has to do with the actualisation of a potential event, where the speaker expresses a statement by using modal expressions to lay down an obligation or give permission regarding the event’ (Downing and Locke, 2006: 380). It is specified by Downing and Locke (2006), that ‘by means of modality speakers are enabled to carry out two important communicative functions: a) to comment in and evaluate an interpretation of reality; b) to intervene in, and bring about changes in events (Downing and Locke, 2006: 380).

In general, the majority of linguists, (e.g. Lyon (1977), Nuyts (2001), Halliday (2004) and Narrog (2012)) distinguish two main types of modality – epistemic and deontic modality. Nevertheless, there are linguists (e.g. Perkins (1883); Palmer (1979, 2001)) that mark out three categories of modality i.e. dynamic, epistemic and deontic modality. The following paragraphs give an insight into two major categories of modality –deontic and epistemic modality and briefly characterizes the correlations between dynamic and deontic modality.

1.3.1. Deontic modality

‘Deontic modality traditionally fulfils the functions of permission and obligation’ (Palmer (2001), Bybee, et.al (1993)). Bybee, et.al (1995), state that ‘deontic modality has found in directives that grant permission (e.g. you may go now), or impose obligations (e.g. Tim has to do it!)’ (Bybee, et.al. 1995:4). In accordance with Erin, e. al (2006), deontic modality may be defined as:

“An indication of the degree of moral desirability of the state of affaire expressed in the utterance, typically (but not always necessary) on the behalf of the speaker.”(Erin, et.al, 2006:4)

The notion of morality has been focused on, because the deontic statement could relate to either certain societal norms or to personal ethical criteria of the individual. Erin, et.al (2006),

continue that, ‘deontic assessment highly depend on the individual’s personal stance towards the expressed situation or event’ (Erin, et. al, 2006: 5). According to Palmer (2001), ‘deontic modality is also closely connected to the external authorities, i.e. such as rules or laws, where in the majority of cases the authority is the actual speaker, who gives permission to, or lays an obligation on , the addressee’ (Palmer, 2001: 10).

1.3.1.1. Deontic vs. Dynamic modality

According to Palmer (2001), deontic and dynamic modalities are considered to be very similar in a number of aspects; however, Palmer (2001) has referred to the main differences that are to be considered:

“With deontic modality the conditioning factors are external to the relevant individual, but in dynamic modality they are internal. [...] deontic modality relates to obligation or permission, emanating from an external source, whereas dynamic modality relates to ability or willingness, which comes from the individual concerned” (Palmer, 2001: 9-10).

Palmer (2001), has exemplified both types of modalities: ‘Marry has to do her homework, exemplifies the category of deontic modality, where an obligation is stated. Though, the statement Marry can drive a car, exemplifies dynamic modality that denotes ability and the control is internal to the subject’ (Palmer, 2001:10).

1.3.2. Epistemic modality

Different authors share similar definitions as regards epistemic modality. Nevertheless there are statements that have coined its definition around the words such as ‘belief and knowledge’ or ‘truth’. For instance, in Semantics (1977), the author states that epistemic modality is ‘a category of modality that has to do with possibility or necessity of the truth of the propositions, and thus, it is closely connected with knowledge and belief’ (Lyon, 1977: 793). Huddleston (1984) says that ‘epistemic modality is concerned with the truth status of the proposition in the light of what the speaker knows. Epistemic modality is orientated towards the speaker: it is subjective.’(Huddleston, 1984:167). Narrog (2012) has introduced a very concise definition: ‘epistemic modality refers to someone’s world knowledge, typically that of the speaker’ (Narrog, 2012: 8). All the above mentioned definitions, in general, are similar. Though, the main emphasis is put to different aspects in each of them, i.e. ‘knowledge’, ‘truth’ or ‘subjective’.

Narrog (2012), suggests that ‘if the expressed proposition is entailed by the person’s overall knowledge of the world it is necessary true; if it is compatible with his or her knowledge, it is considered to be possibly true’ (Narrog, 2012: 8). In the linguistic analysis, the line of how narrow or how wide the conceptualization of epistemic modality should be, has not been established yet.

Palmer (2001), states that epistemic modality is used in the discourse ‘as an indication by the speaker that signals his (lack of) commitment to the truth of the proposition expressed’ (Palmer, 2001: 52). He also introduces the ‘degrees of certainty and knowledge’, where the modality focuses on the degree of commitment expressed by the speaker (ibid).

This matter of ‘degree’ is also studied by Downing and Locke (2006). The authors mention ‘three degrees of confidence (modal certainty, probability and possibility), or lack of it that the speaker feels towards the factuality of the proposition expressed’ (Downing, Locke, 2006: 381).

However, in details the degrees of commitment are analysed by Halliday (2004). He states that, in general, ‘the system of modality construes the part of uncertainty that lies between ‘yes’ and ‘no’ ’(Halliday, 2004: 147). However, in this polarity between ‘it is’ and ‘it is not’ also lies the probability of ‘it must/will/may be’. Thus, Halliday has made a distinction between a proposition (epistemic modality) and proposal (deontic modality). The level of proposal will be analysed in paragraphs that follows the discussion of ‘deontic modality’.

1.3.3. Modalization and modulation

Halliday (2004), says that, ‘the modality of proposition deals with statements and questions where the speaker’s assessments of probabilities and frequencies are studied’ (Halliday, 2004: 147). Thus, in the terms of proposition, there are two kinds of intermediate possibilities that are marked out: – a) degree of probability: ‘possibly/probably/certainly’, b) degree of usuality: ‘usually/sometimes/always’ (Halliday, 2004: 147) (See Fig.1)

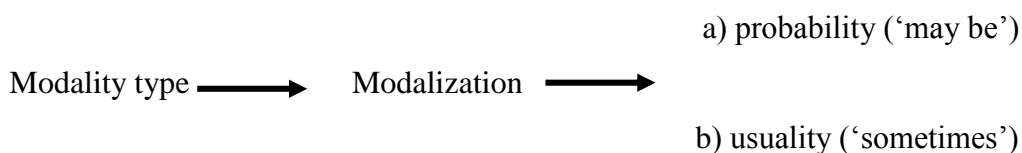


Fig.1. System of types of modality – adapted from Halliday (2004:618)

Halliday explains that:

“The degrees of probability are equivalent to ‘either yes or no’, i.e., maybe yes, maybe no, with different degrees of likelihood attached. The degrees of usuality are equivalent to ‘both yes and no’, that is, sometimes yes, sometimes no, with different degrees of oftenness attached” (ibid).

Thus, the scholar has used the term *modalization* to define the relationships between probability and usuality. According to Salkie (2009), “Modalization is a way in which modality is used in utterances, depending on two factors: the state of knowledge of the speaker concerning the modalized situation and the assumed state of knowledge of the hearer concerning the same situation” (Salkie, 2009:24).

As noted above, epistemic modality deals with propositions. As regards the deontic modality, Halliday (2004) states that modulation is usually communicated by the speech function of proposal (Halliday, 2004:147). The scholar asserts that: “In a proposal, the meaning of the positive and negative poles is prescribing and proscribing, thus being - positive ‘do it’, or negative ‘don’t do it’ ” (Halliday, 2004: 147). Thus, considering the above mentioned proposition of division to discuss modalization, it should also be stated that the proposal has two kinds of intermediate possibilities. However, in this case, it depends on speech function, whether it is a command or an offer. Consequently, Halliday (2004) has formulated the following division, “a) in a case of command, the intermediate points represent degrees of obligation ‘allowed to/supposed to/required to’; b) in a case of offer, they represent degrees of inclination ‘willing to/anxious to/determined to’ ” (ibid.) (See Fig.2) The Fig.2 shows that ‘is wanted to’ refers to the command, but ‘wants to’ – to the offer.

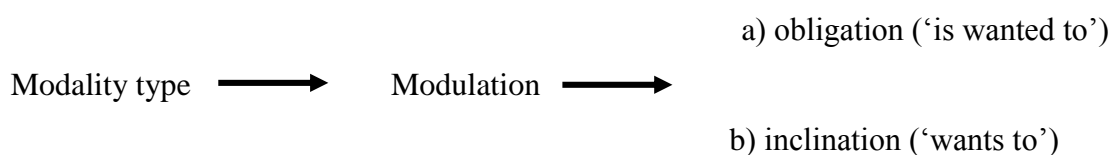


Fig.2. System of types of modality adapted from Halliday (2004:618)

The modality subtype that concerns the obligation and inclination is called *modulation*. As a result, in Banking and finance discourse (2013), the author asserts that speech function of proposal can be expressed either through the meaning area of obligation or the meaning area of inclination (Roziņa, 2013: 101).

Halliday (2004) mentions that ‘as proposals have either positive or negative meaning, they are seen as goods-&-services exchange between the message sender or speaker and the addressee or hearer’ (Halliday, 2004: 147). In this exchange the speaker is either: “a) offering

to do something (e.g. shall I open the window?); b) requesting the listener to do something (e.g. do the dishes!); c) suggesting that both parties do something (e.g. let's go to cinema.)” (ibid.). In the above stated exchange situations, third person's presence is not usually found. However, in modulated clauses, the third person's presence is commonly found, as those are statements of obligation and inclination made by the speaker. The situation is exemplified by Halliday (2004) “John's supposed to know that, Mary will help - in this case they function as propositions, since they convey information rather than goods-&-services” (ibid.).

There may be a situation when a link between proposition and proposal becomes blurry. It is seen when the experiential meaning of the clause points in one or the other direction, thus it causes ambiguity. Halliday (2004) exemplifies the ambiguity by the following statements:

“She must be very careless is likely to be interpreted as proposition, because one does not usually enjoin people to be careless, whereas she must be very careful is more likely to be interpreted as a proposal” (Halliday, 2004: 148).

Considering the above discussion that regards modalization and modulation, it should be mentioned that modalization is a subtype of modality that works to imply the area of meaning that denotes probability and usuality (frequency). Modulation is a subtype of modality that that expresses obligation and inclination (Roziņa, 2013: 99). Modalization is realized through the speech function of proposal. In the case of modulation, it deals with the speech function of proposal. Finally, it is important to remember that modalization is usually expressed in an indicative way, but modulation uses the imperative type of expression.

1.4. Ways of expressing epistemic and deontic modality

According to Downing and Locke (2006), ‘modality covers a broad semantic area that covers notions, such as possibility, probability, necessity, volition, obligation and permission’ (Downing and Locke: 2006: 380). Thus, Nuyts (2001), states that, ‘in English the realization of modality can be expressed through different forms that include both, the grammatical (the use of modal verbs) and the lexical (modal adverbs, adjectives, nouns, mental state predicates) use’ (Nuyts, 2001: 29).

The present part of the study is focused on reconciling the theoretical constitutions by Downing and Locke's (2006), concerning the division of modal verbs and their usage in the referred types of modality.

1.4.1. Grammatical Realization of Epistemic Modality

As it is noted in Downing and Locke's (2006) theoretical writings, 'in the theory of modality exists three options that represent three degrees of confidence, of the lack of it, that the speaker feels towards the expressed proposition, i.e. modal certainty, probability and possibility' (Downing and Locke: 2006: 381). Usually, the grammatical approach of modality is expressed by modal verbs.

1.4.1.1. Modal Verbs Expressing Certainty

The scholars state that it is a false assumption that modal certainty expresses the hundred per cent certainty of a categorical assertion. To prove that the unmodalised declarative constitutes a stronger statement than any additional expression of certainty, there are two examples provided. First, 'Your sister is studying upstairs' is stronger statement than the second statement 'Your sister will certainly be studying upstairs ', where the last expresses a strong assumption that is strengthened by certainly (Downing and Locke: 2006: 381).

The main reasons why modal certainty is used, is either because the speaker's personal knowledge has not permitted a plain affirmation or because the speaker is unwilling to express a strong commitment at that definite time or moment and in particular interpersonal interaction he or she is engaged in.

Thus, the modal certainty is expressed by two modals – *will* and *must*. They are used in situations 'when the speaker does not accept any possibility of the proposition not being true' (ibid.).

The modal verb *will* in the case of epistemic modality expresses a confident assumption uttered by the speaker or observer that is based either on experience or known facts. For instance, the statement 'That will be the postman'. Here, the speaker expresses an assumption that could be based, for example, on the fact that he/she has heard the doorbell or maybe the speaker evaluates the situation by taking into consideration the particular time or situation that the person who is behind the door could be the postman. In order to understand, if modal verb *will* is used as an assumption, it can be replaced by 'I assume that...' as it is stated in the example above, i.e. 'I assume that it is the postman'.

The modal verb *will* also can be used to make predictions about the future time, or to express a modal judgement, e.g. 'It won't work', as one thinks or predicts that it won't work, or to express a prediction, e.g. 'George will be the next president', where one states a definite prediction about the future. By referring to future events, one can predict what will happen with more or less confidence, can plan a particular event to take place or express one's intentions. It is important to mention that the usage of the modal verb *will* corresponds to the

meaning of the modal verb *must*. For instance, the statement ‘Harry must be in his room’ (as music is coming from upstairs); thus ‘Harry will be in his room’ (i.e. as taking into account the previous knowledge about the music, one can conclude that Harry is in his room). Thus, in both stated examples, the modal verbs express a particular level of the modality.

Finally, the modal verb *would* (the past form of the modal verb *will*) is used when referring to the time in past. For instance, ‘He would be about sixty when she first met him. (i.e. she assumes that he was about sixty)’.

According to Nuyts (2001), the modal verb *must* ‘implies that the speaker judges the expressed proposition expressed to be necessarily true or to have a high likelihood of being true’ (Nuyts, 2001:328). Downing et.al (2006), describe the use of the modal verb *must*:

“As being subjective, it expresses a strong conviction that is either based on deduction or inference from evidence, which may or may not be stated, e.g. ‘The cafe must be closed’, could be said when the speaker notices that everything is quite and closed” (Downing et. al., 2006: 382).

It is essential to mention, that there exists a difference in the use of the modal verb *must* between British English (BrE) and American English (AmE). For instance, in BrE the lexical-modal *have to* (‘The book has to be in your desk’) is of a relatively uncommon use to express epistemic modality; however now it is used by a number of people as an alternative to epistemic modal verb *must* (e.g. ‘The book must be in your desk’). On the other hand, in AmE, the modal verb *have to* is generally used instead of *must* in the meaning of logical necessity.

