

‘One book, one pen, one child, and one
teacher can change the world!’

A study of personal pronouns, modality and rhetorical devices
in a selection of Malala Yousafzai’s speeches.

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Abstract

15 year old Malala Yousafzai caught the world's attention when she was shot in the head on a school bus in Pakistan by members from the terrorist group known as the Taliban. Since that day in 2012, Malala has built a national career as a global youth activist, who works hard to empower children's rights to an education. Her work has focused on empowering especially girls' rights and their role in world society. This thesis aims to analyse the vocabulary in speeches given by Yousafzai after she was shot. The investigation is based on nine speeches, which form The Malala Corpus. The study consists of an analysis of personal pronouns, modal auxiliaries and rhetorical devices. This has been done to figure out what kind of devices Yousafzai has applied to enhance the persuasive effect of her speeches, and create a strong appeal to the audience which has resulted in her political impact. The findings revealed that personal pronouns, modal auxiliaries and figurative language play an important role in her persuasive discourse, and the rhetorical elements that most frequently have been applied are a combination of appealing by the use of *ethos* and *pathos*.

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and every frustrating moment a bit better.

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Chapter 1: *Introduction*

Political activists and politicians have used the art of rhetoric to persuade their audiences for decades. Political activism has helped to change societies, as some people put remarkable effort into fighting for someone else's rights, someone who is not always seen or heard in the public or in the media. 18-year-old Malala Yousafzai is one among many who has made an appeal, and she has been heard. This made me curious about how her speeches have been constructed, which rhetorical devices she has applied to make this persuasive appeal, resulting in the political impact she has today. I also wanted to study her vocabulary to get an understanding of how she, as a political activist, had applied rhetorical devices to connect and appeal to people from many different backgrounds, nations and world leaders.

1.1 **Aim and scope**

The aim of this thesis is to provide an analysis of how Malala Yousafzai has used rhetorical devices in her speeches to communicate her political ideology through *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos*. The main element of study is rhetoric, and the investigation will focus on how personal pronouns, modal auxiliaries and rhetorical devices have been applied in different contexts to appeal to a world audience.

In the present study the research questions are: How has Yousafzai applied personal pronouns, modal auxiliaries and other rhetorical devices to affect and persuade her audience? And secondly; how does Yousafzai appear as a persuasive political activist through her speeches?

The material consists of nine speeches she has given from 2013 to 2015 in various contexts and countries after she became a public figure. The use of personal pronouns and modal auxiliaries are two of the main elements of study in this thesis, and the analysis of how they have been used as pervasive devices will be discussed in chapter 4 and chapter 5. The third element in this study is the investigation of a set of rhetorical devices which will be analysed and discussed in chapter 6. The methods that have been applied in the study are; a quantitative study of frequencies of personal pronouns and modal auxiliaries, and a qualitative discourse

analysis of the material with *rhetoric* as a framework. All elements have been analysed in order to show how Yousafzai manages to communicate her political views and persuade her listeners, to gain the political impact she has today.

1.2 Who is Malala Yousafzai and what is her aim?

Malala Yousafzai is an 18-year-old political education activist, who was born in Pakistan in 1997. She used to live in the Swat District in Pakistan, but due to her political involvement she was shot in the head by members of Taliban when she was 15. After the shooting, she was taken to a hospital in Birmingham in England, and when she had recovered, her family moved there. Yousafzai is the leader of the organisation the *Malala Fund*, which aims to: ‘raise girls’ voices and ensure every girl has access to a quality secondary education’, and to: ‘enable girls to complete 12 years of safe, quality education so that they can achieve their potential and be positive change-makers in their families and communities’ (Malala Fund 2015). The fund has participated in the construction and opening of several schools in different countries in the world, and they continue their work as their goal is far from being reached.

Yousafzai started her political career as a blogger for BBC Urdu in 2008. This year Malala’s father was contacted by a BBC radio correspondent as he was searching for a female teacher or a schoolgirl who could write a diary entry about life under the rule of Taliban (Yousafzai & Lamb 2013:152-154). Malala herself suggested that she would be a good candidate, and after her father’s approval, the weekly phone conversations in Urdu between her and the reporter started, where he would ask guiding questions to make it easier for her to describe the everyday life (Yousafzai & Lamb 2013:154-155). What makes her case special is that she was only 11 years old when she started describing the situation in her region and expressing her personal opinions about the situation. As the diary entries also reflected her political view, her name was not revealed to protect her and her family from the Taliban. As Pashto is Yousafzai’s first language, she was given the pseudonym “Gul Makai” which means cornflower, and is the name of a heroine in a Pashtun folktale (Yousafzai & Lamb 2013:155). This was the beginning of her rise as a famous political activist, and what led to her strong involvement in girls’ rights to get an education.

The linguistic aspect is interesting as the blog was the channel in which Yousafzai first expressed her political involvement, because she was using Urdu, which is one of her two mother tongues. By using Urdu she managed to affect people in Pakistan and its neighbouring countries, but that was about to change. The diary entries became popular, and her audience grew as her entries were regularly reproduced in local Pakistani media, but her words were also translated into English for the BBC (Cooke, 2012). This was very positive as an international audience suddenly got access to information about how the current situation was for a young girl in Pakistan. However, by engaging such an audience, she became a target for Taliban as she was against their regime. In this way she became an example on how new technologies decrease the distance between citizens and the decision-makers, which resulted in how the Taliban responded to meanings expressed by an 11-year-old girl.

Her first blogpost 'I AM AFRAID' was published on the 3rd of January 2009. In this entry the reader learns about the situation of a school girl in Pakistan:

“I had a terrible dream yesterday with military helicopters and the Taleban. I have had such dreams since the launch of the military operation in Swat. My mother made me breakfast and I went off to school. I was afraid going to school because the Taleban had issued an edict banning all girls from attending schools (..) On my way from school to home I heard a man saying 'I will kill you'. I hastened my pace and after a while I looked back if the man was still coming behind me. But to my utter relief he was talking on his mobile and must have been threatening someone else over the phone” (BBC 2015).

The BBC correspondent encouraged Yousafzai to describe her personal feelings through her entries (Yousafzai & Lamb 2013:156). Due to her young age, she did not have any other experience of giving public statements. This encouragement from the BBC correspondent may have led to her usage of vivid descriptions of personal experiences, other children's experiences and some other elements she frequently applies in various speeches. As a public figure Yousafzai appears as a reliable character, which is due to several aspects. This thesis will investigate what kind of elements that are a part of creating this representation, and what kind of persuasive effect her political appeals have.

1.2.1 Thesis outline

After this introduction, the thesis is structured as follows: Chapter 2 will give an account of the theoretical background of rhetoric and its main elements *ethos*, *pathos*, and *logos*, together with linguistic devices that also can be found in her speeches. Chapter 3 gives a description of the material, how it has been retrieved, and the methods that have been applied for this study. Chapter 4 will discuss the results after the analysis of the personal pronouns, and which rhetorical function they have in the material. Chapter 5 reports on the study of modal auxiliaries in the material, and which role they play in expressing opinions and attitudes to appeal to and persuade the audience. Chapter 6 discusses the results of the analysis of rhetorical devices, and how their use can be related to political persuasion. The last chapter, chapter 7, will give an account of the findings after the investigation, and suggestions for further research within the field.

Chapter 2: *Theoretical background*

The main aim for this chapter is to place my research topic within a language context to show how language functions can play an important role in political speeches. As the material of this study reflects Malala Yousafzai's political ideology, it will be analysed as political language. Political language is used to communicate ideas and appeal to the public by the use of rhetoric. Persuasion is central within rhetoric, but some people may connect the word *persuade* to a negative aspect of language. However, persuading an audience can lead to both positive and negative outcomes. History can confirm this, as persuasive argument and communication have been used by people with good intentions and a desire to change the current situation in a country or society. A famous example is speeches by Martin Luther King, who Charteris-Black (2011) among others has studied. There have also been other social activists that have used the art of persuasion to change attitudes toward minorities and women (Perloff 2003:4), and Yousafzai is a living example of how persuasion is used to change the current situation for girls and women in many countries.

The main elements of study in this thesis are: rhetorical devices, personal pronouns and modality. They will be addressed in turn as they are essential components of rhetoric. The other topics which will be discussed are: political speeches, previous research, activism and feminine rhetoric style. The first part of this chapter will focus on rhetoric and the ability to persuade an audience by the use of rhetorical devices. The theoretical background is mainly based on the theory of rhetoric provided by Cockcroft and Cockcroft (1992).

Aristotle's definition of rhetoric is: 'the faculty of discerning in every case the available means of persuasion' (Jebb 1909:5). Furthermore, the function of rhetoric 'is not to succeed in persuading, but rather, to discover the means of persuasion available in each particular case' (Erickson 1974:61). This makes rhetoric as an art quite complex, and interesting as no other art carries the same function. The study of rhetoric makes it possible to discover how a person can persuade, so the ability to persuade through the use of certain elements is central in this context. Every persuasive interaction includes three basic constituents: the persuader, the text/message, and the audience (Cockcroft & Cockcroft 1992:101). Section 2.1 will briefly discuss some rhetorical devices that are commonly used by politicians and also commonly

applied in the material for this study. Secondly political speeches as a genre will be accounted for briefly, followed by an account of the context of Yousafzai's cultural background, as this is connected to her use of language. The last sections will present: ideology, personal pronouns, views on modality, an account of feminine rhetorical style, and a summary of the linguistic features that have been discussed in the chapter.

2.1 Rhetoric and persuasion

According to Perloff, persuasion can be defined as a: ‘symbolic process in which communicators try to convince other people to change their attitudes or behaviour regarding an issue through the transmission of a message, in an atmosphere of free choice’ (Perloff 2003:8). Perloff’s definition is important as he emphasises that the persuasion has to take place in an atmosphere where people have a free choice, so they can decide whether they want to be a part of the persuasion or not. After this is established one has to look at the role the speaker/persuader has. It can be argued that audiences are only persuaded when the speaker’s rhetoric is successful (Charteris-Black 2011:7). To be successful speakers must be able to persuade their listeners, which includes employing a number of linguistic devices as a part of rhetoric. If they manage to do this, their chances to be believed by the audience increase, which furthermore will enable them to influence society and gain political power.

As discussed in the opening section, Aristotle was the first person to discuss the skill of persuading, when he described and defined rhetoric between 384-322 BC (Cockroft & Cockroft 1992:3). The Roman rhetorician Quintilian defined rhetoric as the science of ‘speaking well’ (Condor et al. 2013:2), and the art was studied like other science subjects. By Aristotle's definitions, the means of persuasion can be divided into three main categories: *ethos*, which refers to persuasion through personality and stance, *pathos*, which is a term for persuasion through the arousal of emotion, and *logos*, which refers to the ability of persuading through reasoning (Cockroft & Cockroft 1992:3). The three main categories of persuasion form rhetoric. *Ethos*, *pathos* and *logos* will be defined and discussed in the next sections.

2.1.1 *Ethos*: personality and stance

Ethos can be divided into personality and stance. According to Aristotle ‘the speaker must not only see that the speech shall prove its point, or persuade, but must also develop a certain

character in himself and in the judge, as it matters much for persuasiveness' (Jebb 1909:68). Accordingly, for the rhetoric to become persuasive, the speaker should present a trustworthy public personality who applies suitable linguistic choices that reflect the speaker's stance. Charteris-Black underlines the importance of ethical credibility when he argues that this goes hand in hand with establishing trust, because 'trust is an equivalent in contemporary oratory to 'goodwill' in classical oratory' (2014:9). Strengthening *ethos* will be discussed in the analysis chapters, and how the different devices have been applied to serve this function.

Personality is one of the two main elements in the study of a speaker's *ethos*. By studying the personality, it is possible to reveal information about the speaker's credibility, which is a necessity in the political arena. Public figures tend to present a certain personality which is manifested through the use of different ways of speaking and by using a certain vocabulary that fits their public persona. According to Condor et al. social identities may be flagged implicitly, through dress, body posture, style of speech, and use of pronouns (2013:13). To gain political impact a speaker should portray herself as reliable and authoritative, so the audience will view her as a trustworthy person. An example of how Yousafzai uses *ethos* is found in the following excerpt from her Nobel Lecture: 'Thank you to my mother for inspiring me to be patient and to always speak the truth- which we strongly believe is the true message of Islam'. This statement reflects her personality as she shows how she respects her mother and the way her mother raised her with good values, as she states how Islam is her faith, and that this religion reflects patience and honesty which she strongly relates to.

Within the element of personality is the act of interaction, which also underlines the role of the audience in the speech situation. For the speaker to succeed in impressing or affecting the audience by the use of her personality, she has to master the interactional skill which is a combination of vocabulary, intonation, and structural organization (Cockroft & Cockroft 1992:9). The ability to interact in a certain way is therefore crucial to succeed as a persuader and affect the audience that becomes the persuadee. Furthermore, Cockroft and Cockroft argue that to be effective in this area, language must be appropriate to the subject of the discourse, its context, and its audience (1992:19). This can seem obvious, but especially when a person gives a speech to a number of people from different countries and cultures, she has to have the interactional skill in mind at all times.

Stance is the second aspect of *ethos*, and this is commonly more open to change than a person's personality. Stance refers to a wider framework of attitudes, the sense of a position or viewpoint adopted by the persuader (Cockroft & Cockroft 1992:9), it tells the audience what kind of viewpoint the persuader has taken. It is also about the tone the persuader takes towards the topic of the interaction and its context (Cockroft & Cockroft 1992:9). The following example clearly reflects Yousafzai's stance as a political figure:¹

- (1) But I believe that education is the only way to peace, and education is my goal, education is our goal. (Tipperary)

The example illustrates how Yousafzai presents her stance to the audience, and uses personal pronouns to underline her personal involvement in the matter, which implicitly strengthens her *ethos*. The rhetorical language the persuader chooses to use, also signals what her stance is (Billing in Cockroft & Cockroft 1992:22), so stance becomes manifested through Yousafzai's vocabulary.

2.1.2 *Pathos*: emotional arrangement

Pathos consists of persuading by appealing to the audience's emotions. Cockroft and Cockroft argue that in persuasive lexis, although *ethos* and *logos* will exert some influence, *pathos* will dominate (1992:115). In other words, *pathos* is crucial for persuasion in political speeches. It can also be used to emphasise the speaker's stance, as the appeal to emotions make the audience aware of how she feels about the issue. However, *pathos* has also produced distrust in the use of rhetoric, and led many critics to associate rhetoric with insincerity (Cockroft & Cockroft 1992:40). This has mainly been about political figures who have appealed to emotions in the audience, and used *pathos* in a deceiving way to persuade the audience.

Cockroft and Cockroft discuss the importance of *pathos*, and argue that 'emotion is the 'raw material' of rhetoric, because without real or simulated emotion, effective persuasion is unlikely to take place' (1992:40). As effective persuasion is essential in political speech, the use of emotion through *pathos* cannot be underestimated. It is important to keep in mind that people's emotional engagement with any topic, occasion and audience is culturally conditioned (Cockroft & Cockroft 1992:43). A speaker therefore has to consider which

¹ When examples are provided, they will be written in the exact same way as they are in the transcripts.

cultural elements she promotes through her vocabulary, in order to appeal to the audience.

Closely related to *pathos* is the orator's choice of lexis. The vocabulary has to be strategically selected to be suitable for the speech situation, as the intention is to persuade. Some words carry connotations that people may respond to in a positive or negative way. The persuader can therefore guide her audience and arouse certain emotions she wishes her audience to connect to the topic of her speech. Abstract concepts, such as 'love', 'peace', or 'terror', are commonly used in public speaking, and these words usually carry connotations that arouse emotions, so a skilful orator will know when to use these and affect the audience so they become engaged (Cockroft & Cockroft 1992:45).

Antithesis or contrastive pairs is another rhetorical tool that is a part of *pathos*. This includes the use of two opposite elements that contrast each other, see further section 2.5.4. An example from the material is:

- (2) Why is it that countries which we call “**strong**” are so powerful in creating wars but are so **weak** in bringing peace? (Nobel)

By using the terms *strong* and *weak* together, the speaker implicitly guides the audience to relate to the positive element instead of the negative element which is presented as the other option. The use of these tools will be discussed thoroughly in chapter 6, which presents the analysis of rhetorical devices in the material.

Using imagination and creating imagery is another aspect of *pathos*, and the persuader can use this to affect the audience, as it appeals to their feelings and emotions (Cockroft & Cockroft 1992:9). Example 3 illustrates how Yousafzai applies *pathos*, by referring to children and creating images of their situation:

- (3) This award is not just for me. It is for those forgotten children who want education. It is for those frightened children who want peace. It is for those voiceless children who want change (Nobel).

The example creates images as she is describing all the children who are victims of wars or social or cultural norms, who are *forgotten*, *frightened* and *voiceless*. The adjectives she has chosen carry strong connotations. By using imagination as a part of *pathos* she makes her

audience imagine how these children are feeling, which leads her audience to get emotionally involved in her speech. Yousafzai also uses repetition, which functions as another rhetorical device in her appeal. Repetition is often used to create *pathos*. This device will be discussed in section 2.5.5, and the investigation of the use of it in the material can be found in chapter 6.

The conclusion of a speech is important, and a persuader can benefit a lot from using *pathos* in the end of the speech, as this will arouse emotions and leave a strong impression within her audience's memory (Cockroft & Cockroft 1992:97). To leave an impression the conclusion should also have a question, a statement, or a command (Cockroft & Cockroft 1992:102). In several of Yousafzai's speeches she applies an imperative:

- (4) And let us not forget that even one book, one pen, one child and one teacher can change the world.

This is not a strong command, but it is an appeal which creates *pathos*. She is not being humble, but utters it with confidence, like a statement of a truth. To the audience it is a strong reminder that everyone can make a difference, as she appeals to the emotions in them that everyone can do something to make a change.

2.1.3 *Logos*: structure of argument

The third concept of rhetoric is *logos*. This includes 'the range of diverse arguments in the discourse; the structure of thought, whether simple or complex, which these arguments compose; and the sequence, coherence and logical value of these arguments' (Cockroft & Cockroft 1992:10). In other words it refers to how a speech is structured, which models are used, and where in the speech they are placed to be most efficient. The orator has to lead her audience through her line of argument in the most logical way to appeal and persuade them.

The arrangement of arguments is crucial as a speaker can have a very strong argument, but if the timing is wrong and the persuader uses it too early, it may not have the same effect as it would have had further into the speech. One example of the use of *logos* is how the persuader either can anticipate the opponent's argument and dismiss it, or present the opponent's argument just to break it down with her own argument (Cockroft & Cockroft 1992:91-92). In this way logic structure in the speech can affect the result or the degree of success in terms of

persuasion. An example from the material, is how Yousafzai in the middle section of her acceptance speech of the Tipperary award, first views going to school through some students' eyes who are indifferent when it comes to school, questioning why school is important. After this she presents a strong argument to show that going to school is more than this, that it leads to equality in society, because 'the chairs are all the same', and to get equality in a country, the pupils need to be educated. By structuring her argument in this way, starting from a small perspective, and developing it by portraying a clear image on the importance of education in a large perspective, her argument becomes stronger than what it would have been if she had avoided explaining the large perspective.

Another element within *logos* is the use of proof and disproof in a speaker's line of argument (Cockroft & Cockroft 1992:102). She can prove a point by referring to an event or a fact, or by providing disproof to empower her argument. Yousafzai herself is a living proof of the idea that one person can make a difference, because she is living and showing through her work how she as one girl can make a change. She also refers to herself in this way in her speeches, and applies *logos* to create a greater understanding of the situation she is in:

(5) Thousands of people have been killed by the terrorists and millions have been injured. I am just one of them. (U.N.)

(6) I know that my small contribution is not enough, we still need a lot to do, but it is a start and I am just one girl, this is what I could do in such a short time. (Nigeria)

In this way she underlines her argument that she is not the only victim by referring to the current situation. In example 6 she reminds the audience that she is just one girl, which recalls the idea that one person can do a lot. The examples show how rhetoric and logic work together through the ordering of sentence elements.

A speaker who has the intention of persuading her audience should give a speech including the rhetorical concepts that have been discussed above. The speaker should establish a reliable character and connect to her audience, before she tries to persuade by using *pathos* and appeal to their feelings with changing emotional intensity. The arguments that are presented should also be reliable, which both includes the logical rigor and that they are presented by using the intonation and emotion that is appropriate for the context. The discussion of the concepts in

this chapter will therefore form the basis of the analysis in chapter 6, which discusses the rhetorical elements in the speeches given by Yousafzai.

2.2 Political speeches as a genre

It has been established in this chapter that a political speech is about persuading an audience and leaving an impression on them. Charteris-Black defines a political speech as: ‘a coherent stream of spoken language that is usually prepared for delivery by a speaker to an audience for a purpose’ (2014:xiii). This definition focuses on the coherence and that it is constructed for the context and audience. Allen underlines the importance of the speech’s function when he argues that ‘All meanings intended by the speaker aim to fulfil a politically strategic function’ (2007:3). The political speech is hence structured on the basis of its political purpose. When it is given, the speech is addressed to a specific, physically-present audience, and that factor permits some interaction and affective content compared to other text types (Biber 1988:135). Entertaining and/or fascinating elements are examples of content that can be used in the political speech depending on its present audience.

According to the classical rhetoricians, the political or the deliberative speech deals with an important controversial topic, is addressed to a public assembly, and requires a decision to be made about a future action (Charteris-Black 2011:7-8). During that period speech making was about creating a reputation for the speaker and making the world about words and action (Charteris-Black 2011:8). Today, speech making is just as important, as a speech will be heard by the audience present, but also by a broader audience if the speaker is a well-known person. There will be transcripts and videos of the speeches, so the reputation of the speaker is fragile as their speeches can be seen and heard by a worldwide audience.

2.3 Context of culture

The cultural background of a public speaker will affect what is said and how it is presented to the audience. Yousafzai's first language is Pashto as she grew up in the Swat district in Pakistan where she lived until she was fifteen. She was fortunate as she had the opportunity to go to school, where she was taught Urdu and English. The situation for these languages is quite special in Pakistan, because both are taught in school, but neither of them holds the position as the language that is spoken by most people (Kristiansen 2013). The Constitution

and the body of law are codified in English, and the large industrial and business sector use English, which basically makes the language the primary vehicle of international communication (Baumgardner 1993:14). However, Urdu is more frequently used in the mass media as a large percentage of the population understands this language (Baumgardner 1993:15). The constitution also states that the national language of Pakistan is Urdu, and the English language may be used for official purposes until arrangements are made for its replacement by Urdu (National Assembly of Pakistan 2012).

Yousafzai has used both English and Urdu to communicate her political ideology. After she was shot by the Taliban and became world known, she had to communicate to an international audience, and English was a natural choice. However, her audience is always reminded where she comes from as she uses the following opening phrase in her speeches:

- (7) Bismillah ir Rahman ir Rahim. In the name of God, the most merciful, the most beneficent, who is the God of all mankind.

Whereas the first part is in Arabic, Yousafzai also uses the translated version of the citation. It is taken from Surah Al-Fatihah which is the first verse in the opening chapter in the Quran (Āzād & Latif 1958:45). The fact that she chooses to open her speeches with a religious citation from the Quran signifies the importance of religion to her, which also is connected to her cultural background. Religion can also be connected to a person's ideology, which is the topic of the next section.

2.4 Ideology

Ideology is closely related to language as people need language to communicate their ideologies. Philips argues that: 'language has become relevant in the study of ideology because of its widely recognized involvement both in thought and in social action and for some because of its concreteness or materiality' (1992:377). In other words, the study of language and the study of ideology go hand in hand. Ideology can also be defined as: 'a coherent set of ideas and beliefs adhered to by a group of people that provides an organized and systematic representation of the world about which they can agree on' (Charteris-Black 2011:21-22). In this way an ideology can work as an agent to gather people who share the same view, whether they come from different backgrounds or not. This makes it a social

phenomenon as it: ‘contributes to the formation of a group identity and provides the basis for communicating a world view to others’ (Charteris-Black 2011:22). Accordingly ideologies contribute to group formations in the society, where beliefs and views are related to an identity that keeps them together, and together they communicate this ideology to others.

When language is used in politics, it reflects how the ideas and beliefs behind the language have been shaped. Accordingly, political argument can be viewed as ideological, as it is rooted in series of beliefs, and the language in political texts will reflect the ideological position of those who represent it. Groups in society will either support or be against political ideologies that are based on a set of intentions claimed to be 'right' and that combine right thinking with having the right intentions (Charteris-Black 2011:22). Politicians tend to underline the fact that they are doing what is best for the people, and that their ideology is based on good intentions rather than being related to the interest in gaining power and political influence.

Ideological power is according to Fairclough ‘the power to protect one's practice as universal and 'common sense' (2001:27), which makes it significant in this study, as Yousafzai practises her ideology in this way. By studying the language in political discourse, one can study how it contains various ideas based on the way it is constructed. Another aspect is that the ideological position of an audience will affect their response to the ideology that is being expressed (Beard 2000:18). Due to this, a political figure should consider Fairclough’s argument ‘an ideology is most effective when its workings are least visible’ (2001:71) before they enter the stage.

An ideology is usually connected to a speaker's morals and values and/or the cultural background these are based on. It will therefore vary to a great extent how an ideology works and is communicated among different groups in society. Yousafzai's ideology is clearly connected to her personality and culture, and example 8 demonstrates how her ideology is manifested when she refers to her religious beliefs:

- (8) There is no better way to explain the importance of books than to say that even God chose the medium of a book to send His message to His people. (Birmingham)

Her ideology can be analysed as being based on cultural and social problems. Such ideologies

that are formed on the basis of problems in society can acquire a certain status in the course of ideological struggles, and appeal to the audience on several levels if they share the desire to change the current situation. This is based on the idea that people will be attracted to an individual who offers them a future that is better than the past and someone who gives them hope by making anything seem possible (Charteris-Black 2011:27). This is exactly what Yousafzai does in her speeches, she is also a symbol of survival and strength as she survived and continued her political campaign after being shot in the head. Example 9 is taken from her first speech after the attack on her, and it illustrates how Yousafzai offers hope:

- (9) No one can stop us. We will speak for our rights and we will bring change through our voice. We must believe in the power and the strength of our words. Our words can change the world.
(U.N.)

As the example illustrates, her ideology is reflected in the vocabulary. A discussion of how her ideology is expressed in her speeches will be provided along with the analysis of rhetorical devices in chapter 6.

2.5 Rhetorical devices

Considering that rhetoric is about persuading, rhetorical devices are linguistic features used in rhetoric to persuade. To appeal to their audience and hearers, public speakers adopt a range of rhetorical devices and strategies in their speeches (Hillier 2004:124). Rhetorical strategies are also often polyvalent, serving a number of communicative functions simultaneously (Condor et al. 2013:11). In this way rhetorical devices are organised according to which function a speech is meant to have, whether it is only to affect, or initially persuade the audience. One of these strategies can be the 'style' of speaking the speaker chooses to use, which is manifested through a range of modes of communication, but also semiotic modes such as physical appearance, body language and symbolic action (Charteris-Black 2014:30). The following sections will briefly discuss some common devices, and chapter 6 entails the analysis of how Yousafzai has applied them in the material.

2.5.1 Figures of speech

The term *figurative language* is self-explaining as it refers to language that entails figures of speech. *Trope* is the traditional rhetorical term for the whole range of figurative language, and

its derivation implies its function – to *turn* meanings into words via less direct mode of expression (Cockroft & Cockroft 1992:118). One example of figurative language is poetic language, as it is common that words are used creatively in poetry to describe feelings or emotions. Figurative language can hence be described as being more expressive and/or poetic than referential in its linguistic function (Chandler & Munday 2011). This type of language carries a certain function that writers are aware of when using it.

Figurative language entails metaphor, contrastive pairs, three-part lists and other figures of speech which carry certain connotations when they are applied. Whereas denotation is the referential meaning, the barest core of a word's meaning, connotation refers to the level of meaning based on associations people attach to words (Beard 2000:3). Accordingly figurative language leads to the creation of a number of associations to words, which makes it useful in the act of persuasion. This device is commonly used in political speeches as a part of rhetoric, and the different elements of it will briefly be described in the next section.

2.5.2 Metaphor

A metaphor can be defined as: ‘a word or phrase that is used with a sense that differs from another more common or more basic sense that this word or phrase has’, so the word or phrase which is used as a metaphor can be traced back to the 'source domain' which refers to its literal meaning (Charteris-Black 2011:31). Another definition is: ‘metaphor replaces *one word* with another, resulting in one *concept* representing another’ (Cockroft & Cockroft 1992:118). Accordingly it can be a larger linguistic element than just one word. The word itself stems from the Greek word *metapherein*, which means *to transfer*, so the central notion of metaphor is one in which meanings are transferred, and as word senses are not stable over time, these meanings will change as societies change (Charteris-Black 2011:31).

According to Lakoff and Johnson's theory of *conceptual metaphors*, metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not only in language but in thought and action (2003:3), and the most fundamental values in a culture will be coherent with the metaphorical structure of the most fundamental concepts in the culture (2003:22). An example is the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. The metaphor consists of a source and a target domain, where the source is a more physical domain and the target more abstract, making *journey* the source and *life* the target domain (Kövecses 2005:5-6). A source domain may also apply to several targets and

vice versa. The analysis of conceptual metaphors in the material will be discussed in section 6.11, and it will also be commented on what kind of effect they have on the audience.

In the political context, metaphors can be used as a device to persuade the audience, because they allow the general public to grasp the meaning of political events and feel a part of the process (Mio 1997:130). Metaphor is also an effective means for politicians to develop persuasive arguments by applying what is familiar, and already experienced, to new topics to demonstrate that they are thinking rationally about political issues (Charteris-Black 2011:35). An example is the use of proverbs and clichés as these are highly metaphoric, but their persuasive impact will vary in proportion to their familiarity (Cockroft & Cockroft 1992:119).

Example 10 illustrates how Yousafzai uses a well-known metaphor to connect it to her personal story:

- (10) The wise saying, “The pen is mightier than sword” was true. The extremists are afraid of books and pens. The power of education frightens them. They are afraid of women. The power of the voice of women frightens them. And that is why they killed 14 innocent medical students in the recent attack in Quetta. And that is why they killed many female teachers and polio workers in Khyber Pukhtoon Khwa and FATA. That is why they are blasting schools every day. Because they were and they are afraid of change, afraid of the equality that we will bring into our society. (U.N.)

By using a metaphor that the audience can relate to, she attempts to make the audience grasp the situation in her home country by making a connection between something familiar and the acts of the Taliban. Additionally, she extends the weapon metaphor to books and education, which is one of many conceptual metaphors she applies, see further section 6.1.1.