1.4.1.2. Modal Verbs Expressing Probability

The modal verbs *should* and sometimes *ought to*, are used to express a medium degree of conviction. For instance, Downing et al. (2006), offer an example of a conversation between a driver and a passenger: ‘It should be easy to reach York from here’, where it can be interpreted as ‘He assumes it is easy’ or ‘it is probably easy’. By analysing the sentence mentioned above, it should be stated that ‘the notion of probability, or what could be reasonable to expect, is structured on a deduction of fact that are known to the speaker’ (Downing, et al., 2006: 383). According to Nuyts (2001):

“The speaker does not know if his statement is true, but tentatively concludes that it is true, on the basis of whatever he knows” (Nuyts, 201:330).

In the theory of the modal verbs, there exist distinct features that characterize modal verbs *should* and *must*. First of all, Nuyts (2001), distinguishes the modal verb *should* as ‘weaker

equivalent of the modal verb *must*' (Nuyts, 2001: 330). Secondly, 'the modal verb *should* implicitly reveals the non-fulfilment of the predicated event' (Downing, et al. 2006: 383). Thus, the stated example above could be interpreted that 'It should be easy to reach York, but of course it may not be'. In grammar, the modal verb *should* is considered to be 'a non-factive modal verb', i.e. it leaves open proposition, but the modal verbs *must* and *will* are considered to be 'factive modal verbs', when both modals assert the truth of a clause it is in (Downing, et al. 2006: 383).

According to Biber et al. (1999), the modal verb *ought to* is less frequent than its synonym modal verb *should* (Biber et al. 1999). As the modal verb *ought to* is synonymic to the modal verb *should*, they share a common meaning of probability.

It is necessary to specify that the probability meaning of *should* and *ought to* often overlaps with that on 'non-factive' obligation (i.e. it may not be fulfilled). For example, 'The hotel should be good for this price', where one expects it to be good or it has the obligation to be good.

1.4.1.3. Modal Verbs Expressing Possibility

The notion of possibility usually expresses a weaker conviction than the notion of probability. Three main modal verbs that are used to state the possibility are: *may*, *might* and *could*. These modal verbs can be replaced by a phrase 'it is possible that...', e.g. 'they may/might/could be real pearls, you know' (i.e. It is possible that pearls are real) (Downing, et al. 2006: 383). From the mentioned instance, it is possible to conclude that modal verbs *could* and *might* are used to refer to the present event, in spite of them being past forms. Also, the modal *can* is not used in positive declarative clauses to express epistemic modality, as one does not say 'It can be real pearls'. (ibid.).

The modal verb *may* usually expresses the possibility that is factual, as in the following example: 'Your work may be improved'. Thus, stating that there could be some future plans for improvement. In the same way, the sentence can be paraphrased as 'It is possible that work will be improved'.

All three modal verbs cannot be scaled according to their level of possibility. They all express either a strong or a more remote possibility. However, all of the above discussed modal verbs can be modified by intensifiers, thus, highlighting the scale of possibility. For instance: 'They may be real pearls/they may very well be real pearls'.

Downing (2006), also explains how the modal verbs can be used in spoken and written variety of communication:

‘I may be a few minutes late; it might be seven o’clock before I can get away; it could even be half-past’ (spoken mode of communication)

‘The provision might be deleted altogether; it may remain as it stands; it could emerge considerably’ (written mode of communication)

By analysing the stated examples above, it is evident that all modal verbs are used interchangeably, with only a slight difference in the message. Downing et al. (2006) state that ‘the main factors that influence the application of a particular modal verb are ‘e.g. the speaker’s age and social dialect and the degree of formality on informality of the situation’. Thus, the modal verb *may* is considered to be more formal and indicates reserve, while modal verb *might* is used to imply more neutral form’ (Downing et al. 2006: 384).

1.4.2. Grammatical Realization of Deontic Modality

Downing et al. (2006) distinguish four types of deontic modality – volition, obligation, necessity and permission (Downing et al., 2006:385). The authors suggest that:

“The listed modal meanings are mainly used to establish and to maintain a social relationship and interaction. Through the modal meanings the speaker has the possibility to influence and control other, in the same time committing himself to a particular course of action” (ibid.).

1.4.2.1. The Modal Verbs Expressing Volition

In general, the concept of volition includes both, the meaning of willingness (e.g. Will you sign this for me?) and the meaning of intention (e.g. I’ll bring it back tomorrow).

The concept of willingness can be paraphrased by the phrase be willing to. The modal verb *will* may be used to denote tenses, i.e. the action that is predicated by the main verb can coincide with the time of the speech, or the modal verb *may* refer to repeated or future events, as it is exemplified in the following examples – ‘Will you give a donation to the Green Society? – Yes, I will,’ and ‘The key won’t go in the lock. (i.e. the speaker attributes unwillingness to the think)’.the modal verb *will* is used for all persons and the reduced form ’ll appears in the affirmative.

The modal verb *will* can express the meaning of willingness in different ways. For instance, in ‘Will you listen to me and do it?’ the modal verb *will* can be seen as a directive, but in ‘Will you have another bouquet of flowers? ’, the modal verb can be interpreted as a polite offer.

The modal verb *shall* in interrogative sentences is used with the 1st person subject, in order to respect the addressee's wishes or ask for advice, e.g. 'Shall we do it again? (i.e. Do you want us to do it?)'(Downing et al., 2006:385)

In the case of expressing intention, the modal verb *will* can be replaced by phrase 'intend to'. The way of expressing intention is different from the way of expressing willingness. When speaker expresses an intention, it is usually coincident with the speech time, but the intended action is implied in the future, e.g. 'I will ring you sometime next week' or 'I think I'll just tape this bit of concert.'

What makes a correlation with epistemic modality, is when the speaker's commitment is expressed through the modal verbs *will* and *should*, the degree of the commitment is expressed in the same manner. For this reason, the modal verb *will* expressing the intension can have the degree of either a promise or threat, depending on whether the expressed action is beneficial to the addressee or otherwise. To highlight the meaning of intension, some intensifiers, such as to promise or to warn are used, for instance, 'I will bring you something back from Brazil, I promise.'

In the meaning of intention, the modal verb *shall* is used in its full form with the 2nd and the 3rd person, thus to state the speaker's guarantee, e.g. 'you/they shall be paid next week.'

1.4.2.2. The Modal Verbs Expressing Obligation, Necessity and Permission

In English, the aspects of obligation and necessity are linked together with the implication of requirement, that is realized by modal verbs *must*, *have (got) to*, and in fewer cases, by *shall*.

The deontic modal verb *must*, expresses obligation that can have the force of a direct command, for example, 'You must concentrate harder'. However, by using certain modal lexical verbs (e.g. instead of 'You must go' one can say 'I order/urge you to go') it is possible to make the command should more explicit.

The meaning of necessity is usually expressed if there is no human control implied in the statement, for instance, 'Lizards must hibernate if they are to survive the winter' (Downing et al., 2006:386)

From all modal verbs that denote the meaning of the obligation, the modal verb *shall* is the most imperious, direct and subjective; thus it is rarely used in the spoken mode of communication. Its use is found in the legal context and in formal texts, e.g. in an instance from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 'no one shall be subjected to torture or inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.'

In order to compare two lexical modal verbs *have to* and *have got to/gotta*, it should be stated that the modal verb *have to* is objective, thus the obligation is external, i.e. it depends on the obligation that is expressed from the outer source. E.g. ‘I have to go and see Marry’ (i.e. one has the obligation stated by other). In case of the modal verb *have got to/gotta*, the modal verb is objective, i.e. the obligation is stated by the speaker. Consequently, the obligation is internal, e.g. ‘I’ve got to go now’ (Downing, et al., 2006:386).

The modal verb *may* in its meaning of permission does not have a range of forms, i.e. for example, expressing negation the modal ‘you may not’ serves for both – lexical and modal negation. If one intends to stress the meaning of ‘you have the permission no to...’ it can be done by using negative article – not, e.g. ‘You may not go, if you want.’

Often the modals *may/may not* are replaced by *can* and *cannot*, except legal context. Thus, can’t is the usual form that is used to negate must (necessity) and may (possibility).

1.5. Language Functions

According to Brown and Yule (1983), in the study of the discourse (regardless if it is a spoken or written mode of communication), the study goes hand in hand with the analysis of language in use, thus ‘it cannot be restricted to the description of the linguistic forms independent of the purposes and functions which those functions are designed to serve in the process of communication’ (Brown et al, 1983:1). Van Dijk (2011), has based his interpretation on the theories stated by Shoshana Blum-Kulka and Michal Hamo. He says that:

“Language is the chief tool by which the communication among people is possible; however in order to ensure a successful communication, it is not sufficient just to know the words and grammar, as often words can mean more” (van Dijk, 2011:143).

The main importance in the study of language functions lies in the fact that the general emphasis in speeches is put on the way how the speaker ‘plays’ with language use, where the main intention is to fulfil the set objectives. Van Dijk (2011) asserts that: “The speaker always has some purpose or goal in mind” (van Dijk, 2008:31). As the present study is based on the analysis of language functions, it is essential to investigate the ways how and why speakers have structured their utterances, i.e. being either persuasive, manipulative or argumentative. The following paragraphs give a brief introduction into each type of language function – argumentation, persuasion and manipulation.

1.5.1. Argumentation

Van Dijk (2011) states that: “Argumentation uses language to justify or refute a standpoint with the aim of securing an agreement in views” (van Dijk, 2011:85). The author distinguishes two objects where argumentation usually is used: ‘a) in interaction where two or more people conduct or have arguments, e.g. discussions or debates; b) in texts such as speeches or editorials in which a person makes an argument’ (ibid.). Nevertheless, the main goal in both ways is to convince others of the truth, or acceptability, of what one says.

Van Dijk (2011) mentions that:

“The study of argumentation has a very long history that can be traced back to the ancient Greek writings, especially to the writings of Aristotle, where he treated argumentation as a means to expose errors in thinking and to shape discourse towards a rational idea” (van Dijk, 2011: 87).

The author states that ‘in the argumentative discourse, the main goal of the speaker is to achieve his purpose i.e. to maintain certain standards of reasonableness and thus, is expecting others to comply with the same critical standards’ (van Dijk, 2014:481). Van Eemeren (1982) says that:

“If the structure of the argumentative statement that expresses the speaker’s standpoint, has not been presented in a clear manner, it cannot be judged whether the argument that has been put forward as a defence to the point of view provides a sufficient support for the expressed standpoint” (van Eemeren,1982, 201: 143).

In order to build a successful argumentation, the speaker has to be sure that the statement is convincing and appealing to the listener, i.e. ‘the audience accepts the expressed opinion to which the argumentation refers’ (van Eemeren, 1982:9). As the public speech is a one-way communication, the message depends on the speaker’s intentions (i.e. either to make the speech argumentative, persuasive or manipulative); thereby it is essential for the speaker to structure the utterance as convincing to the public as it can be.

All in all, it is very important for the speaker to structure successful and convincing arguments, because, from them the listeners will judge the level of commitment the speaker has. The public speech is structured so it does not include a response from the other party (i.e. from the listener’s side). Thus, the speaker has to be sure that his expressed argument will be influential enough to make the public in the favour of the speaker’s standpoint.

1.5.2. Persuasion

In order to understand the concept of persuasion better, Daniel O’Keefe (2002) has set a simplified definition, where he sees persuasion as “a human communication that is designed to influence others by modifying their beliefs, values, or attitudes” (O’Keefe, 2002:2). However, he argues that the term ‘persuasion’ cannot be fully decoded by one definition, because there may be different situations where the term may have additional functions, thus the definition is just a broad outline of the overall term (ibid.).

The concepts of persuasion and manipulation often create the ambiguity, as they have certain features in common. However, according to Tannen (1981):

“The main difference lies in the fact, that persuader ‘acts in good faith’. Thus, in the act of persuasion, the persuader (i.e. the one who wants to persuade) promotes an opinion on a particular position that is rooted in ‘truth’, nonetheless in argumentation the speakers main goal is rooted to discover the ‘truth’ ”(Tannen, 1981:27).

Another difference between the concept of argumentation and persuasion is presentation of their goals. Tannen (1981) states that:

“In the process of persuasion the main emphasis is put the personal, emotional or moral appeal, thus trying to convince the public/audience to adapt the expressed view stated by the speaker. In the process of the manipulation, the speaker has systemized his/her speech, by good reasoning and valid arguments, so the audience accepts the offered ‘truth’ ” (ibid.).

The concept of persuasion also involves the change in the mental state of the person who is being persuaded. ‘Some instances of persuasion may involve only a change in mental state, but it may involve a behavioural change (e.g. I persuaded Marry to take a piano lessons)’ (O’Keefe, 2002:6).

Overall, the language of persuasion is different from the language of manipulation. It is considered to be more ‘emotional’, i.e. the persuader tries to influence other’s through communication, i.e. the persuader makes a personal or emotional appeal, in order to convince the other party.

1.5.3. Manipulation

De Saussure (2005), claims that:

“The cognitive representations of the individuals that is involved in an interaction evolves through time, i.e. they change, are replaced by others, new ones are created and other are erased etc.”(de Saussure et.al, 2005: 1).

‘The mental changes that are produced in the process of interpretation are the consequences of intentional or unintentional uses of language by speakers’ (ibid.). These changes usually are produced through benevolent respect of unconscious principles of discourse.

De Saussure (2005) states that:

“In cases when the speaker is not benevolent in one way or another, one may say that he/she manipulates the addressee. Thus, the speaker intends to operate changes in hearer’s (public’s) mind without respecting tacit contract in which the participant (s) that are engaged in the conversation, thus without providing the hearer with all the necessary and relevant information” (de Saussure et.al, 2005: 1).

The author continues:

‘If manipulation is about gaining sincere consent on the part of hearer to propositions that are manifestly false to the speaker, and that lead to some intended behaviour and support from the hearer, quite often it does not only imply pragmatic discrepancy between the speaker and the hearer. It also involves emotions’ (de Saussure et.al, 2005: 9).