Metaphors are also culture-specific because they arise from our expectations about a certain meaning a word or phrase should have, which is based on our previous knowledge about how these have been used in the past (Charteris-Black 2011:31). Yousafzai is therefore able to determine to a certain degree, based on her previous knowledge, which associations her audience will generate to the topics of her speeches when she applies metaphors. An example is how Yousafzai uses *brothers and sisters* instead of *ladies and gentlemen*. Whereas *ladies and gentlemen* is a formal and common way for a speaker to address the audience, *brothers and sisters* is not. The use of *brothers and sisters* establishes a connection that makes the

audience view her in another way than what they would have done if she had said *ladies and gentlemen*. A discussion of this metaphor will be presented in section 6.1.4.

2.5.3 Three-part lists

According to Hillier, 'In a 'three-part list' a particular point is made by use of a series of three specific components' (2004:124). A three-part list is a rhetorical device that is commonly used by politicians in their speeches, and Yousafzai applies one that was used by Tony Blair in 2001 (The Guardian 2016):

(11) I believe the only solution is: **education, education, education!** (Amnesty)

Even though the contexts for the use were different, the effect of this three-part list is strong as it is making a very clear statement. As three-part lists are spoken out loud, the importance of pitch, tempo and rhythm increases, and play a major part in their effect and how successful they are in the speech (Beard 2000:39). Furthermore, the three-part list is attractive to the speaker and the listener because it is embedded in many cultures as giving a sense of unity and completeness (Beard 2000:38). This means that different cultures and languages will apply various three-part lists in conversation or speeches to affect and persuade their listeners. Yousafzai makes use of this device frequently in her speeches, and example 12 illustrates how she has presented an argument by the use of a three-part list:

(12) I am the same Malala. My ambitions are the same. My hopes are the same. My dreams are the same. (U.N.)

The three concepts *ambitions*, *hopes* and *dreams* have been placed together to reinforce her previous statement that nothing is changed in her life. Three-part list strengthens the impression Yousafzai tries to make the audience believe in, and the repetitive pattern functions to underline that what she is saying is the truth. Three-part lists will be discussed further in section 6.3.

2.5.4 Contrastive pairs - antithesis

Contrastive pairs, also known as antithesis, is a frequently used device in rhetoric. It can be defined as a semantic relation of opposition or contrast (Charteris-Black 2014:40). This

device is manifested when two words that are opposed are put together in a contrary relationship, where the prime importance is the lexical opposition of contrary meanings (Cockroft & Cockroft 1992:126). By using this device it creates a stark contrast, and this makes it easier for the audience to relate to, as the image becomes black and white. When a politician uses a contrastive pair such as *peace* and *war*, it portrays a clear image to what the most preferable option would be. Yousafzai applies it quite often in her speeches, and it becomes very efficient as it supports the case she is arguing for, by connecting the positive concept to what she is promoting, and the negative concept to what she is against.

(13) And our **beautiful dreams** turned into **nightmares**. (Nobel)

Contrast: beautiful dreams and nightmares

In example 13 *beautiful dreams* are used as a contrast to *nightmares* to create an image of the situation she was facing in her home country. The analysis of contrastive pairs in the material will be discussed in section 6.2.

2.5.5 Repetition

Repetition is probably the major resource of schematic rhetoric (Cockroft & Cockroft 1992:131), it is very commonly used in political speeches, and there are various forms of repetition that can be applied in speeches to persuade the audience. When it is applied, it communicates a sense of conviction, and conviction rhetoric is grounded in ethical appeal and arouses emotions in the audience (Charteris-Black 2011:10). By arousing emotions in the audience, a speaker has managed to engage them by her choice of words. However, repetition is not only used to arouse emotions, but it is also used by the speaker to express her emotions (Cockroft & Cockroft 1992:131). In this way repetition plays an important role for both speaker and the audience and how they are affected by the speech.

Repetition can appear in various forms, lexical or semantic, and words or clauses can be a part of the repetitive sequence. Cockroft and Cockroft (1992) divide repetition into four main categories, but emphasise how there can be substantial variation within these and that their use also can be extended beyond the sentence to the paragraph. The following four are: Identical syntactic structure in each clause, identical or similar length in each clause, a similar rhythm in each clause or an antithetical balance within or between clauses (Cockroft & Cockroft 1992:129). Another form of listing is by listing clauses: First, second, and third,

which explicitly demonstrates the relationship between the three concepts by connecting them by numbers. Listing words or concepts is another form of repetition that can be applied in speeches. Three-part lists will include three, as discussed in the previous section, but there are also other variations with four or more concepts that can be listed together to create a certain effect. The same clause can also be repeated in a sequence, as example 14 illustrates:

- (14) So today, **we call upon** the world leaders to change their strategic policies in favour of peace and prosperity. **We call upon** the world leaders that all the peace deals must protect women and children's rights. **We call upon** all governments to ensure free compulsory education for every child all over the world. **We call upon** all governments to fight against terrorism and violence, to protect children from brutality and harm... (U.N.)

In example 14 Yousafzai expresses her ideology, and has used repetition as a device to strengthen the conviction of her appeal to the audience. The appeal also includes the audience by the use of *we* instead of *I*, which implies that they also are a part of Yousafzai's campaign. By using this form of repetition and personal pronoun, which can be analysed as an appeal by the use of *pathos*, she encourages the audience to support her political work. The investigation of Yousafzai's use of repetition will be presented in section 6.4.

2.5.6 References to religion and God

The use of religious language or references to God will be highly dependent on the speech situation and the speaker. The cultural aspect is also important when referring to God or other religious figures, as the speaker has to make sure that she does not offend anyone in the audience during her speech. The rhetorical objective of choosing words from the religious domain can be linked to the *ethos* of the speaker, as it strengthens the *ethos* by implying that political decisions are made on the basis of higher principles than crude self-interest (Charteris-Black 2011:217). Yousafzai refers to her religion a number of times, and her use of a phrase from the Quran was also discussed in Section 2.3. Example 15 illustrates how she refers to her religion to underline that this too is supporting her political aim for children's rights to get an education.

- (15) And Islam is a religion of peace, humanity and brotherhood. Islam says that it is not only each child's right to get education, rather it is their duty and responsibility. (U.N.)

The use of this reference to Islam implies that her commitment to the political work she is a spokesperson for is connected to her religion and the good moral and values that this includes. Yousafzai's use of religious references will be discussed in section 6.7.

2.5.7 Questions

The use of questions in speeches is a common rhetorical device, where the rhetorical question is the most famous one. Questions can moreover be used in various ways to achieve a persuasive effect in speeches. A speaker may use one question, or a series of questions, which may be authentic or inauthentic, depending on which purpose they have (Cockroft & Cockroft 1992:136). The difference is whether or not the speaker truly seeks an answer from its audience or not. If the speaker is not seeking an answer, the question can be used as a tool to affect the audience, make them consider a case or a situation, or make them focus on a dramatic aspect of the topic that is being presented or discussed by the speaker.

According to Cockroft and Cockroft (1992), there are four ways of using a question in speeches. The first is the 'rhetorical question', which is a question to which the answer is by implication obvious. The effect of using it may vary as it either can shake the confidence of an audience opposed to the persuader's view, or reinforce an opinion already formed or forming. The second type is 'multiple questioning' which consists of a barrage of rhetorical questions. The third type is 'questions and answer' that includes that the speaker asks a series of questions and answers them herself. This can reflect a superior stance in relation to audience and topic or signal a mutual effort to shed light on a murky situation. The fourth and final type is the 'open question', which is a genuine question, to which the speaker does not know the answer. This type of question tests an audience's uncleared attitude, or expresses a genuine uncertainty on a matter of common concern (1992:157).

Rhetorical question:

(16) If they suffered through the same brutal and harsh situation, how would you feel? (Nigeria)

Multiple questioning:

(17) Why to pick up weapons? Why to kill each other? Why not speak? Why not talk?
(Liberty Medal)

Question and answer:

(18) why shall we wait for them? We must speak up now, and not wait for others. (Tipperary)

Open question:

(19) What is the crime of all those children who are homeless now and who are refugees?

The study of Yousafzai's use of questions and their effect will be the topic of discussion in section 6.5.

2.6 Personal pronouns – pronoun choice

The use of personal pronouns is an interesting element of study in political language, as they can serve many functions. They are common in spoken language as they provide agency to actions, explaining who carried out the action etc. In political language the choice of pronouns and where they are used can be crucial, as they will reflect what is being said and also how the speaker wants to be perceived by the audience (Beard 2000:46). Personal pronouns can seem insignificant by first glance, but they represent words that can shape the effect the speech has on the audience. This is because they have the power to either include or exclude the audience, as well as reflecting who the speaker identifies with, for example, who are *we* and who are *they*? Another aspect is that every time a 1st or a 2nd personal pronoun are used, it will either draw attention to the speaker or the addressee, the choice the speaker makes can therefore have significant consequences (Fahnestock 2011:279). A particular advantage of personal pronouns also lies in their capacity to signal a supposed unity and common purpose implicitly (Condor et al. 2013:14). This will be the topic of discussion in chapter 4, which discusses the use of personal pronouns in the material.

This section will provide a short discussion of singular and the plural personal pronouns.

Table 2.1, provides an overview over personal, possessive, and reflexive pronouns:

Person	Personal		Possessive		Reflexive
	Subject	Object	Determiner	Pronoun	
1. Singular	I	me	my	mine	myself
Plural	we	us	our	ours	ourselves
2. Singular	you	you	your	yours	yourself
Plural	you	you	your	yours	yourselves
3. Singular	he	him	his	his	himself
	she	her	her	hers	herself
	it	it	its	-	itself
Plural	they	them	their	theirs	themselves

Table 2.1: Personal, possessive and reflexive pronouns (Hasselgård et al. 1998:126).

2.6.1 First person pronouns

The first person pronouns can have one or several referents depending on whether the singular or the plural form is used. When the singular forms are used, the emphasis is placed on the speaker, which therefore excludes the audience or the addressee. The plural forms of the first person pronouns are interesting in rhetoric as they can be used to either include the addressee, which in turn will place an emphasis on them, or exclude the audience, to shift the focus to another group.

2.6.2 Second person pronouns

Second person pronouns are used to address the audience or other addressees. They can be understood within the context they are spoken or written in, as they are used as referring to units within the speech or text. English does not distinguish between singular and plural *you*, which forces the addressee to pay attention when this pronoun is used in a speech situation. Furthermore, *you* can be used to refer to people in general as instead of *one* to make the utterance more personal. ‘*You have to be aware of*’ versus ‘*one has to be aware of*’ is an example that reflects the importance of *you*, as the speaker addresses the addressee when talking about something in general. This use of the pronoun occurs in the material, and it is called the generic form of *you* (McArthur 1998).

2.6.3 Third person pronouns

First and the second person pronouns can be interpreted in relation to the speech situation, but the reference of the third person pronouns must generally be sought in the preceding text (Hasselgård et al. 1998:127). Within the text the third person pronouns can either be used with anaphoric or cataphoric reference to another unit. When a third person pronoun is used with a

cataphoric reference it refers to a unit which is mentioned later in the discourse. In this way the reader or audience has to seek ahead in the speech or text to figure out which unit that the third person pronoun is replacing. The anaphoric reference unit functions in the opposite way, as it refers back to a unit that was written or introduced earlier. If a reader is uncertain about the referencing unit, s/he has to study what came before this reference to understand what the pronoun refers to. In a speech the reference of the third person pronouns often requires a good deal of cooperation between the speaker and the addressee (Hasselgård et al. 1998:127). It must be clear to the audience who or what the reference is replacing, which means that the speaker needs to focus on being clear when using the third person pronouns.

The pronoun *it* holds a special position among the third person pronouns as it can be both referential and non-referential. The non-referential *it* is also known as *dummy it*. This is because it refers to a formal element that is needed to produce a grammatical sentence, and there are three types of *dummy it*: *anticipatory it*, *empty it*, and *it in cleft constructions* (Hasselgård et al. 1998:322). In this thesis the types of *dummy it* will not be analysed as the study focuses on referential pronouns. They will only appear as a percentage of how frequent they are together with the referential forms of *it* in chapter 5.

2.6.4 Personal pronouns as a part of *ethos*

The use of personal pronouns can be a tool for strengthening the *ethos* of the speaker, which makes them closely connected to rhetoric. A speaker can apply personal pronouns to present her public personality, to present personal involvement and present her views on which stance the audience should take to a discussed topic. The use of *I* excludes the audience and underlines the speaker's personal engagement to a topic, compared to *we* which includes the audience and makes them responsible for past or future actions. By making the audience responsible, the speaker implies that she has the authority to do so, and if the speaker has managed to establish a reliable authoritative figure the audience will relate to this responsibility and accept it. When the pronoun *you* is applied the speaker can use it to addresses the audience, however is it not always apparent who the addressees are as *you* also can be used to exclude and include groups.

The pronominal choices in political speeches are also interesting because they have an important influence on the overall effect of the speech on the audience (Beard 2000:43).

Pronouns can for instance be applied to fulfil legitimising strategic functions by granting authority to the speaker combined with promoting positive self-presentation (Chilton 2004 in Karapetjana 2011:37). In Yousafzai's case it is important to underline her authority due to her young age, and a strategic use of pronouns can serve to strengthen her authority. As discussed earlier it is important for a speaker to establish a reliable character to be able to persuade, and this is formed through the use of personal pronouns and other rhetorical devices that will strengthen a speaker's *ethos* and appeal to the audience. Chapter 4 will discuss the use of pronouns and referents in the material, and which effect the use of them have in strengthening *ethos* and including or excluding the audience.

2.7 Modality

Modal verbs can be used as a tool to express the attitude or degree of involvement a speaker has to topics that are being discussed, and due to this they are analysed as rhetorical devices in this thesis. This is done based on Toolan's argument, reflecting Halliday (1994), which explains modality as a linguistic term that includes the numbers of ways for expressing a speaker's opinions or attitudes (2010:46). Furthermore, Charteris-Black describes modality as being used to indicate a speaker's stance, attitude or position towards what he or she is saying, and in particular the extent to which he or she believes it is: true, necessary or obligatory, or desirable or undesirable (2014:110). In this way modals can be used in various ways to reveal or disguise a speaker's attitude, which is closely connected to a speaker's public personality and stance. This makes them related to *ethos* that is one of the main rhetorical agents and therefore an essential part of the study for this thesis.

Modal verbs are used together with main verbs to express actions. Situations that have taken place in the past or present are factive as they represent actual situations and the contrast to them are the non-factive situations, those that are presented as future situations or hypothetical situations. Modal expressions of various types are used in the English language to express these future or hypothetical situations that may occur (Hasselgård et al. 1998:178). These can either be expressed with conviction or humility, depending on which strategy the speaker has in persuading the audience. In general political language seeks to remove doubt, since the public expect their leaders to present a plan of well-defined future actions, instead of a set of hypothetical notions (Charteris-Black 2014:109). In spite of this, politicians are

known for their 'empty promises' that often have been expressed with certainty and conviction in the past. It is therefore important for a speaker with a political message to decide how future or hypothetical situations should be presented to the audience, by using humility or conviction to persuade and gain support among the people.

2.7.1 Modality defined through systemic functional grammar

Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) focus on how meaning is expressed through linguistic forms. According to Thompson's (2004:30-31) introduction to SFG which is based on Halliday (1994), language has three different metafunctions, which are based on how meaning is created and understood:

1. The experiential: language used to talk about the world.
2. The interpersonal: language used to interact with people.
3. The textual: language that has been organised to fit with its context.

Halliday's view focus on language according to the meaning it conceals. Within this model of language, Halliday discusses modals as important elements of the interpersonal metafunction. In SFG, modality is viewed as a resource which sets up a semantic space between *yes* and *no*, a cline running between positive and negative poles (Martin & Rose 2003:48).

SFG uses the terms modalization and modulation for the same concepts as Quirk et al. (1985) describes as intrinsic and extrinsic modality. Halliday (1994) also established that there are five types of modal meaning, and these can be divided into: usuality, probability, obligation, inclination and ability (Martin & Rose 2003:50). The two general forms of modality that can be used will depend on the underlying speech function of the clause (Halliday 1991:335). The two types are either for negotiating services or for negotiating information.

In addition to *type*, modality can according to SFG be divided into two other systems: commitment and responsibility. Modal commitment is concerned with 'the degree to which the speaker commits herself to the validity of what she is saying' (Thompson 2004:69). This commitment can be established through three basic values running on a scale, from high value, to medium, and low. Even though the range of commitment can be placed in the different categories they are not absolute, but rather areas that reflect the modal value of

commitment (Thompson 2004:69). An example of *high* modalization is: ‘I shall under no circumstances meet her’, whereas *low modalization* will be: ‘I may have made a big mistake’. Examples that illustrate *modulation* are either *high* ‘you must do something’ or *low* ‘you can also have some food’. In the semantic space between these two are modals that belong to the median value such as: *could*, *should* and *ought to*.

2.7.2 Modality defined through descriptive grammar

Modality is discussed and defined by Quirk et al. as ‘the manner in which the meaning of a clause is qualified so as to reflect the speaker's judgement of the likelihood of the proposition it expresses being true’ (1985:219). The definition suggests that modals reflect what lies behind a speaker's utterance, her judgement of the likelihood that her proposition is true. Quirk et al. (1985:219) divide modals into two categories based on their meaning:

1. Intrinsic modality: *permission*, *obligation* and *volition*, modals that involve some kind of human control over events.
2. Extrinsic modality: *possibility*, *necessity*, and *prediction*, modals that involve human judgement of what is or is not likely to happen.

Even though there is a distinction between the two categories, the same modals can both have intrinsic and extrinsic uses depending on the context. In this thesis, the investigation of modal auxiliaries has been carried out by the use of the framework that Quirk et al. (1985) have provided. Chapter 5 presents the analysis of modal auxiliaries in the material, where additional terminology by Quirk et al. (1985) will be included.

2.7.3 Modal auxiliaries

Modality is most commonly expressed through verbs, adverbs and adjectives. The present study will focus on the use of the following main modal verbs which Toolan discusses: *can*, *could*, *may*, *might*, *must*, *should*, *will*, and *would* (2010:48). According to Toolan modal verbs support and modify the main verb, particularly with meanings to do with ability, permission and obligation (2010:48). These auxiliaries can replace each other in a sentence without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence (Hasselgård et al. 1998:161), but the meaning of the different auxiliaries can vary to a high degree.

As argued above, modality is an essential aspect of this thesis as the material is political language which expresses humility and conviction when arguments are presented. In these arguments modal auxiliaries can have a central role in reflecting the meaning Yousafzai expresses in an argument or towards a topic. The different modal auxiliaries have different degrees of intensity or emphasis, where 'it might have been her' denotes uncertainty, the use of 'it was definitely her' denotes certainty and conviction, and hence has a larger persuasive effect on the audience. Fairclough underlines the effect of modals when he discusses how the modal *may* signals permission, but not the meaning that it is 'not permitted', whereas the modal *must* signals obligation (2001:106). The study of modal auxiliaries is therefore interesting as it can provide a greater understanding on how Yousafzai has used them to express obligation, or to present future or hypothetical situations, which also can reveal the persuasive effect they have on the audience. Chapter 5 will discuss the findings of the study of modal auxiliaries, and which meaning they express when Yousafzai applies them.

2.8 Previous research within this field

Yousafzai is a social rights activist, and there have been many activists in the past, some more influential than others. Some of these activists have done extensive work to change the current situation in a country or society, appealed to the government and have been more or less successful. To my knowledge, there has not been done comprehensive research about Yousafzai's speech style as a political activist, probably due to the fact that she is a young person in the public arena. Short reviews of some of her speeches can be found online, but these are not detailed enough to be used as a source of information, and the academic level of the texts are not sufficient as a basis for further study. Some previous studies that can be relevant to her as a public person are studies of the political activist Martin Luther King, who used rhetoric to gain followers and get political impact.

Interestingly, Yousafzai have some discourse features in her speeches similar to those of Martin Luther King. According to a study of Martin Luther King's speeches conducted by Charteris-Black, the major linguistic characteristics were repetition, matching clauses, analogy, rhetorical question, and features of religious discourse (2011:84). Charteris-Black's study was based on 14 speeches by King, forming a corpus of 50 000 words (2011:83). The material of Yousafzai's speeches is not nearly as big, with only 14 500 words, so it is

questionable whether it can be compared to King's speeches, as these create a more comprehensive image of him as a speaker. However, when comparing the findings retrieved from the investigation of Yousafzai's speech material, it is evident to see that she also applies repetition, matching clauses and religious discourse frequently.

Brunvoll (1992) has written a thesis which is connected to activism, as the topic was an analysis of communicative structures in five speeches by Martin Luther King. His findings show that requesting for action is a central element, and this is done to inspire his audience to work for civil rights for African-Americans. Like Yousafzai, he also made requests and demands towards his audience. Another finding is that King relied on rhetorical argumentation to achieve the action he requests from the addressees. The results show that he is presenting information about African-Americans through narration, description and exposition, but Brunvoll emphasises that more than one approach is needed to capture important aspects (Brunvoll 1992: 133-137).

Studies of political language are more common, and Tørud (2015) presented a thesis about the leader debate in 2010 between David Cameron, Gordon Brown and Nick Clegg. This was a contrastive study based on the use of rhetoric, personal pronoun reference and modality. Her findings revealed some tendencies which could be an element in the outcome of the following election, but she concluded that it was not possible to draw any general assumptions as concerns the vocabulary of Cameron, Brown and Clegg on the basis of the investigation, but rather to say something about how they performed at that specific event (Tørud 2015:131). Furthermore, she argued that vocabulary and rhetoric alone not is able to explain the outcome of the 2010 election, but that language is likely to have been a contributing factor in the audience's overall impression of the various politicians (Tørud 2015:131).

2.8.1 Activism

Activism can be viewed as action on behalf of a cause, an action that goes beyond what is conventional or routine according to the rest of a population in a society (Martin 2007:20). The action will vary depending on which cause the action serves. Activism can both be used to end wars or start wars, depending on those who are a part of it. Actions that are based on activism can be motivated by the environment such as the cases of Martin Luther King and Malala Yousafzai, or inner motivation. Activism goes beyond conventional politics, and

activists are typically challengers to policies and practices, trying to achieve a social goal rather than obtaining power themselves (Martin 2007:21). Arnold et al. (2009) studied a group of youth (16–18 year old) activists for the environment, and they found that these young adults were motivated either by influential experiences or by influential people (Mueller & Tippins 2014:314). In other words, environment is an important keyword when discussing activism, as it can trigger activism among people and make them act against something or show support which goes beyond the conventional behaviour of people.

Internet and social media provides endless opportunities for people who wish to communicate their message, whether it is politically rooted or not. It also makes it possible for people to access information at any time or day, making it easier for activists to get their message out and gain followers whom they rely on to be able to influence the ruling elite of a country or society. Yousafzai is a part of a political rooted campaign for children's rights to get an education that her father originally started in Pakistan. She became a part of this campaign, and became a spokesperson, an activist, even though her father knew that it would possibly make her a target of the extremists that were against education for girls. The internet has played a significant role in sharing Yousafzai's message, from her daily life as a pupil in Pakistan, to her role as a well-known educational activist who managed to survive an attack which aimed at killing her, and received numerous awards for her work.

2.9 Features of feminine rhetoric style

As discussed earlier in this chapter, public speakers will aim to appeal to their audiences by presenting themselves in a certain way as a part of *ethos*. Within *ethos* are also a range of other elements speakers apply, and among them are various varieties of femininity and masculinity that a speaker can choose to emphasise. Gender is namely no longer viewed as something static, but as an aspect that is *performed* by speakers, so speakers can be viewed as 'performing' masculinity or femininity (Coates 2004:138). This view was adopted when researchers became aware that men did not prefer certain linguistic patterns or forms based on their type of gender, but because of their alignment with the norms of the culture they lived in (Coates 2004: 66). The way we speak is hence determined by non-linguistic variables such as social and cultural influences which surround us (Oancea 2011:55). This makes it possible to distinguish between feminine and masculine speech styles. Elements of feminine speech style

are a combination of personal disclosure, anecdotes and examples, and inductive reasoning, this to create relationships or connection with the audience (Dow and Tonn in Johnson 2005:7). Yousafzai applies feminine rhetoric style to a great extent as she uses anecdotes and personal experiences frequently, and in this way emphasises what is defined as feminine rhetorical style. Examples 20 and 21 illustrate the use of personal experience and anecdote:

(20) I myself have not seen my home, have not seen my country for more than two and half years.
(Education Summit)

(21) Last year, I met a girl called Mezon at the Zaatari refugee camp in Jordan. To her, the right of education is as basic as food. And is as basic, and as needed as water. (Education Summit)

The masculine speech style tends to focus on fairly absolute and assertive expressions, and compared to the feminine speech style, the language is typically more forceful, direct, and authoritative (Beck, 1988; Eakins & Eakins, 1978; Stewart et.al., 1990; Tannen, 1990a, 1990b in Wood 1994:24). Yousafzai also applies elements from the masculine speech style, and this is especially apparent when she uses the modal auxiliary *must* in a way that signals obligation. Example 22 illustrates how her appeal to the audience is expressed with confidence and directness:

(22) The dream was small, so they achieved small. But now, we **must** not repeat this mistake. We **must** aim higher. (Education Summit)

As the example illustrates, modal auxiliaries can be linked to a definite and certain style which is expressed by the use of modals that show conviction and referred to as masculine style, but they can also be used in other ways, which chapter 5 will discuss.

Another element of feminine rhetorical style is to serve as a means of empowering both speaker and audience (Dow & Tonn 1993 in Johnson 2005:9), so the speaker can in this way gain influence by applying feminine rhetorical style. By focusing on empowering the audience, it can lead to an interaction instead of a dialogue. Research by Ballotti and Kaid (2000) discovered that there is a trend towards personalization in politics, wherein political discourse puts the emphasis on a softer, more individualized communication style that does not lend itself to appearing definite and certain (Ballotti & Kaid 2000:70 in Johnson 2005:8). Accordingly this trend can be analysed as emphasising features of feminine rhetoric style.

When there is an interaction between the speaker and the audience during the time the speech is given, it results in giving the speech momentum and a feeling of shared purpose and unity (Charteris-Black 2011:84). In this way, no matter which gender the speaker has, it can gain the audience's attention and create a feeling of unity by using elements from feminine rhetorical style. The analysis of feminine rhetoric style in the material will be discussed in section 6.6

2.10 Concluding remarks on linguistic devices

The theoretical material which has been introduced in this chapter will form the foundation of the study of the main elements of this thesis: personal pronoun choice, modal auxiliaries and rhetorical devices. Yousafzai's use of personal pronouns can also be connected to persuasion and strengthening her *ethos*, and an analysis of them will be presented in chapter 4. Chapter 5 has been devoted to the investigation of modal auxiliaries in the material, together with a discussion on which effect they have in the appeal to the audience. Chapter 6 presents a study of rhetorical devices that are commonly applied in the material, namely: metaphors, contrastive pairs, repetition, the use of questions, elements of feminine rhetoric style, and religious language. The results of the investigation of in chapter 4, 5, and 6 will be summarised in the conclusion, which discusses the findings in this study and suggestions for further studies.

Chapter 3: *Material and methods*

This chapter gives a description of the material that has been used for this thesis, and the process of how and why it has been compiled. The other main topic of this chapter is the different methods which have been applied to retrieve and analyse the data, which include both qualitative and quantitative methods. Corpus linguistics will also briefly be discussed, and whether or not the material meets the criteria of this type of text collection.

3.1 **Material**

The material consists of nine speech transcripts of speeches Yousafzai has given on different occasions, where the target audience has been various media, local and global politicians, members of the general public and world leaders. The transcripts were collected in October 2015, which means that speeches Yousafzai has given after this point not has been included in the material. They are a combination of transcripts which were available on the web in writing, and transcriptions which I made according to video recordings that could be found online of Yousafzai giving the speech. The transcripts and the video recordings were found by doing research on which awards she had been given, which was followed up by searching for speech transcripts or video recordings of Yousafzai giving the speech that could be a part of my material. The transcription process included listening to the speeches online, and going through the same recording several times to make sure that every word became a part of the transcript. As the transcriptions which have been retrieved from the internet pages did not include onomatopoeia, I chose not to include these in my own transcriptions. This is because they do not play an important role in the analysis. After all the speeches had been retrieved and transcribed, they were organised into nine documents, each containing one speech.

When analysing speeches one can never take for granted that the speech has been written by the speaker herself or a speech writer, or even a team of speech writers. The use of speech-writers and the associated rise of political marketing raise important issues of authenticity, interest and authorship (Charteris-Black 2011:5). If the speaker uses speech-writers then it is very important that these people choose words that reflect the speaker's image. The speaker's personality, stance, and political identity must be reflected in the 'voice' the audience hears in

their speeches, and this therefore constrains the options that are available to the speech-writer (Charteris-Black 2011:6). Due to the age of the speaker I assume that Yousafzai has gotten some guidance and help with her speeches, but I shall analyse them as they are presented by her as reflections of her personality and stance.

3.1.1 Speeches

The speeches by Yousafzai are from different occasions where she either has received awards for her work, or when she has been chosen as a spokesperson due to her political work. Together they form the basis of my thesis, a relatively small text collection that I have named the Malala Corpus. In order to give an impression of the time perspective of the speeches, they will be presented chronologically. The online addresses which have been used in the compilation of the material can be found in a separate list in the end of the bibliography, and all the speeches can be found in Appendix 1.

1. *Speech to the United Nations on Malala Day – 12.06.2013*

The first speech transcript is the first public speech Yousafzai gave after she was shot by the Taliban on the 9th of October 2012. The speech was given on her 16th birthday, the 12th of July. This day was also when the first Youth Takeover of the United Nations took place at the United Nations Headquarters in New York. This date has ever since been known as ‘Malala Day’ at the U.N. The day was celebrated by the global community as they came together to highlight how youth can play a leading role in the process of enabling all children to get an education, and Yousafzai also dedicated her speech to the importance of universal education. The speech transcript has been retrieved from the internet, at the U.N. Secretary General's Global Initiative on Education's official page.

2. *Acceptance speech of the Tipperary International Peace Prize – 21.08.2013*

The second speech transcript is Yousafzai's acceptance speech of the Tipperary International Peace Prize. This peace prize was established in the early 1980s, and has been given to individuals who have made a special contribution to the cause of peace. Yousafzai was selected and honoured with this prize due to her work as an educational activist, especially girls' rights to get an education. In the speech she emphasises how she wants to see an end to the wars going on, and believes that education is the only way to peace. The transcription was made by myself.

3. *Speech at the inauguration of the Library of Birmingham – 03.09.2013*

The third is the transcript from her speech at the inauguration of the Library of Birmingham. At this stage Yousafzai had moved to Birmingham with her family. In her speech she is emphasising the importance of books and education. She was invited to give a speech at this occasion due to her commitment to children's rights to get an education. The transcribed version of this speech was retrieved from the library's official page.