Manipulation is commonly found in the social fields such as in politics and all matters concerning business and its usage depends mainly from the product or the offer the company is willing to promote or sell (Online 2). As the present study analysis the manipulation used in public speeches, it is important to mention what is the main function of manipulation, and how speaker applies manipulative techniques towards the crowd. First of all, ‘in the process of the manipulation the main emphasis is put on the approach how manipulator engages, controls, or influences crowd without the use of physical force’ (Bernays, 1928:47). According to Bernay’s (1928) point of view of manipulation, he says:

“The voice of the people expresses the mind of the people, and that mind is made up for it by the group leaders in whom it believes and by those persons who understand the manipulation of public opinion. Though it we are governed, our minds are molded, our tastes formed, our ideas suggested,” (Bernays, 1928:47).

Consequently, different speakers may use manipulation techniques differently; one may use it to achieve good result, but on the other hand, others may use it by having in mind bad intentions.

All in all, manipulation differs from the above discussed language functions in that way that in order to achieve the goal, the speaker is willing to do whatever he/she can to convince the other party (including not being benevolent to others).

2. METHODOLOGY

The discourse analysis is the research method that has been taken as the principal approach for the present study. The study is based on the analysis of the language functions such as argumentation, manipulation and persuasion and the way how the mentioned language functions are realized through the epistemic and deontic modality. As the research is aimed at analysing the language in use and the ways how the concepts of modalities are applied, the discourse analysis is selected as the most appropriate method for the study.

The analysis of corpus requires the study of language beyond the sentence level, thus it is essential to understand the context and the main reasons why a specific speech has been said. Jorgensen (2002) claims that:

“In order to develop the analysis, it is important to define certain factors that have influenced the language used in utterances (i.e. time, when it was said, the political situation or the social status). Different areas of social life are of great importance, because there may be certain characteristics and features that are used only among the members of the particular area, e.g. in politics or medicine” (Jorgensen, 2002:1). ‘

The corpus of the study is a combination of 89 speeches taken from Emma Beare’s book ‘501 must-known speeches’. The selected corpus comprises utterances that are grouped under one common area, i.e. humanity, liberty and tyranny. It is important to pay an additional attention to each speech, as the speakers share individual background and beliefs.

The corpus is a very useful source for linguistic analysis; it provides us with the ‘knowledge about frequencies of certain linguistic phenomenon revealing specifics of the language’ (Baker, 2010: 95). The book consists of 544 pages in total. The author of the book has grouped the speeches according to certain domains, for example, there are speeches that deal with love, war and revolution, religion, science and medicine, patriotism, philosophy, humanity/liberty/tyranny, sport, politics and international affairs and miscellaneous. The speeches have been uttered by different personalities such as the presidents of the United States such as Abraham Lincoln, Andrew Jackson, George Washington, Barack Obama, famous political activists – Martin Luther King Jr, Lech Walesa, Nelson Mandela, Charles Stewart Parnell, attorneys – Patrick Henry, Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr and many other persons who have marked their place in the history by their distinguished speeches. The author of the book indicates years, when exactly the speeches had been delivered. One of the earliest speech dates back to 1215 and is delivered by the King of England - King John. The majority of speeches have been delivered in the 20th century; however, there are few examples that represent the 18th and the 19th centuries. These time periods may have left a certain impact on

the language use, mainly depending on the political and social status in the country and the world as such.

In the process of research, the sentences that contain modal verbs expressing two categories of modality – modalization and modulation were selected. The gathered examples were grouped according to their division referring either to the epistemic or deontic type of the modality. The data that contains the examples of modalization and modulation were analysed to see how they fulfil the language functions of argumentation, manipulation and persuasion. The interpretation of results was based on the knowledge about the matter attained in the secondary research.

All in all, the chapter has dedicated itself to the methodology of the research and it is stated that discourse analysis is a research method. The following chapter provides the discussion of results, where the selected speeches are analysed by using the discourse analysis method.

3. THE ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

All in all, 89 distinguished speeches (Appendix) were studied, where the author analysed the use of the modal verbs and analysed how they influenced the language functions. The following pages give a general outcome of the research. At first, the paper presents how via modalization argumentation is realized.

All the used modal verbs are marked in the Diagram 1 below, where the modal verbs are divided according to their belongingness either to epistemic, deontic modality or standing for both types of modalities. The modal verbs that are markers for epistemic modality are: *might*, *would* and *ought to*. The deontic modal verb *must* is the only modal verb that marks the obligation. However, the modal verbs *shall*, *should*, *will* and *may* are used as markers for both types of the modalities, but their use differs.

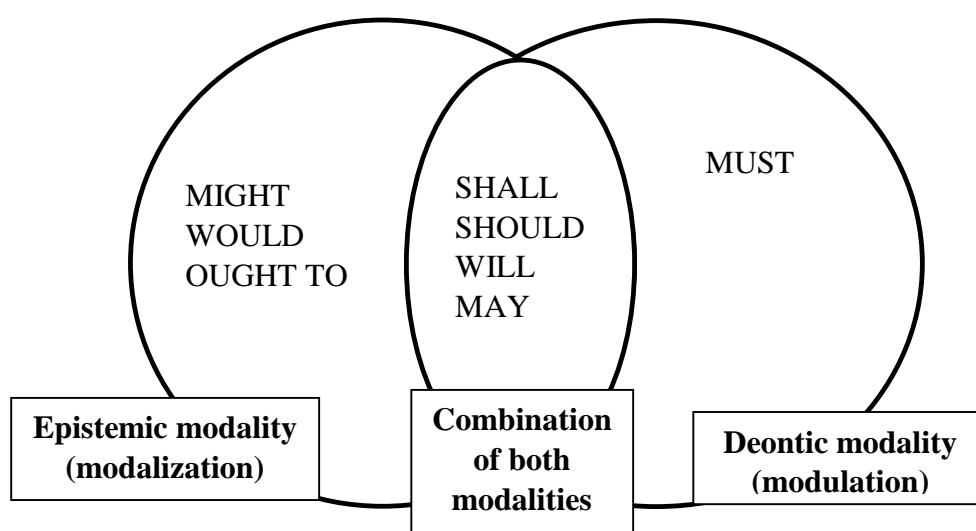


Diagram 1. The analysed epistemic and deontic modal verbs

3.1. The Function of Argumentation via Modalization

In general, the epistemic modality is realized through a variety of modal verbs. Thus, the language functions are expressed differently by applying different modal verbs. Modalization is used to express the aspect of possibility and probability. However, while developing the analysis, it appeared that modalization was not as evident as modulation, which would be discussed in subchapter 3.3.

3.1.1. The Use of Modal Verbs *May* and *Might*

In the utterances under analysis, the modal verb *may* is used to express probability. The modal verb is used by speakers to highlight a certain degree of doubt. Although the modal verb represents a level of probability, it was used in a number of cases. For example:

1. In land ownership, settlement and forms of government we are trying to keep them [black and white people] apart, and in that way laying down I outline a general policy which it may take a hundred years to work out, but which in the end may be the solution of our Native problem (Jan Christiaan Smuts, p.243)

2. It is given to none of us to forecast the future, and just as it is impossible for us to say in what way or by what means the national question may be settled, in what way full justice may be done to Ireland, so it is impossible for us to say to what extent that justice should be done. (Charles Stewart Parnell, p.244).

In both examples mentioned, the modal verb is used to express the level of possibility. It indicates what is likely to happen in the future; nevertheless, the speaker is not sure about the fact whether or not it will take place. In the first example, in order not to make the audience to be in doubt about the speaker's opinion, the speaker starts his speech by listing actions which are already in process, thus assuring to the public that officials are already doing something. However, by saying 'may take hundreds years to work out', the speaker makes it clear that he is not completely sure about the time it may take place and even it may be the solution for the discussed problem. In the second example, the level of possibility is lowered by the modal adjective it is impossible. Thus, it is declared that the speaker cannot say anything definite how the situation will turn out. As a result, the modal verb *may* in the discussed example is used as a signal to the lowest possibility, and in that way the speaker is not giving a false information. The speaker, for example, could have said it will happen, just to make the public think that there are no doubts; nevertheless he says what may happen, thus not expressing fallacy.

The analysed materials contained many parts from different legal documents. For example, treaties, constitution of the USA, Government of the USA, and also parts from the USA Supreme Court. Commonly, the legal documents are written expressing obligation and necessity, however, in a number of cases, the modal verb *may* appeared in these legal documents.

1. Her Majesty the queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and to the respective families thereof the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates, Forests [...] which they may collectively or individually possess [...]; but the Chiefs of the United Tribes yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of Preemption over such possessions as the proprietors thereof may be

disposed to alienate at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective Proprietors to treat with them in that behalf (The Treaty of Waitangi, p.251)

2. For the stage subsequent to approximately the end of the first trimester, the State, in promoting its interest in the health of the mother, may, if it chooses, regulate the abortion procedure in ways that are reasonably related to maternal health (an excerpt from the US Supreme Court, p.290)

In the stated examples, the modal verb *may* is used to depart from the legal context. Thereby, it gives the public the choice whether or not to do it. Consequently, the context becomes more 'listener-friendly' and do not poses an obligation for the people to do as it is stated. In both instances, the statements are structured, as it mentions the general rule that is accepted by the general public, and thus, as the modal verb *may* includes the possible circumstances decided individually, the context together with the use of the modal verb *may* provides the possibility to choose.

Similar parallels can be drawn with the use of the modal verb *might*, in the instances, when it is used as a synonym to may. For example,

1. It [the slave system] debases those whose toil alone can produce wealth and resources for defence, to the lowest degree of which human nature is capable, to guard against mutiny and insurrection, and thus wastes energies which otherwise might be employed in national development (William H. Seward Sr., p.257)

2. If the law denied a vote to all but the possessors of £5,000 a year, the poorest man in the nation might acquire the suffrage; but neither birth, nor fortune, nor even the great disposer of human affairs, can ever enable any woman to have her voice counted in those national affairs which touch her as nearly as any other person in the nation (John Stuart Mill, p.258).

The modal verb *might* in both instances also expresses the possible circumstances that may happen, but the speaker is not completely sure. Also the argumentation is structured in a similar manner, for example, as it is in the second example, the speaker first of all mentions a law and further develops an argument to convince the public that what he is saying is truth.

3.1.2. The Use of Modal Verbs *Will* and *Would*

In the course of the analysis, the author of the paper noticed that the modal verb *will* has functioned as a marker for deontic modality, but not as a signal for epistemic modality that indicates probability. As a result, there are no instances of epistemic modal verb *will*; however in the following paragraphs, the deontic modal verb *will* will be discussed. In addition, the modal verb *will* is used to express planned future actions. Thus, in the majority of analysed utterances it is rather an expression of time than of modality, for instance: This will be a work

of time; and, for its accomplishment, great labour and perseverance will be necessary (Congressional Committee on Indian Affairs, p.252).

Nevertheless, the modal verb *would* is used by certain speakers to structure convincing arguments.

1. They [people] have not stopped here. If they had, they would have accomplished but a half their work (Daniel Webster, p.222)

2. The right to exist? Would it enter the mind of any Briton or Frenchman, Belgian or Dutchman, Hungarian or Bulgarian, Russian or American, to request for its people recognition of its rights to exist? (Menachem Begin, p.255)

3. [...] Now is the time to intensify the struggle on all fronts. To relax our efforts now would be a mistake which generations to come will not be able to forgive (Nelson Mandela, p.292)

The modal verb *would* expresses the future possibility. In comparison with the modal verb *may*, the modal verb *would* expresses stronger possibility. Consequently, there exists stronger possibility that the situation is (or was) going to happen, rather than in the use of the modal verb *may*. In the first example, the speaker has used the subjunctive mood, thus expressing the possibility what could have happened if they had done what was intended to. In the second and the third examples, the modal verb *would* marks a probable event (i.e. a deduction of the speaker). In all mentioned instances, the speakers express their opinions and highlight the degree of likelihood towards the discussed situation. Thus, in the language of argumentation, the modal verb *would* is used to create stronger and more believable argument that is delivered to the audience. The degree of likelihood makes the speech more reasonable to the audience, because, if the speaker had structured the arguments so that they state only strong and unchangeable statements, the argument would have lost its trustworthiness.

3.2. The Function of Persuasion via Modalization

As it has been discussed in the theoretical part of the study, the main emphasis in the persuasive speech is put on a personal, emotional or moral appeal, thus to convince the public's opinion. In the analysed corpus, the persuasive speech is highlighted by the use of the modal verbs *ought to* and *shall*.

In the case of the modal verb *ought to*, the speakers have structured their speeches by taking into consideration particular rights, moral values or overall belief in what the speakers expect or what would like to happen. In other words, to persuade the listeners, the speakers have used the aspects and ideas which are closely connected with the people's emotional state

and the individual believes. As a result, the speaker's attempt is to persuade the public, by mentioning the aspects that are familiar among the listeners and, thus the speaker is able to convince the listeners to accept the stated truth. The modal verb *shall* functions to mark speaker's predictions or prophecies about the future, for example:

1. Resolved, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved (Richard Henry Lee, p.230)

2. The soldiers of the war need no explanations; they can join in commemorating a soldier's death with feeling not different in kind, whether he fell towards them or by their side [...] The Memorial Day ought to have a meaning also for those who do not share our memories (Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr., p.261).

3. It ought to be possible for American students of any colour to attend any public institution they select without having to be backed up by troops. It ought to be possible for American consumers of any colour to receive equal service in places of public accommodation, such as hotels and restaurants [...] it ought to be possible to vote in a free election without interference or fear of reprisal [...](John F. Kennedy, p.278).

In the provided instances, the modal verb *ought to* is used by speakers to convince the listeners about what is believed to be true according to his opinion, i.e. by mentioning certain laws that ought to be equal for all (i.e. as in the first example), also by putting a special attention to the emotional aspects or on the unequal situation that exist in the state (i.e. as in the second and third example). In the selected corpus, the language of persuasion is conveyed only through the modal verb *ought to*. The main reason is that this modal verb is very closely connected with morals and personal expectations.

In the selected utterances, the modal verb *shall* is used to highlight speaker's predictions and prophecies about the future. Thereby, in the language of persuasion, the main emphasis is put on the approach how the modal verb *shall* is used in the context. For instance, in the analysed speeches the modal verb is used to denote the predictions about the future, however the speakers have used it to refer to events that may cause difficulties in the future.

1. I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low. [...] Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together (Martin Luther King, p. 211)

2. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? (Patrick Henry, p.219)

3. Who shall construe this grant of the people? Who shall interpret their will, where it may be supposed they have left it doubtful? [...] But who shall decide this question of interference? (Daniel Webster, p.223)

In the majority of cases the epistemic modal *shall* appear as a part of a rhetorical question. This phenomenon could be considered as a tool for persuasive language, because the speaker expresses a particular predictions about the future by formulating them as questions. Thus, the speaker as if encourages the public to seek the answers to the expressed statement.