4. *Acceptance speech of the Amnesty International Award – 17.03.2013*

The fourth transcript is from her acceptance speech in Dublin at the ceremony of the Amnesty International Ambassador of Conscience Award. The award recognizes 'human rights defenders who are willing to dedicate themselves entirely to promoting education and the rights of the world's most vulnerable children (Amnesty International 2014). In her speech Yousafzai is focusing on women and how in many countries they are deprived of the right to get an education, and appeals to the audience that they should write to their government and ask them to focus on education. I transcribed this speech myself.

5. *Acceptance speech of the Humanitarian of the Year – 27.03.2013*

The fifth is the transcript of the speech Yousafzai held at Harvard University. This was when she was awarded as the Humanitarian of the Year by Harvard University. According to their home page the Humanitarian Award is given to 'an individual whose works and deeds have served to improve the quality of our lives and have inspired us to greater heights' (The President and Fellows of Harvard College 2015). In this speech she is focusing on the importance of education for everyone, and appeals to the audience to work for a bright future where everyone is allowed to get an education. The speech transcript was written by me.

6. *Speech in Nigeria on Malala Day – 12.06.2014*

The sixth speech transcript is Yousafzai's speech at 'Malala Day' in 2014. This is the longest speech in the material. The speech was held on the second 'Malala Day' in history. She states in the speech that the reason for why she chose to spend her 17th birthday in Nigeria and donate money to schools there, is to emphasise the importance of girl's rights to education in the country, and in other countries where girls are deprived of education due to poverty, wars or cultural norms that force them to stay home or work. I transcribed this speech in myself.

7. *Acceptance speech of the Liberty Medal – 21.10.2014*

The seventh is Yousafzai's acceptance speech at the Liberty Medal Ceremony at the National Constitution Center in Philadelphia. This award was established in 1988, and previous award winners include: Nelson Mandela, Sandra Day O'Connor, Kofi Annan, and Colin Powell. According to their homepage this medal is awarded annually by the National Constitution Center to men and women of courage and conviction who have strived to secure the blessings of liberty to people the world over (National Constitution Center 2015). Yousafzai shares her personal story and how the attack on her not kept her from continuing the political campaign she is promoting. This speech was transcribed by me from the online video recording.

8. *Nobel Lecture by Malala Yousafzai – 10.12.2014*

The eight speech is the Nobel lecture she held in Oslo in December in 2014. This was after she had received the Nobel Peace Prize for her work as an educational activist, and standing up for girls' rights to get an education. She received the award together with the human rights activist Kailash Satyarthi from India. The speech is one of the longer speeches she has given. The transcription was retrieved from the Nobel Peace Prize's official web page.

9. *Speech at Oslo Education Summit – 07.07.2015*

The ninth transcript is from the speech she held at the Education Summit in Oslo 2015. This is the most recent speech in the material. Yousafzai was 18 years at this stage, and she may have had a bigger part in the speech writing than what she had in her first speeches. In this speech she makes an appeal to the world leaders, by stating that books are a better investment than bullets, and requests everyone to join her in the campaign of assuring all children 12 years of free, quality primary and secondary education. The transcribed version of the speech was retrieved from the official page of the Malala Fund.

Table 3.1 provides an overview of the material and the size of each speech.

	Name of speech	Date	Word Count
1	United Nations (U.N.)	12.07.2013	1 519
2	Tipperary	21.08.2013	1 568
3	Birmingham	03.09.2013	632
4	Amnesty	17.09.2013	680
5	Harvard	27.09.2013	834
6	Nigeria	12.07.2014	2 462
7	Liberty Medal	21.10.2014	2 161
8	Nobel	10.12.2014	2 225
9	Education Summit	07.07.2015	1 321
	Total:		13 402

Table 3.1: Size of the speeches that form the corpus.

The nine speeches span over a period of approximately two years. As table 3.1 illustrates, the length of the speeches varies to a high degree. However, all of them contain central elements of rhetoric, and an analysis of these elements will form the basis of chapters 4, 5 and 6.

3.2 Methods

The methods that have been applied in this study include a quantitative corpus study of frequency rates, organising words by the use of corpus investigation and corpus tools, and a qualitative discourse analysis of words and clauses in the material. The material was studied to determine the frequency of modal auxiliaries and personal pronouns, and to figure out how the rhetorical devices had been applied to establish the persuasive significance that all elements had together. The political context was also considered in the study, as the material communicates an ideology through political language.

3.2.1 Corpus Linguistics

As my study has been conducted on the basis of a text corpus, the following sections will give a brief account of what a corpus is, and what corpus linguistics entails. According to McEnery and Hardie, corpus linguistics focuses on a group of methods for studying language (2012:1). Respectively they view corpus linguistics as concentrating on methods which entail several elements researchers can apply in the study of language.

Sinclair defines a corpus as ‘a collection of pieces of language text in electronic form, selected according to external criteria to represent, as far as possible, a language or language variety as a source of data for linguistic research’ (2004). Accordingly it provides linguists with the opportunity to do research on language by the use of computers and programs that can generate frequencies and provide information about the context of the research object. In this way, corpus linguistics allows researchers to study languages and linguistic features on a large scale. This approach means that the study can be conducted in a relatively short time frame, as all the researchers need are search strings that will help them to find exactly what they are trying to investigate. The results they get are also quite reliable as the information has been generated by a machine rather than a person. However, one has to take into account that people have compiled the different corpora, so inaccuracies may occur. Corpus studies can be carried out by focusing on one variety of English, such as the British National Corpus, to study certain features that occur in texts that have been collected from different categories, i.e. novels, academic texts, newspapers etc. Another approach is to use corpora for comparative studies, where the aim is to compare languages or varieties of English to look for similar and different uses of words or word classes; the options are countless.

3.2.2 Does the material constitute a corpus?

The Malala Corpus has been compiled for the purpose of this thesis. Compared to corpora, such as the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) with 450 million words, the Lancaster Oslo/Bergen Corpus (LOB) with 1,000,000 words, or the British National Corpus (BNC) with 100,000,000 words, my corpus is very small. This is due to lack of access to Yousafzai’s complete speech material, and the short time period she has been in the media which becomes a factor that restrains the available material from her as a public speaker.

However, according to Sinclair's definition in section 3.2.1, the Malala Corpus can be defined as a corpus. This is based on what this definition entails, which Sinclair (2004) discusses in his article about developing linguistic corpora. Firstly Sinclair (2004) discusses the contents and how this should be selected according to their communicative function in the community where they are used, secondly he states that those who compile a corpus should strive to make the corpus as representative as they possibly can of the language that has been used for it. This has been done in my case, as all written and recorded versions of Yousafzai’s speeches that could be found online in 2015 have been included in the corpus.

Furthermore, Sinclair argues that the size of the samples of language in a corpus can vary, but the optimal situation is when these samples consist of complete documents or transcripts of entire speech events (2004). This element has been fulfilled as the whole speech is included in each transcript. Another aspect Sinclair emphasises, is that the way a corpus has been composed should be documented, which includes the justification of why the selections of language samples have been chosen (2004). As this corpus represents a selection of speeches by one public person, the reasons for choosing them are clear, they represent the object of this study. The documentation of the composition has also been discussed in this chapter, which fulfils the criteria for developing a linguistic corpus according to Sinclair's (2004) principles.

3.2.3 Retrieving data for the investigation

After placing the speeches in one file, the relevant data was retrieved by applying the software AntConc (<http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/>). This program is a corpus analysis toolkit, which can be used for creating concordance lines and analysing texts. It made the quantitative investigation of the data efficient, as the number of occurrences of the various search words formed the frequency tables. Each personal pronoun and modal auxiliary was typed into the search string box, which then generated a concordance of the instances found in the material. However, it was only possible to search for words or clauses and not word classes, and this required me to check all the incidents in the concordance lines manually.

The quantitative part of this study was carried out by using AntConc to search in the data to study frequency rates of personal pronouns and modal auxiliaries (chapter 4 and 5). As the focus was on finding the number of occurrences, the study was mainly quantitative. All the occurrences were checked to make sure that only personal pronouns and modal auxiliaries became a part of the final data. The qualitative part of the study (chapter 6) is a discourse analysis where special textual features have been studied. The study was undertaken manually by close reading the material to find rhetorical devices that were relevant for this study, which included: contrastive pairs, three-part lists and repetition. This approach was also applied to find elements of feminine style and figurative language, such as metaphors, personification, metonymy and idioms. The automatic retrieval would not have been suitable for this study, as these rhetorical elements are formed by several constituents that can express the same meaning without being structured in the same way.

3.3 Qualitative versus quantitative analysis

When working with corpus/corpora, a study can be conducted by focusing on either quantitative or qualitative analysis forms, or by applying both methods. According to McEnery and Hardie, the best corpus analyses are both qualitative and quantitative (2012:249), and this thesis has been formed by using both. To define the two methods in a simple way one can describe a quantitative analysis as being based on frequencies and statistics, whether basic statistics such as frequency or more advanced techniques, and a qualitative analysis as not being dependant on numeric data, but rather can be the study of words and their usage in a discourse (McEnery & Hardie 2012:249).

The two methods cover different aspects of language use, and it is therefore important to apply both in corpus-based research. Frequency rates will provide information about the level of occurrences of a word/word class, however, it will not provide the investigators with any information about what kind of contexts the element of study has been used in. A qualitative analysis which interprets the concordances will provide information about the context of the object of study, which gives them a broader sense of the use in the text collection they are working with. When studying concordance lines, the researchers also have the opportunity to study the common collocates of the word/word class they are doing research on.

In this thesis the quantitative analysis provided corpus data that could be used in chapter 4, which discusses the communicative functions and persuasive effect of personal pronouns, and chapter 5 which discusses modality as an element in rhetoric. The data was interpreted functionally in order to assess the use of these items in political persuasion. A qualitative analysis of the material was conducted to study the persuasive effect in the contexts of the personal pronouns, modal auxiliaries, and rhetorical devices applied by Yousafzai. The qualitative analysis was an aspect that needed to be included as the quantitative data not could provide me with sufficient information about the persuasive effect certain constructions could have on the audience. As the material of the thesis has been presented together with the methods that were applied in the study, the topic of discussion will turn in to the use of personal pronouns in the material and their persuasive effect in the appeal to the audience.

Chapter 4: *Personal pronouns*

Personal pronouns are used to replace noun phrases that most often to refer back to people and things that already have been identified in the text. It was noted in section 2.6 that they can be used as a tool in political speeches to create a certain image or personality of the speaker, and applied in arguments to indicate the speaker's view on topics that are discussed. Additionally, they can be used as a rhetorical device to emphasise the speaker, addressee or other groups outside of the co-text. This chapter will provide an overview and a discussion of the frequency of personal pronouns in the material and which contexts they have been used in. The analysis will provide an outline over the use of first, second and third person pronouns and the different uses of the singular and plural forms. The rhetorical function of the personal pronouns according to *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos*, will also be discussed in the present analysis.

The analysis of the personal pronouns has been carried out by using AntConc to create frequency lists of each pronoun, and concordance lines to analyse the linguistic context. Each pronoun was analysed and organised in different categories which will be presented in the following sections. Figure 4.1 and 4.2 present an overview over the occurrences of personal pronouns in the material, and the possessive determiners are also included.

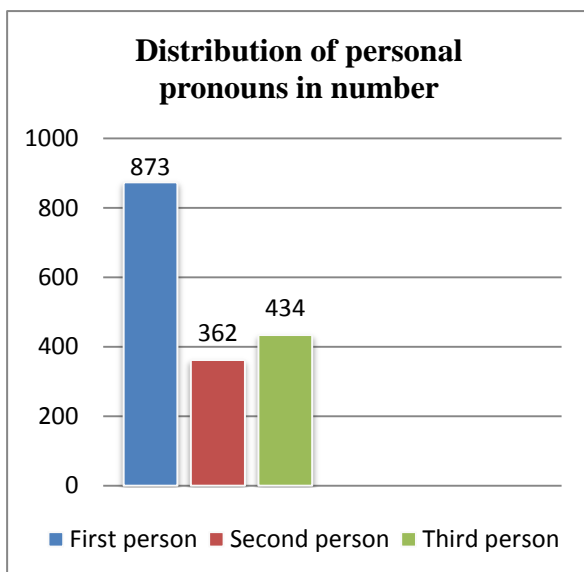


Figure 4.1: Distribution of personal pronouns in number.

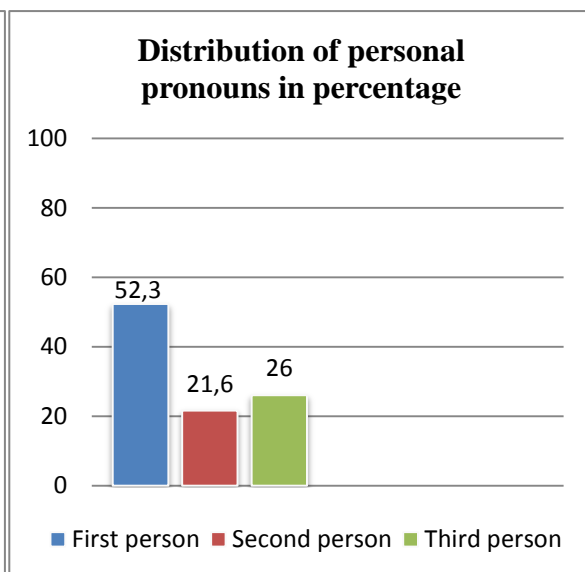


Figure 4.2: Distribution of personal pronouns in percentage.

4.1 First person pronouns

As figure 4.1 and 4.2 illustrate, the first person pronouns have the highest frequency in the material. This indicates that there is a great involvement from Yousafzai, as she uses *I/me* to refer to herself and includes the audience by the use of *we/us*. Thus, her use of these pronouns can possibly contribute to increasing the degree of involvement among the addressees. The analysis was carried out by focusing on the pronouns in table 4.1 and excluding the possessive and reflexive forms. That was due to the low frequency of those forms, which also do not seem to have the same rhetorical function as the subject/object forms.

Singular				Plural				Total use of 1 st person personal pronouns	
<i>I</i>		<i>Me</i>		<i>We</i>		<i>Us</i>			
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
340	51.9	72	10.9	185	28	58	8.8	655	100

Table 4.1: Distribution of first person personal pronouns.

4.1.1 The use of *I* in the material

I is the fifth most frequent word in the whole material, which gives a strong indication of Yousafzai's preference of this word. This pronoun only refers to the speaker and excludes everyone else. By applying self-reference in the speeches, Yousafzai affects how the arguments are perceived by the audience as the focus is on her involvement of the topic.

After the frequency had been found in AntConc, concordance lines were made to study the contexts around *I*. The analysis focused on what kind of verbs that were used together with *I* in all the 340 instances. Then, the pronoun was organised into several categories according to which context the statement had been made in. These were how Yousafzai has used *I* to present statements to express her personal opinion, expressing action, to present personal experiences, as an element in relational verb processes, and in anecdotes or quotes. The reason why *I* has been divided into these categories is based on the findings in the material which reflect her way of presenting arguments. Yousafzai is a young speaker, and has achieved great political influence through her work and her speeches. This is why it is essential to study if there are any patterns in how she has presented arguments that initially can have contributed to her current influential status. The distributions are shown in table 4.2:

Expressing opinion		Expressing action		Personal experiences/ anecdotes		Identifying relational clause		Quotes		Total	
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
92	27	145	42.6	77	22.6	23	6.7	3	0.8	340	100

Table 4.2: Distribution of the different contexts of *I*.

Expressing opinion

Yousafzai uses *I* in various formulations to express her personal opinion in the speeches. The concordance lines in AntConc revealed that the most frequent expressions of opinion were: *I am*, *I want*, *I know*, *I believe* and *I think*. The occurrences and the percentage are presented in table 4.3, and the expressions are discussed in the following sections.

<i>I am</i>		<i>I want</i>		<i>I know</i>		<i>I believe</i>		<i>I think</i>		Total	
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
27	40.9	19	28.7	8	12	7	10.6	7	10.6	66	100

Table 4.3: The five most frequent forms of expressing opinion and the frequency.

(23) As far as **I know**, **I am** just a committed and even stubborn person who wants to see every child getting quality education.. (Nobel)

By using the opening phrase *as far as I know*, Yousafzai presents her beliefs in a way that seem like common sense or general ideas to make the audience not question what is being said. By stating *I am just*, she also lays emphasis on that she is nothing special, which is a way of appealing to the audience by the use of *ethos* to describe her character in a modest way.

(24) **I know** and **I believe** that you must have your personal legends and dreams, which is your dear right to have. (Harvard)

In example 24 Yousafzai uses both *know* and *believe* to underline that this is her opinion. While *knowing* is a more like a statement, the word *believe* connotes how this not is something she only is saying, but truly believes in. Together these two elements function to underline how personal the utterances are for her.

(25) **I think** they committed a big mistake. (Liberty Medal)

In 25 she states her personal opinion by using *I think* to underline that this is what she personally claims. Yousafzai uses *they* as a contrast to *I*, as *they* refers to the people from the Taliban whom attacked her, and that their attempt to kill her only led to negative outcomes for them as she has continued her work.

(26) People know me as the girl who was shot by the Taliban, but **I don't want** to be the girl who was shot by the Taliban, **I want to** be to be the girl who fought for the rights of every child, whether girl or boy, their right of education, and their right of equality. (Tipperary)

Example 26 illustrates how Yousafzai has applied *I* to express her opinion about how she wants to be perceived by people. First she states how she does not want to be perceived to then underline how she actually wants people to view her. This reference to how other people view her, allows her to apply this contrast, which serves the function of making it possible for her to implicitly present her public personality.

The examples show how *I* has been used when she expresses her opinion, and also indicate her relationship to the situation and topic she is discussing. The pronoun *I* plays an important role as it makes the statements more personal. The usage in these examples can be analysed as an element of *ethos* as she refers to her personality, personal views and how she wishes to be referred to by others.

Expressing action

Expressions of actions or hypothetical situations are the most frequent contexts of the pronoun *I*. All the instances, whether they were past, present or future actions have been analysed and organised in table 4.4.

Expressing actions						Total	
Past		Present		Future			
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
27	18.6	88	60.6	30	20.6	145	100

Table 4.4: Distribution of past, present and future verb forms used with *I*.

The table shows that the distributions of past and future actions are quite equal, while the number of present actions is significantly higher. The reason why the actions and hypothetical situations she discusses are set in the present tense, may be based on her strategy of making

an appeal to the addressees that is connected to the current situation.

In examples 27 and 28 Yousafzai applies *I* to express actions that are set in the present time. These can be referred to as *speech acts*, which are utterances defined in terms of intention and/or effect (Cook 1989:158).

- (27) **I speak up** for every girl who has been robbed of her right of safe and quality education.
(Liberty Medal)
- (28) **I request** you, lay down your weapons. (Nigeria)

Cook (1989) describes speech act theory by referring to Austin (1962) who formulated this discourse theory, and Searle (1969, 1975) who further developed it. Speech act theory entails several aspects of discourse, but the act Yousafzai uses in her speeches can be analysed in terms of how utterances are viewed as having underlying force. This force can be divided into *locution*: the formal literal meaning of the words, *illocution*: the act of saying the utterance, and *perlocution*: the overall aim of the discourse, so an utterance can have *illocutionary* and *perlocutionary* force (Cook 1989:39). The illocutionary force of the statements can be analysed as Yousafzai places herself in a role, where she in 27 speaks on someone else's behalf, and in 28 holds the power to request someone to follow her appeal. The statements can indicate that she is claiming a position with power to do this, without anyone questioning it. The perlocutionary force can be analysed as underlining her political campaign and presenting herself as a confident spokesperson. By analysing Yousafzai's utterances it is possible to figure out which function they serve, which also reflects her representation of herself.

According to table 4.4, Yousafzai expresses a number of past and future actions. Example 29 illustrates a past action and example 30 illustrates a future:

- (29) **I spoke** about the Taliban's attack on my life, and attempt to silence me forever. (Nigeria)
- (30) **I will read** thousands of books (Birmingham)

In example 29 Yousafzai refers to what she said in the speech on her last birthday. However, the utterance can be related to how Yousafzai has used metaphors in the material and appealed by the use of *pathos* to affect the audience on an emotional level. The metaphor is *silence me forever* which is a description of what she went through, so she applies this device in the description of a past event. Example 30 illustrates how she is presenting an act she is

planning to do in the future. The act of reading books is positive as it will expand her vocabulary and extend her knowledge, so it can be analysed as an element of *ethos* as she is connecting positive elements to herself to give a positive impression of her character.

Personal experiences and anecdotes:

As the numbers reveal, anecdotes containing *I* are quite common in the material. This may be a part of the feminine rhetorical style that was presented in section 2.9 and will be discussed in section 6.6. Yousafzai either consciously or unconsciously uses these features in her speeches when she is presenting arguments and making appeals.

(31) Birmingham is very special for me because it is here that **I** found myself alive, seven days after **I** was shot. (Birmingham)

(32) **I** went to Nigeria on my seventeenth birthday to raise their voice, because we all know that there are more than 270 girls who are abducted by Boko Haram, and **I** was waiting because it is the sixth month and **I** was waiting that they would be released. (Liberty Medal)

This style may be used intentionally as agent within *pathos* to appeal to the audience's emotions by portraying stories from reality, creating imagery, so the audience easily can relate to them. The repetition of *I was waiting* also implies that Yousafzai has a personal involvement of wanting to get the abducted girls from Chibok back home, so the use of *I* in example 32 can be analysed as underlining her intentions and in this way strengthen her *ethos*.

Relational process – the process of being

Yousafzai states that she is a spokesperson for children who do not have the opportunity to get an education, and she is using *I* in contexts to represent their voices. However, in some cases, she is stating that she *is* them. This verb process belongs to the category of relational verb processes, which refers to processes of being. The process differentiates between three types of being: the intensive type where 'x equals a', the circumstantial type where 'x is at a', and the possessive type where 'x has a' (Halliday 1991:112). Yousafzai's usage is according to this categorisation the intensive relational process. This category can be divided in two modes: attributive where 'a is an attribute of x' and identifying where 'a is the identity of x' (Halliday 1991:112). Examples 33 and 34 illustrate how Yousafzai has used identifying relational process to link herself to the concept of being deprived of education:

(33) **I** am Malala. But **I** am also Shazia. (Nobel)

(34) **I** am Amina. **I** am those 66 million girls who are deprived of education (Nobel)

By using *I* as an element in this verb process, she identifies herself with girls who are deprived of education. This contributes to make a strong impression of her commitment to the audience. She is not only someone who stands and observes, she states that she is one of them by naming another girl she has referred to earlier in the speech, and through this declaring responsibility for her situation by representing her voice. When she states *I am those*, she connects herself to them, which can be analysed as reflecting her personal involvement. Yousafzai has also applied the attributive relational process, where she views herself as an attribute (the voice), of the concept (children who need to get an education) she describes:

(35) **I am** here as the voice of children (Education Summit)

The use of this relational process places Yousafzai in the position of having the power to speak for children, so it can function as strengthening her *ethos*, as she implies that there is selfless reason why she is present in the speech situation. Another example is when she applies the identifying relational process to another group in the society:

(36) **I am** a student (Liberty Medal)

Example 36 can also be analysed as an element of *ethos*, as it reflects her current status in society. The function this usage has is by placing herself in a certain group which carries a set of connotations the audience can relate to.

Quotes

The only quotes that have been used together with *I* can be viewed as debatable, whether they are quotes or not. Yousafzai presents them as quotes, and that is why they have been placed in this section.

(37) And I believe that not only people, but even death supported me, and death did not want me so early, and said: “**you'll just go I'll just see you later**”. (Liberty Medal)

(38) I say: why should **I** not speak? (Liberty Medal)

The quote in example 37 starts with her personal opinion, what she presents that she believes. It can be analysed as a hypothetical statement as *death* is a part of it. She is giving death human qualities through personification as death gets the ability to speak. The situation is presented as an incident where death has spoken to her. The function of this element is debatable as it reflects that she believes in an afterlife, but it can also be analysed as an implication that she was not meant to die early as she has unfinished work. In example 38 she is presenting it as a question she has been asked and presents her response, and quotes it to the audience. This example can be analysed as strengthening her *ethos* as it portrays her in a positive way by underlining her dedication to work for children's rights.

Humour

I can also be connected to Yousafzai's use of humour in the speeches. The only times an appeal has been made to engage the audience on a different level than being politically correct is when Yousafzai makes humorous comments that are connected to herself. Cockcroft and Cockcroft view humour as an expression of the persuader's personality by being an indicator of stance, as the use of it conveys 'warmth of thought' (1992:24). The examples from the material can definitely be analysed as an expression of her own personality.

- (39) **I** think the podium is always taller than me unfortunately. And even though my, my, my shoes are like two inches taller but still, does not work. (Liberty Medal)
- (40) **I** was not afraid of anything except some ghosts and a few dragons et cetera. (Liberty Medal)
- (41) Dear and respected brothers and sisters, General Secretary Salil Shetty, Bono, Lord Mayor, Minister for Education, Roger Waters and Harry Belafonte. Am **I** right? (Amnesty)

Examples 39, 40 and 41 illustrate how *I* has been used to express elements of humour. In 39 and 40 the statements are directly connected to her by the use of *I*, and clear examples on how humour has been used to express a speaker's personality. Whereas 41 exemplifies how she applies a colloquial form of asking a question directed at someone in the audience as she is uncertain about her pronunciation of their names. There were also other occurrences of humour in the material, and even though they can be connected to Yousafzai personality, she has not applied the pronoun *I* but *me* and *she* as she is describing herself.

- (42) However, my brothers still call **me** that annoying bossy sister. (Nobel)

(43) And **she** always was known as the daughter of Mister Ziauddin Yousafzai children's rights activist, but now she is known as, my father is known as the father of Malala. (Tipperary)

When Yousafzai uses humour, it can be connected to her *ethos*, and the way she wishes to portray herself. Humour is a rhetorical device which in this case strengthens her *ethos* by portraying her as young, childish and not one of the grown-ups in the audience. She is insecure about some aspects of life or how to pronounce different words, which reveals weakness and vulnerability. However, this portrayal of weakness is positive as it shows that she is still the same child even though she has gotten a lot of publicity and political influence. As the examples show, she uses personal pronouns to connect herself to the humorous utterances and reveal some of her personality to the audience in a positive way.

4.1.2 Discussion of findings of *I*

The prior sections have presented the contexts *I* has been used in, and some of the functions the pronoun has served. According to Beard, the advantage of the singular forms *I*, *me*, *myself*, *mine* is that they show a clear sense of personal involvement on the part of the speaker (2000:45). It is clear that the function of the frequent use of *I* in Yousafzai's speeches emphasise her personal involvement. Karapetjana argues that when a speaker uses *I* in combination with the semantic category of mental verbs, it gives the impression that the speaker is willing to account for his convictions and that he can be held responsible for his words (2011:43). Yousafzai expresses her opinion through verbs such as *believe* and *think*, and therefore creates the impression that her involvement is genuine, and that she is willing to stand up for what she believes in. She has also used *I* in relational processes which creates a closer connection to the topic she is discussing. Humour is another element that Yousafzai has used to reflect her personality in a positive way, and it can be analysed as an element of rhetoric in the process of connection with her audience.

When analysing the context of *I* one has to take into account that it may be used for different purposes, whether it is self-reference to strengthen *ethos*, or if it used just as a self-reference. Thompson (2011) argues that the distinction between public and private aspects of political discourse is collapsing, which results in a rise of self-expressive politics and the personalization of formal political rhetoric (Condor et al. 2013:3). Yousafzai may be following this trend as she uses a number of personal pronouns in her speeches, and especially

I is used regularly throughout the material.

However, as this is language with a political appeal, it is important to consider that the use of *I* also is arranged according to *logos*, the structure of argument. Accordingly the pronoun *I* most certainly has been positioned in places where it is useful or has an effect on the audience. As a political speaker it is important for her that her stance is reflected through the use of *I* in the different positions she takes to the topics that are presented. Yousafzai's use of *I* may therefore be based on personal involvement, but also applied as a rhetorical device to strengthen her *ethos* to show a clear sense of her commitment and personal responsibility.

4.1.3 The use of *we* in the material

Whereas *I* only represents an individual identity, *we* can represent a collective identity such as: 'we all are in this together' or 'we have been deceived in the past, but no longer' (Beard 2000:24). Due to this, the analysis of *we* is more complicated as there are several possible referents. This also makes the use of *we* more complicated for the addressee to comprehend. The speaker will always be a part of *we*, but who else is being referred to when the speaker uses *we*? The pronoun can be used as a referent to the audience in the speech situation, but it can also be used to exclude the audience when referring to other groups of people (Fahnestock 2011:150). Depending on context, speaker-exclusive *we*'s can be interpreted as markers of empathy, or as coercive or condescending (Condor et al. 2013:16). By using this pronoun the speaker therefore decides whom to include in the various arguments, and the meaning of who *we* are, can only be understood by the context that it is used in. The use of *we* therefore carries a lot of power, and is used strategically by a political speaker.

AntConc has been applied to analyse the 185 occurrences of *we*, and concordance lines were made to study the different contexts of *we* to get a clear image of which referents it represented. Figure 4.2 and 4.3 present the distribution of the exclusive use of *we*, the inclusive use of *we*, and the few other incidents of *we* in the material. The findings are both presented in numbers and percentages.



Figure 4.3: Distribution of inclusive and exclusive *we* in number.

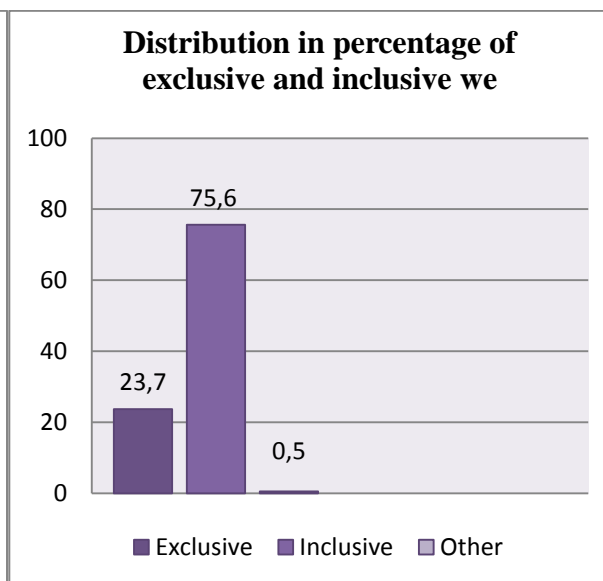


Figure 4.4: Distribution of inclusive and exclusive *we* in percentage.