3.3. The Function of Manipulation via Modalization

Initially, the manipulation may seem to have a negative connotation; however it is not necessarily true. There exist different types of manipulation: first, the speaker's intention is to impose changes that concern the public's overall opinion, without respecting their tacit agreement in which the participant (s) are engaged in the communication. Second, the speaker's goal is to engage, control, or influence the desires of the public, in order to direct its behaviour toward the set goal, but in the same not violating the other party's values beliefs or values, i.e. through the artful and honest use of control. The language function of manipulation is expressed with the modal verb *should*. However, in the corpus of the study, there is one speech, where the speaker used manipulation in order to convince the public to agree with his controversial opinion. The stated speech is delivered by an American abolitionist John Brown:

1. This court acknowledges, as I suppose, the validity of the law of God. I see a book kissed here which I suppose to be the Bible, or at least the New Testament. That teaches me that all things whatsoever I would that men should do to me, I should do even to them. It teaches me, further, to 'remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them'. [...] I believe that to have interfered as I have done – as I have always freely admitted I have – in behalf of His despised poor was not wrong, but right. Now, it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice [...] – I submit; so let it be done! (John Brown, p. 226)

The speaker has structured the speech very cleverly and has developed slowly his statement. First, he starts his utterance by referring to the subject of religion (i.e. it is already well-known domain, at the same time, it is a sensitive subject), in this way, the speaker constructs the trust among listeners. Afterwards, by using the modal verb *should*, the speaker says that he has a reason to act so, as it is stated in the Bible. In general, the speaker has developed his speech taking into account ideas that are stated in the domain of religion, thus not giving much space for others not to argue with his stated truth. Also, his speech is modified by mental state predicates - I suppose, I believe – where he makes a slight contrast, i.e. as he mentions reference from the Bible, at the same time emphasizes his personal level of certainty.

All in all, the manipulative language is found only in this particular speech expressed by John Brown. He has used manipulative statements, in order to convince artfully that his wrong doings were actually done according to the God's will and thus, he has concluded his defence speech by saying – 'I feel no consciousness of guilt'.

The main reason why the language of manipulation is not commonly found in the public speeches is due to the presented domain, i.e. the area of humanity/liberty/tyranny. Consequently, the context does not allow the speakers to use manipulative methods. Thus, a careful argumentation or persuasion to convince the listener's opinion towards the speaker's truth is more preferable than manipulative statements.

3.4. The Function of Argumentation via Modulation

The study shows that the modal verbs expressing deontic modality prevail. As modulation expresses obligation and inclination, it was important for the speaker to deliver the speech in that way, so it would not sound as a command or prohibition and the listeners would not feel as if being controlled by the authorities. Thus, the following paragraphs discuss how language functions of argumentation, persuasion and manipulation are implemented by the use of deontic modal verbs.

3.4.1. The Use of Modal Verb *shall*

The deontic modal verb *shall* in the analysed utterances is used to express either obligation or strong assertion. In the majority of cases, the modal verb *shall* as obligation or, in certain cases, even as a prohibition (*shall not*) is applied in legal documents, such as treaties, amendments and Constitution of the USA, for instance,

1. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of Ten Years in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty 2. Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one representative; [...] (Constitution of the USA, p.239)

3. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law [...] (an excerpt from the Government of the USA, p.273)

4. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms (an excerpt from General Assembly of the United Nations, p.213).

5. It shall be my work this evening to prove to you that me thus voting, I not only committed no crime, but, instead, simply exercised my citizen's rights, guaranteed to me and all US citizens by the National Constitution, [...] (Susan B. Anthony, p.216)

6. The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by State on account of race, colour, or previous condition of servitude (an excerpt from the Government of the USA, p.297)

The modal verb *shall*, being a part of legal context, determines the rules and regulations. The use of the modal verb *shall* could be seen as a tool that ‘legalizes’ the legal language.

The first and the last example use a negative form *shall not*, that can be seen even as a prohibition, for example, ‘the rights shall not be denied or abridged’, the speaker says that is ‘prohibited’ to limit the rights.

When analysing the language in the legal context, it is difficult to highlight the correlation with argumentative language. The legal context goes hand in hand with frozen register, where language is usually impersonal and is highly formal. As a result, the speaker does not create the message where the main goal is to either persuade or manipulate public’s opinion, but in order to express the rules and regulations as they are. It is important to emphasize that legal context has acquired such usage of the modal verb *shall*, because if, for example, the speaker, while speaking about rules, uses modal verbs such as *may*, *could*, *might*, it already might signal a certain deviation from the stated regulation. It would offer the listeners an idea that they may or may not follow the stated rule. Thus, the use of the modal verb *shall* is important, because it expresses the meaning of obligation.

In the fifth example (see p.41), the modal verb *shall* is used to state an obligation. The modal verb *may* be paraphrased as ‘It is her obligation to...’, In the study of the language functions, the modal verb *shall* could be seen as a signal of the language of persuasion, because the speaker refers to her personal obligation, thus creating a closer bound with the public. However, the corpus of the study provide only one particular example of the speech, where the modal verb *shall* expresses the meaning of the speaker’s personal obligation towards the discussed matter.

In theoretical sources, the deontic modal verb *shall* is also used to express suggestions, e.g. ‘Shall we go to theatre?’ (Downing, et al., 2006). However, the corpus of the study did not contain any examples where the modal verb *shall* would express any suggestion. The main reason for this phenomenon could be that in the case of a suggestion, one party expresses a proposition to another party, thus the listener has to respond – either to accept or decline the proposition. In public speaking it is different: the speech is intended to be one-way communication, thus there is no response expected.

3.4.2. The Use of Deontic modal verb *must*

The modal verb *must* had only a deontic meaning i.e. it expressed a strong obligation in the analysed speeches For example,

1. If we wish to be free – if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending – if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained – we must fight! I repeat it, we must fight! (Patrick Henry, p.219)

2. We believe that women must now exercise their political rights and responsibilities as American citizens. They must refuse to be segregated on the basis of sex into separate-and-not-equal ladies' auxiliaries in the political parties, and they must demand representation according to their numbers in the regularly constituted party committees [...] (an excerpt from National Organization for Women, p.232)

3. To solve the problem, girls, like boys, must be educated to some lucrative employment; women, like men, must have equal chances to earn a living...women, like, men, must not only have 'fair play' in the world of work and self-support, but, like men, must be eligible to all the honours and emoluments of society and government [...] (Susan B. Anthony, p.234)

When expressing an obligation with the use of modal verb *must*, the speakers have structured their utterances very carefully, in order not to sound very imposing. For instance, in the first example, the speaker has developed his argument by the use of the subjunctive mood. Thus, by referring to the future (i.e. what would happen if the public did what was said), the speaker builds a well-structured argument. Thereby, he says, what the society must do, in order to achieve the expressed desires in the final part.

The other stated examples have used the modal verb in a similar manner. However, the main emphasis is put not on the grammatical structure, but on the way how the speaker lists directly the actions which must be carried out in order to fulfil the desired intention.

The speech uttered by the politician Nelson Mandela, has a very interesting structure. Although, his speech is not as lengthy as other examples from the corpus of the study, he manages to establish a tension in it. First, he uses the modal verb *would* to express the possibility in future: 'To relax our efforts now would be a mistake which generations to come will not be able to forgive'. Afterwards, he uses the modal verb *should* that marks the speaker's reasonable inference that is based on his deduction: 'The sight of freedom looming on the horizon should encourage us to redouble our efforts'. By applying the epistemic modal verb *should*, Mandela uses a higher level of probability in comparison to the modal verb *would*. Finally, he uses the deontic modal verb *must* in the final passage of the speech, thus shifting to the other modality: 'Our march towards freedom is irreversible. We must not now

allow fear to stand in our way'. (Nelson Mandela, p.293). This particular utterance is a very good example to show the approach, how speaker has developed the speech carefully shifting modalities, thus, to build a strong and convincing argument.

Overall, the deontic modal *must*, is used almost in every speech (see Appendix: 53). Although the modal verb expresses a strong obligation, the speakers have used it cautiously. The statements are structured so they would not sound like commands and people would agree to the expressed statements.

3.5. The Function of Persuasion via modulation

3.5.1. The Use of Deontic modal verb *should*

The deontic modal verb *should* is used to express a medium level of obligation. The speaker tries to convince the listeners' by applying a medium degree of obligation to the speech. Thus, in the language of persuasion, the modal verb *should* is used to create the speech more appealing to the public; however, at the same time, the speaker expresses a medium degree of obligation. For instance,

1. It is believed to be an essential part of any plan for Indian civilization that, with the rudiments of education, the males should be taught the arts of husbandry, and the females to perform those domestic duties which peculiarly belong to their stations in civilized life (a report from Congressional Committee on Indian Affairs, p.252)

2. In addition, if anyone has access to the author of the book but does not possess the power to execute him, he should point him out to the people so that he may be punished for his actions (Nelson Mandela, p.236)

3. Whereas divers Persons are holden in Slavery within divers of His Majesty's Colonies, and it is just and expedient that all such Persons should be manumitted and set free, and that a reasonable Compensation should be made to the Persons hitherto entitled to the Services of such Slaves for the Loss which they will incur by being deprived of their Right to such Services [...] (an excerpt from the British Parliament, p.237).

4. We consider that whatever class tries to obstruct the labourer in the possession of those fair and just rights to which he is entitled, that class should be put down, and coerced if you will, into doing justice to the labourer... (Charles Stewart Partnell)

To build a persuasive speech, the speakers have used the deontic modal verb *should* to express a medium level of obligation. Thereby, the speaker has stated that there may be a possibility that the obligation may not be fulfilled. Thus, the speaker ascertains that listeners are informed about the aspect that the stated idea should be realized, however there exist possibilities that could limit their realization. In the persuasive language, it is important not to express 'unrealistic' obligations. In the case when the speaker states an obligation which, according to his statement, will be fulfilled, but, at the end, is not accomplished, the public

may doubt the speaker's commitment to the expressed statement. Nevertheless, if the speech contains the modal verb *should*, it allows the speaker a certain deviation from the expressed statement.

3.4.2. The Use of Deontic modal verbs *will* and *may*

In the case of deontic modality, the modal verb *will* expresses a function of willingness and promises. For instance:

1. Is it that insidious smile with which our petition has been lately received? Trust it not, it will prove a snare to your feet. (Patrick Henry, p.218)

2. Archimedes said, 'Give to me a fulcrum on which to plant my lever, and I will move the world.' And I say, give to woman the ballot, the political fulcrum, on which to plant her moral lever, and she will lift the world into a nobler purer atmosphere (Susan B. Anthony, p.235)

3. We believe that women will do most to create a new image of women by acting now, and by speaking out in behalf of their own equality, freedom, and human dignity [...] By doing so, women will develop confidence in their own ability to determine actively, in partnership with men, the conditions of their life [...] (an excerpt from National Organization for Women, p.232)

4. America is false to the past, false to the present, and solemnly binds herself to be false to the future. Standing with God and the crushed and bleeding slave on this occasion, I will, in the name of humanity which is outraged, in the name of liberty which is fettered [...] dare to call in question and to denounce everything that serves to perpetuate slavery - the great sin and shame of America! (Frederick Douglass, p. 275)

In the first, the second and the fourth examples, the modal verb *will* is used to express a promise of something (i.e. according to the speaker) will be happening in the future. This modal verb is referred to the language function of persuasion, because it expresses the speaker's individual promise to the listeners. The language function of persuasion involves the expression of emotions, because, if the speaker has established an emotional link with the public, it is easier for the speaker to present his ideas. The deontic modal verb *will* when expressing promise to the listeners, requires an emotional attachment from the speaker's side, as to create stronger connection with the public. As a result, he promises intentionally or unintentionally to fulfil the stated promise.

In the third example, the modal verb *will* expresses willingness of the speaker or other person to do something. As the stated example is taken from the Amendment of National Organization for Women, it deals with the rights to women. Thereby it uses the modal verb to draw attention to the ideas and aspects women desire and wish. From the perspective of the language function of persuasion, the modal verb *will* expresses the function of willingness,

thus it is used in the same way as stating the promise. As a result, the speaker creates an emotional bond with the public by using it,

The deontic modal verb *may* is used to express a formal permission. This modal verb having a deontic meaning is found only in few speeches, for example:

1. If the government of the United States be the agent of the state governments, then they may control it, provided by they can agree in the manner of controlling it [...] (Daniel Webster, p.222)

2. If this law is declared legal, it would totally annihilate the privilege. Then custom house office may enter our houses when they please and we are commanded to permit their entry. Their menial servants may enter, may break locks, bars and everything in their way [...]. (James Otis, p.254)

3. If I do forget, if I do not faithfully remember those bleeding children of sorrow this day, may my right hand forget her cunning, and may my tongue cleave to the root of my mouth! (Frederick Douglass, p.274)

In the first two instances, the deontic modal verb *may* literally give a permission to do something i.e. the control of the state goes in the hands of the government and the menial servants have the permission to break locks and bars.

3.6. The Function of Manipulation via Modulation

While analysing the deontic modals verbs and their role in the language of manipulation, there are no instances found where the speaker would use deontic modality in order to formulate manipulative statements. The main reason for this phenomenon could be that it is difficult to formulate manipulative statements by applying deontic modality. For speaker it is important to reassure that there would not be any doubts that they are being manipulated with. Consequently, the deontic modality comprises the proposal of obligation and inclination and together with the speaker's intention to express manipulative statement, it would definitely reach opposite effect i.e. it would seem that the speaker's general intention is to manipulate with public's opinion.

The corpus of the study may have other strategies that are applied by the speakers to structure their speeches, as a result the deontic modal verbs expressing the language functions of manipulation are not used in many cases.

The author of the paper believes that the language of manipulation is not relevant to the particular context, as the speeches represent that area of liberty. As the speeches are delivered mainly to encourage people, it would not be relevant by the speaker to express manipulative statements, in order to carry out their intentions.

CONCLUSIONS

The empirical analysis of the study has revealed that the language functions of argumentation, persuasion and manipulation are realized through the use of different modal verbs which represent both types of modalities – epistemic and deontic modalities.

In the process of the research, certain modal verbs are used to express both types of modalities. However in each modality the verbs serve different functions, because the epistemic modality expresses probability, but deontic modality – obligation.

Modalization that expresses speaker's assessment of probability, is presented by the modal verbs – *may, might, will, would, should, shall* and *ought to*.

The function of argumentation is realized through the use of the modal verbs *may, might, will* and *would*. The modal verbs *may* and *might* are used to express particular level of probability. The main difference between two modal verbs lies in the level of possibility they state. The modal verb *might* expresses neutral possibility, but the modal verb *may* expresses weak possibility. Although, these modal verbs express possibility, the speakers have used them carefully, first, by referring to actions, which are already in progress, and afterwards, using the modal verbs *may* and *might* to state that there is no a hundred percent certainty that the action will happen. Thus, the attention from the listeners is already attracted by the actions, mentioned at the beginning of the speech. Consequently, people do not pay so much attention to the expressed possibilities that are stated afterwards.

The epistemic modal verb *will* is used to express only future actions. Thus, it is considered to be more like expression of time rather than modal verb. However, the epistemic modal verb *would* is used to express a future possibility; thus the speakers have stated their opinions towards the situation and marked the degree of likelihood.

The language function of persuasion is implemented via modal verbs *ought to* and *shall*. These two modal verbs are related to the language of persuasion, because the speakers have structured their speeches by taking into consideration particular aspects of rights and moral values, thus they state that e.g. 'they ought to do it, because they all believe it is the best for them'. The modal verb *shall* functions as a marker where speakers express predictions or prophecies concerning the future time.

In the case of the manipulative language, only the epistemic modal verb *should* is applied to achieve a manipulative effect.

The modulation is realized through the modal verbs – *must, shall, should, will* and *may*.

Through the deontic modal verbs *shall* and *must*, the speakers have structured mainly the argumentative speech. The deontic modal verb *shall* is used to express either an obligation or a strong assertion. The study results showed that the modal verb *shall* is used in legal

context in the majority of cases i.e. in amendments, constitutions and alike. In other instances the modal verb *shall* has appeared as personal obligation stated by the speaker himself.

The modal *must* is used to express a strong obligation that is mentioned in legal documents. Although, the modal verb *must* includes an obligation, the speakers have used it carefully, in order not to sound very imposing towards the public.

The language function of persuasion in the case of modulation, is expressed by modal verbs *should*, *will* and *may*. The modal verb *should* is more listener-friendly, because it creates the speech more appealing to the public, but, at the same time, it expresses a medium level of modality.

The modal verb *will* is used to express a promise that is going to take place in the future. It is related to the language of persuasion, because it expresses the speaker's individual promise to the listeners, thus the speaker appears to be reliable to the listeners

The modal verb *may* appears only in few cases, where it expresses permission to do something, thus the modal verb directly is connected with the language of persuasion, as it actually expresses it.

The language function of manipulation is not expressed through the deontic modal verbs. The main reason for this phenomenon could be that the deontic modality is expressed by obligation and together with manipulative statements; the speeches would sound too imposing to the people.

THESIS

1. The language functions of argumentation, persuasion and manipulation are carried out by means of the modal verbs expressing two types of modalities i.e. the epistemic and deontic modalities.
2. The epistemic modality is presented by the modal verbs *might*, *would* and *ought to*, but the deontic modality is realized through the modal verb *must*.
3. The modal verbs *shall*, *should*, *will* and *may* are used to present both types of modalities, as the modal verbs express modalization or modulation.
4. The language function of argumentation via modalization is expressed through the modal verbs *may* and *might*, where both modal verbs mark a certain degree of probability, thus the expressed statements by the speaker do not include a strong conviction in speech.
5. The argumentation is also structured by using the modal verb *would* that refers to the future time, thus the speakers formulate the statements, by saying that something ‘is likely to happen’, at the same time, the stated arguments encourage the listeners.
6. The language function of persuasion is realized through the modal verbs *should* and *ought to*, where the speakers apply persuasive approach to the listeners by structuring the speech, expressing the aspects and ideas taken either from well-known domains, e.g. religion or from globally accepted values or believes e.g. the right to freedom.
7. The language function of manipulation is presented only by the epistemic modal *should*, as it the speaker has structured the manipulative statements where he has supported his imposed ideas by referring to themes and aspects that do not allow the expression of opposed statements.
8. The deontic modal verbs *shall* and *must* are used to express the language function of argumentation, where the speakers have structured the arguments, so they would not sound as strictly imposed commands of prohibitions.
9. The language function of persuasion through modulation is expressed by the modal verbs *should*, *will* and *may*, where the modal verb *should* states a medium degree of obligation that is considered to be more persuasive when addressed to the public.
10. The deontic modal *will* is used to express the speaker’s individual willingness to accomplish particular actions, thus the listeners perceive the speaker as a person, who is engaged in the realization of the expressed statements.
11. The language function of manipulation via modulation is not a relevant strategy in the discussed speeches, as the manipulative methods are discourse oriented and the corpus of the study comprises speeches of the area of liberty, where manipulation is not appropriate way to express the speaker’s ideas.

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APPENDIX

THE EXCERPTS FROM THE ANALYSED SPEECHES

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal.'

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification; one day right there in Alabama, little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.

I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.

This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the South with. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with a new meaning, 'My country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrim's pride, from every mountainside, let freedom ring.'

And if America is to be a great nation this must become true. So let freedom ring from the prodigious

p.211
(Martin Luther King Jr)

To them this government has no just powers derived from the consent of the governed. To them this government is not a democracy. It is not a republic. It is an odious aristocracy; a hateful oligarchy of sex; the most hateful aristocracy ever established on the face of the globe; an oligarchy of wealth, where the rich govern the poor. An oligarchy of learning, where the educated govern the ignorant, or even an oligarchy of race, where the Saxon rules the African, might be endured; but this oligarchy of sex, which makes father, brothers, husband, sons, the oligarchs over the mother and sisters, the wife and daughters, of every household – which ordains all men sovereigns, all women subjects, carries dissension, discord, and rebellion into every home of the nation.

Webster, Worcester, and Bouvier all define a citizen to be a person in the United States, entitled to vote and hold office.

The only question left to be settled now is: Are women persons? And I hardly believe any of our opponents will have the hardihood to say they are not. Being persons, then, women are citizens; and no state has a right to make any law, or to enforce any old law, that shall abridge their privileges or immunities. Hence, every discrimination against women in the constitutions and laws of the several states is today null and void, precisely as is every one against Negroes.

p.217
(Susan B. Anthony)

We must indeed all hang together, or, most assuredly, we shall all hang separately.

P217 (Benjamin Franklin)

ARTICLE 1.

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

p.213 (General Assemble of the United Nations)

ARTICLE 2.

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

ARTICLE 3.

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

ARTICLE 4.

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

ARTICLE 5.

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

ARTICLE 7.

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

ARTICLE 9.

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Fellow people in this here world: I stand before you tonight under indictment for the alleged crime of having voted at the last presidential election, without having a lawful right to vote. It shall be my work this evening to prove to you that me thus voting, I not only committed no crime, but, instead, simply exercised my citizen's rights, guaranteed to me and all United States citizens by the National Constitution, beyond the power of any state to deny.

p.216 (Susan B. Anthony)

The preamble of the Federal Constitution says:

'We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.'

It was we, the people; not we, the white male citizens; nor yet we, the male citizens; but we, the whole people, who formed the Union. And we formed it, not to give the blessings of liberty, but to secure them; not to the half of ourselves and the half of our posterity, but to the whole people – women as well as men. And it is downright bad to talk to women of their enjoyment of the blessings of liberty while they are denied the use of the only means of securing them provided by this democratic-republican government – the ballot.

For any state to make sex a qualification that must ever result in the disfranchisement of one entire half of the people, is to pass a bill of attainder, or, an *ex post facto* law, and is therefore a violation of the supreme law of the land. By it the blessings of liberty are forever withheld from women and their female posterity.

No man thinks more highly than I do of the patriotism, as well as abilities, of the very worthy gentlemen who have just addressed the House. But different men often see the same subject in different lights; and, therefore, I hope it will not be thought disrespectful to those gentlemen if, entertaining as I do opinions of a character very opposite to theirs, I shall speak forth my sentiments freely and without reserve. This is no time for ceremony. The question before the House is one of awful moment to this country. For my own part, I consider it as nothing less than a question of freedom or slavery; and in proportion to the magnitude of the subject ought to be the freedom of the debate. It is only in this way that we can hope to arrive at truth, and fulfill the great responsibility which we hold to God and our country. Should I keep back my opinions at such a time, through fear of giving offense, I should consider myself as guilty of treason towards my country, and of an act of disloyalty toward the Majesty of Heaven, which I revere above all earthly kings . . .

I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past. And judging by the past, I wish to know what there has been in the conduct of the British ministry for the last ten years to justify those hopes with which gentlemen have been pleased to solace themselves and the House. Is it that insidious smile with which our petition has been lately received? Trust it not, sir; it will prove a snare to your feet. Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed with a kiss. Ask yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with those warlike preparations which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled that force must be called in to win back our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, sir. These are the implements of war and subjugation; the last arguments to which kings resort. I ask gentlemen, sir, what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Can gentlemen assign any other possible motive for it? Has Great Britain any enemy, in this quarter of the world, to call for all this accumulation of navies and armies? No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us: they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and

rivet upon us those chains which the British ministry have been so long forging . . . If we wish to be free – if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending – if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained – we must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of hosts is all that is left us!

They tell us, sir, that we are weak; unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot? Sir, we are not weak if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. The millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave . . . There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable – and let it come! I repeat it, sir, let it come.

It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry, Peace, Peace – but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death! ■

p.219 (Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr)

But it is said . . . it [the right to freedom of speech] is protected by the First Amendment to the Constitution. Two of the strongest expressions are said to be quoted respectively from well-known public men. It well may be that the prohibition of laws abridging the freedom of speech is not confined to previous restraints, although to prevent them may have been the main purpose . . . We admit that, in many places and in ordinary times, the defendants, in saying all that was said in the circular, would have been within their constitutional rights. But the character of every act depends upon the circumstances in which it is done. The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theatre and causing a panic. It does not even protect a man from an injunction against uttering words that may have all the effect of force . . . The question in every case is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent. It is a question of proximity and degree. When a nation is at war, many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its effort that their utterance will not be endured so long as men fight, and that no Court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right. It seems to be admitted that, if an actual obstruction of the recruiting service were proved, liability for words that produced that effect might be enforced. The statute of 1917, in # 4, punishes conspiracies to obstruct, as well as actual obstruction. If the act (speaking, or circulating a paper), its tendency, and the intent with which it is done are the same, we perceive no ground for saying that success alone warrants making the act a crime . . . Indeed, that case might be said to dispose of the present contention if the precedent covers all media concludendi. But, as the right to free speech was not referred to specially, we have thought fit to add a few words.

p.220 (Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr)

It was not argued that a conspiracy to obstruct the draft was not within the words of the Act of 1917. The words are 'obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service', and it might be suggested that they refer only to making it hard to get volunteers. Recruiting heretofore usually having been accomplished by getting volunteers, the word is apt to call up that method only in our minds. But recruiting is gaining fresh supplies for the forces, as well by draft as otherwise. It is put as an alternative to enlistment or voluntary enrollment in this act. The fact that the Act of 1917 was enlarged by the amending Act of May 16, 1918, of course, does not affect the present indictment, and would not even if the former act had been repealed.]

It gives me pleasure to announce to Congress that the benevolent policy of the Government, steadily pursued for nearly 30 years, in relation to the removal of the Indians beyond the white settlements is approaching a happy consummation. Two important tribes have accepted the provision made for their removal at the last session of Congress, and it is believed that their example will induce the remaining tribes also to seek the same obvious advantages.

p. 224 (Andrew Jackson)

The consequences of a speedy removal will be important to the United States, to individual States, and to the Indians themselves. The pecuniary advantages which it promises to the government are the least of its recommendations. It puts an end to all possible danger of collision between the authorities of the general and State governments, on account of the Indians. It will place a dense and civilized population in large tracts of country now occupied by a few savage hunters. By opening the whole territory between Tennessee on the north, and Louisiana on the south, to the settlements of the whites, it will incalculably strengthen the southwestern frontier, and render the adjacent States strong enough to repel future invasion without remote aid. It will relieve the whole State of Mississippi, and the western part of Alabama, of Indian occupancy and enable those States to advance rapidly in population, wealth, and power. It will separate the Indians from immediate contact with settlements of whites; free them from the power of the States; enable to pursue happiness in their own way and under their own rude institutions; will retard the progress of decay, which is lessening their numbers, and perhaps cause them gradually, under the protection of the government, and through the influence of good counsels, to cast off their savage habits and become an interesting, civilized, and Christian community. These consequences, some of them so certain, and the rest so probably, make the complete execution of the plan sanctioned by Congress at their last session an object of much solicitude.]

Does this House think that it is right that men in a state of pure barbarism should have the franchise and the vote? . . . Treat the natives as a subject people . . . the native is to be treated as a child and denied the franchise . . . We must adopt a system of despotism such as works so well in India, in our relations with the barbarians of South Africa.]

p.229 (Cecil Rhodes)

or present, – every thing, general or local, whether belonging to national politics or party politics, – seems to have attracted more or less of the honorable member's attention, save only the resolution before the Senate. He has spoken of every thing but the public lands; they have escaped his notice. To that subject, in all his excursions, he has not paid even the cold respect of a passing glance . . .

There yet remains to be performed, Mr President, by far the most grave and important duty, which I feel to be devolved on me by this occasion. It is to state, and to defend, what I conceive to be the true principles of the Constitution under which we are here assembled. I might well have desired that so weighty a task should have fallen into other and abler hands. I could have wished that it should have been executed by those whose character and experience give weight and influence to their opinions, such as cannot possibly belong to mine. But, Sir, I have met the occasion, not sought it; and I shall proceed to state my own sentiments, without challenging for them any particular regard, with studied plainness, and as much precision as possible . . .