As the figures illustrate, *we* has mainly been used in an inclusive sense. This implies that Yousafzai has a preference for including her audience, which also can be analysed as an element of rhetoric as the appeals are aimed at the audience. Due to the small size of the corpus I have analysed the various referents *we* represent, and they are presented in table 4.5.

	Referents of <i>we</i>	Number	Percentage
Exclusive of addressee	'We' the Pakistani school girls	18	40.9
	'We' the Malala Fund	9	20.4
	'We' the Pakistani people	8	18
	'We' Kailash Satyarthi and Yousafzai	2	4.5
	'We' Yousafzai and her family/friends	7	15.9
	Total exclusive:		44
Inclusive of addressee	'We' the people of the world	56	40
	'We' the people in the audience	43	30.7
	'We' sisters and brothers	32	22.8
	'We' the children of the world	7	5
	'We' women and girls of the world	2	1.4
	Total inclusive:		140
Other	'We' used in quotes	1	12.5
	Total other:	1	100
	Total use of <i>we</i>:	185	100

Table 4.5: Various referents of *we*.

The two most frequent uses of *we* both include the addressee, either as ‘the people of the world’ or ‘the people in the audience’. The frequent use is most likely a rhetorical choice as she wishes to engage the audience and use *we* as an agent to include them in her speech that carries a political appeal. It can also be an element of feminine rhetorical style, as this style more often includes the audience, see section 6.6. In this way the inclusive use of *we* can either be due to her choice of applying a style, or as a part of a speech strategy where she focuses on the addressees to engage and persuade them.

(44) Dear brothers and sisters, **we** want schools and education for every child's bright future. (U.N.)

When *we* is applied in example 44, it may work as an agent both to include and exclude parts of the audience. *Sisters and brothers* carry or denote an ambiguity, because it is not clear whom she is referring to. This is a cultural phrase, which is explained in Yousafzai’s speech at Malala Day in 2014, where she refers to her religion: ‘Islam says that we are all sisters and brothers, and we should respect each other’. She may address the audience in this way according to her religious beliefs, so the people there who share her religious beliefs feel included on a cultural and personal level. However, it can generally be viewed as including, as it contributes to include the audience by implying that they are brothers and sisters. This will be further discussed in section 6.1.1, and how it works as an agent of making a connection between speaker and the audience.

(45) Dear sisters and brothers, the so-called world of adults may understand it, but **we children** do not. (Nobel)

By stating *we children*, she excludes one group in the audience, the adults. At the same time this argument can be seen as appealing to everyone in the audience, as everyone has been a child and seen the world in a more naïve way than what a grown-up does after living a life with hard realities.

According to Beard the advantage of using the plural pronoun forms *we*, *us*, *ourselves* or *ours* is that they help share the responsibility (2000:45). Yousafzai applies *we* in different ways to include the addressee and share the responsibility for future actions when she is making appeals to the audience. By including them she encourages them to take action and be responsible for children's education.

(46) **we must** not repeat this mistake. **We must** aim higher. (Education Summit)

(47) **we** all need to contribute. Me. You. **We**. (Nobel)

In 46 Yousafzai has used *we* together with *must*, which implies obligation, and the combination of this personal pronoun and the modal auxiliary implies that there is a shared responsibility of future acts. In example 47 she repeats the use of *we* to underline the importance of everyone being committed. She also applies the third personal pronoun *me* instead of *I*, which creates some distance to the statement, and underlines the importance of the addressee's responsibility by using *we* twice, and *you* as a direct way of addressing the audience. This means that the main focus is on the addressee and not the speaker.

There are also instances where Yousafzai is excluding the audience when she uses *we*. This is especially used in anecdotes where she is referring to a situation that she herself was a part of:

(48) **They** blasted more than 400 schools, **they** snatched pens from our hands, and **we** had to hide our books under our shawls to pretend that **we** are not students. (Harvard)

This use of *we* excludes the audience, and is not as frequent in the material. However, it does include herself, which makes this a personal experience, a story she is telling the audience. In the example, *we* represent her and her female school friends, and the descriptions create a vivid image of the situation Yousafzai was facing in Pakistan. Another element in this example is that she has used *they* together with *we* which creates a distance between the two, the Taliban and the innocent Pakistani school girls. This contrast underlines the rough conditions she and her friends were facing in their home country. By describing her situation by using contrasts and imagery, which can be analysed as an appeal through *pathos*, Yousafzai makes it easier for the audience to relate to her situation and empathise with children who are facing similar circumstances.

Another way of strengthening *ethos* that is expressed by *we*, is how Yousafzai switches between referring to herself as a person and her as a member of her organisation that works hard to improve the situation for many children.

(49) Throughout our organisation the Malala Fund, **we** raised about two hundred thousand dollars. (Nigeria)

(50) And, **we** ,**we** have done something through Malala Fund, but **we** should all remember that there are still 57 million children who are out of school. (Liberty Medal)

Connecting herself to the Malala Fund by the use of *we*, reminds the audience of the work she is doing for children, which is a positive element that serves to strengthen her *ethos*.

4.1.4 Summary of the findings of *we*

The analysis of *we* reflects how Yousafzai has applied this pronouns in different contexts and how she has emphasised the inclusive form of *we*. When *we* is used, it works as an agent to draw attention to a group of people, whether it is the audience she is giving the speech to, or another exclusive *we*. When Yousafzai uses *we* she also constructs an opposition between *we* and *you* or *we* and *they/them*, a dichotomy where the audience either becomes a part of that *we* or not. The inclusive form has been applied frequently with either the audience or the people of the world as main referents. This is according to Cockcroft and Cockcroft a pervasive device as ‘Nothing can be more persuasive to an audience than the sense that, with the speaker, they are deeply involved in the issue’ (1992:24). By including the audience with the inclusive *we* Yousafzai’s political appeals become persuasive, as she involves the audience in her political work by making them responsible of future actions. Several of the appeals also contain elements of *pathos*, which strengthens the persuasiveness of the speeches.

4.1.5 *Me* and *us*

The uses of *me* and *us* in the material are discussed together in this section as these pronouns are less frequent in the material, and as the object forms their appeal is not as direct as the subject forms. There are 72 occurrences of *me*, which has been used when Yousafzai refers to herself in situations she is describing to the audience. *Us* can include or exclude the audience. There are 8 occurrences of the contracted form of *us* and these have also been included in table 4.6, which illustrates the distribution of inclusive and exclusive *us*.

Inclusive		Exclusive		Total	
N	%	N	%	N	%
50	86.2	8	13.7	58	100

Table 4.6: Distribution of inclusive and exclusive *us*.

As table 4.6 illustrates, *us* has largely been used as a pronoun to include the audience in the appeal. The finding is similar to the study of *we*, which also mainly has been used to include the audience in Yousafzai's appeals. Examples 51 and 52 can be analysed as direct appeals to the audience by the use of *us*:

(51) **Let's** solve this once and for all (Nobel)

(52) Let **us** make history and bring change, by becoming the change. (Nigeria)

In example 51 Yousafzai uses the phrase *once and for all* which is a well-known way of stating that something should come to an end. The metaphor of *making history* is also a familiar phrase that implies the act of something extraordinary, something she wants her audience to be a part of. It was noted in section 2.4, which discussed ideology, that people will be attracted to an individual who offers them a future that is better than the past and someone who gives them hope by making anything seem possible (Charteris-Black 2011:27). Both examples can be analysed as statements which offer hope. Example 52 can to a greater extent be connected to how Yousafzai offers them to be a part of a future that is better than the past.

Example 53 illustrates the use of exclusive *us*. The *us* Yousafzai refers to is the Malala Fund which has funded money to build schools for girls in Nigeria.

(53) I am really thankful to them, for the work that they are doing and for becoming partners with **us** (Nigeria)

Me has been used in contexts where Yousafzai refers to her family, religion, personal experiences or how she in the speech situation feels honoured. The usage of *me* can be seen as an element in strengthening her *ethos* as it is used in many contexts that promote good values.

(54) thank you so much for coming, and it is a great honour for **me** to have you all. (Liberty Medal)

(55) the most important thing for **me** is the love and kindness that the people of Ireland have shown **me**. (Amnesty)

(56) my grandfather would always call **me** Malala – “The happiest girl in the world” (Nobel)

Examples 54 and 55 illustrate how Yousafzai expresses gratefulness and emphasises what is important for her. In example 56, she has used an anecdote to share a personal experience with the audience, which works as strengthening *ethos* as the use in this context signifies good

family bonds with the elders in her family. It also contributes to create a closer bond between her and the audience as she is sharing her private experiences with them.

4.2 Second person pronouns

Second person pronouns are typically used when excluding the speaker and referring to an addressee which can be the audience or a separate group. When the pronoun *you* is used, it will naturally draw attention to the addressee as they are being addressed. The exception among the various forms of use is when *you* is used generically, which means that it is used instead of *one* when referring to people in general. Furthermore, *you* can be used both as second person personal when referring to one and to several addressees, which contributes to making the analysis of this pronoun a challenge. The distribution of second person pronouns displayed in table 4.7, were found after generating frequency lists in AntConc.

<i>You</i>		<i>Your</i>		<i>Yours</i>		<i>Yourself</i>		<i>Yourselves</i>		Total use of 2 nd person pronouns	
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
144	76.5	34	18.7	-	-	2	1	1	0.5	181	100

Table 4.7: Distribution of 2nd person pronouns in the material.

Compared to the subject/object form, the possessive and reflexive forms are not very frequently used in Yousafzai's vocabulary. Based on the findings after manually going through the material, the possessive and reflexive forms were excluded from the analysis. As noted above the pronoun *you* can be divided into three different categories, namely: singular, plural and generic. Table 4.8 shows the distribution of the three.

Plural use of <i>you</i>		Singular use of <i>you</i>		Generic use of <i>you</i>		Total	
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
101	70	14	9.7	29	20	144	100

Table 4.8: Distribution of plural, singular and generic use of *you*.

The plural use of *you* has the highest frequency of all forms. The high occurrence suggests that the audience is the main addressee in all speeches. This seems logical as she is giving her

speeches to different audiences who are connected to different speech situations, as 57 exemplifies:

(57) most importantly my dear friends, it is a great honour for me to be here with **you**. (Harvard)

In example 57 Yousafzai has used personal pronouns as an agent to establish a connection between her and the audience. Firstly, she refers to them as *my dear friends*, which implies the close relation between her and the audience. Secondly, she states how it is *an honour for me to be here*, which is another positive element that she relates to the situation. Thirdly, she ends the sentence with *you*, and places the emphasis on the audience, changing the focus to be on the addressee rather than herself.

When *you* is used, the speaker either does it to distance herself from what is being said, as the focus is *you* and not *me* or *I*, or it can be used to shift focus to the addressee. Addressing the audience can be a strategy to make them focus more on what is being said or become persuaded by the speaker. Yousafzai has also used *you* to appeal to a certain group in the world, and excluded some of the audience. The following example demonstrates how *you* is used to promote a political idea:

(58) And we demand the world the world powers, that if **you** want to see peace in Syria, in Pakistan and Afghanistan, then instead of sending guns, send pens, instead of sending tanks send books, instead of sending soldiers send teachers. (Harvard)

When *you* is used in 58, it makes her appeal directed at a certain group of people. The argument is also presented as being common sense, because Yousafzai has used words in stark contrast to each other to imply what the better option is. *Pens* and *guns* are put together to underline the clear opposition, which lead to an implicit question of *education* rather than *war* for the people, which can be analysed as an appeal through *pathos*. The use of *you* together with contrast therefore becomes an efficient agent in affecting and persuading the audience. Yousafzai's main aim is to gain influence, which includes persuading those people with financial funds and those who are the ruling elite to take action, because they feel the pressure to act when she is addressing and including them. In this way her use of pronouns, especially *we* and *you*, are very important tools for persuading influential listeners.

(59) Swat Valley is in the north of Pakistan, a beautiful valley where **you** can see a river, where **you** can see mountains, where **you** can see green trees. (Tipperary)

Example 59 illustrates how the generic form of *you* has been used in the speeches. Yousafzai is creating an image of her home country, and even though it is the generic form of *you*, the word itself appeals to the audience as it may seem as she is talking straight at them. When using generic *you* the listeners have a choice whether or not to identify with this *you*.

4.2.1 Discussion of findings of *you*

The investigation of *you* revealed the different ways Yousafzai has applied it to either include or exclude the addressee. The plural form of *you* was the most frequent form in the material, and it has mainly been used to actively include her audience, but also to make appeals which are directed at another group, such as world leaders or terrorist groups. There were also some instances of the generic *you* which have been used instead of *one*. The function of applying *you* in those sentences was analysed as an agent to get the audience’s attention, as this pronoun generally has been used to appeal to them. Overall this pronoun can be seen as an important element in the act of persuasion, as it serves the function of getting the audience’s attention when it is used, but also leads to an implicit connection between Yousafzai and her audience as she uses *you* to include them which makes her appeals personal.

4.3 Third person pronouns

Whereas the first and second person pronouns are used to refer to the speech circumstances, the third person pronouns are a part of the text. As noted in section 2.6.3, these pronouns can be used to refer back to units that have been presented, or to units which will be described in the following text. AntConc was used to provide frequency lists to find the occurrences, after this the context of each pronoun was studied to figure out what kind of function they possibly served. Table 4.9 displays the number of occurrences and percentages of each pronoun. The possessive and reflexive forms have not been included as they not are a part of this study.

Singular										Plural				Total use of 3 rd person pronouns	
<i>She</i>		<i>Her</i>		<i>He</i>		<i>Him</i>		<i>It</i>		<i>They</i>		<i>Them</i>			
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
24	7	21	6.2	28	8.3	6	1.7	123	36.7	97	28.9	36	10.7	335	100

Table 4.9: Distribution of 3rd person pronouns.

The singular forms *she*, *her*, *he* and *him* are mainly used in anecdotes or personal testimonies, where they are used to refer to a person that is being mentioned elsewhere in the speech. The pronoun *it* is the most frequent pronoun within this group, and the use of the referential *it* will be discussed along with the other pronouns. The use of *they* and *them* vary to a great extent, but these pronouns are often used as the same referents. The different contexts both occur in will be discussed when the results of the analysis are presented in the following sections.

She and he

She and *he* almost have the same frequency in the material. However, I found a crucial difference in the contexts they occur in, which was a striking element in the analysis. When *she* is used, it is mainly connected to something negative one or more girls have experienced, whereas *he* is mostly used to refer to a person in general, Yousafzai's father or influential people she has met. The examples illustrate this remarkable difference:

- (60) At the age of 12, **she** was forced to get married. (Nobel)
- (61) Since this attack, because of insecurity and poverty, **she** can no more go to school. (Nigeria)
- (62) A singer, when **he** sings a song of peace, when **he** sings the song of education, **he** can bring change. (Tipperary)
- (63) **He** promised that the government will choose the best option to bring back girls alive and safe. (Nigeria)

According to Hasselgård et al. the use of *he* and *she* presupposes greater familiarity or a more intimate relationship (1998:128), which is the function the use of these pronouns seem to have in the speeches. Yousafzai is not presenting the people she is talking about as a person she has met, but a person that she has a close relation to, a person she empathises with. By referring to the President of Nigeria as *he*, Yousafzai gives the impression that he is more familiar to her than what he would have seemed like if she had used the formal form *the president*. That makes the use of this pronoun a clear example according to Hasselgård et al.'s (1998) argument about the illusion of familiarity that is created when these pronouns are applied.

Her and him

The pronoun *her* is more than twice as frequent as *him*. The reason for the higher frequency of *her* is due to Yousafzai's use of anecdotes that are mainly about girls she has spoken to and been told stories about, stories that she is sharing with her audience. The investigation of *her*

revealed that *her* has mainly been used in contexts where a girl has or still is experiencing brutal situations.

(64) Before that, **her** father got killed and **her** mother and sister got injured in the unstable situation in the north of Nigeria. (Nigeria)

(65) I am really sorry that I cannot mention **her** name, but I will call **her** my sister (Nigeria)

There are no similar anecdotes about boys/men Yousafzai has met, only the personal experience of meeting the President of Nigeria. *Him* has also been used the one time she mentions the Prophet Mohammad. In this case *him* is used in a way which reflects the Islamic faith, as *him* is applied in a set phrase that follows his name in respect:

(66) Do you not know that Mohammad, peace be upon **him**, the prophet of mercy, he says: “do not harm yourself or others”. (Nobel)

Even though the use of these pronouns suggests a closer relationship between the speaker and the topic, the different use of the third person pronouns may provide us with more information of the topics and power distribution in the world society. Yousafzai is supposed to empower women and girls by speaking up for them, as she also emphasises in her speeches, but according to my analysis, Yousafzai tends to place them in different contexts where they are victims of social or cultural problems in society, so the effect of the empowerment may be arguable. She herself is a victim of violence, and she is speaking up for others, but the context she is most frequently placing women and girls in, keeps underlining their current situation, a situation where men are the holders of power.

They and them

Similar to *we* and *you*, *they* and *them* can also have different referents. *They* is most frequently used in the material, but the two pronouns are used in similar contexts referring to the same groups of people. The analysis of *they* and *them* revealed that both were mainly used to refer to people, but also as references to topics and entities within the co-text. The topics that were used in the context were the same for both pronouns.

	They		Them	
	N	%	N	%
Terrorists	28	28.8	3	8.3
Girls/women	28	28.8	2	5.5
Children	13	13.4	15	41.6
People	14	14.4	7	19.4
Government/leaders	9	9.2	6	16.6
Other	5	5.1	3	8.3
Total	97	100	36	100

Table 4.10: Number of occurrences and frequency of *they* and *them* in the material.

As the table illustrates, *girls/women* and *terrorists* have been referred to as *they* the same amount of times, which indicates that these are recurrent topics throughout the material. *Them* is most often used to refer to children, which gives the impression that Yousafzai uses *them* to refer to the affected medium and not the acting participant in the text.

The use of *they* or *them* can both increase and decrease distance between the topic and the audience. This will depend on whether the context the pronouns are set in is positive or negative, as the audience commonly will seek to relate to positive elements. There were some instances where *they/them* were used as a contrast to *we/us*. Those instances with *good* and *bad* that are exemplified with *them/they* versus *we/us* make implications to whom the audience should empathise with. The following examples illustrate how these pronouns have been applied in different speeches.

- (67) **They** are afraid of women (..) **they** were and they are afraid of change, afraid of the equality that **we** will bring into our society. (U.N.)
- (68) **They** thought that the bullets would silence **us**. (U.N.)
- (69) Their strict terrorism all over the valley, **they** killed hundreds of people, **they** slaughtered women, and **they** blasted every school, **they** blasted all the shops, and **we** felt that, that **they** took **us** out of **our** paradise and sent **us** to a hell. (Tipperary)

In the examples *they* is used to portray an opposition to *we*, and *they* in this context is also used to portray the opposition in a negative way where *they* represent the extremists. Yousafzai is also linking *they* together with being afraid of women, focusing on their

weakness and delegitimising their actions that are based on ideological differences. As people in general want equality for men and women, she is connecting this common sense with *we*, suggesting that the *we* she presents promote this right. In this way she seeks support from the audience by portraying the extremists in a negative way and using the pronouns to create an opposition which include the implications of which the addressee should support. The function of the pronoun *they* can be seen as a tool for representing *them* versus *us*, which furthermore is loaded with positive and negative connotations. *They* also serve as excluding the speaker and the addressee as these two units do not identify with *they*.

They has also been used to strengthen Yousafzai's *ethos* by referring to the situation her family was facing in Pakistan before the shooting:

(70) **they** did not know if **they** would have dinner for tonight or not. **We** were just a poor family.
We still are poor people. (Tipperary)

By telling about her family she is also showing solidarity to other people who have been and still are living in a similar situation. She is telling to show or provide information that she knows how that is, she empathises with those people who are struggling by telling how she has experienced something similar, and she does this by using the personal pronouns. The use of *they* is quite special as she is talking about her own family in third person, instead of saying *we*. In this way it first seems like she is telling a story and uses *they* to refer to her family as a unit, to continue in the next sentence with *we*, which leads to less distance between herself and what she is telling about.

Them has mainly been used as a referent to children, government leaders and people in general.

(71) And today, we demand world powers, we demand **them** to realise that a war can never be ended by a war. (Harvard)

(72) I speak for those children, who's right to safety, help and quality education has been snatched from **them**. (Nigeria)

(73) Let us help **them** through our voice, action and charity (Birmingham)

In examples 72 and 73 *them* has been used in contexts where the addressee is implied to emphasise with the children Yousafzai is talking about. The opposition between *we* and *them*,

and *us* and *them* can be found in the examples, however this is used to decrease the distance, and create unity between the speaker and addressee.

Uses of *it*

As noted in section 2.6.3, *it* can be used to refer to units within the texts as an anaphoric or cataphoric reference, or *it* can be used in a non-referential way as a dummy *it*. *Dummy it* consists of three types: *anticipatory it*, *empty it* and *it in cleft constructions* (Hasselgård et al. 1998:322). These non-referential forms of *it* will not be included in the analysis as the aim of the study is to figure out how the referential forms are used.

Referential <i>it</i>		Non-referential <i>it</i>				Total occurrences of <i>it</i>	
Anaphoric		Cataphoric		Dummy <i>it</i>			
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
77	62.6	11	8.9	35	28.4	123	100

Table 4.11: Distribution of *it* in the material.

The anaphoric use of *it* is the most frequent in the material, and the reason why it is more frequent than the other forms is most likely because this use is clearer to the audience than the other forms, because it refers back to a unit that has been mentioned earlier in the text.

Examples 74 and 75 illustrate how anaphoric references have been applied by Yousafzai:

- (74) There was a time when women social activists asked men to stand up for their rights. But, this time, we will do **it** by ourselves. (U.N.)
- (75) The main thing is that peace is not only the absence of war, **it** is the absence of fear. (Tipperary)

The uses of the anaphoric reference in the examples make the appeal more direct as Yousafzai expresses the same by only using *it*. By using *it* she also avoids unnecessary repetitions of words and clauses.

There were also some occurrences of cataphoric references, where Yousafzai refers to a unit which it mentioned further into the text.

- (76) And today I am not raising my voice, it is the voice of those 66 million girls. (Nobel)

(77) And **it** is my wish and my commitment, and now my challenge to build one so that my friends and my sisters can go there to school and get quality education and to get this opportunity to fulfil their dreams. (Nobel)

The cataphoric references can be used to present information about a topic before the audience know what Yousafzai refers to. This gives her the opportunity to connect different elements to her message, as she does in 34 where she has presented personal feelings about what she wants to do, before she mentions *to build one*, which refers to building a school.

4.3.1 Summary of third person pronouns

The investigation of the uses of the third person pronouns has shown that they have been used to serve different functions in the speeches. The findings showed that *he* and *she* were used to imply a close relation to a person Yousafzai had encountered. The analysis of the contexts revealed that *she* and *her* often had been positioned in negative situations, whereas *he* and *him* were referents of religious or influential characters. *They* and *them* have been used as referents of the same groups, but *they* had the highest frequency in the material where *women/girls* and *terrorists* were the two main groups. The analysis also discussed how *they* or *them* had been placed in complex constructions to function as an opposition to *we* or *us*. The last section presented how *it* had been applied in anaphoric and cataphoric references, and what the function of using the different forms can have.

4.4 Personal pronouns: a rhetorical device

The study of pronominal choice has revealed how personal pronouns have been used as a device to affect and persuade the audience. As discussed earlier the use of these pronouns can indicate which relationship a speaker has to the situation or topic that is discussed, and the relationship between the speaker and the addressee. Personal pronouns have both been used to replace clauses, as an agent of strengthening *ethos*, and as an element of *pathos*. The analysis has shown what kind of functions the pronouns have in the contexts they have been used in. Based on the findings, Yousafzai's use of personal pronouns mainly functions to strengthen her *ethos* by underlining her personal involvement in the political work she promotes.

The use of the singular forms of first person pronouns revealed how they can function as an agent of signifying the degree of personal involvement to different topics. Yousafzai expresses a lot of personal involvement and commitment through the use of *I*, which also serves to imply that she personally cares about the women and children she refers to in her speeches. This was evident when she used relational verb processes to explicitly express that she is one of the girls who are deprived of education. By representing them, she makes her political ideology seem legitimate. Yousafzai also comes across as sincere as her actions and intentions can be connected to her private life.

The study of the plural forms of first person pronouns revealed that these have been used both as an agent to include the audience in the ideologically based appeals, and to exclude them when Yousafzai has referred to other groups i.e. Pakistani school girls or the Malala Fund. The inclusive *we* and the inclusive *us* were most frequently applied in the speeches, and the use of these forms can be analysed as a central element in creating the sense of unity among her and the audience, and this unity makes them more receptive to her political appeals.

The analysis of Yousafzai's use of the second person pronoun showed that the plural form of *you* had been applied most frequently. This usage implies that she mainly has aimed at addressing the audience in her appeals, referring to them in an informal way, and created a connection which can make them open to be persuaded by her. There were also a few occurrences of the singular form of *you* which had been used in anecdotes, and the generic *you*, which can be analysed as a substitute for *one* to make the appeal more direct. As this pronoun is spelled and pronounced in the same way, contributes to making the audience pay more attention when it is being used, as they can be a possible referent when it is applied.

The analysis of third person pronouns provided information about how Yousafzai has structured her arguments according to different referents. The use of *we* versus *them* or *us* versus *they* have been organised by intentional means, so it is evident whom the audience should empathise with. This shift of pronoun use can be analysed as a rhetorical device that functions to draw attention to different elements, where the pronouns in an argument can affect which of the groups of people the audience sympathises with, which can be a crucial element for the political outcome of the speech. As the personal pronouns in the material have been analysed, the next topic will be the investigation of Yousafzai's use of modal auxiliaries.

Chapter 5: *Modality*

This chapter is dedicated to the study of modal auxiliaries in the Malala corpus. It was mentioned in section 2.7, modality is used to indicate a speaker's stance, attitude or position towards what he or she is saying, and in particular the extent to which he or she believes it to be true, necessary or obligatory, or desirable or undesirable. In political speeches, the study of modal auxiliaries can provide information about a speaker's public personality and stance (*ethos*), and how the speaker expresses meanings and negotiate information. This makes the analysis of them a relevant area of study in this thesis.

Modal auxiliaries are less noticeable for the audience than the use of personal pronouns, as pronouns often are directed openly at the audience and include in the appeal, i.e. *we, you*. Ideology was discussed in section 2.4, and the use of modals can be connected to a speaker's ideology as they can be applied when expressing aspects of personal beliefs and ideas (e.g. Fairclough 2001: 105). It was also noted in that section that an ideology works at its best when it is least visible and the use of modals can therefore be a way for a speaker to express an ideology without the audience being aware of it. This will be discussed as the modal verbs are analysed in the following sections.

Following this introduction, section 5.1 will give a brief account of the terminology and framework that has been applied to discuss modality in this thesis. The following sections will present and discuss Yousafzai's use of the modal auxiliaries *may, might, can, could, must, shall, should, will* and *would*. Each modal auxiliary will be discussed separately, before a summary is provided in section 5.3. This final section will also discuss the results that have been found in the investigation, and how the study of modal auxiliaries can be related to the aim and scope of the thesis.

5.1 Terminology

The framework that has been used in this chapter is taken from Quirk et al. (1985:221). It includes the categorisation of intrinsic and extrinsic modality as illustrated in figure 5.1. Intrinsic modality involves 'some kind of human control over events' and extrinsic modality

involves ‘human judgement of what is or is not likely to happen’ (Quirk et al. 1985:219). One can also make a distinction between the two in the sense that intrinsic modality concerns the exchange of goods and services, whereas extrinsic modality is concerned with the exchange of human information. Figure 5.1 displays how Quirk et al. (1985) divide modals into three main groups based on the similar features of meaning they express, but it also illustrates how there are areas of neutrality and overlapping between the modal auxiliaries.

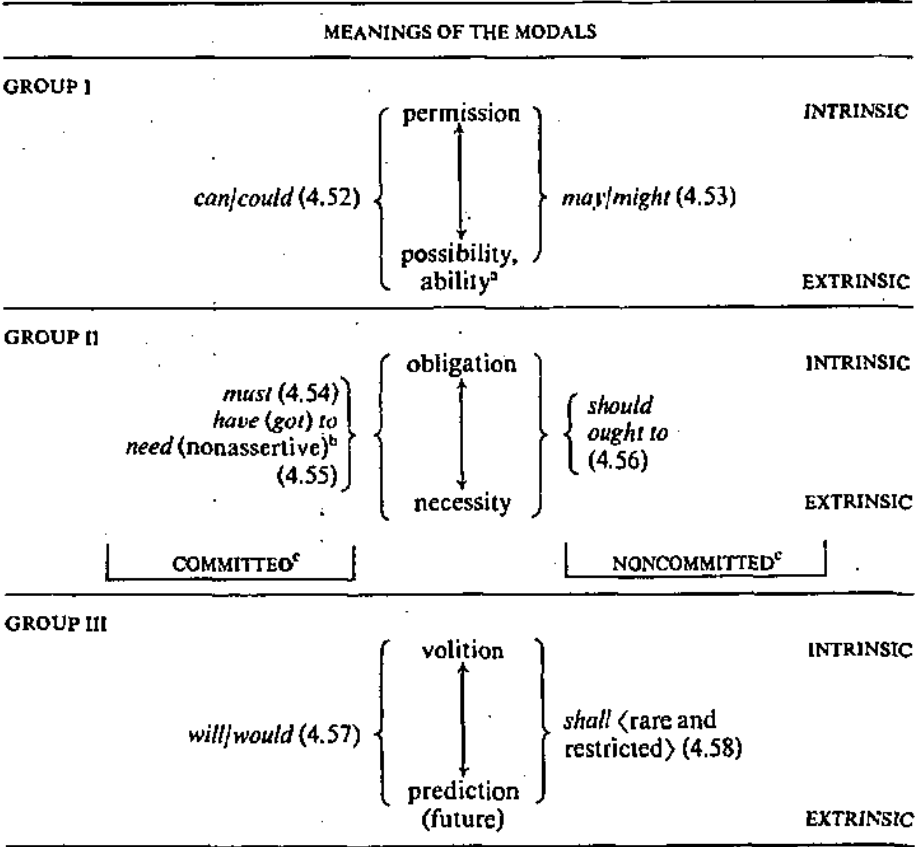


Figure 5.1: Meanings of the modals (Quirk et al. 1985:221).

The modal auxiliary pairs *can/could* and *may/might* belong to Group I and they can be used to express permission, possibility or ability. Whereas the possibility meaning is connected to the root use of the modal, the ability meaning is considered to be a special case of possibility, in which ‘the possibility of an action is due to some skill or capability on the part of the subject referent’ (Quirk et al. 1985:221-222).