. . . This leads us to inquire into the origin of this government and the source of its power. Whose agent is it? Is it the creature of the State legislatures, or the creature of the people? If the government of the United States be the agent of the State governments, then they may control it, provided they can agree in the manner of controlling it; if it be the agent of the people, then the people alone can control it, restrain it, modify, or reform it. It is observable enough, that the doctrine for which the honorable gentleman contends leads him to the necessity of maintaining, not only that this general government is the creature of the States, but that it is the creature of each of the States severally, so that each may assert the power for itself of determining whether it acts within the limits of its authority. It is the servant of four-and-twenty masters, of different will and different purposes and yet bound to obey all. This absurdity (for it seems no less) arises from a misconception as to the origin of this government and its true character. It is, Sir, the people's Constitution, the people's government, made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people. The people of the United States have declared that the Constitution shall be the supreme law. We must either admit the proposition, or dispute their authority. The States are, unquestionably, sovereign, so far as their sovereignty is not affected by this supreme law. But the State legislatures, as political bodies, however sovereign, are yet not sovereign over the people. So far as the people have given the power to the general government, so far the grant is unquestionably good, and the government holds of the people, and not of the State governments. We are all agents of the same supreme power, the people . . .

I must now beg to ask, Sir, whence is this supposed right of the States derived? Where do they find the power to interfere with the laws of the Union? Sir the opinion which the honorable gentleman maintains is a notion founded in a total misapprehension, in my judgment, of the origin of this government, and of the foundation on which it stands. I hold it to be a popular government, erected by the people; those who administer it, responsible to the people; and itself capable of being amended and modified, just as the people may choose it should be. It is as popular, just as truly emanating from the people, as the State governments. It is created for one purpose; the State governments for another. It has its own powers; they have theirs. There is no more authority with them to arrest the operation of a law of Congress, than with Congress to arrest the operation of their laws. We are here to administer a Constitution emanating immediately from the people, and trusted by them to our administration. It is not the creature of the State governments . . .

The people, then, Sir, erected this government. They gave it a Constitution, and in that Constitution they have enumerated the powers which they bestow on it. They have made it a limited government. They have defined its authority. They have restrained it to the exercise of such powers as are granted; and all others, they declare, are reserved to the States or the people. But, Sir, they have not stopped here. If they had, they would have accomplished but half their work. No definition

can be so clear, as to avoid possibility of doubt; no limitation so precise, as to exclude all uncertainty. Who, then, shall construe this grant of the people? Who shall interpret their will, where it may be supposed they have left it doubtful? With whom do they repose this ultimate right of deciding on the powers of government? Sir, they have settled all this in the fullest manner. They have left it with the government itself, in its appropriate branches. Sir, the very chief end, the main design, for which the whole Constitution was framed and adopted, was to establish a government that should not be obliged to act through State agency, or depend on State opinion and State discretion. The people had had quite enough of that kind of government under the Confederation. Under that system, the legal action, the application of law to individuals, belonged exclusively to the States. Congress could only recommend; their acts were not of binding force, till the States had adopted and sanctioned them. Are we in that condition still? Are we yet at the mercy of State discretion and State construction? Sir, if we are, then vain will be our attempt to maintain the Constitution under which we sit.

This, Sir, was the first great step. By this the supremacy of the Constitution and laws of the United States is declared. The people so will it. No State law is to be valid which comes in conflict with the Constitution, or any law of the United States passed in pursuance of it. But who shall decide this question of interference? To whom lies the last appeal? This, Sir, the Constitution itself decides also, by declaring, "That the judicial power shall extend to all cases arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States." These two provisions cover the whole ground. They are, in truth, the keystone of the arch! With these it is a government; without them it is a confederation. In pursuance of these clear and express provisions, Congress established, at its very first session, in the judicial act, a mode for carrying them into full effect, and for bringing all questions of constitutional power to the final decision of the Supreme Court. It then, Sir, became a government. It then had the means of self-protection; and but for this, it would, in all probability, have been now among things which are past. Having constituted the government, and declared its powers, the people have further said that, since somebody must decide on the extent of these powers, the government shall itself decide; subject always, like other popular governments, to its responsibility to the people . . .

p. 222 (Daniel Webster)

I have, may it please the court, a few words to say. In the first place, I deny everything but what I have all along admitted – the design on my part to free the slaves. I intended certainly to have made a clean thing of that matter, as I did last winter when I went into Missouri and there took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moved them through the country, and finally left them in Canada. I designed to have done the same thing again on a larger scale. That was all I intended. I never did intend murder, or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection.

p. 226 (John Brown)

I have another objection; and that is, it is unjust that I should suffer such a penalty. Had I interfered in the manner which I admit, and which I admit has been fairly proved (for I admire the truthfulness and candor of the greater portion of the witnesses who have testified in this case) – had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends – either father, mother, brother, sister, wife, or children, or any of that class – and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right; and every man in this court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation. ¶

This court acknowledges, as I suppose, the validity of the law of God. I see a book kissed here which I suppose to be the Bible, or at least the New Testament. That teaches me that all things whatsoever I would that men should do to me, I should do even so to them. It teaches me, further, to 'remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them'. I endeavored to act up to that instruction. I say I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done – as I have always freely admitted I have done – in behalf of His despised poor was not wrong, but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments – I submit; so let it be done!

p. 229 (Government of the USA)

Let me say one word further.

Resolved, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.

That it is expedient forthwith to take the most effectual measures for forming foreign Alliances.

That a plan of confederation be prepared and transmitted to the respective colonies for their consideration and approbation. ¶

p.231
(Richard
Henry Lee)

women who have chosen to care for their children nurseries.

WE BELIEVE that it is as essential for every girl to be educated to her full potential of human ability as it is for every boy – with the knowledge that such education is the key to effective participation in today's economy and that, for a girl as for a boy, education can only be serious where there is expectation that it will be used in society . . . Moreover, we consider the decline in the proportion of women receiving higher and professional education to be evidence of discrimination. This discrimination may take the form of quotas against the admission of women to colleges and professional schools; lack of encouragement by parents, counselors and educators; denial of loans or fellowships; or the traditional or arbitrary procedures in graduate and professional training geared in terms of men, which inadvertently discriminate against women. We believe that the same serious attention must be given to high school dropouts who are girls as to boys . . .

p.232 (National
Organization for
Women)

WE BELIEVE that women must now exercise their political rights and responsibilities as American citizens. They must refuse to be segregated on the basis of sex into separate-and-not-equal ladies' auxiliaries in the political parties, and they must demand representation according to their numbers in the regularly constituted party committees – at local, state, and national levels – and in the informal power structure, participating fully in the selection of candidates and political decision-making, and running for office themselves . . .

WE BELIEVE THAT women will do most to create a new image of women by acting now, and by speaking out in behalf of their own equality, freedom, and human dignity – not in pleas for special privilege, nor in enmity toward men, who are also victims of the current, half-equality between the sexes – but in an active, self-respecting partnership with men. By so doing, women will develop confidence in their own ability to determine actively, in partnership with men, the conditions of their life, their choices, their future and their society. ¶

WHEREAS divers Persons are holden in Slavery within divers of His Majesty's Colonies, and it is just and expedient that all such Persons should be manumitted and set free, and that a reasonable Compensation should be made to the Persons hitherto entitled to the Services of such Slaves for the Loss which they will incur by being deprived of their Right to such Services: And whereas it is also

expedient that Provision should be made for promoting the Industry and securing the good Conduct of the Persons so to be manumitted, for a limited Period after such their Manumission: And whereas it is necessary that the Laws now in force in the said several Colonies should forthwith be adapted to the new State and Relations of Society therein which will follow upon such general Manumission as aforesaid of the said Slaves; and that, in order to afford the necessary Time for such Adaptation of the said Laws, a short Interval should elapse before such Manumission should take effect;

I. Be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That from and after the first Day of August One thousand eight hundred and thirty-four all Persons who in conformity with the Laws now in force in the said Colonies respectively shall on or before the first Day of August One thousand eight hundred and thirty-four have been duly registered as Slaves in any such Colony, and who on the said first Day of August One thousand eight hundred and thirty-four shall be actually within any such Colony, and who shall by such Registries appear to be on the said first Day of August One thousand eight hundred and thirty-four of the full Age of Six Years or upwards, shall by force and virtue of this Act, and without the previous Execution of any Indenture of Apprenticeship, or other Deed or Instrument for that Purpose, become and be apprenticed Labourers; provided that, for the Purposes aforesaid, every Slave engaged in his ordinary Occupation on the Seas shall be deemed and taken to be within the Colony to which such Slave shall belong.

p. 238
(British
Parliament)

Clearly, then, the first step towards solving this problem is to this vast army of poverty-stricken women who now crowd our cities, above the temptation, the necessity, to sell themselves, in marriage or out, for bread and shelter. To do that, girls, like boys, must be educated to some lucrative employment: women, like men, must have equal chances to earn a living . . . Women, like men, must not only have 'fair play' in the world of work and self-support, but, like men, must be eligible to all the honors and emoluments of society and government. Marriage, to women as to men, must be a luxury, not a necessity; an incident of life, not all of it. And the only possible way to accomplish this great change is to accord to women equal power in the making, shaping and controlling of the circumstances of life . . .

p. 234 (Susan
B. Anthony)

So long as the wife is held innocent in continuing to live with a libertine, and every girl whom he inveigles and betrays becomes an outcast whom no other wife will tolerate in her house, there is, there can be, no hope of solving the problem of prostitution. As long experience has shown, these poor, homeless girls of the world can not be relied on, as a police force, to hold all husbands true to their marriage vows. Here and there, they will fail and, where they do, wives must make not the girl alone, but their husbands also suffer for their infidelity, as husbands never fail to do when their wives weakly or wickedly yield to the blandishments of other men.

Would it not be a practical work . . . to make it possible for every mother to support her children? That is my and my work; while yours is simply to pick up the poor children, leaving every girl-child to the mother's heritage of helpless poverty and vice. My aim is to change the condition of women to self-help; yours, simply to ameliorate the ills that must inevitably grow out of dependence. My work is to lessen the numbers of the poor; yours, merely to lessen the sufferings of their tenfold increase.

p. 235
(Susan B.
Anthony)

I am full and firm in the revelation that it is through woman that the race is to be redeemed. And it is because of this faith that I ask for her immediate and unconditional emancipation from all political, industrial, social, and religious subjection.

As the fountain can rise no higher than the spring that feeds it, so a legislative body will enact or enforce no law above the average sentiment of the people who created it. Any and every reform work is sure to lead women to the ballot-box. It is idle for them to hope to battle successfully against the monster evils of society until they shall be armed with weapons equal to those of the enemy - votes and money. Archimedes said, 'Give to me a fulcrum on which to plant my lever, and I will move the world.' And I say, give to woman the ballot, the political fulcrum, on which to plant her moral lever, and she will lift the In the name of God the Almighty. We belong to God and to Him we shall return. I would like to inform all intrepid Muslims in the world that the author of the book *Satanic Verses*, which has been compiled, printed, and published in opposition to Islam, the Prophet, and the Qur'an, and those publishers who were aware of its contents, are sentenced to death. I call on all zealous Muslims to execute them quickly, where they find them, so that no one will dare to insult the Islamic sanctity. Whoever is killed on this path will be regarded as a martyr, God-willing. In addition, if anyone has access to the author of the book but does not possess the power to execute him, he should point him out to the people so that he may be punished for his actions. May God's blessing be on you all.

p. 236 (Ayatollah Ruhollah
Khomeini)

ARTICLE I, SECTION 2, CLAUSE 3

The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

SECTION 7

All bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

p. 239
(Constitution of the USA)

... In those places where this meagre peace we have has been violated which is our duty? To liberate ourselves at any price ... We must carry the war into every corner the enemy happens to carry it: to his home, to his centers of entertainment; a total war ... Let us sum up our hopes for victory: total destruction of imperialism by eliminating its firmest bulwark: the oppression exercised by the United States of America ... How close we could look into a bright future should two, three or many Vietnams flourish throughout the world with their share of deaths and their immense tragedies, their everyday heroism and their repeated blows against imperialism, impelled to disperse its forces under the sudden attack and the increasing hatred of all peoples of the world!

p. 242 ((Ernesto) Che Guevara)

The agenda is open and the overall aims to which we are aspiring should be acceptable to all reasonable South Africans.

Among other things, those aims include a new, democratic constitution; universal franchise; no domination; equality before an independent judiciary; the protection of minorities as well as of individual rights; freedom of religion ... dynamic programmes directed at better education, health services, housing and social conditions for all.

In this connection Mr Nelson Mandela could play an important part. The Government has noted that he has declared himself to be willing to make a constructive contribution to the peaceful political process in South Africa.

I wish to put it plainly that the Government has taken a firm decision to release Mr Mandela unconditionally ...

p.243 (F.W. de Klerk)

p.243 (Jan Christiaan Smuts)

Instead of mixing up black and white in the old haphazard way, which, instead of lifting up the black, degraded the white, we are now trying to lay down a policy of keeping them apart as much as possible in our institutions. In land ownership, settlement and forms of government we are trying to keep them apart, and in that way laying down in outline a general policy which it may take a hundred years to work out, but which in the end may be the solution of our Native problem.

At the election in 1880 I laid certain principles before you and you accepted them. I said and I pledged myself, that I should form one of an independent Irish party to act in opposition to every English government which refused to concede the just rights of Ireland. And the longer time which is gone by since then, the more I am convinced that that is the true policy to pursue so far as parliamentary policy is concerned, and that it will be impossible for either or both of the English parties to contend for any long time against a determined band

p. 244 (Charles Stewart Parnell)

We shall struggle, as we have been struggling, for the great and important interests of the Irish tenant farmer. We shall ask that his industry shall not be fettered by rent. We shall ask also from the farmer in return that he shall do what in him lies to encourage the struggling manufactures of Ireland, and that he shall not think it too great a sacrifice to be called upon when he wants anything, when he has to purchase anything, to consider how he may get it of Irish material and manufacture, even supposing he has to pay a little more for it. I am sorry if the agricultural population has shown itself somewhat deficient in its sense of duty in this respect up to the present time, but I feel convinced that the matter has only to be put before them to secure the opening up of most important markets in this country for those manufactures which have always existed, and for those which have been reopened anew, as a consequence of the recent exhibitions, the great exhibition in Dublin and the other equally great one in Cork, which have been recently held.

p. 245 (ibid.)

We shall also endeavour to secure for the labourer some recognition and some right in the land of his country. We don't care whether it be the prejudices of the farmer or of the landlord that stands in his way. We consider that whatever class tries to obstruct the labourer in the possession of those fair and just rights to which he is entitled, that class should be put down, and coerced if you will, into doing justice to the labourer . . .