Group II distinguishes between committed and non-committed modals. The modals in this group are *must* and *should*, and when they are used they either express ‘obligation’ or

‘necessity’ depending on the speaker’s commitment to her proposition (Quirk et al. 1985:227). Group III consists of the modals *will*, *would*, and the more rare modal *shall*. When these are used, they can express prediction or volition. The tables included in this chapter will present the different categories of intrinsic and extrinsic modality, and there will be examples of the different uses and how these are related to Yousafzai’s *ethos* and her appeal to the audience.

5.2 Modal auxiliaries in the material

After running the material through AntConc and creating concordance lines with each modal verb, it became apparent that some modal auxiliary verbs are more common in the material than others. However AntConc could not be used for the contracted forms, such as *’ll* or *’d* and the contracted negation *’t*. This resulted in a manual study of the material to make sure that all cases where modals were used were included in the final results. Due to the small size of the material, it was important that all instances were included in the study. After studying the frequency rates, the modal auxiliaries were placed in different categories, according to the meaning they expressed, whether it was extrinsic or intrinsic. Those instances that did not fit any of the categories, such as questions or quotes, were placed in their own category. This was done to provide a proper image of the usage by Yousafzai. The results after the investigation are presented in table 5.1.

Can	Could	May	Might	Must	Shall	Should	Will	Would	Total
50	10	8	1	40	1	27	67	37	241

Table 5.1: Distribution of the number of modal auxiliaries found in the material

Figure 5.2 gives a better image of the distribution of the modal auxiliaries in percentages.

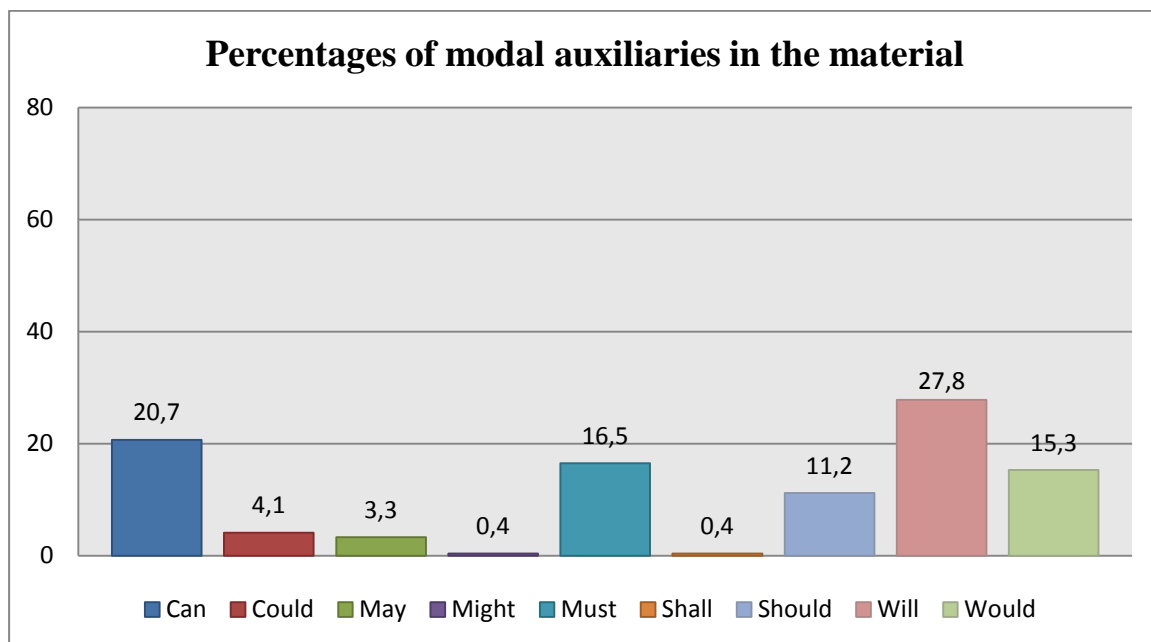


Figure 5.2: Distribution of modal auxiliaries in percentage terms.

5.2.1 Can and Could

Can and *could* are together the second most frequent modals in the material. The search in the corpus revealed that *can* is five times as frequent as *could*. That observation implies that Yousafzai presents fewer hypothetical situations or past situations compared to the expression of present ones in her speeches. *Can* and *could* can according to Quirk et al. be divided into three basic meanings: possibility, ability, permission and, request (1985:222-223).

Can

There are 45 occurrences of the verb *can* in the material, 5 occurrences of *cannot*, and no instances of the contracted form *can't*. *Can* has primarily been used to express ability or hypothetical situations. All instances have been organised in table 5.2.

Possibility		Ability		Permission		Request		Hypothetical	
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
9	18	23	46	1	2	-	-	17	34

Table 5.2: Classification of *can* in the material

Table 5.2 shows that *can* mainly has been used to express ability, which was noted to be a special form of possibility in section 5.1. The other frequent usage of *can* occurred in hypothetical sentences, which will be discussed along with the other usage.

Possibility (extrinsic)

When possibility is expressed by the use of *can*, it can be paraphrased by ‘it is possible’ followed by an infinitive clause (Quirk et al. 1985:222).

(78) We **cannot** all succeed when half of us are held back. (U.N. Malala Day)

Paraphrase ..it is not possible for us all to succeed when half of us are held back.

(79) So school is a place where we **can** learn the basics of our life. (Tipperary)

Paraphrase .. So school is a place where it is possible for us to learn the basics of our life

In example 78 Yousafzai implies that it is possible for both girls and boys to succeed, if one of them is not held back, and the countries have to make a choice when it comes to focusing on girls’ education and thereby create that possibility. When Yousafzai uses *can* to express meaning, she shows more commitment to her proposition than *may/might* or *could* would have done in the examples. Her commitment is also underlined by using *we*, so she has used both personal pronouns and the modal *can* to express possibility.

Ability (extrinsic)

Can expresses ability rather than possibility in cases where an action is due to some ability or skill. According to Quirk et al. the ability sense *can* and *could* may be paraphrased by the use of the ‘be able to’ construction, or in some cases by the ‘capable of’ or ‘know how to’ (1985:222).

(80) Our words **can** change the world. (U.N.)

Paraphrase Our words are capable of changing the world.

(81) I speak up for those 66 million girls who are deprived of their right of education, who **cannot** go to school.. (Liberty medal)

Paraphrase I speak up for those 66 million girls who are deprived of their right of education, who not are able to go to school.

Example 80 illustrates her strong faith in the movement she is a part of, and by using *can* she

ascribes words the ability of holding the power to affect in a positive way. Her use of *can* in the example can also be connected to her *ethos*, as she is a young activist that believes that she and others can make a change for the future generations. In 81 it becomes clear how ability is linked to possibility, because the girls Yousafzai refers to are capable of going to school, they just do not have the ability to do so as they are restricted by other aspects such as: cultures, norms and social restrictions which prevent them from going.

Permission (intrinsic)

There is only one use of *can* that expressed permission in the material, and this construction is less formal than the auxiliary *may*. It can be paraphrased by ‘be allowed to’ (Quirk et al. 1985:222).

(82) I am really sorry that I **cannot** mention her name, but I will call her my sister. (Nigeria)

Paraphrase I am really sorry that I am not allowed to mention her name..

In 82 Yousafzai is about to start an anecdote about one of the victims of the terrorist group Boko Haram. The girl she refers to managed to escape, so Yousafzai cannot give too many details about her. Because of this she is apologising to her audience for not being able to share this information with them. In this way she portrays her personality as being open and honest when she is speaking, and stresses the fact when she is restricted from that.

Hypothetical

There are many instances where *can* has been used to express hypothetical situations. These situations are most often about what you or we can do to help, or descriptions of the scenery, what you *can* see.

(83) Swat Valley is in the north of Pakistan, a beautiful valley where you **can** see a river, where you **can** see mountains, where you **can** see green trees. (Tipperary)

(84) And it is my wish and my commitment, and now my challenge to build one so that my friends and my sisters **can** go there to school and get quality education and to get this opportunity to fulfil their dreams. (Nobel)

The hypothetical situations Yousafzai presents in her speeches are situations that can be a

reality in the future, if criteria and conditions are met. Example 84 illustrates how she presents a future situation that she will strive to achieve. It should also be noted that both examples are very similar to how possibility is expressed.

Could

There are 10 occurrences of *could* in the material and only one use of the contracted form *couldn't*, which also has been included in the analysis. Similar to the use of *can*, *could* is mainly used to express ability in the material. In addition to express present possibility, *could* can also be used to refer to past time.

Possibility		Ability		Permission		Hypothetical	
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	10	7	70	-	-	2	20

Table 5.3: Classification of *could* in the material

Possibility (extrinsic)

(85) We **could** not just stand by and see those injustices of the terrorists denying our rights, ruthlessly killing people and misusing the name of Islam. (Nobel)

Paraphrase It was not possible for us to just stand by and see those injustices..

Example 85 shows how *could* has been used to refer to past time. Yousafzai is referring to the situation in Pakistan that erupted before she was shot, and how she, her father and others who supported their view felt the need to stand up against the acts of the Taliban.

Ability (extrinsic)

Yousafzai has used *could* seven times to express ability, when she is referring to herself or other people or groups she mentions in her speeches.

(86) The terrorists tried to stop us and attacked me and my friends who are here today, on our school bus in 2012, but neither their ideas nor their bullets **could** win. (Nobel)

Paraphrase ..but neither their ideas nor their bullets were capable of winning.

(87) And last week, when I told my teacher that I **could** not do my homework because of the Nobel Peace Prize and so on, that excuse did not work. (Liberty Medal)

Paraphrase ..when I told my teacher that I not was able do my homework..

(88) But she couldn't ... because she was a girl. (Nobel)

Paraphrase But it was not possible for her... because she was a girl

But she was not able to ... because she was a girl.

But she was not permitted to ... because she was a girl.

Examples 86 and 87 refer to past incidents, whereas example 88 shows how Yousafzai has expressed a girl's ability that both can be linked to possibility and permission due to cultural and social norms. Her argument is linked to a girl's opportunities in some of the countries she discusses in her speeches. She underlines how they should have the same rights, but are held back, and do not have the option to get an education. The example shows how ability entails possibility and permission.

Hypothetical

Could has been used twice in the material to express hypothetical situations. Both of them express the meaning of ability, but they have been placed in their own category as they are hypothetical situations.

(89) I know that she **could** have been a very good doctor. (Nobel)

Paraphrase I know that she was capable of becoming a good doctor.

(90) I **could** go on and talk at length of the atrocities and human rights violations that are occurring every hour, every minute, and every second, of each passing day. (Amnesty)

Paraphrase I am capable of talking at length about the atrocities...

Example 90 illustrates how she places different concepts of time together to contrast them to each other. The argument is presented as a hypothetical situation of what she *could* have done, to underline how many atrocities and human rights violations that are occurring in the world. In this way *could* has been applied to highlight how often these negative situations are occurring.

5.2.2 May and Might

May

Of all the ten hits that resulted from the search string *may*, two referred to the month May, and were excluded. There are eight occurrences of *may* as a modal auxiliary. Modal *may* can express two meanings, either possibility (extrinsic) or permission (intrinsic). According to Quirk et al. the most common use of *may* is when meaning is expressed as possibility (1985:223). The results after the analysis show that *may* has only been used to express possibility, supporting Quirk et al.'s (1985) argument about its common use.

Possibility		Permission	
N	%	N	%
8	100	-	-

Table 5.4: Categorisation of *may* in the material.

Possibility (extrinsic)

The modal *may* belongs to the lowest scale of the modal values according to Quirk et al.'s (1985) categorisation, and therefore has a low value probability. This also implies a low speaker commitment to the attitude that is being expressed. When *may* is paraphrased, one can rewrite it with 'it is possible' followed by a *that*-clause, 'it may be that', or the adverb 'perhaps' or 'possibly' (Quirk et al. 1985:223).

(91) So, what **may** feel like an old story for most Americans and for, for many people, for us in Pakistan it has happened, it has happened within the lives of so many people. (Liberty Medal)

Paraphrase So, what possibly feels like an old story..

(92) Dear sisters and brothers, as many of you **may** know, my beloved home country of Pakistan and its people are suffering from terrorism. (Amnesty)

Paraphrase ..as many of you perhaps know..

(93) It **may** appear as a huge number, but the reality is that it is not at all. (Education Summit)

Paraphrase Perhaps it appears as a huge number...

The use of *may* expresses low value probability, which means that the meaning expressed signals a low degree of certainty of the validity of the proposition (Thompson 2004:69).

However, this speaker uncertainty changes in the next part of the sentence, by the claim that: ‘it is not at all’. The use of this modal construction can thus be used to express modesty or humbleness to show respect for the audience, which can have an impact on their openness for being persuaded by the speaker. The examples illustrate how *may* has been used in a polite way to present information to the audience.

Might

There is only one occurrence of *might* in the material, and the use of it expressed possibility and not negation. Therefore it belongs to extrinsic modality.

(94) Some students here, **might** think..

Paraphrase It is possible that some students here think

The few occurrences of the modals *may* and *might* imply that Yousafzai as a speaker rather uses auxiliaries where she is taking medium or high responsibility for the attitudes she expresses in her speeches.

5.2.3 **Must**

There are 40 instances of the modal *must* in the material, where it has been used to express both obligation and necessity. There were no occurrences of the negated form *mustn't*.

Obligation		Necessity	
N	%	N	%
31	77.5	9	22.5

Table 5.5: Categorisation of *must* in the material

Obligation (intrinsic)

Must has frequently been combined with personal pronouns in the material. Yousafzai uses both the inclusive reference *we*, which she herself is a part of, and the exclusive reference *you* or *they*, where she is excluded from the obligation to act. Accordingly she implicitly claims power and authority as *must* signals obligation (Fairclough 2001:106). According to SFG terms, the use of *must* is an element of ‘modal commitment’, as this is concerned with ‘the degree to which the speaker commits herself to the validity of what she is saying’, so when

using *must* in expressing meaning, this is a statement of high modulation (Thompson 2004:69). In other words it implies high degree of speaker commitment.

(95) So I appeal, all the states, all over the world, that they **must** abolish the laws that goes against the rights of children and women. (Tipperary)

Paraphrase ..that they are obliged to abolish the laws that goes against the rights of children and women.

(96) We **must** speak up now, and not wait for others. (Tipperary)

Paraphrase We are obliged to speak up now, and not wait for others.

(97) Dear sisters and brothers, you **must** be proud to be the students and alumni of this prestigious university. (Harvard speech)

Paraphrase Dear sisters and brothers, you have to be proud to be the students

Example 95 expresses an obligation to do something, it is an appeal to *all the states* where she is imposing on them to act. In example 96 Yousafzai makes herself a part of the referent, by using *we*. *We* implies unity and solidarity, whereas *you* expresses obligation to a group she is not a part of. By using *you* or *they* with *must*, she uses her authority as a well-known and influential political activist to express obligation towards the people she is talking to.

Necessity (extrinsic)

The expression of logical necessity by the use of *must* ‘implies that the speaker judges the proposition expressed by the clause to be necessarily true, or at least to have a high likelihood of being true’ (Quirk et al. 1985:225). In this way the speaker has drawn a conclusion on earlier experiences, and expresses necessity on the basis of this.

(98) But for things to change there **must** be a day of action.

Paraphrase But for things to change it is necessary to have a day of action. (Nigeria)

(99) This is an appeal, to all the governments all over the world, that they **must** work for education, and education must be their top priority (Tipperary)

Paraphrase This is an appeal, to all the governments all over the world, that they have to work for education, and it is necessary that education is their top priority.

Both examples show how Yousafzai presents her statements as necessities. The use of *must* also reflects her confidence in her statements.

5.2.4 Shall and Should

Shall

There is only one occurrence of *shall* in the material. This instance can be categorised as expressing volitional meaning which makes it a case of intrinsic modality. *Shall* can be used as a substitute for *will* in formal style to express prediction with 1st person subjects, or it can be used as an alternative to *will* when expressing volition with 1st person subjects (Quirk et al. 1985:230). Yousafzai has used it in a question, and when *shall* is used in this way, it ‘consults the wishes of the addressee, and thus moves from a volitional towards an obligational meaning’ (Quirk et al. 1985:230). *Will* can usually replace *shall*, but that is not possible in questions like example 100 (1985:230).

(100) It is their duty, I agree, but why **shall** we wait for them? (Tipperary)

Hasselgård et al. note that *shall* is only used in restricted contexts in present-day English (1998:199), which explains the infrequent use of this modal in the material.

Should

There are 25 occurrences of *should* in the material, and 2 occurrences where the contracted form *shouldn't* have been used. All 27 occurrences have been categorised according to Quirk et al.’s framework (1985:227-234) in to the following categories: tentative inference, obligation, and putative. The ‘hypothetical’ and the ‘question’ categories have been added to illustrate how Yousafzai has used this modal auxiliary.

Tentative inference		Obligation		Putative		Hypothetical		Question	
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	3.7	8	29.6	13	48	1	3.7	4	14.8

Table 5.6: Categorisation of *should* in the material.

Tentative inference (extrinsic)

Where *must* is used to mark committed necessity, *should* is used to mark non-committed necessity, which means that the speaker does not know if her statement is true, but tentatively concludes that it is true, on the basis of whatever she knows (Quirk et al. 1985:227).

(101) You **should** know that Islam gives a message of brotherhood. (Nigeria)

Paraphrase You probably know that Islam gives a message of brotherhood

Obligation (intrinsic) and Putative (intrinsic)

These two categories have been merged in this section, as they have related meanings and both of them belong to intrinsic modality. When *should* is used to express obligation, it implies speaker authority, but unlike *must*, *should* does not imply that the speaker has confidence that the recommendation will be carried out (Quirk et al. 1985:227).

(102) We **should** not discriminate each other on the basis of religion and the language that we speak. (Nigeria)

Paraphrase It is recommended not to discriminate each other..

The putative *should* is used ‘when the matrix clause contain verbs, adjective or nouns that convey an emotional reaction or that express a necessity, plan or intention for the future’ (Quirk et al. 1985:1014). It is commonly used in *that*-clauses to convey the notion of a ‘putative situation’, which is recognised as possibly existing or coming into existence (Quirk et al. 1985:1014). The most frequent use of the putative *should* is when Yousafzai has used it to express a necessity.

(103) But now it is time to end it, and it **should** end with us. (Education Summit)

Paraphrase But now it is time to end it, and it is necessary that it ends with us.

(104) The bloodshed in Iraq and Syria **should** be stopped. (Nigeria)

Paraphrase It is necessary that the bloodshed in Iraq and Syria stops.

(105) I am hoping that they will be released soon and we **should** continue this struggle. (Nigeria)

Paraphrase it is necessary that we continue this struggle.

(106) The terrorism in Afghanistan and Pakistan **should** be eliminated. (Nigeria)

Paraphrase In a perfect world the terrorism in Afghanistan and Pakistan is eliminated.

Hypothetical

There is only one occurrence where *should* has been used to express hypothetical meaning.

(107) so we **should** be hopeful that the struggle we do does bring change. (Liberty Medal)

In example 107, *should* is connected to *be hopeful*, which is connected to a future situation.

The hypothetical meaning expressed in the example can be analysed as a putative, as it can be seen as a necessity to keep their motivation up and continue their efforts.

Question

There are 4 occurrences of *should* in questions in the material. This can be analysed as a use of *putative should* as it can be categorised according to the description of a 'putative situation', possibly existing or coming into existence (Quirk et al. 1985:1014).

(108) Sometimes people like to ask me why **should** girls go to school? (Nobel)

(109) But I think the more important question is why **shouldn't** they? (Nobel)

The interesting difference between the two examples is the use of the negated and contracted form in example 109. When Yousafzai has used *should* in example 108 she refers to a personal experience, and it is an indirect question which is aimed at her. In example 109 she uses the contracted form, which is less formal, and directs the question at the audience, as a rhetorical question. In both examples the use of the modal *should* in questions makes the audience consider the topic Yousafzai is discussing, and in this way becomes more involved in the speech. This makes the use of this construction a device to appeal and persuade.

5.2.5 Will and Would

Will is the most frequently used modal auxiliary in the material with 67 occurrences. There are two instances of the contracted form *'ll*, and these are included in the analysis as forms of *will*. The use of *would* is less frequent, as *would* only occurs 37 times in the material.

Will

The distribution of the different uses of *will* is presented in table 5.7.

Prediction				Volition				Question		Total	
Future		Habitual		Willingness		Intention					
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
40	59.7	12	17.9	2	2.9	10	14.9	3	4.4	67	100

Table 5.7: Categorization of *will* in the material.

Prediction (extrinsic)

Will is the most common and neutral way to describe future events, and the stronger the stress is placed on this modal, the stronger its modal function becomes (Hasselgård et al.1998:189). In this way the use of *will* can provide more or less certainty of a future prediction than a modal with lower modal value. When *will* is used to express prediction, there are three different uses that can be applied. These are: future predictive, which expresses a close to neutral future marker to the speaker's predictions for future events, present predictive, which expresses the likelihood of a future event, and the habitual predictive which is used in conditional sentences or statements that express predictability (Quirk et al. 1985:228).

The analysis of *will* revealed that the expression of extrinsic meaning was most frequent. The most common use of *will* is the expression of future prediction, which also is the case in the material.

(110) And now, I would like to say, it is a long way to Tipperary, it is a long way to peace, but one day we **will** achieve, long live Pakistan, long live Ireland. (Tipperary)

In example 110 Yousafzai makes a future prediction for both Ireland and her home country Pakistan. The way her statement is formed with a present predictive, underlines her commitment. *We will* also denotes that this is a situation which is going to take place in the future, whereas *we might* would have been a weaker proposition with less confidence.

Example 111 illustrates the usage of the habitual form of *will*, and this statement expresses a predictability of something that will always happen with these books.

(111) In some books, you **will** visit the core of your heart and in others you **will** go out into the universe (Birmingham)

Volition (intrinsic)

When *will* is used to express volition, the volitional range of this modal can be divided in three categories: the weak volition expressing willingness, median volition expressing intention and the ‘strong’ volition expressing insistence (Quirk et al. 1985:229).

Of the 67 occurrences of *will* in the material, there are 16 occurrences of *I will*. Especially the use of *will* together with the personal pronoun *I* puts emphasis on the willingness of the speaker to act out what she is expressing in the speeches. Quirk et al. argue that when used with first and second pronouns, *will* often expresses intention, i.e. in making agreements, promises and threats (1985:214). This reflects how *will* can be used in different ways to express neutrality within predictions and volition.

(112) I **will** empower myself with knowledge. (Birmingham)

Paraphrase I intend to empower myself with knowledge.

(113) But, this time, we **will** do it by ourselves. (U.N. Malala Day)

Paraphrase But this time, we insist on doing it by ourselves.

Question

Will is only used in questions 3 times, and all of the occurrences can be found in the same speech. The meaning the questions express is willingness, so they could have been placed together with intrinsic modals. What is interesting with these questions is that Yousafzai applies several elements to present her appeal to the audience:

(114) But the question here is, the question is: what **will** the adults do? What **will** the responsible people do? What **will** the leaders do? (Nigeria speech)

Yousafzai starts by using repetition, repeating both the whole clause, and then the combination *what will*, which is the kind of repetition that Cockcroft and Cockcroft refer to as identical or similar length in each clause, together with another form of repetition which is of similar rhythm in each clause (1992:129). The use of question is the main element, but the way the argument has been structured, makes it hard not to consider the other elements Yousafzai is combining with *will* that expresses future predictions. Question is itself a tool in persuasion, as discussed in sections 2.5.7 and 6.5, but the structure of this appeal to the

audience is a lot more complex than the use of a modal auxiliary in a question, as Yousafzai has applied other rhetorical elements in the act of persuading her audience.

Would

Would can be compared to *will* in that sense that they both can express prediction, except from the fact that *would* cannot express present predictive. There are 37 occurrences of *would* in the material, and none of these were in contracted forms.

Prediction				Future time in the past		Volition		Tentative volition		Hypo- thetical		Question	
Future		Habitual				Willingness							
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
8	21,6	5	13.5	4	10.8	1	2.7	11	29.7	6	16.2	2	5.4

Table 5.8: Categorisation of *would* in the material.

As table 5.8 shows, there are a number of ways *would* has been used to express different forms of meaning. The two most common usage of *would* in the material are future prediction and tentative volition.

Prediction (extrinsic)

Examples 115 and 116 show how *would* has been used to express future and habitual prediction.

- (115) One will come next week, when representatives from around the world will meet in Ethiopia to discuss funding of the new development goals. My message is that in these goals, secondary education **would** be ensured. (Education Summit)
- (116) The word Malala means grief stricken", sad", but in order to lend some happiness to it, my grandfather **would** always call me Malala – The happiest girl in the world" and today I am very happy that we are together fighting for an important cause. (Nobel)

Example 116 illustrates the use of habitual prediction by the use of *would*. Yousafzai refers to how her grandfather had a nick name for her, and commonly used that. This reference can also be an element of expressing her personality (*ethos*), as she connects her current happiness as a Nobel Peace Prize winner to a reference to close family bonds.

Future time in the past

Future constructions ‘can be used in the past tense to describe something which is in the future when seen from a viewpoint in the past’ (Quirk et al. 1985:218).

(117) Because, Malala was living in Swat, in a small house of two three rooms, they did not know if they **would** have dinner for tonight or not. (Tipperary)

(118) But then things did not remain the same and, and even though there was peace in Swat things changed because the struggle of people, I did not know that one day I **would** be shot, and I realised that liberty comes at a high price. (Liberty Medal)

The future construction with *would*, is according to Quirk et al. rare, and most common in literary narrative style (1985:218). Yousafzai applies this style in her speeches, so even though it is uncommon, she manages to make it fit in to her speeches as a part of her personal experiences that she shares with the audience. Both examples can be analysed as a part of her appeal through *ethos*, as the focus is on personal experiences that she applies in the speeches to connect with the audience.

Volition (intrinsic) and Tentative volition (intrinsic)

Modals such as *could*, *might* and *would* can be used to express tentativeness or politeness (Quirk et al. 1985: 233). The most frequent use of *would* in the material is the tentative volition, where *would* is used to express a polite request.

(119) I **would** like to begin with my personal story. (Birmingham)

(120) I **would** like to thank my parents for their unconditional love. (Nobel)

There is one occasion where *would* has been used to express volition in the material, except from the tentative uses.

(121) I urge and am hopeful that world leaders, politicians, NGOs, parents and every person **would** come together to contribute to this campaign and ensure that every girl and every boy receives 12 years of quality education.

Paraphrase: ..NGOs, parents and every person are willing to come together to contribute...

Hypothetical

There are 6 incidents were *would* have been used to express a hypothetical situation.

- (122) I do not even hate the Talib who shot me. Even if there is a gun in my hand and he stands in front of me. I **would** not shoot him. (U.N.)
- (123) when I was young I was thinking that in a second I **would** be able to send every child to school (Liberty Medal)

Examples 122 and 123 show how *would* has been used to express hypothetical situations that can be connected to Yousafzai's personality in a positive way, which functions to strengthen her *ethos*, by expressing what she would have done if she had the power to do so.

Question

Would connotes less speaker certainty, than *will*, which can affect the frequency with which it is used. However, when using a question in a speech, and especially as Yousafzai has done in example 124, where *would* is used to create an imaginary situation, *would* works as an agent to fulfil this role in the rhetorical questions.

- (124) If they suffered through the same brutal and harsh situation, how **would** you feel? Feel if your sisters are homeless, if they are under captivity of someone who are so violent and cruel, how **would** you feel? (Nigeria)

5.3 Summary of modal meaning and auxiliary use

The analysis of modal auxiliaries in the material has shown that Yousafzai mainly has used them in constructions to present future events, expressing ability, and expressing conviction. The findings also revealed that Yousafzai most frequently have used modal auxiliaries that expresses medium or high responsibility for the attitudes she expresses in her speeches. As discussed earlier in this chapter, different modal auxiliaries will denote various degrees of speaker confidence or certainty, which will affect how they are used in different arguments and statements that are presented to the audience. Figure 5.3 and figure 5.4 illustrate the distribution of extrinsic and intrinsic modality according to the 241 occurrences of modal auxiliaries that was presented in table 5.1.

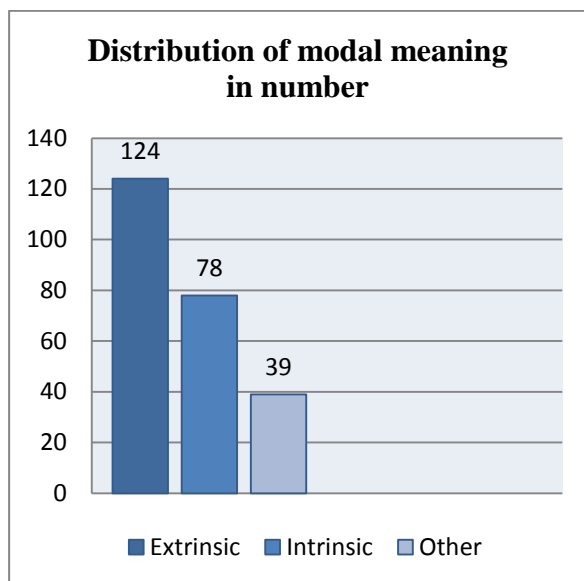


Figure 5.3: Distribution of modal meaning in number.

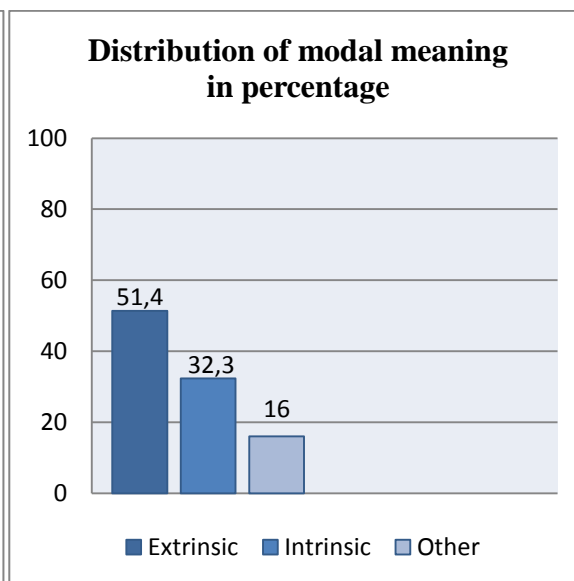


Figure 5.4: Distribution of modal meaning in percentage.

As figure 5.3 and 5.4 illustrate, Yousafzai has most frequently used modal auxiliaries that express extrinsic modality. As noted in section 2.7.1 this includes: possibility, necessity, and prediction (Quirk et al. 1985:219). Intrinsic modality was less frequently expressed; i.e. modals expressing: permission, obligation and volition (Quirk et al. 1985:219). The analysis revealed that *will*, *can* and *must* are the most frequent modal auxiliaries in the material. Respectively these three represent all three groups of the meanings modals can express, as figure 5.1 illustrates. In most cases *will* has been used to express future and habitual prediction, which is a form of extrinsic modality, whereas *can* most frequently has been used to express ability, which also belongs to the category of extrinsic modality. *Must* is the only one of the three that has been used to express intrinsic modality by expressing obligation.

According to figure 5.1, *can/could* and *may/might* are the modal auxiliaries that can be used to express permission, possibility and ability. The analysis revealed that Yousafzai favours the use of *can* and *could* compared to *may* and *might*. The nine instances of *may* and *might* in the material were used to express possibility and not permission. Both *can* and *could* have mainly been used to express ability which corresponds with the meaning of possibility as discussed in section 5.1.

The use of *must* was discussed in sections 5.2.3. *Must* can be used to express obligation or necessity, and Yousafzai has used both meanings of this modal to express different meanings.

Obligation is the most frequently expressed meaning of the two in the material. When using *must*, the speaker expresses a higher degree of commitment compared to *should* or *may*. The instances where Yousafzai has used *must* to express necessity, reflects how she claims that her propositions have a high likelihood of being true, which also reflects her confidence as a speaker and faith in her own propositions. *Must* also indicates a lot of certainty, so the frequent use in the material suggests that Yousafzai as a speaker with a political message is confident in her statements, which again increase the appeal and persuasive effect.

Shall and *should* were discussed in section 5.2.4. The unusual *shall* is also rare in the material, which supports the observation of Hasselgård et al. (1998) who argued that this modal only is used in restricted contexts. The use of *should* implies that Yousafzai is less confident than what she is when she uses *must*, so when *should* is used to express obligation, it expresses less certainty and confidence. *Should* has mainly been used to express obligation and putative meaning in the material, but there was also one instance that expressed tentative inference.

The final section of the analysis, section 5.2.5 presented the study of *will* and *would*. It was evident that *will* mainly had been used to express prediction, and the future prediction was the most frequent form. There were also instances where *will* had been used to express volition, and the most frequent was what Quirk et al. refers to as ‘strong volition’, which expresses insistence (1985:229). This form of expressing her meaning can be connected to the same confidence that is apparent when Yousafzai frequently has used *must* to express obligation and necessity, instead of other auxiliaries that connote less certainty.

The use of modal auxiliaries in questions was also discussed as some had been applied as an element in questions. The use of questions in the material will be analysed in section 6.5, but this chapter focused on which role the modal auxiliary had. When *should* had been applied in questions, the two examples could be analysed as putative *should*, which belongs to intrinsic modality. *Will* had been used to express willingness in questions to go through with an act, and the function can be analysed as an appeal through *pathos* as Yousafzai is questioning the willingness of the addressee. The use of *would* in questions served the function to create a hypothetical situation, as *would* was used an agent to fulfil a role in rhetorical questions.

The hypothetical situations that have been constructed by the use of modal auxiliaries can be analysed as an element applied by Yousafzai to strengthen her *ethos*, as she tends to portray positive situations as something she hypothetically would strive for. These situations can be connected to storytelling as she presents a positive vision of how it *could* or *would* have been if she held the power to make it happen.

By analysing Yousafzai's use of modal auxiliaries, it is apparent how she has presented arguments and expressed different meanings in her appeals to the audience. She has used the auxiliaries to express conviction, by presenting a case as a necessity and applied them to underline the possibility or ability of doing something. In several cases, modal auxiliaries have served to strengthen Yousafzai's *ethos*, as a close connection to her personality and stance can be traced in the analysis of them. This indicates that they have been chosen to reflect how she wants to be perceived by the audience. The use of the different auxiliaries also reveal how there is a connection between the rhetorical function they serve in the argument and Yousafzai's ideology. The focus will now turn to the analysis of the rhetorical devices found in the material, and which role they have in persuading the audience.

Chapter 6: *Rhetorical devices*

This chapter will provide an investigation of how rhetorical devices have been applied in the material, according to the definitions introduced in chapter 2, by Cockcroft and Cockcroft (1992), Charteris-Black (2011, 2014), and Beard (2000). The elements of study will be metaphors, other forms of figurative language, contrastive pairs, three-part lists, repetition, rhetorical questions and elements of feminine rhetoric style. The study will discuss how rhetorical devices have been used by Yousafzai to communicate her ideology and appeal to the audience, and how their rhetorical force results in the material's persuasiveness. The use of rhetorical devices can be viewed as a conscious strategy from the speaker's side, compared to personal pronouns and modal auxiliaries. This is because words and clauses have to be combined to form these agents, whereas personal pronouns and modal auxiliaries occur naturally in a speaker's vocabulary. Accordingly, rhetorical devices can be analysed as a stronger tool in the aim of persuading the audience.

The following sections will investigate which rhetorical devices have been applied by Yousafzai, and what kind of persuasive effect the rhetorical agents have on the audience. Examples from the material will be provided where the main elements will be written in bold to illustrate how the different components are used, and the frequency of use throughout the material will also be commented on. The findings presented in this chapter are a result of a close reading of the material where the different devices were identified according to the theory discussed in chapter 2. The final section will summarise the findings of the study, and discuss the devices in the light of their persuasive effect.

6.1 **Metaphors**

This section will present evidence from the material on how metaphors have been applied by Yousafzai. As discussed in chapter 2, metaphors are useful in political discourse as they have the ability to simplify complicated matters. Thus, the audience are given a more comprehensible image of the topics that are being discussed. After going through the material it is clear that metaphors and figurative language is a common feature in Yousafzai's

speeches. The following sections will provide some examples and discuss the use of figurative language and how it contributes to persuading the audience.

6.1.1 Conceptual metaphors

As noted in section 2.5.2 *conceptual metaphors* are created when one or several concepts from a source domain, such as *life* or *love* are being mapped onto a target domain such as *journey*. This is according to Lakoff and Johnson a conceptual metaphor, and the essence of them is to understand and experience one thing in terms of another (2003:5). In this way *life* or *love* is structured, understood, performed and talked about in terms of a journey (2003:5). Yousafzai has used a number of the conceptual metaphors Lakoff and Johnson (2003) refer to, but she has also created other concepts which will be discussed in the following sections.

LIFE IS A JOURNEY

Among the most common metaphors is the journey metaphor. It is easy to grasp as everyone can relate to the time aspect and the experience of movement. Therefore the use of this metaphor can simplify a complex matter by describing it as a journey. Charteris-Black argues that journey metaphors are typically used to reinforce the relation of contrast, and in metaphors from this source domain the relation of antithesis is highlighted by contrasting unimpeded movement along a path with inability to move (2011:178). This conceptual metaphor has frequently been used by Yousafzai, and she emphasises how the goal, which is peace and education for everyone, can be reached through viewing it as an ongoing process which she is a part of. She also makes her audience a part of the process by including them in the appeal, which is a tool for sharing responsibility for future events.

- (125) **The road to education, peace and equality is very long. It is a very long journey.** (Nigeria)
- (126) **The road to education, peace and equality is quite long,** and when I was young I was thinking that in a second I would be able to send every child to school, but as I am having more and more experience, I am realising that **the journey is quite long** (Liberty Medal)

In examples 125 and 126 Yousafzai portrays the ongoing work for education as a long road, which creates an image that the audience easily can relate to. She also refers to it as a journey which is an abstract term, but she enables the audience to get a better understanding of the

concept by viewing it in this way, that there is an end and a beginning, and it is possible to reach the goals and achieve what Yousafzai is discussing.

(127) But if we go together, we will achieve our goals, we will complete **our journey**, we have to **walk** together. (Nigeria)

(128) We have already taken many **steps**. Now it is time to take **a leap**. (Nobel)

Examples 127 and 128 illustrate how Yousafzai uses the journey metaphor at the same time as she includes her audience by using the inclusive personal pronoun, as discussed in chapter 4. She portrays the ongoing work for education and peace as a journey that her audience either is a part of or should become a part of to succeed. It is a strong appeal by the use of *pathos*, as she is asking her audience to be a part of something bigger, creating a sense of unity.

EDUCATION IS PEACE

Yousafzai makes an explicit connection between the two concepts *education* and *peace*, by arguing that the prerequisite for peace is education:

(129) But I believe that **education is the only way to peace**, and education is my goal, education is our goal. (Tipperary)

(130) I truly believe **the only way we can create global peace is through educating** not only our minds, but our hearts and our souls. (Birmingham)

This conceptual metaphor illustrates how Yousafzai uses metaphor to connect to the audience and affect them by the use of *logos* by presenting one concept as a condition for the other, creating a logical connection between the two. She also applies *pathos* through her word choice: *our hearts and our souls*, as these words create specific connotations. Example 129 also serves to strengthen her *ethos* by stating that *education is my goal, education is our goal*, which is a way of presenting her view, but also include the audience in her personal ideology.

FORWARD MOVEMENT IS GOOD

This conceptualisation can be connected to what Lakoff and Johnson discuss, that the future is viewed as better and is a statement of the concept of progress (2003:22). In this way progression and moving forward is a positive element, which Yousafzai also emphasises in her speeches.

- (131) Even in developed countries they are not given the opportunities to **move forward** and to be what they are. (Harvard)
- (132) This is the **way forward to** our destiny of peace and prosperity. (Birmingham)
- (133) So **move forward** and speak. (Tipperary)

The examples illustrate how moving forward is linked to positive future aspects. It creates the contrast to standing still, so the metaphors can be analysed as an appeal to the audience to take action.

THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR THE EMOTIONS

This is one of the metaphors Lakoff and Johnson discuss (2003:50), and it is an interesting way of describing the abilities eyes entail.

- (134) we would sit there with **big dreams in our eyes**. (Nobel)
- (135) It is a great honour for me to be here in Ireland again, where **Irish eyes are always smiling** and, you can hear the angels sing. (Amnesty)

134 and 135 illustrate how Yousafzai presents an image people are able to relate to, as a person's eyes can express the way she feels about a situation. The metaphor hence creates images of emotions people in the audience are familiar with.

CONFLICT IS BLOOD

When *blood* is used as a reference to represent conflict, it creates a strong image of the situation which the speaker is presenting (Charteris-Black 2011:49). This can be analysed as an appeal by the use of *pathos* as it involves using a word with negative connotations to describe a war. By implicitly creating these connotations, the audience become more receptive, or are able to relate to the tragic situation for the people who are caught in it.

- (136) The **bloodshed** in Iraq and Syria should be stopped. (Nigeria)

There is only one occurrence of this reference in the material. However, the metaphor is efficient as the image of blood creates a number of negative connotations which will awaken emotions in the audience. Blood is also something everyone can relate to compared to *war*, as the concept of war is hard to grasp for an audience which never has experienced that situation.

EDUCATION IS SELF-DETERMINATION

Yousafzai conceptualises freedom as being able to go to school and get an education. This can also be seen as an appeal through *pathos* as everyone can relate to the concept of being free and having the ability to live their life as they wish to.

(137) Peace is a situation where a girl is **free** to go to school. (Tipperary)

(138) I raise my voice for my sisters in Northern Nigeria, because they have this right to be **free** they have this right to get education. (Liberty Medal)

Yousafzai's conceptualisation makes the situations comprehensible for her audience, which increases the chances of affecting them. As the argument is rooted in her ideology, the uses of this concept can affect the audience's decision of supporting her political work, that girls should be free according to the concept and have the opportunity to go to school.

EDUCATION/BOOKS AND PENS ARE WEAPONS

Yousafzai establishes the idea that education is a weapon which can be used against poverty, ignorance and terrorism, and that the fight for education is done by the use of books and pens. This can be analysed as a category of the well-known metaphor 'knowledge is power'.

(139) With this powerful **weapon** of knowledge and education, we can **fight** against violence, terrorism, child labour and inequality. (Amnesty)

(140) Education is the best **weapon** through which we can **fight** poverty, ignorance and terrorism. (Liberty Medal and Nigeria)

By referring to the concept of education as a weapon that can be used to fight with, she extends its abilities in society to something concrete rather than abstract, which makes it an entity everyone in the audience can relate to. This entity, a weapon, also includes a number of connotations to what kind of power a weapon can have.

(141) Pens and books are the **weapons** that defeat terrorism. (Birmingham)

(142) So let us wage a global struggle against illiteracy, poverty and terrorism and let us pick up our **books and pens**. They are our most powerful **weapons**. (U.N.)

After education has been conceptualised as being a weapon in a struggle for education and equality, it is being referred to as *the weapon of knowledge*.

(143) And if we want to achieve our goal, then let us empower ourselves with the **weapon of knowledge** and let us **shield** ourselves with unity and togetherness. (U.N.)

The reference in itself can be analysed as a case of metonymy, as it involves replacing the name of something with something that is connected to it, without being the whole thing (Beard 2000:19). It works as an extension of the weapon metaphor as Yousafzai creates another comparison to war by using the words *weapon of knowledge* and *shield* which are other battle or war references. This extended form of the concept of education being a weapon creates a larger impact on the audience as the strings to war and battle are being played on to underline the power of education.

6.1.2 Personification

Personification is the most common metaphor, and can be found in different types of texts. Lakoff and Johnson describes this figure of speech as a general category that covers a wide range of metaphors, each picking out different aspects of a person or ways of looking at a person (2003:34). In other words a speaker uses a word or a phrase to describe an abstract entity that commonly is used to describe a person. Charteris-Black emphasise that personification, because of its ability of heightening the emotional appeal, is persuasive as ‘it evokes our attitudes, feelings and beliefs about people and applies them to our attitudes, feelings and beliefs about abstract political entities (2011:61). Like the other metaphors discussed earlier, this device also serves the function of making the audience more able to relate to concepts which can be challenging to understand.

THE WORLD IS A PERSON

There were two different ways of conceptualising the *world* in the material, it is either referred to as a person or as a parent. This conceptualisation has been placed in this section as it expresses a personification of the world at the same time as it can be represented by the underlying metaphor that the world is a person/parent. When Yousafzai refers to the world in this way, she creates connections to interpersonal relationships humans can have, and connotations to the image the audience has of a parent.

(144) If nine years is not enough for your children, then it is not enough for the rest of **the world's children**. (Education summit)

(145) Now it is time to call them to take action for the rest of **the world's children**. (Nobel)

Stating that the world has children that need to be taken care of can be analysed as a way of creating an image of a complex political situation, where she also implies that everyone has a responsibility to take care of these children. Another element which also can work as a rhetorical agent to strengthen her appeal, is that she implicitly claims the authority when she uses *the world* instead of *I*, *you* or *we*, because she speaks on behalf of an imagined parent.

The other conceptualisation of the world, when it has been referred to as a person, clearly shows that Yousafzai is giving the world human qualities:

(146) But it is time **the world thinks bigger**. (Nobel)

(147) While **the world is standing silent** doing nothing (Nigeria)

(148) When I was shot by the Taliban, **the world stood up**. (Nigeria)

(149) **the world can no longer accept** that basic education is enough. (Nobel)

As the examples illustrate, Yousafzai presents the world as being able to speak, think and have personal opinions about what kind of education children should get. She also extends this metaphor by using the phrase *the world stood up* which reflects the support she received from people in different countries after the attack. The personification in example 149 can therefore be analysed as an appeal to a world audience, an implicit request that people in all countries once again have to come together and try to change the current situation and demand more than basic education for children.

A NATION IS A PERSON

By conceptualizing the nation of Nigeria as a person, Yousafzai appeals to her audience on an emotional level. She appeals to their personal identity as Nigerian people, people of the same nation, and through this she makes them receptive to what she is telling them.

(150) Release **the daughters of this nation**, let them be free, they have committed no crime.
(Nigeria)

(151) So I request you, lay down your weapons. Release your sisters. Lay down your weapons, release your sisters. Release my sisters, and **release the daughters of this nation**.

(152) **You are** an incredible **strong nation**, **you walk** every day to fight against your challenges, through your unity, resilience and determination. (Nigeria)

Example 152 illustrates how Yousafzai gives the Nigerian people compliments, which is another way of appealing to them on an emotional level, and focusing on their progress to motivate the audience to keep up their work for girls' opportunities to get an education.

Other forms for personification

Yousafzai has also applied other forms of personification, which create images the audience can relate to.

(153) This is what **my soul is telling me**, be peaceful and love everyone. (U.N.)

153 is an example of how she has personified her soul, and given it the ability to communicate how she should act in society. This also functions to strengthen her *ethos*, by implying that being peaceful and loving are traits of her personality.

(154) The teachers of this town strived to **rehabilitate my educational career**, and the great people of this city gave me great moral support, and today's event proves that **this city loves me** and I love it too. (Birmingham)

(155) **Books keep ones feelings alive**. Aristotle's **words are still breathing**, Rumi's poetry will always inspire and **Shakespeare's soul will never die**. (Birmingham)

There are two incidents of personification in example 154. The first one is when Yousafzai refers to her educational career as something that can be rehabilitated, like her body after her injury. The second is when she says that the city loves her, which evokes feelings in the audience as she uses the word *love*.

In 155, the first personification is when books are referred to as an element that is capable of keeping feelings alive, which itself is an ambivalent term. Feelings can be seen as an abstract entity which cannot be dead or alive, so the example illustrates a complex personification, as neither books nor feelings hold the ability to physically keep something or to be dead or alive. This personification is furthermore extended by the use of a three-part list (see further 6.3) to underline the argument of the capabilities books and words hold. Furthermore, words are viewed as being alive and breathing, poetry is given the ability of inspiring, and the last part with Shakespeare ends the three-part list on a high, with the image that a dead person's soul never can die. This combination of the three elements create a complex image as all these

concepts are placed together to form an argument on the importance of books. By using the word *soul* instead of *writings* Yousafzai also uses metonymy by using one entity to refer to another which is related to it (Lakoff & Johnson 2003:35). Including this form of figurative language affects the audience's perception of and attitude to the original thing or concept that is being described (Beard 2000:26), as Yousafzai adds new or logical connections between an object and connects these two in one process.

The final example in this section illustrates how Yousafzai has combined the use of personification by referring to the medal she receives as representing something bigger, and stating this by the use of a three-part list which will be discussed in section 6.3.

(156) Dear brothers and sisters I am honoured to receive this medal, and it is not just a golden medal which you wear, but **it is hope, it is courage, and it is support**. (Liberty Medal)

All the three concepts she mentions are quite abstract. However, when she connects them to the medal she has received, a physical object, it becomes easier for the audience to relate to how she feels about receiving the award, and how it can be seen as a symbol for future motivation.

6.1.3 Analogy and simile

Analogy and simile are two other elements of figurative language that can be found in the material. Whereas simile is 'a statement of comparison or equivalence which uses a grammatical conjunction as 'like', 'as' or 'as if' (Goring et al. 2001:297), analogy can be described as a large scale comparison between elements. According to Beard analogy operates by comparing two objects of different types; but these two elements have certain elements in common (Beard 2000:27). An example of analogy is when Yousafzai refers to her home district as a paradise.

(157) In my **paradise** home, **Swat**, I always loved learning and discovering new things. (Nobel)

(158) And we call **Swat** a **paradise** on earth. (Amnesty)

Comparing Swat to a paradise leads to the creation of connotations in the audience. It can arouse religious connotations as the image of paradise can be found in many religious scriptures. In the Quran the image of paradise is described as a garden with flowering trees,

running streams, silken cushions, and chaste companions (Walter 2005). The garden of Eden is also vividly described in the Bible: ‘And out of the ground made the LORD God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food; the tree of life also in the midst of the garden’ (Genesis 2.9).

Beard argues that the 'strength' of an analogy will depend very much on the degree of similarity between the two objects being compared, and whether these two are similar in ways that are relevant to the argument being made by the speaker (2000:28). In the case of Yousafzai's usage, there might not be an obvious similarity, but the comparison itself establishes a certain image that people in the audience are able to relate to no matter which background they have, and that makes the analogy efficient.

Yousafzai also applies similes in different ways in the material.

(159) I come from a beautiful **paradise-like** valley called **Swat**, which is in the north of Pakistan.
(Harvard)

Example 159 can both be seen as a simile and an analogy in the sense that she refers to Swat as *paradise-like*. The function of connecting Swat with the word *paradise* creates positive connotations to the place Yousafzai is describing. Using a simile can create a closer connection between the two concepts as they are being compared directly.

Examples 160 and 161 illustrate how a simile has been used to create contrast and specific connotations, and in 161 to underline the importance of books in a society:

(160) We are treating each other **like** animals, we are no more human beings. (Nigeria)
(161) As once said, a room without books is **like** a body without soul, and I say “a city without a library is **like** a graveyard.” (Birmingham)

In example 160 she appeals to the audience by addressing them with *we*, and instead of explaining that the current behaviour is not acceptable or should be more considerate, she uses the words *like animals* to describe the behaviour. The use of simile hence creates an image of a primitive behaviour everyone can relate to. This image also carries negative connotations, so the appeal aims to change the behaviour by stating that it is below human

ways of acting. In example 161 she makes a comparison between a city and a graveyard, which create connotations to a place with no life. This simile therefore supports her argument of the importance of having access to knowledge in terms of literature and science.

6.1.4 Other occurrences of figurative language

As noted in section 2.5. 2, Yousafzai continuously refers to the audience as brothers and sisters, which can be analysed as an element in connecting with the audience by the use of figurative language. Addressing them in this way leads to a creation of an invisible or imaginative bond between her as the speaker and her audience, as the words connote family bonds. In this way it becomes visible how a metaphor can be used to draw on the unconscious emotional associations of words, and the values of which are rooted in cultural knowledge (Charteris-Black 2011:50). When Yousafzai uses this form of addressing the audience she follows her religious ideology, as according to Islam, ‘the Prophet declared that everyone should be brothers and sisters, as everyone is servants of God’ (Gulen & Ceylan 2001:134). To the audience with different beliefs, *brothers* and *sisters* connote strong bonds, affection, and family. As a result it becomes an efficient agent that appeals to everyone, which makes the audience emotionally engaged in what she says and therefore more open to be persuaded.

A number of other forms of figurative language can also be found in the material. These are mainly metaphors that have been used to create imagery. The incidents of this device are mainly an emotional appeal (*pathos*) to the audience, which is being simplified by the use of images that the audience is able to relate to.

(162) We had a **thirst for education**, we had a **thirst for education** because our future was right there in that classroom. (Nobel)

(163) We said: that in this modern era, where even disabled and special children are educated, we women and girls are **forced and pushed back to the Stone Age**. (Harvard)

In example 162 the use of the word *thirst* together with *education* creates a clear image of how strongly they desired it. Describing the future as being in the classroom is another image that underlines the importance of education for the girls in that country. The metaphor in example 163 creates a clear image, which is supported by the two verbs *forced* and *pushed*, of being involuntary placed into a primitive society. By applying this metaphor with a historical reference, Yousafzai creates an image everyone in her audience is able to relate to, as the

present time is the opposite of what she describes.

Example 164 is slightly different from the other metaphors, as Yousafzai implicitly refers to herself as a bird and her father as the bird keeper:

(164) Thank you to my father for **not clipping my wings and for letting me fly**. (Nobel)

The image creates connotations to freedom, and communicates that her father has given her this freedom and self determination to decide what she wants to do in her life.

Proverbs and sayings

There is also a number of what can be analysed as proverbs or type of sayings in Yousafzai's speeches. These are not established in the English language, but she expresses them with a certain conviction, which makes them an element of her speech style. Examples 165 and 166 are statements where she makes claims that are rooted in what she has expressed earlier, and she presents them with a high level of certainty:

(165) A war can never end a war. (Harvard)

(166) But a commitment only counts if a commitment is kept. (Education Summit)

Yousafzai presents herself as a confident speaker when she is expressing these sayings, because they are presented as facts. In this way she places herself in the role of having the knowledge to state this without anyone contradicting it.

6.2 Contrastive pairs

It was noted in section 2.5.4 that contrastive pairs or antithesis can be expressed by placing two words or concepts that contrast each other together, as the main purpose is that a lexical opposition of contrary meanings occurs. Examples 167 and 168 illustrate how Yousafzai has applied common oppositions in her appeal to the audience. By using a figure where a positive element is compared to a negative one, she directs her audience to support her standpoint in the matter, as the opposite represents a negative element.

(167) we felt that, that they took us out of our **paradise** and sent us to a **hell**. (Tipperary)

Contrast: paradise and hell

(168) Education went from being a **right** to being a **crime**. (Nobel)

Contrast: a right and a crime

When concepts and words are contrasted as examples 167 and 168, it can be analysed as an appeal by the use of *pathos* as it affects the audience on an emotional level. This is done by the use of words that connote opposite meanings, where one is negative and the other is positive. Yousafzai makes it clear which situation that is the most desirable and the least.

On the other hand, examples 169, 170, and 171 illustrate that the context of the word decides which the more desirable situation is:

(169) That it becomes a **reality** for a child rather than a **dream**. (Education Summit)

Contrast: reality and dream

(170) let us become the **first** generation that decides to be the **last** that sees empty classrooms, lost childhoods, and wasted potentials. (Nobel)

Contrast: first and last

(171) And then, out of that **silence** came, **thousands of voices**. (U.N.)

Contrast: silence and thousands of voices

There are also several instances where Yousafzai has combined rhetorical devices to strengthen the persuasive effect of her arguments. Examples 172 and 173 show how Yousafzai has combined *contrastive pairs* with a form of repetition known as a *three-part list*, to create a strong appeal and leave an impression on the audience:

(72) Dear sisters and brothers, we realise the importance of **light** when we see **darkness**. We realise the importance of our **voice** when we are **silenced**. In the same way, when we were in Swat, the north of Pakistan, we realised the importance of **pens and books** when we saw the **guns**. (U.N.)

Contrast: light and darkness, voice and silence, pens and books and guns.

(73) Why is it that countries which we call “**strong**” are so powerful in creating **wars** but are so **weak** in bringing **peace**? Why is it that giving **guns** is so **easy** but giving **books** is so **hard**? Why is it, why is it that making **tanks** is so **easy**, but building **schools** is so **hard**? (Nobel)

Contrast: strong and weak, wars and peace, guns and books, easy and hard, tanks and schools.

Some of the contrastive pairs Yousafzai has applied are commonly used in political language. However, the way she contrasts *pens* and *books* with *guns* is a reoccurring contrast in her speeches, which makes it a special feature in her speeches. The frequent use functions to underline the importance of books and pens to Yousafzai, as they represent her political ideology, but what they represent are also the reason for why the Taliban shot her.

Example 174 shows how repetition has been used together with contrastive pairs and listing more than three arguments to form one argument and appeal to the audience.

(174) Where there is justice for everyone, whether he is **poor** or **rich**, whether he is **tall** or **short**, whether he is a **Muslim** or **Jew**, whether he is a **man** or a **woman**, where there is justice.

This form of repetition and contrasting concepts create the sense of conviction in her arguments. Yousafzai starts and finishes her argument with the same clause, which creates a frame around her statements, making it an element of *logos*. The middle section functions to establish what *justice for everyone* consists of, by the use of contrasting concepts that everyone can relate to. This form of presenting her argument therefore makes the concept of justice easy to grasp by her audience.

6.3 Three-part lists

As discussed in section 2.5.3, Hillier (2004) and Beard (2000) argued that three-part lists are used to make a specific point by using three components, and that they create the feeling of unity as they are embedded in the culture they belong to. It was also noted that Yousafzai had applied the same three-part list as Tony Blair previously had done in his campaign, and she actually uses this three-part list twice in the material. After close reading the material it is evident that Yousafzai has used this figure of speech a number of times in her speeches, and some of them will be presented in this section.

The three-part lists were placed in two categories, according to the positive or negative meaning the concepts can be related to. Yousafzai has used three-part lists in an argument to present three concepts which are positive and can be linked together:

(175) children who need **education**, who need **support**, and who need **help** (Liberty Medal)

(176) A birth place for **freedom**, for **independence**, and for this **liberty**. (Liberty Medal)

(177) their goals of **education, peace and equality**. (U.N.)

(178) Let us help them through our **voice, action and charity**. (Birmingham)

The examples demonstrate how Yousafzai applies three-part lists, placing three elements together that have a certain similarity, to form one strong argument. In this way the three-part list becomes a persuasive device in her speeches. She also connects three negative concepts to present an argument and appeal to the audience:

(179) who are trapped in **poverty, child labour, and child trafficking**. (Education Summit)

(180) Some will say this is **impractical**, or too **expensive**, or too **hard**. But it is time the world thinks bigger (Nobel)

The use of three-part list has the same function in 179 and 180. The difference is that she uses the device with negative concepts that she combines to affect the audience. Example 179 is an appeal by the use of *pathos*, as she creates imagery by referring to children who are *trapped* in three negative situations. Example 180 can be analysed as seeing the situation from another perspective, which can be connected to an element of *logos*. It was noted in section 2.1.3 that a speaker can present the opponent's argument just to break it down with her own argument (Cockroft & Cockroft 1992:91-92), and example 180 illustrates how Yousafzai does this.

Yousafzai also uses repetition in what can be analysed as three-part lists, by combining three individual arguments to make a statement, see further section 6.4.

(181) **It is for those** forgotten children who want education.

It is for those frightened children who want peace.

It is for those voiceless children who want change. (Nobel)

(182) **I am here on behalf of** 146 children and teachers who were brutally killed in an attack by a terrorist in Peshawar in Pakistan. **I am here on behalf of** those three girls in Afghanistan who had acid thrown in their faces by terrorists for their crime to go to school. **I am here on behalf of** those 28 million children who are out of school because of the ongoing and tragic conflicts and wars. (Education Summit)

The use of repetition in example 181 and 182 express a sense of conviction, as the clauses are repeated to underline her political message. The examples can also be seen as appealing by the use of *pathos*, as Yousafzai in 181 creates imagery that can trigger emotions by describing

children who are *forgotten, frightened* and *voiceless*. In 182 she refers to horrible factual situations, making her appeal seem logical (*logos*) as well as an element of *pathos*.

6.3.1 Other forms of listing

Yousafzai has also used other types of listing in her speeches. This form can be analysed as an appeal through *logos* as she has used numbers to organise her arguments so they appear in a logical sense to the audience.

- (183) The **first** thing is speaking on different occasions, trying to convince people, trying to motivate the parents of the children to educate their children, to send them to school, then, the **second** thing is to motivate the children as well, to teach them how important school is. There on the **third** step comes to ask the government, to ask the people who are responsible to do something for the education of every child. (Tipperary)
- (184) I had two options. **One** was to remain silent and wait to be killed. And the **second** was to speak up and then be killed. I chose the **second** one. I decided to speak up. (Nobel)

Examples 183 and 184 are the only two instances in the material where Yousafzai has used numbers to present her arguments to the audience. The use of numbers organise her arguments in a way which makes them clear to the audience as they are connected by numbers and hence logically related. Example 183 can be analysed as a step-by-step approach, with logical connections between the elements, which together will lead to a positive outcome. In example 184 Yousafzai also appeals by the use of *ethos*, as she presents her personality as being strong and not giving in to the pressure from Taliban.