Well, but gentlemen, I go back from the consideration of these questions to the land question, in which the labourers' question is also involved and the manufacturers' question. I come back – and every Irish politician must be forcibly driven back – to the consideration of the great question of national self-government for Ireland. I do not know how this great question will be eventually settled. I do not know whether England will be wise in time and concede to constitutional arguments and methods the restitution of that which was stolen from us towards the close of the last century. It is given to none of us to forecast the future, and just as it is impossible for us to say in what way or by what means the national question may be settled, in what way full justice may be done to Ireland, so it is impossible for us to say to what extent that justice should be done. We cannot ask for less than restitution of Grattan's Parliament. But no man has the right to fix the boundary to the march of a nation. No man has a right to say to his country: 'Thus far shalt thou go, and no further'; and we have never attempted to fix the *ne plus ultra* to the progress of Ireland's nationhood, and we never shall.

But gentlemen, while we leave those things to time, circumstances, and the future, we must each one of us resolve in our own hearts that we shall at all times do everything which within us lies to obtain for Ireland the fullest measure of her rights. In this way we shall avoid difficulties and contentions amongst each other. In this way we shall not give up anything which the future may put in favour of our country, and while we struggle today for that which may seem possible for us with our combination, we must struggle for it with the proud consciousness, and that we shall not do anything to hinder or prevent better men who may come after us from gaining better things than those for which we now contend.]

The whole argument will not govern human beings without their consent.

They have said to us government rests upon force, the women haven't force so they must submit. Well, we are showing them that government does not rest upon force at all: it rests upon consent. As long as women consent to be unjustly governed, they can be, but directly women say: 'We withhold our consent, we will not be governed any longer so long as that government is unjust.' Not by the forces of civil war can you govern the very weakest woman. You can kill that woman, but she escapes you then; you cannot govern her. And that is, I think, a valuable demonstration . . .

Now, I want to say to you who think women cannot succeed, we have brought the government of England to this position, that it has to face this alternative: either women are to be killed or women are to have the vote. I ask American men in this meeting, what would you say if in your state you were faced with that alternative, that you must either kill them or give them their citizenship – women, many of whom you respect, women whom you know have lived useful lives, women whom you know, even if you do not know them personally, are animated with the highest motives, women who are in pursuit of liberty and the power to do useful public service? Well, there is only one answer to that alternative; there is only one way out of it, unless you are prepared to put back civilisation two or three generations: you must give those women the vote. Now that is the outcome of our civil war.

You won your freedom in America when you had the revolution, by bloodshed, by sacrificing human life. You won the civil war by the sacrifice of human life when you decided to emancipate the negro. You have left it to women in your land, the men of all civilised countries have left it to women, to work out their own salvation. That is the way in which we women of England are doing it. Human life for us is sacred, but we say if any life is to be sacrificed it shall be ours; we won't do it ourselves, but we will put the enemy in the position where they will have to choose between giving us freedom or giving us death.]

ARTICLE THE SECOND

Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and to the respective families and individuals thereof the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates, Forests, Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the Chiefs of the United Tribes and the individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of Preemption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective Proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.

It requires but little research to convince every candid mind, that the prospect of civilizing our Indians was never so promising, as at this time. Never were means, for the accomplishment of this object, so judiciously devised, and so faithfully applied, as provided in the above act, and the auxiliary aids which it has encouraged. It is believed to be an essential part of any plan for Indian civilization, that, with the rudiments of education, the males should be taught the arts of husbandry, and the females to perform those domestic duties which peculiarly belong to their stations in civilized life. The attempts which have heretofore been made, many of which have failed, omitted this essential part. Many zealous, but enthusiastic persons, who have been most conspicuous in endeavoring to reclaim the Indians, persuaded themselves to believe, that, to secure this object, it was only necessary to send missionaries among them to instruct them in the Christian religion. Some of their exertions failed, without producing any salutary effect, because the agents employed were wholly unfitted for the task. Others, though productive of some good effect at first, eventually failed, because their missionary labors were not added to the institutes of education, and instruction in agriculture. These are combined, in the exertions now making; and, from the good which has been done, the most pleasing anticipations of success are confidently cherished . . .

This will be a work of time; and, for its accomplishment, great labor and perseverance will be necessary. The progress, however, of this work, may be more rapid than any can now venture to anticipate. The instruction and civilization of a few enterprising youths, will have an immense influence on the tribes to which they belong. As the means are constantly applied, the numbers reclaimed will increase, and an increase of numbers will ensure, in a geometrical proportion, success for the future. It is difficult to say what may not be accomplished, under such circumstances. No one will be bold enough to denounce him as a visionary enthusiast, who, under such auspices, will look with great confidence to the entire accomplishment of the object.

the government. However the various denominations of professing Christians may differ in their creeds and general doctrines, they all unite in their wishes that our Indians may become civilized. That this feeling almost universally prevails, has been declared in language too unequivocal to admit of doubt. It has been seen in their words, and in their actions.

The committee believe that such demonstrations are not to be regarded lightly; that the national legislature will treat them with the highest respect. If a sectarian zeal had had any agency to produce this general interest, it would be less entitled to serious considerations. But such a contracted feeling seems to be all that can be said to have had no influence; a more noble and Christian motive has been cherished. All unite to second the views of the government, by ameliorating the condition of our Indians. They are taught the first rudiments of education, the duties which appertain to man as a member of civil society, and his accountability as a moral agent. Repeal this law, and these exertions are not only paralyzed, but destroyed. The Indians will believe; and such an impression cannot fail to produce the most injurious consequences. From the various lights in which the committee have viewed the policy of this law, they are convinced that it is founded in justice, and should not be repealed. They, therefore, submit to the house the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is inexpedient to repeal the law making an annual appropriation of ten thousand dollars for the civilization of the Indians.

A man's home is his castle, and whilst he is quiet, he is as well guarded as a prince in his castle. This writ, if it is declared legal, would totally annihilate this privilege. Custom house officers may enter our houses when they please and we are commanded to permit their entry. Their menial servants may enter, may break locks, bars, and everything in their way; and whether they break through malice or revenge, no man, no court, can inquire. Bare suspicion without oath is sufficient. This wanton exercise of this power is not a chimerical suggestion of a heated brain. What a scene does this open! Every man, prompted by revenge, ill humour, or wantonness to inspect the inside of his neighbour's house, may get a writ of assistance. Others will ask it from self-defence; one arbitrary action will promote another, until society be involved in tumult and blood.

p. 247
(Emmeline Pankhurst)

p. 251 (The Treaty of Waitangi)

p. 253
(Congressional Committee on Indian Affairs)

p. 254
(ibid.)

p. 254 (James Otis)

... As a general truth, communities prosper and flourish, or droop and decline, in just the degree that they practise or neglect to practise the primary duties of justice and humanity. The free-labor system conforms to the divine law of equality, which is written in the hearts and consciences of man, and therefore is always and everywhere beneficent . . . The slave system is one of constant danger, distrust, suspicion, and watchfulness. It debases those whose toil alone can produce wealth and resources for defence, to the lowest degree of which human nature is capable, to guard against mutiny and insurrection, and thus wastes energies which otherwise might be employed in national development and aggrandizement. The free-labor system educates all alike, and by opening all the fields of industrial employment and all the departments of authority, to the unchecked and equal rivalry of all classes of men, at once secures universal contentment, and brings into the highest possible activity all the physical, moral, and social energies of the whole state. The Union is a confederation of States. But in another aspect the United States constitute only one nation. Increase of population, which is filling the States out to their very borders, together with a new and extended network of railroads and other avenues, and an internal commerce which daily becomes more intimate, is rapidly bringing the States into a higher and more perfect social unity or consolidation. Thus, these antagonistic systems are continually coming into closer contact, and collision results . . . Shall I tell you what this collision means? They who think that it is accidental, unnecessary, the work of interested or fanatical agitators, and therefore ephemeral, mistake the case altogether. It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become either entirely a slaveholding nation, or entirely a free-labor nation.

I rise, sir, to propose an extension of the suffrage which can excite no party or class feeling in this House; which can give no umbrage to the keenest assertor of the claims either of property or of numbers; an extension which has not the smallest tendency to disturb what we have heard so much about lately, the balance of political power; which cannot afflict the most timid alarmist with revolutionary terrors, or offend the most jealous democrat as an infringement of popular rights (hear, hear), or a privilege granted to one class of society at the expense of another. There is nothing to distract our attention from the simple question, whether there is any adequate *justification for continuing to exclude an entire half of the* community, not only from admission, *but from the capability of being* ever admitted within the pale of the Constitution, though they may *fulfill all the conditions* legally and constitutionally sufficient in every case but theirs. Sir, within the limits of our Constitution this is a solitary case. There is no other example of an exclusion which is absolute. If the law denied a vote to all but the possessors of \$5,000 a year, the poorest man in the nation might—and now and then would—acquire the suffrage; but neither birth, nor fortune, nor merit, nor exertion, nor intellect, nor even that great disposer of human affairs, accident, can ever enable any woman to have her voice counted in those national affairs which touch her and hers as nearly as any other a person in the nation . . .

. . . the time is now come when, unless women are raised to the level of men, men will be pulled down to theirs. The women of a man's family are either a stimulus and a support to his highest aspirations, or a drag upon them. You may keep them ignorant of politics, but you cannot prevent them from concerning themselves with the least respectable part of politics – its personalities . . .

. . . men are afraid of many women; but those who have considered the nature and power of *social influences* well know, that unless there are many women, there will no longer be many men. When men and women are really companions, if women are frivolous, men will be frivolous . . . the two sexes must now rise or sink together.

command the assent of those who do not share our views . . .
brethren of the South could join in perfect accord . . .

The soldiers of *the war need no* explanations; they can join in commemorating a soldier's death with feelings not different in kind, whether he fell toward them or by their side.

But Memorial Day may and ought to have a meaning also for those who do not share our memories. When men have instinctively agreed to celebrate an anniversary, it will be found that there is some thought of feeling behind it which is too large to be dependent upon associations alone. The Fourth of July, for instance, has still its serious aspect, although we no longer should think of rejoicing like children that we have escaped from an outgrown control, although we have achieved not only our national but our moral independence and know it far too profoundly to make a talk about it, and although an Englishman can join in the celebration without a scruple. For, stripped of the temporary associations which gives rise to it, it is now the moment when by common consent we pause to become conscious of our national life and to rejoice in it, to recall what our country has done for each of us, and to ask ourselves what we can do for the country in return.

So to the indifferent inquirer who asks why Memorial Day is still kept up we may answer, it celebrates and solemnly reaffirms from year to year a national act of enthusiasm and faith. It embodies in the most impressive form our belief that to act with enthusiasm and faith is the condition of acting greatly. To fight out a war, you must believe something and want something with all your might. So must you do to carry anything else to an end worth reaching. More than that, you must be willing to commit yourself to a course, perhaps a long and hard one, without being able to foresee exactly where you will come out. All that is required of you is that you should go somewhither as hard as ever you can. The rest belongs to fate. One may fall at the beginning of the charge or at the top of the

charge. No other way can one reach the rewards of victory . . .
. . . on this earth. They are the same

p. 261 (Oliver
Wendell
Holmes Jr)

Gentlemen: The testimony of your satisfaction at the glorious termination of the late contest, and your indulgent opinion of my Agency in it, affords me singular pleasure and merits my warmest acknowledgment.

If the Example of the Americans successfully contending in the Cause of Freedom, can be of any use to other Nations; we shall have an additional Motive for rejoicing at so prosperous an Event.

It was not an uninteresting consideration to learn that the Kingdom of Ireland, by a bold and manly conduct, had obtained the redress of many of its grievances; and it is much to be wished that the blessings of equal Liberty and unrestrained Commerce may yet prevail more extensively; in the mean time, you may be assured, Gentlemen, that the Hospitality and Beneficence of your Countrymen, to our Brethren who have been Prisoners of War, are neither unknown, or unregarded.

The bosom of America is open to receive not only the Opulent and respectable Stranger, but the oppressed and persecuted of all Nations And Religions; whom we shall welcome to a participation of all our rights and privileges, if by decency and propriety of conduct they appear to merit the enjoyment.

p. 265 (George Washington)

Segregation of white and Negro children in the public schools of a State solely on the basis of race, pursuant to state laws permitting or requiring such segregation, denies to Negro children the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment – even though the physical facilities and other ‘tangible’ factors of white and Negro schools may be equal. The history of the Fourteenth Amendment is inconclusive as to its intended effect on public education. The question presented in these cases must be determined not on the basis of conditions existing when the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted, but in the light of the full development of public education and its present place in American life throughout the Nation. Where a State has undertaken to provide an opportunity for an education in its public schools, such an opportunity is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms. Segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race deprives children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities, even though the physical facilities and other ‘tangible’ factors may be equal. The ‘separate but equal’ doctrine adopted in *Plessy v Ferguson*, 163 US 537, has no place in the field of public education. The cases are restored to the docket for further argument on specified questions relating to the forms of the decrees.

p. 267 (Earl Warren)

All fines made with us unjustly and against the law of the land, and all ameracements imposed unjustly and against the law of the land, shall be entirely remitted, or else it shall be done concerning them according to the decision of the five-and-twenty barons of whom mention is made below in the clause for securing the peace, or according to the judgment of the majority of the same, along with the aforesaid Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, if he can be present, and such others as he may wish to bring with him for this purpose, and if he cannot be present the business shall nevertheless proceed without him, provided always that if any one or more of the aforesaid five-and-twenty barons are in a similar suit, they shall be removed as far as concerns this particular judgment, others being substitute in their places after having been selected by the rest of the same five-and-twenty for this purpose one and after having been sworn.

p. 264 (King John)

Since, moreover, for God and the amendment of our kingdom and for the better allaying of the quarrel that has arisen between us and our barons, we have granted all these concessions, desirous that they should enjoy them in complete and firm endurance for ever, we give and grant to them the underwritten security, namely, that the barons choose five-and-twenty barons of the kingdom, whomsoever they will, who shall be bound with all their might, to observe and hold, and cause to be observed, the peace and liberties we have granted and confirmed to them by this our present Charter so that if we, or our justiciar, or our bailiffs or any one of our officers, shall in anything be at fault toward any one, or shall have broken any one of the articles of the peace or of this security, and the offense be notified to four barons of the foresaid five-and-twenty, the said four barons shall repair to us (or our justiciar, if we are out of the realm) and, laying the transgression before us, petition to have that transgression redressed without delay. And if we shall not have corrected the transgression (or, in the event of our being out of the realm, if our justiciar shall not have corrected it) within forty days, reckoning from the time it has been intimated to us (or to our justiciar, if we should be out of the realm), the four barons aforesaid shall refer that matter to the rest of the five-and-twenty barons, and those five-and-twenty barons shall, together with the community of the whole land, distrain and distress us in all possible ways, namely, by seizing our castles, lands, possessions, and in any other way they can, until redress has been obtained as they deem fit, saving harmless our own person, and the persons of our queen and children; and when redress has been obtained, they shall resume their old relations toward us. And let whoever in the country desires it, swear to obey the orders of the said five-and-twenty barons for the execution of all the aforesaid matters, and along with them, to molest us to the utmost of his power; and we publicly and freely grant leave to every one who wishes to swear, and we shall never forbid any one to swear. All those, moreover, in the land who of themselves and of their own accord are unwilling to swear to the twenty-five to help them in constraining and molesting us, shall by our command compel the same to swear to the effect aforesaid. And if any one of the five-and-twenty barons shall have died or departed from the land, or be incapacitated in any other manner which would prevent the foresaid provisions being carried out, those of the said twenty-five barons who are left shall choose another in his place according to their own judgment, and he shall be sworn in the same way as the others. Further, in all matters, the execution of which is intrusted to these twenty-five barons, if perchance these twenty-five are present, that which the majority of those present ordain by their command shall be held as fixed and established, exactly as if the whole twenty-five had concurred in this; and the said twenty-five shall swear that they will faithfully observe all that is aforesaid, and cause it to be observed with all their might. And we shall procure nothing from any one, directly or indirectly whereby any part of these concessions and liberties might be revoked or diminished; and if any such thing has been procured, let it be void and null, and we shall never use it personally or by another.