This argument has been placed in this section due to how she has made an appeal by listing:

- (185) Let's begin this ending ... **together** ... **today** ... **right here, right now**. Let's begin this ending now. (Nobel)

By referring to present time and the present situation, she contextualises her political appeal which functions as connecting it to her audience in the speech situation. It can be analysed as she is presenting an hypothetical situation, but the effect of using *together* which includes the audience, with *right here* and *right now*, makes the appeal an efficient tool in persuading her audience. This is because it supports the political based ending she is referring to. Yousafzai also uses the abbreviated form of *us* to include the audience in which can be analysed as

another element in appealing straight at the audience. This was discussed in chapter 4 which analysed the use of personal pronouns and their persuasive effect. Example 85 also entails elements of repetition that underlines her appeal and strengthens the effect of it. The use of repetition and its rhetorical functions will be discussed in the next section.

6.4 Repetition

Repetition is a device that Yousafzai applies in every speech. It was noted in section 2.5 that repetition might be the major resource of schematic rhetoric (Cockroft & Cockroft 1992:131), which explains its frequent use in the material. Its function was also discussed in that section, that it communicates a sense of conviction (Charteris-Black 2011:10), which makes it an efficient tool in persuasive discourse. Yousafzai has applied different forms of repetition, whether this is simple repetition where a word is repeated several times, or more complex repetitions where clauses are repeated. Repetition will be divided into two categories, based on the four categories Cockroft and Cockroft have established (1992:129).

Identical syntactic structure in each clause and identical or similar length in each clause

The two categories have been combined as Yousafzai has expressed herself by combining them in her speeches.

(186) **Let this be the last time that** a girl or a boy spends their childhood in a factory.

Let this be the last time that a girl is forced into early child marriage.

Let this be the last time that a child loses life in war.

Let this be the last time that we see a child out of school.

Let this end with us. (Nobel)

(187) Those who have fought for their rights:

Their right to live in peace.

Their right to be treated with dignity.

Their right to equality of opportunity.

Their right to be educated. (U.N.)

Yousafzai had applied this type of repetition in her three-part lists too, but as the examples illustrate, she also repeats sequences more than three times. The effect of this repetition can be analysed as an appeal by the use of *pathos*. In 186, the main emphasis is placed on *the last*

time, which refers to how a child not should have to keep going through the hardships she is describing. This appeal to the audience implies that they have to act to try to end these negative situations that children are experiencing. In 187, the focus is placed on *their right*, which is a reference to children. The use of repetition underlines the importance of how all children should have the same rights.

Yousafzai has also used repetition with similar length in each clause as a device to make a strong appeal:

(188) Dear brothers and sisters, **we must not forget** that millions of people are suffering from poverty, injustice and ignorance. **We must not forget** that millions of children are out of schools. **We must not forget** that our sisters and brothers are waiting for a bright peaceful future. (U.N.)

(189) It is **time** to take action so it becomes **the last time, the last time**, so it becomes **the last time** that we see a child deprived of education. (Nobel)

The use of repetition in examples 188 and 189 function to strengthen Yousafzai's appeal. When the words are repeated the importance of the political message is stressed, which also implies that she expects her audience to act on behalf of what she is stating. Both of the processes she refers to are active, not forgetting and taking action, which can be analysed as a request from her to make her audience do more to support children who are out of school and deprived of education.

In example 190 Yousafzai uses the concept of time to describe a complex situation, which makes it easier for the audience to relate to. She repeats the same two words to emphasise the time that has passed since the girls from Chibok in Nigeria were taken by Boko Haram.

(190) Next week, it will be **hundred days. Hundred days** since they were taken. **Hundred days** in captivity. **Hundred days** out of school. **Hundred days** without parents. **Hundred days** under fear. (Nigeria)

The repetition of this fact is an appeal by the use of *pathos*. This because she underlines the negative aspects of being abducted by a terrorist group. It is longer than a three-part list, but the repetitive sequence in this paragraph leads to a strong appeal which seems to be aimed at the government and the audience, so they can relate to the importance of freeing the girls.

A similar rhythm in each clause and antithetical balance within or between clauses

Example 191 illustrates how Yousafzai has made an appeal by underlining their shared responsibility and applied *pathos*. This is done by the creation of imagery and repetitive sequences to emphasise the political appeal. The argument also has a similar rhythm in each clause and a balance between the clauses she has placed together.

(191) **Let us not forget** that the children of India are suffering from child labour. **Let us not forget**, that in many countries like Nigeria girls are suffering from early forced marriages, and are victims of sexual violence. **Let us not forget** that in many African countries children have no access to food and clean water, and they are starving for education. **Let us not forget** women are not even accepted as human beings, their rights are denied and neglected even in developed countries. (Harvard)

Example 192 illustrates the use of a similar rhythm in each clause:

(192) A singer, when he sings a song of peace, when he sings the song of education, he can bring change. A painter, an artist, if he draw a picture, a picture of peace and equality, he can bring change. Everyone can bring change, everyone. (Tipperary)

The example illustrates how Yousafzai has combined several elements to form an argument, and hence applied *logos*. However, the appeal itself can be analysed as an instance where she has applied *pathos* as imagery is created. The argument is constructed with repetition as there is a similar rhythm in each clause, which is persuasive as it signifies conviction.

6.4.1 Repetition across speeches

In addition to the repetition of words and clauses within the same speech, there are also occurrences of repetition of the same clause or theme throughout the material. As argued in section 2.5.5, the use of repetition communicates a sense of conviction, and conviction rhetoric is grounded in ethical appeal and arouses emotions in the audience (Charteris-Black 2011:10). In this way, Yousafzai's use of repetition can be analysed as an appeal by the use of *pathos*. Additionally, repetition can also function as strengthening *ethos*, and one prominent example is Yousafzai applies the same opening in every speech:

(193) Bismillah hir rahman ir rahim. In the name of God, the most beneficent, the most merciful.

By applying the same phrase in every speech, Yousafzai communicates her *ethos* from the beginning of the speech, and that her political ideology also is based on religious views. The use of this form of repetition serves as a tool to recognise her as a speaker, and her personality and stance are reflected in this citation from the Quran.

Another less frequent sentence that only occurs in three out of nine speeches (Liberty Medal, U.N. and Nigeria), is her description of herself after she was shot by the Taliban. This can be analysed as a statement, as it is presented with conviction, and it also reflects her *ethos* and strengthens it in a positive way.

(194) nothing changed in my life except this: Weakness, fear and hopelessness died. Strength, power and courage was born.

The repeated use of the sentence strengthens the conviction in her argument, but there are also several rhetorical devices in it. Yousafzai has used metaphor to create an image of what she chose to stop focusing on, and place an emphasis on the elements of her personality she chose to focus on after the attack on her. There are also two three-part lists in the example, which contrast each other, creating a contrastive pair. Accordingly, this sentence can be analysed as a rhetorical device which serves to appeal to the audience on several levels, and hence a proficient rhetorical device.

There is also a repetition of the thematic elements in the speech material. Yousafzai presents herself as a spokesperson for those women and children who do not have the opportunity to communicate their needs to a world audience. She refers to them as *voiceless*, which can be viewed as an agent to emphasise their cultural and social challenging environment.

(195) It is for those **voiceless** children who want change. (Nobel)

(196) Dear brothers and sisters, tonight I speak for **those without voice**. (Liberty Medal)

(197) I raise up my voice – not so that I can shout, but so that **those without a voice** can be heard.
(U.N.)

The use of *I* in 196 and 197 implies that Yousafzai's work to improve their situation is selfless. By referring to children and women in this sense can be analysed as an element of *pathos* as she creates imagery to affect the audience. This can also be seen in the light of her representation of girls and women as victims in society, as discussed in section 4.3.

The following metaphor is applied several times in the material where the future time is described as bright and hence seen as a positive element.

- (198) The only tools that are needed are a pen and a book to guide us on our way to an **enlightened future** for one and all. (Amnesty)
- (199) let us dream today, a dream of a **bright future**, where every girl and every boy is going to school. (Harvard)
- (200) we want schools and education for every child's **bright future**. (U.N.)

Yousafzai makes an appeal to positive emotions in the audience by presenting the future as bright. She connects this metaphor to her campaign for education, which creates an image where the condition is that the future will be bright (positive) if the path of educating all children is followed.

A prominent feature which Yousafzai also is known for, is the use of a certain phrase in the end of her speeches. She has used this phrase in five of nine speeches, and it can be described as a political slogan as it can be connected to her ideology:

- (201) let us not forget that one book, one pen, one child, and one teacher can change the world.

Beard argues that a slogan aims to give a positive view of the organisation's work (2000:58). The phrase Yousafzai uses in the end gives the audience a sharp reminder that it is possible to make a change, and that she herself is a proof of her statement. The function of this statement is also that it strengthens her *ethos*, as she is presenting herself in a positive way, highlighting that she, together with a *teacher*, *book* and a *pen*, changed the world. This can also be seen as an element of *logos* as she uses this phrase to end her appeal and line of argument

6.5 Questions as a rhetorical device

The use of questions may be one of the most common devices for a political speaker to apply, as this is a familiar tool which is used in everyday life and in the political arena. To be able to investigate all instances of questions in the material, a close reading was undertaken. This was due to the fact that not all the speech transcripts that had been taken from the internet had question marks where there was a question. After going through all the transcripts the

questions were organised into four different types. These four categories were discussed in section 2.5.7 and are established on Cockcroft and Cockcroft's theory about the different types of questions that can be used in speeches (1992:157).

Rhetorical question

According to the definition it is 'a question to which the answer is by implication obvious' (Cockcroft and Cockcroft 1992:157). In the speech situation the question is directed at Boko Haram, who are not present in the audience, but can access the speech online.

(202) If they suffered through the same brutal and harsh situation, **how would you feel?** Feel if your sisters are homeless, if they are under captivity of someone who are so violent and cruel, **how would you feel?** (Nigeria)

In this example, it is clear that Yousafzai is making an appeal by the use of *pathos* to Boko Haram. It is aimed to be on a personal level, as she has used the words *your sisters* to play on the family strings, so it is a direct appeal to that terrorist group. When combining *your sisters* with the adjectives: *brutal*, *harsh*, *violent* and *cruel*, strong connotations are made, as these adjectives represent the opposite of what one desires for family members.

Multiple questioning

When multiple questions appear in the line of argument, it illustrates an element of *logos*, where the aim is to get the audience's attention and make them consider possible answers to the questions that are presented.

(203) But the question here is, the question is: what will the adults do? What will the responsible people do? What will the leaders do? (Nigeria)

(204) And it leads me to question: Why do we suffer? Why do children have to suffer, become homeless, and become targets of wars? What crime have they committed? (Education Summit)

(205) Why children have to suffer from wars? What crime have they committed? (Liberty Medal)

The stream of questions can be analysed as a direct appeal to the audience, as the questions will make them consider what Yousafzai discusses. As it functions to affect the audience in this way, it can be analysed as a persuasive device.

Question and answer

As noted in section 2.5.7, this type of question can reflect a superior stance in relation to audience and topic. Yousafzai implicitly claims the authority to knowing the answer to what she is seeking when she provides both question and answer.

(206) You may be asking yourselves, what is the solution? What is the solution? I believe the only solution is: education, education, education! (Amnesty)

(207) Sometimes people like to ask me why should girls go to school, why is it important for them. But I think the more important question is why shouldn't they, why shouldn't they have this right to go to school. (Nobel)

The function of using this question can be seen as a demonstration of power, as she represents herself as having the knowledge to the complicated situations she refers to.

Open question

This type of question is the one which is used in a more genuine way compared to the other categories. It was discussed in section 2.5.7 that this type of question tests an audience's uncleared attitude, or expresses a genuine uncertainty on a matter of common concern (Cockroft & Cockroft 1992:157).

(208) So let's not pick up guns, and instead of spending this money on these wars and these guns and weapons, why not spend this money on education? (Liberty Medal)

(209) Why do leaders accept that for children in developing countries, only basic literacy is sufficient, when their own children do homework in Algebra, Mathematics, Science and Physics? (Nobel)

(210) And it leads me to question: What is Mezon's crime that she stays away from her home, that she stays away from her country, from education, from her school? (Education summit)

The examples illustrate how Yousafzai uses open questions both to test the audience's attitude to the topics, but also to express a genuine uncertainty. Questions are also used when she refers to personal experiences, which is one element of feminine rhetorical style.

6.6 Elements of feminine rhetoric style

As discussed in section 2.9, elements of feminine speech style rely on personal experiences and the use of examples and anecdotes in order to create a connection with the audience. The following sections will discuss how Yousafzai has applied these in the material.

6.6.1 Personal experiences

Politicians are known for framing narratives in their speeches, or telling the 'right story' according to the case they are arguing for or against. These narratives usually either include themselves or other people they have met. According to Wodak 'Stories also serve to introduce new topics or to develop topics' (1997:248). Yousafzai uses personal experiences in this sense, as she connects and relates her previous experiences to the current speech situation

- (211) In my school in Swat, I was considered to be a good and obedient student and I also used to get top marks in my class. Apart from my school text books I read nine books from the library. Two of them were: 'The Alchemist' and 'Sophie's World'. I thought I did a great job in my whole 15 years of my life. (Birmingham)
- (212) We decided to raise our voice and tell them: Have you not learnt, have you not learnt that in the Holy Quran Allah says: if you kill one person it is as if you kill the whole humanity?
(Nobel)

The function of sharing personal experiences can be analysed as means to connect with the audience on a personal level and an expression of *ethos*. The strengthening of *ethos* occurs when she refers to her previous achievements, which places an emphasis on what she stands for and builds her character in a positive sense. This makes the personal experiences an element of persuasion, because they function to build a reliable character, which in turn increases the likelihood of the audience becoming persuaded.

6.6.2 Anecdotes and the model of testimony

The model of testimony is a part of figurative language that includes a testimony or a story from another person than the speaker. This can also be viewed as persuasive storytelling, as the story leads to persuading the audience. However it is viewed as the weakest of the *topoi*, because it depends on reliability of a witness (Cockroft & Cockroft 1992:69). On the other

hand it can be very useful in the act of persuading if the speaker has managed to build up a reliable character, before applying the rhetorical device. If this is the case, then the audience will rely on what is being said, and there will be a better chance that they are able to imagine the situation that is being portrayed and emphasise with the person in the story. Charteris-Black also emphasises that successful politicians are those who can develop their arguments with evidence taken from beliefs about the world around them (2011:17), and this type of evidence can be a testimony from a person that the speaker has met, a situation described through someone else's eyes.

A close study of the material made it apparent that this model frequently has been applied by Yousafzai, as exemplified by 213-214.

(213) Last year, I met a girl called Mezon at the Zaatari refugee camp in Jordan. To her, the right of education is as basic as food. And is as basic, and as needed as water. She believes that being a refugee is not an excuse to learn less: it is motivation to learn more. She knows that there is no tomorrow for the children of Syria unless the children of Syria are educated today.
(Education Summit)

(214) My sister comes from the Nigerian village of Chibok. She is sixteen years old. One day, when my sister was in school, some armed terrorists, known as Boko Haram came, and tried to steal her dreams. They kidnapped her, but she was one of the luckiest ones who escaped. Who escaped from the abduction. Before that, her father got killed and her mother and sister got injured, in the unstable situation in the north of Nigeria. Since this attack, because of insecurity and poverty, she can no more go to school. And her favourite subject is biology, and she wants to become a doctor. (Nigeria)

The testimonies function as an agent to connect with the audience as Yousafzai uses the creation of imagery by describing the girls she has met in a personal way, and the challenging situations they have and still are facing. These descriptions can also be analysed as an appeal by the use of *pathos*, because the stories are presented as personal through the descriptions and the use of personal pronouns which decrease the distance. This makes the audiences able to relate to their situation to a greater extent and become emotionally engaged.

6.7 Religious language

Religious references and religious language is an element that can be found in every speech in the material. Yousafzai refers to Islam and other religions in different ways to underline how religious guidelines are important. She has used these references in three different ways; to support her ideology as an element of *logos*, as a device for unity as an appeal through *pathos* and to reflect her personal beliefs which function as strengthening her *ethos*.

Linked to ideology

The first way she uses religious references is by linking them to her work and ideology:

- (215) **Islam** says that it is not only each child's right to get education, rather it is their duty and responsibility. (U.N.)
- (216) There is no better way to explain the importance of books than to say that even **God** chose the medium of a book to send His message to His people. (Birmingham)
- (217) The word, the word **Islam** means peace, and the first word that was revealed on prophet was Iqra, read, read. (Nigeria)

Instead of stating it as her personal opinion, but using a religious reference, the effect of the words becomes stronger, because it is presented as the correct thing to do according to the religion. This implies that her acts are based on religious beliefs and not personal preferences.

A device for unity

The second way Yousafzai uses these references is as a device for unity. She has selected certain positive aspects of the religions that she emphasises in the speeches.

- (218) And **Islam** is a religion of peace, humanity and brotherhood. (U.N.)
- (219) **Islam** says that we are all sisters and brothers, and we should respect each other's cultures, religion, and the language that we speak, we should respect each other. (Nigeria)
- (220) This is the compassion that I have learnt from **Muhammad-the prophet of mercy, Jesus Christ and Lord Buddha**. (U.N.)

These examples illustrate how religions, and especially Islam, are portrayed as providing

guidelines that are positive on several levels in society for both men and women.

Examples 221 and 222 are slightly different from the other examples that have been discussed, as these two function to create unity on a different level than the other references:

(221) Assalam o alaikum (Tipperary, Nigeria, Liberty Medal)

(222) Bismillah hir rahman ir rahim. In the name of **God**, the most beneficent, the most merciful.

Both examples contain words from Arabic and are related to Islam. *Assalam o alaikum* is a phrase that is common in the Muslim community. It is a Muslim salutation, and Muslims commonly greet one another by this courtesy (Zaib & Mashori 2014:181). Example 222 was described in section 6.4.1, as this is phrase from the Quran has been used in every speech.

Reflect her beliefs

The third way religious references are used, is as a tool to reflect her personal beliefs.

Yousafzai also explicitly states that she believes in them.

(223) I believe, I believe, that God saved my life, people's prayer saved my life, and of course Colonel Junaid saved my life. (Harvard)

(224) And I believe that God saved my life, because of people's prayers. (Nigeria)

The examples illustrate how these references can be analysed as agents to strengthen her *ethos* by underlining that she follows Islam. The use of repetition together with religious references reinforces her appeal. Summing up, the use of religious references can be analysed as a device that has been applied to appeal to the audience on several levels. The main function is the strengthening of *ethos* and connecting with the audience to create a feeling of unity.

6.8 Summary of Yousafzai's use of rhetorical devices

This chapter has provided an investigation of the rhetorical devices Yousafzai has applied in her speeches. As each device was studied and discussed by referring to examples from the material, it became evident what kind of function they served in the speech according to *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos*, and what kind of effect the use of them had on the audience.

Section 6.1 presented findings of different forms of metaphors in Yousafzai's vocabulary. The findings confirmed that metaphors and the creation of imagery were frequently used by Yousafzai to explain topics. They also served the function of appealing to the audience on an emotional level (*pathos*), by creating images the audience could relate to, and using words which create certain connotations. Charteris-Black argues that it is valuable to political audiences when abstract issues are explained by image-based metaphors that make them more intelligible by representing them as visual and tangible (2011:33), which is how Yousafzai has used this device. Research by Edelman (1964) suggested that the goal of political discourse is to use simple metaphors that are repeated continuously, as these clichés and stale phrases simply serve to evoke a conditioned and uncritical response among their audience (Edelman 1964 in Mio 1997:119). Yousafzai's language is packed with different metaphors, some more frequent than others, which can be an element that makes her speeches have a strong appeal, which again creates support among the people.

Section 6.1.2 discussed the use of personification in the material, and the use of conceptual metaphors was also apparent in this form of figurative language. According to Charteris-Black the ideological basis for using personification is either to arouse empathy for a social group, ideology or belief evaluated as heroic, or to arouse oppositions towards a social group, ideology or belief that is evaluated as villainous (2011:61-62). Yousafzai has mainly applied this tool to arouse empathy for the children who do not have the opportunity to get an education due to social and cultural elements that keep them away from attending school.

Contrastive pairs were the topic of section 6.2. The investigation of the usage revealed that this device frequently has been used to create an image with a positive and a negative element to make it obvious which one the audience should empathise with. The contrastive pairs were constructed by using different themes, which either were a combination of a positive and a negative element, or contrasting concepts where the comparison was on a larger scale than one word. The effect of this device was by presenting which option that is the better one, Yousafzai implies which aspect to support and which to be against.

Sections 6.3-6.4 discussed different forms of repetition, whether it was in a three-part list, simple repetition of words, or longer sequences of repetition in the material. The investigation led to the discovery that this is another device Yousafzai frequently had applied in her

speeches. The function of using repetition is that the appeal to the audience is presented with a conviction, which also strengthens its ability to affect the audience on an emotional level. The use of three-part lists was a recurring element throughout the material. As the number three is appealing to the audience's emotions, it can be seen as pervasive and therefore a significant element in the act of persuading the audience.

The use of questions as a rhetorical device was the object of section 6.5. The investigation revealed that Yousafzai has used different types of questions to strengthen her *ethos*, or appeal by the use of *pathos*. The combination of questions and a three-part list was a tool that she has used in several speeches. This construction can be analysed as highly persuasive as several elements with a persuasive effect have been combined to make a strong appeal.

Elements of feminine rhetoric style were investigated in section 6.6. The functions of these elements were also discussed in section 2.9. In the analysis it became apparent that the use of personal experiences, anecdotes and testimonies serve as tools for communicating *ethos* and *pathos*. By sharing personal experiences and anecdotes, Yousafzai connects with her audience which can make them sympathise with her or the person she is talking about. It was noted in section 2.9, that when an interaction between the speaker and the audience occurs, it results in giving the speech momentum and a feeling of shared purpose and unity (Charteris-Black 2011:84). The use of feminine rhetoric style leads to this interaction with the audience, which furthermore can make the audience more open to be persuaded by Yousafzai's arguments.

As regards the use of religious references and religious language in the material, the references were divided into different categories according to the function they had in the speech situation: whether it was to strengthen *ethos*, serve as a tool for uniting people in the audience, or support her political ideology. The findings showed how these references had been applied and what kind of persuasive effect they could have on the audience.

After the investigation of rhetorical devices, it is evident how the combinations of them in her speeches communicate a strong appeal to the audience which mainly is rooted in *ethos* and *pathos*. Elements of *logos* can also be traced in the analysis, as the devices have been strategically used to strengthen her arguments. The findings imply that Yousafzai consciously have applied these devices in order to persuade her audience.

Chapter 7: *Concluding remarks*

The purpose of this study was to investigate a collection of speeches by Malala Yousafzai, to figure out how she has used rhetoric, known as ‘the art of persuasion’, to appeal to a world audience, and how she appears as a persuasive political activist in her speeches. It was an exciting task as she as an activist has managed to gain great political influence, and interesting as I could not find academic research of her speeches when I started writing this thesis. That element made the investigation intriguing, as I did not know what to expect.

The elements of study were based on the rhetorical framework provided by Cockcroft and Cockcroft (1992), Quirk et al. (1985), but also other theorists such as Charteris-Black (2011, 2014), Halliday (1991) and Beard (2000), who were presented in chapter 2, and have been referred to throughout this thesis. Personal pronouns, modal auxiliaries and rhetorical devices were the main foci of the analysis, as these are central elements in political language that aims to persuade. Results from the investigation have been discussed throughout chapters 4, 5 and 6, which have been based on the rhetorical elements *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos*, and the degree of persuasive effect the different agents have had in the act of persuasion. The methods that have been applied to find the data were presented in chapter 3 and discussed along with the material in the respective analysis.

The process of analysing the personal pronouns in chapter 4 was quite comprehensive, not only because they were frequently used to express *ethos* and *pathos*, but primarily because the topics that were connected to girls and women were realistic and strikingly negative.

Yousafzai has used first person pronouns to strengthen her *ethos*, by expressing commitment and responsibility. *I* and *we* were used to express how Yousafzai claimed a shared responsibility for future actions that will help children getting an education. The use of *I* mainly served to reflect her political/moral commitment, and especially when it was used in relational verb processes. By applying *we*, she either excluded the audience when she shared personal stories and other’s testimonies, or included the audience in the appeal to make them a part of her personal campaign. The inclusive form of *we* had mostly been applied, together with the inclusive form of *us*. These findings reflect how Yousafzai consequently includes her audience in her appeals. The analysis of *you*, found that the plural form of *you* had the highest

frequency. This finding can also be connected to the aim of including her audience, as the use of the plural *you* is a direct appeal to the audience.

The analysis of *he* and *she* revealed that Yousafzai presents herself as a spokesperson for children and girls, which in itself is positive. I had assumed that her focus as a spokesperson would be on empowering them, as she refers to herself as a strong person. However, she mainly refers to girls who are victims of social or cultural problems in society, and uses quite direct descriptions of how they have suffered and still are struggling. In this way Yousafzai presents a scenario where men have the role as the holders of power in many cultures and societies, which does not strengthen women's position in society. However, these images of women and girls can be analysed as an important element of *pathos* in the material. This is because these harsh situations are realistic and occur in many places in the world. This makes them memorable, and the descriptions Yousafzai presents enable the audience to relate to their situation and support her campaign to help them.

The study of modality in chapter 5 aimed at figuring out how Yousafzai has used modal auxiliaries to express different shades of meanings and attitudes towards topics in her speeches. The analysis found that *can*, *will* and *must* had most frequently been used, which also indicates that she has applied auxiliaries that reflect medium or high responsibility for the attitudes she expresses according to Halliday (1991). *Can* had most frequently been used to express ability, which placed an emphasis on her faith in how her work is able to make a difference. *Will* had mainly been used to express future prediction, which indicates that the situations she refers to are going to take place, and *must* had most often been applied to express obligation. Using *must*, is what Thompson refers to as statement of high modulation, or high speaker commitment, so Yousafzai's usage serves to represent herself as being committed to her statements (2004:69). This commitment can also be connected to her frequent use of *I* as discussed in chapter 4. Expressing obligation by the use of *must* is according to Fairclough an implicit way of claiming power and authority (2001:106), and her use implies that she places herself in a position of authority when she is expressing obligation. Another finding was that there was a frequent use of *must* combined with personal pronouns, which functioned to emphasise that the audience also are obliged to act according to her utterances. It was noted in section 2.9 that elements of masculine speech style can be reflected in the language as it typically is more forceful, direct, and authoritative, and the expressions

are commonly quite absolute and assertive. According to the results from the investigation of personal pronouns and modal auxiliaries, it is evident that Yousafzai uses elements of this style, as she presents herself as having confidence in her own propositions.

Chapter 6 discussed the use of different rhetorical devices: metaphors, contrastive pairs, three-part lists, repetition, the use of questions, elements of feminine rhetoric style and religious references. The use of metaphors and personification were analysed as tools which created imagery and simplified political matters, but also served to generate different connotations to the topics that were discussed. Due to their function, conceptual metaphors, metaphors and personification can be analysed as central elements of appealing to emotions (*pathos*) in the audience. Analogies and similes served to simplify matters by comparing elements which made it easier for the audience to comprehend. Whereas the combination of three in a three-part list served to create a sense of unity and completeness, the contrastive pairs functioned as a device that made it clear whom the audience should sympathise with. Yousafzai's way of contrasting *pens* and *books* with *guns* may be one of her most recognisable features, as she is using this contrastive pair to underline the importance education.

The elements of feminine rhetoric style were also analysed in chapter 6, it was suggested that the use of this style could lead to a connection between speaker and audience, which in turn could lead to a feeling of unity. The findings indicated that the use of personal experiences and testimonies from people she has met functions as a tool in revealing her personality (*ethos*) by reflecting commitment and showing compassion. Yousafzai use of features from this style also functioned as an element in connecting and affecting the audience on an emotional level (*pathos*), as the testimonies were personal descriptions of tough situations.

Chapter 6 also included the analysis of repetition and religious references. The investigation of the various forms of repetition showed that the extensive use of this device can be viewed as one of the main elements that make Yousafzai's appeals carry a certain conviction. She also applies sequences of repetition across her speeches to underline the importance of the case she is arguing for. In section 2.1.2, Cockroft and Cockroft argued that repetition was one of the main elements of rhetoric, and that the use of it is an element of *pathos* as it functions to arouse emotions in the audience (1992). In this way, Yousafzai's use of repetition can be seen as a central element in the act of persuading her audience. The analysis of religious

references revealed how they function to strengthen her *ethos*. She repeatedly makes references to present her personality in a positive way by referring to her religion and good family bonds. This is done to build a reliable character and make the audience confident that her personality is trustworthy. The religious references were used to function as a device to support her ideology, which made it seem sincere, as she acts on behalf of religious beliefs rather than personal interests. The use of these references also served to create a feeling of unity among her and the audience, so this agent had several functions in her speeches.

Based on the findings in this thesis, one can argue that Yousafzai through her speeches succeeds in persuading her audiences, by the extensive and strategical use of rhetoric devices, personal pronouns and modal auxiliaries that together form a pervasive appeal. This has led to gaining political influence and power in the public sphere. However, her vocabulary with the rhetorical devices it entails is not a sufficient explanation of the influential position she has today. One also needs to take the social aspects into consideration, as Yousafzai survived an attack that was aimed at killing her. This makes her a symbol of survival and strength, and these elements can have been very important in building her *ethos*, which possibly made the audience open to be persuaded by this young activist. Her age can also be seen as an element that have strengthened her *ethos* as her arguments not have been considered as an element in gaining power, but influence to change the situation for girls in many countries.

A main observation in this study is Yousafzai's use of *I*. The personal pronoun is one of the most frequent words in the material, and the use of it is connected to Yousafzai's personal involvement as a political activist. The audience is constantly reminded that Yousafzai takes responsibility and is committed through this self-reference, which makes *ethos* the most central device in appealing to and persuading her audience. The reason for why she applies this personal pronoun to such a great extent can be linked to her personal experiences, which makes her identify with the girls who are in the same situation. Taliban attacked her because she was against the ban of girls going to school in Pakistan, which may have increased her commitment of the importance of education for all children.