And all the ill-will, hatreds, and bitterness that have arisen between us and our men, clergy and laymen. Moreover, all

Private travel into foreign countries can be requested without conditions (passports or family connections). Permission will be granted instantly. Permanent relocations can be done through all border checkpoints between the GDR into the FRG or Berlin (West).

p. 271 (Guter Schabowski)

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime where of the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

p. 272 (Government of the USA)

p. 273 (ibid.)

1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.
2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

But, such is not the state of the case. I say it with a sad sense of the disparity between us. I am not included within the pale of this glorious anniversary! Your high independence only reveals the immeasurable distance between us. The blessings in which you, this day, rejoice, are not enjoyed in common. The rich inheritance of justice, liberty, prosperity and independence, bequeathed by your fathers, is shared by you, not by me. The sunlight that brought life and healing to you, has brought stripes and death to me. This Fourth [of] July is yours, not mine. You may rejoice, I must mourn. To drag a man in fetters into the grand illuminated temple of liberty, and call upon him to join you in joyous anthems, were inhuman mockery and sacrilegious irony. Do you mean, citizens, to mock me, by asking me to speak to-day? If so, there is a parallel to your conduct. And let me warn you that it is dangerous to copy the example of a nation whose crimes, lowering up to heaven, were thrown down by the breath of the Almighty, burying that nation in irrecoverable ruin! I can to-day take up the plaintive lament of a peeled and woe-smitten people! . . .

p. 275
(Frederick
Douglass)

Fellow citizens; above your national, tumultuous joy, I hear the mournful wail of millions whose chains, heavy and grievous yesterday, are, to-day, rendered more intolerable by the jubilee shouts that reach them. If I do forget, if I do not faithfully remember those bleeding children of sorrow this day, may my right hand forget her cunning, and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth! To forget them, to pass lightly over their wrongs, and to chime in with the popular theme, would be treason most scandalous and shocking, and would make me a reproach before God and the world . . . America is false to the past, false to the present, and solemnly binds herself to be false to the future. Standing with God and the crushed and bleeding slave on this occasion, I will, in the name of humanity which is outraged, in the name of liberty which is fettered, in the name of the Constitution and the Bible, which are disregarded and trampled upon, dare to call in question and to denounce, with all the emphasis I can command, everything that serves to perpetuate slavery – the great sin and shame of America! I will



It ought to be possible for American consumers of any color to receive equal service in places of public accommodation, such as hotels and restaurants and theaters and retail stores, without being forced to resort to demonstrations in the street, and it ought to be possible for American citizens of any color to register to vote in a free election without interference or fear of reprisal.

p. 278 (John F.
Kennedy)

It ought to be possible, in short, for every American to enjoy the privileges of being American without regard to his race or his color. In short, every American ought to have the right to be treated as he would wish to be treated, as one would wish his children to be treated. But this is not the case . . .

We preach freedom around the world, and we mean it, and we cherish our freedom here at home, but are we to say to the world, and much more importantly, to each other, that this is the land of the free except for the Negroes; that we have no second-class citizens except Negroes; that we have no class or caste system, no ghettos, no master race except with respect to Negroes?

Now the time has come for this nation to fulfill its promise. The events in Birmingham and elsewhere have so increased the cries for equality that no city or State or legislative body can prudently choose to ignore them . . .

Next week I shall ask the Congress of the United States to act, to make a commitment it has not fully made in this century to the proposition that race has no place in American life or law. The Federal judiciary has upheld that proposition in the conduct of its affairs, including the employment of Federal personnel, the use of Federal facilities, and the sale of federally financed housing . . .

Many of the issues of civil rights are very complex and most difficult. But about this there can and should be no argument. Every American citizen must have an equal right to vote. There is no reason which can excuse the denial of that right. There is no duty which weighs more heavily on us than the duty we have to ensure that right.

p. 280 (Lyndon B. Johnson)

Yet the harsh fact is that in many places in this country men and women are kept from voting simply because they are Negroes . . .

In such a case our duty must be clear to all of us. The Constitution says that no person shall be kept from voting because of his race or his color. We have all sworn an oath before God to support and to defend that Constitution. We must now act in obedience to that oath.

Wednesday I will send to Congress a law designed to eliminate illegal barriers to the right to vote.

This bill will strike down restrictions to voting in all elections – Federal, State, and local – which have been used to deny Negroes the right to vote.

This bill will establish a simple, uniform standard which cannot be used, however ingenious the effort, to flout our Constitution.

p. 281 (ibid.)

It will provide for citizens to be registered by officials of the United States Government if the State officials refuse to register them.

It will eliminate tedious, unnecessary lawsuits which delay the right to vote.

Finally, this legislation will ensure that properly registered individuals are not prohibited from voting . . .

To those who seek to avoid action by their National Government in their own communities; who want to and who seek to maintain purely local control over elections, the answer is simple:

Open your polling places to all your people.

Allow men and women to register and vote whatever the color of their skin.

Extend the rights of citizenship to every citizen of this land.

There is no constitutional issue here. The command of the Constitution is plain.

There is no moral issue. It is wrong – deadly wrong – to deny any of your fellow Americans the right to vote in this country.

There is no issue of States rights or national rights. There is only the struggle for human rights.

I have not the slightest doubt what will be your answer . . .

. . . there must be no delay, no hesitation and no compromise with our purpose.

We cannot, we must not, refuse to protect the right of every American to vote in every election that he may desire to participate in. And we ought not and we cannot and we must not wait another eight months before we get a bill. We have already waited a hundred years and more, and the time for waiting is gone . . .

Their cause must be our cause too. Because it is not just Negroes, but really it is all of us, who must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice.

And we shall overcome . . .

. . . The education that will fit her to discharge the duties in the largest sphere of human usefulness will best fit her for whatever special work she may be compelled to do . . .

p. 287 (Elizabeth Cady Stanton)

To appreciate the importance of fitting every human soul for independent action, think for a moment of the immeasurable solitude of self. We come into the world alone, unlike all who have gone before us; we leave it alone under circumstances peculiar to ourselves. No mortal ever has been, no mortal ever will be like the soul just launched on the sea of life. There can never again be just such environments as make up the infancy, youth and manhood of this one. Nature never repeats herself, and the possibilities of one human soul will never be found in another. No one has ever found two blades of ribbon grass alike, and no one will never find two human beings alike. Seeing, then, what must be the infinite diversity in human, character, we can in a measure appreciate the loss to a nation when any large class of the people is uneducated and unrepresented in the government. We ask for the complete development of every individual, first, for his own benefit and happiness. In fitting out an army we give each soldier his own knapsack, arms, powder, his blanket, cup, knife, fork and spoon. We provide alike for all their individual necessities, then each man bears his own burden . . .

In talking of education how shallow the argument that each class must be educated for the special work it proposed to do, and all those faculties not needed in this special walk must lie dormant and utterly wither for want of use, when, perhaps, these will be the very faculties

(a) For the stage prior to approximately the end of the first trimester, the abortion decision and its effectuation must be left to the medical judgment of the pregnant woman's attending physician.

p. 290 (US Supreme Court)

(b) For the stage subsequent to approximately the end of the first trimester, the State, in promoting its interest in the health of the mother, may, if it chooses, regulate the abortion procedure in ways that are reasonably related to maternal health.

(c) For the stage subsequent to viability, the State in promoting its interest in the potentiality of human life may, if it chooses, regulate, and even proscribe, abortion except where it is necessary, in appropriate medical judgment, for the preservation of the life or health of the mother.

2. The State may define the term 'physician', as it has been employed in the preceding paragraphs of this Part XI of this opinion, to mean only a physician currently licensed by the State, and may proscribe any abortion by a person who is not a physician as so defined.

In *Doe v Bolton*, post, p. 179, procedural requirements contained in one of the modern abortion statutes are considered. That opinion and this one, of course, are to be read together.

"That on the 1st day of January, AD 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

p. 291 (Abraham Lincoln)

That the executive will on the 1st day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State or the people thereof shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such States shall have participated shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof are not then in rebellion against the United States.

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-In-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said



Our struggle has reached a decisive moment. We call on our people to seize this moment, so that the process toward democracy is rapid and uninterrupted.

p. 293 (Nelson Mandela)

We have waited too long for our freedom. We can no longer wait. Now is the time to intensify the struggle on all fronts. To relax our efforts now would be a mistake which generations to come will not be able to forgive.

The sight of freedom looming on the horizon should encourage us to redouble our efforts. It is only through disciplined mass action that our victory can be assured.

We call on our white compatriots to join us in the shaping of a new South Africa. The freedom movement is a political home for you, too.

We call on the international community to continue the campaign to isolate the apartheid regime. To lift sanctions now would run the risk of aborting the process toward the complete eradication of apartheid.

Our march toward freedom is irreversible. We must now allow fear to stand in our way. »



WEST BANK AND GAZA

Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the representatives of the Palestinian people should participate in negotiations on the resolution of the Palestinian problem in all its aspects. To achieve that objective, negotiations relating to the West Bank and Gaza should proceed in three stages:

1. Egypt and Israel agree that, in order to ensure a peaceful and orderly transfer of authority, and taking into account the security concerns of all the parties, there should be transitional arrangements for the West Bank and Gaza for a period not exceeding five years. In order to provide full autonomy to the inhabitants, under these arrangements the Israeli military government and its civilian administration will be withdrawn as soon as a self-governing authority has been freely elected by the inhabitants of these areas to replace the existing military government. To negotiate the details of a transitional arrangement, Jordan will be invited to join the negotiations on the basis of this framework. These new arrangements should give due consideration both to the principle of self-government by the inhabitants of these territories and to the legitimate security concerns of the parties involved.

p. 294 (Anwar Sadat)

5. All necessary measures will be taken and provisions made to assure the security of Israel and its neighbors during the transitional period and beyond. To assist in providing such security, a strong local police force will be constituted by the self-governing authority. It will be composed of inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza. The police will maintain liaison on internal security matters with the designated Israeli, Jordanian, and Egyptian officers.

p. 295
(ibid)

3. When the self-governing authority (administrative council) in the West Bank and Gaza is established and inaugurated, the transitional period of five years will begin. As soon as possible, but not later than the third year after the beginning of the transitional period, negotiations will take place to determine the final status of the West Bank and Gaza and its relationship with its neighbors and to conclude a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan by the end of the transitional period. These negotiations will be conducted among Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza. Two separate but related committees will be convened, one committee, consisting of representatives of the four parties which will negotiate and agree on the final status of the West Bank and Gaza, and its relationship with its neighbors, and the second committee, consisting of representatives of Israel and representatives of Jordan to be joined by the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza, to negotiate the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan, taking into account the agreement reached in the final status of the West Bank and Gaza. The negotiations shall be based on all the provisions and principles of UN Security Council Resolution 242. The negotiations will resolve, among other matters, the location of the boundaries and the nature of the security arrangements. The solution from the negotiations must also recognize the legitimate right of the Palestinian peoples and their just requirements. In this way, the Palestinians will participate in the determination of their own future through:

p. 295 (ibid)

AMENDMENT 15

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

p. 297 (Government of the USA)

In the name of God, the most merciful, the passionate; Mr President; ladies and gentlemen: I would like to express our tremendous appreciation to President Clinton and to his Administration for sponsoring this historic event, which the entire world has been waiting for. Mr President, I am taking this opportunity to assure you and to assure the great American people that we share your values for freedom, justice, and human rights – values for which my people have been striving.

My people are hoping that this agreement, which we are signing today, marks the beginning of the end of a chapter of pain and suffering which has lasted throughout this century. My people are hoping that this agreement, which we are signing today, will usher in an age of peace, coexistence, and equal rights. We are relying on your role, Mr President, and on the role of all the countries which believe that, without peace in the Middle East, peace in the world will not be complete.

Enforcing the agreement and moving toward the final settlement, after two years to implement all aspects of UN Resolutions 242 and 338, in all of their aspects and resolve all the issues of Jerusalem, the settlement, the refugees, and the boundaries will be a Palestinian and an Israeli responsibility. It is also the responsibility of the international community, in its entirety, to help the parties overcome the

p. 299
(Yasser Arafat)

Attestation page
Dokumentārā lapa

Bakalaura darbs „The language functions in well-known speeches” (Valodas funkcijas labi pazīstamās runās) izstrādāts LU Humanitāro zinātņu fakultātē.

Ar savu parakstu apliecinu, ka pētījums veikts patstāvīgi, izmantoti tikai tajā norādītie informācijas avoti un iesniegtā darba elektroniskā kopija atbilst izdrukai.

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