In spite of its findings, this study also has certain limitations. One is the small size of the material, due to limited availability (see chapter 3). Furthermore, it has not been possible to include all linguistic elements that potentially could have played an important role in

persuading the audience, or discuss elements that could have the opposite effect. My first impression of Yousafzai's speeches was that her character seemed reliable, but I was not sure how she had managed to create this image of herself and inspire her followers to overcome their fears. The analysis provided an image of how Yousafzai has applied different elements, and the result was that her speeches are filled with rhetorical devices to primarily strengthen her *ethos*, but *pathos* has also been central, as she often expresses strong appeals which evokes emotions and leaves an impression on the audience. Some of these findings can be connected to Martin Luther King's usage (Charteris-Black 2011:84), as Yousafzai applies repetition and features of religious discourse to a high extent. She also includes her audiences and encourages them to take responsibility in her political appeals, requesting them to act, which was one of the features King applied according to Brunvoll's research (1992). She recognises that there are problems, and makes an appeal to world leaders and influential people to start working for what she sees as the only solution, namely education.

This study has discovered some persuasive features of rhetoric in a selection of Malala Yousafzai's speeches. As an activist, she has applied different elements to persuade and through this, gained political influence. For further research one could have compared the usage of personal pronouns and modal auxiliaries with other political activists or politicians, to study whether or not there is a connection between how these have been applied and their persuasive effects. To get a better impression of the pervasiveness of the material, it could have been useful to study the communicative structures in Yousafzai's speeches to get a greater understanding of the strategies she has employed to achieve the political influence she has today. Hopefully, Yousafzai will continue to inspire and affect her listeners, and apply rhetoric to try changing the situation for many women and children.

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Appendix 1: Speeches and Lectures

Malala Yousafzai's speech at the Youth Takeover of the United Nations – 12.06.2013

*In the name of God, The Most Beneficent, The Most Merciful.
Honourable UN Secretary General Mr Ban Ki-moon,
Respected President General Assembly Vuk Jeremic
Honourable UN envoy for Global education Mr Gordon Brown,
Respected elders and my dear brothers and sisters;*

Today, it is an honour for me to be speaking again after a long time. Being here with such honourable people is a great moment in my life.

I do not know where to begin my speech. I do not know what people would be expecting me to say. But first of all, thank you to God for whom we all are equal and thank you to every person who has prayed for my fast recovery and a new life. I cannot believe how much love people have shown me. I have received thousands of good wish cards and gifts from all over the world. Thank you to all of them. Thank you to the children whose innocent words encouraged me. Thank you to my elders whose prayers strengthened me.

I would like to thank my nurses, doctors and all of the staff of the hospitals in Pakistan and the UK and the UAE government who have helped me get better and recover my strength. I fully support Mr Ban Ki-moon the Secretary-General in his Global Education First Initiative and the work of the UN Special Envoy Mr Gordon Brown. And I thank them both for the leadership they continue to give. They continue to inspire all of us to action.

Dear brothers and sisters, do remember one thing. Malala day is not my day. Today is the day of every woman, every boy and every girl who have raised their voice for their rights. There are hundreds of Human rights activists and social workers who are not only speaking for human rights, but who are struggling to achieve their goals of education, peace and equality. Thousands of people have been killed by the terrorists and millions have been injured. I am just one of them.

So here I stand... one girl among many.
I speak – not for myself, but for all girls and boys.
I raise up my voice – not so that I can shout, but so that those without a voice can be heard.
Those who have fought for their rights:
Their right to live in peace.
Their right to be treated with dignity.
Their right to equality of opportunity.
Their right to be educated.

Dear Friends, on the 9th of October 2012, the Taliban shot me on the left side of my forehead. They shot my friends too. They thought that the bullets would silence us. But they failed. And then, out of that silence came, thousands of voices. The terrorists thought that they would change our aims and stop our ambitions but nothing changed in my life except this:

Weakness, fear and hopelessness died. Strength, power and courage was born. I am the same Malala. My ambitions are the same. My hopes are the same. My dreams are the same.

Dear sisters and brothers, I am not against anyone. Neither am I here to speak in terms of personal revenge against the Taliban or any other terrorists group. I am here to speak up for the right of education of every child. I want education for the sons and the daughters of all the extremists especially the Taliban.

I do not even hate the Talib who shot me. Even if there is a gun in my hand and he stands in front of me. I would not shoot him. This is the compassion that I have learnt from Muhammad-the prophet of mercy, Jesus Christ and Lord Buddha. This is the legacy of change that I have inherited from Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela and Muhammad Ali Jinnah. This is the philosophy of non-violence that I have learnt from Gandhi Jee, Bacha Khan and Mother Teresa. And this is the forgiveness that I have learnt from my mother and father. This is what my soul is telling me, be peaceful and love everyone.

Dear sisters and brothers, we realise the importance of light when we see darkness. We realise the importance of our voice when we are silenced. In the same way, when we were in Swat, the north of Pakistan, we realised the importance of pens and books when we saw the guns.

The wise saying, “The pen is mightier than sword” was true. The extremists are afraid of books and pens. The power of education frightens them. They are afraid of women. The power of the voice of women frightens them. And that is why they killed 14 innocent medical students in the recent attack in Quetta. And that is why they killed many female teachers and polio workers in Khyber Pukhtoon Khwa and FATA. That is why they are blasting schools every day. Because they were and they are afraid of change, afraid of the equality that we will bring into our society.

I remember that there was a boy in our school who was asked by a journalist, “Why are the Taliban against education?” He answered very simply. By pointing to his book he said, “A Talib does not know what is written inside this book.” They think that God is a tiny, little conservative being who would send girls to the hell just because of going to school. The terrorists are misusing the name of Islam and Pashtun society for their own personal benefits. Pakistan is peace-loving democratic country. Pashtuns want education for their daughters and sons. And Islam is a religion of peace, humanity and brotherhood. Islam says that it is not only each child's right to get education, rather it is their duty and responsibility.

Honourable Secretary General, peace is necessary for education. In many parts of the world especially Pakistan and Afghanistan; terrorism, wars and conflicts stop children to go to their schools. We are really tired of these wars. Women and children are suffering in many parts of the world in many ways. In India, innocent and poor children are victims of child labour. Many schools have been destroyed in Nigeria. People in Afghanistan have been affected by the hurdles of extremism for decades. Young girls have to do domestic child labour and are forced to get married at early age. Poverty, ignorance, injustice, racism and the deprivation of basic rights are the main problems faced by both men and women.

Dear fellows, today I am focusing on women's rights and girls' education because they are suffering the most. There was a time when women social activists asked men to stand up for their rights. But, this time, we will do it by ourselves. I am not telling men to step away from

speaking for women's rights rather I am focusing on women to be independent to fight for themselves.

Dear sisters and brothers, now it is time to speak up.

So today, we call upon the world leaders to change their strategic policies in favour of peace and prosperity.

We call upon the world leaders that all the peace deals must protect women and children's rights. A deal that goes against the dignity of women and their rights is unacceptable.

We call upon all governments to ensure free compulsory education for every child all over the world.

We call upon all governments to fight against terrorism and violence, to protect children from brutality and harm.

We call upon the developed nations to support the expansion of educational opportunities for girls in the developing world.

We call upon all communities to be tolerant – to reject prejudice based on cast, creed, sect, religion or gender. To ensure freedom and equality for women so that they can flourish. We cannot all succeed when half of us are held back.

We call upon our sisters around the world to be brave – to embrace the strength within themselves and realise their full potential.

Dear brothers and sisters, we want schools and education for every child's bright future. We will continue our journey to our destination of peace and education for everyone. No one can stop us. We will speak for our rights and we will bring change through our voice. We must believe in the power and the strength of our words. Our words can change the world.

Because we are all together, united for the cause of education. And if we want to achieve our goal, then let us empower ourselves with the weapon of knowledge and let us shield ourselves with unity and togetherness.

Dear brothers and sisters, we must not forget that millions of people are suffering from poverty, injustice and ignorance. We must not forget that millions of children are out of schools. We must not forget that our sisters and brothers are waiting for a bright peaceful future.

So let us wage a global struggle against illiteracy, poverty and terrorism and let us pick up our books and pens. They are our most powerful weapons.

One child, one teacher, one pen and one book can change the world.

Education is the only solution. Education First.

Tipperary International Peace Prize speech – 21.08.2013

Bismillah hir rahman ir rahim. In the name of God, the most beneficent, the most merciful.

It is such an honour for me to be here. With honourable guests, Mister Martin Quinn, honorary secretary of Tipperary Award. Mister Jo Quinn, chairman of Tipperary award, Mister G.R. Malik, the honourable ambassador of Pakistan. And the ministers of Irish government, members of European parliament, all my friends, who sang for me today, and people of Tipperary and Ireland, Assalam o alaikum.

I would like to begin my speech with a quote of Khalil Gibran He says:

Keep me away from the wisdom, which does not cry,
the philosophy which does not last,
and the greatness which does not bow before children.

Once again, thank you to the jury of the Tipperary award, for giving me such an honour, such prestigious award, that I received here today. And as the honorary secretary said, and I agree with him, people know me as the girl who was shot by the Taliban, but I do not want to be the girl who was shot by the Taliban, I want to be to be the girl who fought for the rights of every child, whether girl or boy, their right of education, and their right of equality.

Malala is known now world-wide after she was shot. I do not want other girls and other children, other children's rights activists who are speaking for their rights, to be known after they are shot. I want them to be recognised now. And I want them..

And I want them to raise up their voice now, they must speak up. And we all must support them. And remember, that Malala is just one of the millions, one of the millions who are suffering and who have suffered. Malala is one of the thousands who have been shot. Malala was just an ordinary girl who wrote a BBC diary, just a small platform, but to speak up for her rights. She spoke to every TV channel and she spoke to every radio that she could. And she always was known as the daughter of Mister Ziauddin Yousafzai children's rights activist, but now she is known as, my father is known as the father of Malala.

Today, I am here to speak about peace and education. The main thing is that peace is not only the absence of war, it is the absence of fear. Peace means the absence of slavery and exploitation. Peace is a situation where a girl is free to go to school. Where every person has the human basic rights, the equal rights. Where there is justice for everyone, whether he is poor or rich, whether he is tall or short, whether he is a Muslim or Jew, whether he is a man or a woman, where there is justice.

And I want to see peace, all over the world, I want to see peace in Pakistan, Afghanistan, India, I want to see peace all over the world. But to achieve a goal, we must struggle hard. The important thing is that we must not wait for someone else, some people think that it is the duty of the government to speak up for their rights, it is the duty of the government that they will solve their problems. It is their duty, I agree, but why shall we wait for them? We must speak up now, and not wait for others.

And this is what we did in Swat Valley. Swat Valley is in the north of Pakistan, a beautiful valley where you can see a river, where you can see mountains, where you can see green

trees. Where me and my father once lived. In that area some terrorist came in 2007, and they said that no girl is allowed to go to school. Their strict terrorism all over the valley, they killed hundreds of people, they slaughtered women, and they blasted every school, they blasted all the shops, and we felt that, that they took us out of our paradise and sent us to a hell. At that time we spoke. My father spoke. My friends spoke in my school. And after struggling and after speaking up for our rights, now you can see that Swat is a peaceful place. After the military operation in 2009, the terrorists, the terrorists went away of Swat. And now I invite all of you to go to, to go to Swat and see that it is a paradise on earth and if you see the beautiful scenery of Swat you will never forget it. And I myself want to go back to Swat. I miss it.

When we talk about peace, when we talk about changes that we want to bring in our society, there are different ways. Some of us think that they can achieve anything with a gun, they can achieve anything with war. But I believe that education is the only way to peace, and education is my goal, education is our goal. I want every girl and every boy to be educated, I want them to go to school. Some students here, might think, if I go to my school, sit in the classroom, the teachers teaches and then they gave me homework, then I come back do homework, go to school tomorrow, what is there in school that I must go to school.

Okay, the important thing is that you learn about physics, biology, about cells, about atoms, about the English literature, about the history, that is important. But the other important thing is, when all the girls and boys sit on chairs, the chairs that are all the same, it shows equality. That all the children sitting on the same benches are equally, there is no poor there is no rich, and this is justice. When the teacher teaches you, you must listen to them, you must learn from them, but you will never follow them.

And you learn respect how to respect each other, you also learn patience. If a child is not good to you he teases you, you must be patient. So this is the patience that you will learn at school. You must be tolerant, you also learn at school how to, how to, how to give justice, if two children fight, the teacher comes, and then there comes justice. So school is a place where we can learn the basics of our life. That is why I want education. Not only for physics and biology, because I want to see equality.

We have organised Malala Fund, and there are so many other organisations, other than Malala Fund, such as UNESO, UNICEF, I do not know the names that much there are so many organisations. I think if you want them to work for the education, if you want to see building schools, if you want every child to be educated, there are so many ways. The first thing is speaking on different occasions, trying to convince people, trying to motivate the parents of the children to educate their children, to send them to school, then, the second thing is to motivate the children as well, to teach them how important school is. There on the third step comes to ask the government, to ask the people who are responsible to do something for the education of every child.

And there is also one thing, not only Malala, not only the person who are speaking, not only the speeches maker, not only politician, everyone can bring a change. A singer, when he sings a song of peace, when he sings the song of education, he can bring change. A painter, an artist, if he draw a picture, a picture of peace and equality, he can bring change. Everyone can bring change, everyone.

Because, Malala was living in Swat, in a small house of two three rooms, they did not know if they would have dinner for tonight or not. We were just a poor family, we still are poor people. And my father was running a school, waiting for the fees, when would he get the fees from the students, and when would he pay to the teachers.

We were nothing, neither my father was a Khan, he was not a rich man, neither he was a, he was just running a school. So do not think that you need something for moving forward. It is just only your voice, it is just your, yourself. So move forward and speak. And do what you can for peace and education all over the world.

Despite the fact that I said that we must not wait for the government, but we still have to ask them. So I appeal, all the states, all over the world, that they must abolish the laws that goes against the rights of children and women.

This is an appeal, to all the governments all over the world, that they must work for education, and education must be their top priority. And it is an appeal, a humble request, to the parents of every child, that they must honour their daughters as their sons, and send them to schools.

And now, I would like to say, it is a long way to Tipperary, it is a long way to peace, but one day we will achieve, long live Pakistan, long live Ireland.

Thank you

Speech at the inauguration of the Library of Birmingham – 03.09.2013

Bismillah hir rahman ir rahim

Honourable and distinguished guests and fellow Brummies.

Today is an important day for me to be here at the opening ceremony of the Library of Birmingham with my school head mistresses, Dr Weeks, Madam Maryam, my family, honourable guests and most importantly, the great people of Birmingham.

Thank you to Mr Brian Gambles - The director of the Birmingham Library for giving me the great opportunity to speak here on this important occasion.

It is an honour for me to be here in Birmingham, the beating heart of England. Birmingham is very special for me because it is here that I found myself alive, seven days after I was shot. It is now my second home, after my beloved Pakistan. The doctors and nurses of this town worked hard to help me recover. The teachers of this town strived to rehabilitate my educational career, and the great people of this city gave me great moral support and today's event proves that this city loves me, and I love it too.

Dear brothers and sisters, I would like to begin with my personal story. In my school in Swat, I was considered to be a good and obedient student and I also used to get top marks in my class. Apart from my school text books I read nine books from the library. Two of them were: 'The Alchemist' and 'Sophie's World'. I thought I did a great job in my whole 15 years of my life.

But last year, seven days after the incident that I faced, I was brought here to Birmingham for further treatment. When I was discharged from the hospital, I was introduced to this new society, which is different from our society in Pakistan, in many ways. Here people tell me that they have read hundreds of books. It does not matter how old they are; they take a keen interest in reading, even children of six and seven years have read more books than me. Now I have challenged myself that I will read thousands of books and I will empower myself with knowledge. Pens and books are the weapons that defeat terrorism. I truly believe the only way we can create global peace is through educating not only our minds, but our hearts and our souls. This is the way forward to our destiny of peace and prosperity.

Dear sisters and brothers, Books are very precious. Some books can travel you back centuries and some take you into the future. In some books, you will visit the core of your heart and in others you will go out into the universe. Books keep ones feelings alive. Aristotle's words are still breathing, Rumi's poetry will always inspire and Shakespeare's soul will never die.

There is no better way to explain the importance of books than to say that even God chose the medium of a book to send His message to His people.

This great library, which is the biggest library in Europe, has educated the people of Birmingham for decades and it will continue to enlighten future generations. As once said, a room without books is like a body without soul, and I say "a city without a library is like a graveyard."

Dear brothers and sisters, we must not forget that 57 million children are out of school. We must speak up for peace and development in Nigeria, Syria and Somalia. We must speak up for the children of Pakistan, India and Afghanistan, who are suffering from terrorism, poverty, child labour and child trafficking. Let us help them through our voice, action and charity. Let us help them to read books and go to school. And let us not forget that even one book, one pen, one child and one teacher can change the world.

The Amnesty International Ambassador of Conscience Award ceremony in Dublin, Ireland 17.09.2013.

Bismillah hir rahman ir rahim. In the name of God, the most beneficent, the most merciful.

Dear and respected brothers and sisters, General Secretary Salil Shetty, Bono, Lord Mayor, Minister for Education, Roger Waters and Harry Belafonte. Am I right? It is a great honour for me to be here in Ireland again, where Irish eyes are always smiling and, you can hear the angels sing.

I have written a very short speech, it is very short. And I wrote it last night. But the important thing was to finish my homework. Last time I was invited to Tipperary, if I pronounce it correctly, I saw natural beauty and that reminded me of my beautiful valley of my hometown Swat valley, where you can find lush green hills, mountains with tall trees and crystal clear rivers. And we call Swat a paradise on earth. Ireland shares this beauty of Swat. Apart from the fact of natural beauty, the most important thing for me is the love and kindness that the people of Ireland have shown me.

And special thank you to the children, the future generation, who welcomed me today. It was such a great honour for me. I would like to thank Amnesty International for their continued campaigning to protect human rights and for giving me this award for our global campaign for girls' education. I am truly humbled to share this award today with not only the king of Calypso, am I right? It is an honour for me to share this award, not only with the king of Calypso, but the king, but the king of campaigning for the rights of humans across the globe. I am true, I am truly, I am truly in awe of you, Mr Harry Belafonte.

Dear sisters and brothers, as many of you may know, my beloved home country of Pakistan and its people are suffering from terrorism. They are suffering at the hands of violent terrorists. War continues to be waged against the innocent civilians of Afghanistan, whilst girls around the world are deprived of their basic right to an education. Girls like 5 year old Sambul are a target of sexual violence. Human rights defenders like Sushmita Banerjee, a health worker and author was killed in Afghanistan. We can see that the people of Syria, that they are homeless and the children are out of their schools. In India children are suffering from child labour and child trafficking.

In many countries, women have been the victims of sexual violence, early forced marriages and domestic labour. They are not accepted as human beings but inferior, neglected, and marginalized. Women are deprived of their basic right of equality and freedom and justice. I could go on and talk at length of the atrocities and human rights violations that are occurring every hour, every minute, and every second, of each passing day.

I know that every time a person comes, delivers a speech, the audience claps and that is the end. Dear brothers and sisters, I am not here to explain the issues that we are faced with in detail, rather we are here to find a solution to these problems. You may be asking yourselves, what is the solution? What is the solution? I believe the only solution is: education, education, education!

With this powerful weapon of knowledge and education, we can fight against violence, terrorism, child labour, and inequality. The only tools that are needed are a pen and a book to

guide us on our way to an enlightened future for one and all.

Today, I would like to ask each and every one of you to do one small thing after today's event, this small thing is to put, is to put pen to paper appealing your governments to focus on education and for them to take a real action. It is vital that education is their top priority.

I want to live in a world, where free compulsory education is available everywhere to every child. And let no one be forgotten.

Thank you so much.

Humanitarian of the Year speech at Harvard University 27.09.2013

Bismillah hir rahman ir rahim. In the name of God, the most beneficent, the most merciful. Honourable Doctor Ellen Counter, the Director of the Harvard Foundation. And I guess that the President, respected President, Prof Faust, would probably say, was the first woman founder and president of the Harvard University and I guess she isn't here.

Thank you to the Harvard University and Foundation, and honourable guests, and especially honourable and respected Doctor Colonel Junaid. And most importantly my dear friends, it is a great honour for me to be here with you.

This is an important occasion for me, a very important occasion. Not because, not because only I am receiving an award, but also I am here with my honourable great and talented Uncle and as well as Doctor Colonel Junaid Who did my first surgery in Pakistan, ten hours later when I was shot, I believe, I believe, that God saved my life, people's prayer saved my life, and of course Colonel Junaid saved my life. Thank you so much.

I come from a beautiful paradise-like valley called Swat, which is in the north of Pakistan. 3 years ago Swat was a target of terrorism. In the month of January 2009 the terrorists they used to slaughter two or three innocent people every night. They snatched the right of freedom and equality from women. They blasted more than 400 schools, they snatched pens from our hands, and we had to hide our books under our shawls to pretend that we are not students. The so-called Taliban were afraid of women's power, and they were afraid of the power of education. At that time, we did not keep silent, we raised our voice, we raised our voice for the right of education. We said: that in this modern era, where even disabled and special children are educated, we women and girls are forced and pushed back to the Stone Age.

All though few people spoke, but their voice for peace and education was powerful. When no one speaks and the whole world is silent, then even one voice becomes powerful. Swat is now peaceful place, but we can see that there are no terrorists, schools are reopened, and many girls are going to school.

Dear sisters and brothers, you must be proud to be the students and alumni of this prestigious university. This university has great values and traditions. This dynamic institution has enlightened generations for the last 376 years.

I know and I believe that you must have your personal legends and dreams, which is your dear right to have. But all of us, all of us must have, one dream in common, that is education and peace. We must think of a bright future, and let us not forget that we need to work a lot for children in suffering countries, because there are many difficulties that the children and especially girls are facing. Such as child labour, child trafficking, inequality and cultural norms and traditions.

We must think about the people of Syria, who are homeless and Syrian children are deprived of education. Children of Pakistan and Afghanistan are victims of terrorism. Let us not forget that the children of India are suffering from child labour. Let us not forget, that in many countries like Nigeria girls are suffering from early forced marriages, and are victims of sexual violence. Let us not forget that in many African countries children have no access to food and clean water, and they are starving for education. Let us not forget women are not

even accepted as human beings, their rights are denied and neglected even in developed countries. Even in developed countries they are not given the opportunities to move forward and to be what they are.

My dear sisters and brothers, we are not here to make a long list of issues that we are facing, rather we are here to find a solution. And the solution is one, and is simple, and that is education, education, education. And today, we demand world powers, we demand them to realise that a war can never be ended by a war. We can fight wars through dialogue and education. And we demand the world the world powers, that if you want to see peace in Syria, in Pakistan and Afghanistan, then instead of sending guns, send pens, instead of sending tanks send books, instead of sending soldiers send teachers.

And let us remember, that even one book, one pen, one child, and one teacher can change the world. Let us dream today, let us dream today, a dream of a bright future, where every girl and every boy is going to school. Where women's rights are accepted, where there is equality and justice. And let us stand up for our rights, and let us fight for it. We are going to be the future and let us make our future now, and let us make today's dreams tomorrow's reality.

Thank you so much.

Speech in Nigeria on Malala Day 14.07.2014

Bismillah hir rahman ir rahim. In the name of God, the most merciful, the most beneficent, who is the God of all mankind.

I would like to say hello, Assalam o alaikum and welcome to all of you.

Dear sisters and brothers, on this Malala Day, I am honoured, honoured to be here, with brave children, students, teachers, social activists, and Nigerian people. Last Malala Day I was in New York, in the big hall of the United Nations assembly, this year, I chose instead to turn seventeen in the soil of Nigeria. And I chose this for a purpose, which is to honour and celebrate the strength of the children in Nigeria, and children across the world who are deprived of their basic right of education. I thank the Nigerian people for their warm welcome. You are an incredible strong nation, you walk every day to fight against your challenges, through your unity, resilience and determination.

Dear brothers and sisters, last Malala Day I told my story, I spoke about my life in the beautiful valley of Swat in Pakistan. I spoke about the rise of terrorism, and the ban of girls' education there, in my hometown. I spoke about the Taliban's attack on my life, and attempt to silence me forever. And I will repeat, I will repeat what I said last year, that nothing changed in my life, except this: Weakness, fear and hopelessness died. Strength, power and courage was born.

When I was shot by the Taliban, the world stood up. I am Malala was the cry that I heard all around the world. I received thousands of good wish cards, and letters from people. And I believe that God saved my life, because of people's prayers.

Today, this Malala Day, I am not here to tell my story, because I am not the only one who has been a target of extremism. There are hundred and thousands of children who are suffering, suffering from terrorism and violence, and do not have any access to education. I speak for those children, who's right to safety, help and quality education has been snatched from them. I speak for the sixty six million girls who are out of school. This Malala Day is the day for education of every child. And is dedicated to my dear dear and dear Nigerian sisters, who are going through the same brutal situation, which I suffered through in my past, I dedicate this day to my sisters in Nigeria.

And I will begin with a story, I am here to tell you about a story, about a girl whom I met yesterday. I am really sorry that I cannot mention her name, but I will call her my sister. My sister comes from the Nigerian village of Chibok. She is sixteen years old. One day, when my sister was in school, some armed terrorists, known as Boko Haram came, and tried to steal her dreams. They kidnapped her, but she was one of the luckiest ones who escaped. Who escaped from the abduction. Before that, her father got killed and her mother and sister got injured, in the unstable situation in the north of Nigeria. Since this attack, because of insecurity and poverty, she can no more go to school. And her favourite subject is biology, and she wants to become a doctor. Every day, Boko Haram raged nearby villages to terrorise the local people. Over two hundred girls were kidnapped, and still have not returned. Next week, it will be hundred days. Hundred days since they were taken. Hundred days in captivity. Hundred days out of school. Hundred days without parents. Hundred days under fear.

Dear sisters and brothers not only in Nigeria, but the situation all around the world, especially in the Middle East countries, African countries, and Pakistan is getting worse every day. And children do not have access to education. And their studies are badly affected. Around fifty seven million children are out of school. Ten point five million children in Nigeria do not have access to education. And around four hundred girls in total are abducted by Boko Haram in Nigeria. Seven million people in Pakistan are deprived of education. And about nine hundred thousand people are homeless in Pakistan. In Pakistan, they had to leave their homes for their safety. And there is a military operation going on against the terrorists, because of which many children now do not have any access to education, and they are out of school.

Girls from Syria, who were once in school and learning, now live in a camp. And struggle to understand a new life as a refugee. While the world is standing silent doing nothing. And the children in Syria are becoming a generation lost. Because conflict between Gaza and Israel, people are badly affected, and children on both sides are suffering. And recently many children died because of air strikes in Palestine unfortunately.

Dear sister and brothers, issues are countless. But I am here to tell you, I am here to tell you my birthday wish on this prestigious occasion. And to ask the responsible people, to listen to the voice of the Nigerian girls and their parents, whom I am honouring today. This birthday is not the kind of celebration where I will be having an enjoyment and eating cake and those things. This birthday, I want to celebrate it standing up with my Nigerian sisters and their parents who are right here behind me. Thank you so much for coming here.

Thank you so much, thank you so much for coming here, both my sisters and their parents, because you are, you are, I know there would be many many people who will be coming towards you and asking you questions and doing interviews. I know that your life is badly affected, and these girls they have escaped from the kidnapping, and they need some time just to sit quiet and just to enjoy their life, and just to relax for a little while. But they have sacrificed their time for this purpose that they want to tell the government to listen to their voices. Listen to their voices and see the –

Thank you so much, thank you.

You are standing for those girls who are still under the abduction, thank you so much, thank you for supporting me.

And Malala Day, Malala Day is a day where we all stand together for those who are voiceless. For those who are voiceless and must be heard. But for things to change there must be a day of action. Throughout our organisation the Malala Fund, we raised about two hundred thousand dollars. That will be given to two Nigerian organisations. Girl Child Concern and the Centre for Girls Education. The heart of the two organisations are here with us today, I do not know where they are, somewhere here, and I am really thankful to them, for the work that they are doing and for becoming partners with us, which will help us to empower and educate Nigerian girls. Thank you so much.

I know that my small contribution is not enough, we still need a lot to do, but it is a start and I am just one girl, this is what I could do in such a short time. But the question here is, the question is: what will the adults do? What will the responsible people do? What will the leaders do?

Dear brothers and sisters, one thing about today which was very important was a meeting with the honourable President Mister Goodluck Jonathan. I met him today and I told him that I raise the voice of my sisters, I am representing my sisters and their parents to you today. And as you are the elected president, you need to fulfil your responsibilities, and you need.. Thank you, thank you

I told him that you need to fulfil your responsibility, and your responsibility is to listen to your people who are saying bring back our girls.

Thank you

And luckily the president made two promises. He made two promises to me and to you. To, to the people of his country. He promised that the government will chose the best option to bring back girls alive and safe. And the second promise he made, the second promise he made is very important, is that he will meet the parents of those girls who are abducted. And I hope that he will fulfil it.

I am hopeful that the president will meet you soon, because he made this promise to you, to me and to you, and to all Nigerian people.

But today, not only asking the president and the government of Nigeria to take action, but I am also asking, but I am also asking Boko Haram. I ask Boko Haram to stop misusing the name of Islam. I ask Boko Haram to stop misusing the name of Islam, Islam is a religion of peace. Islam allows every girl and every boy to get education to go to school, and education is compulsory in Islam. The word, the word Islam means peace, and the first word that was revealed on prophet was Iqra, read, read.

Islam gives the message of tolerance, patience, harmony and humanity. And I want to tell Boko Haram that think about your own sisters, just think for a while, think about your own sisters. If they suffered through the same brutal and harsh situation, how would you feel? Feel if your sisters are homeless, if they are under captivity of someone who are so violent and cruel, how would you feel? Those who are under your imprisonment are like your sisters, Islam gives a message of brotherhood, we are all sisters and brothers.

You are misusing the name of Islam, you are misusing the name of Islam, but you have not read the Koran yet. You have not read about Islam yet. You should know that Islam gives a message of brotherhood. Islam says that we are all sisters and brothers, and we should respect each other's cultures, religion, and the language that we speak, we should respect each other. So I request you, lay down your weapons, release your sisters. Lay down your weapons, release your sisters. Release my sisters, and release the daughters of this nation.

Release the daughters of this nation, let them be free, they have committed no crime. And to Nigerian people, I would like to say, that Nigeria is a rich country. Nigeria is a rich country, not because it has all resources, but because it has people with the wealth of tolerance, bravery and courage. It has people with the wealth of humanity, this is the wealth of people. This is the wealth of this country. People are the ones who build nations. So make your country stronger by unity and togetherness, make it stronger, make it stronger.

And, and do not judge each other on the basis of your religion, cast, creed, or the language that you speak. Because these are just for our identity. These are not what how we should treat each other. We should treat each other as human beings, we are all human beings, and we should treat each other as human beings. We should not discriminate each other on the basis of religion and the language that we speak.

And today, I call upon the world community. I call upon the world community to protect girls across the world. Protect girls from inhumane violence, the girls in India are suffering as they were, as they were hung, they were hung after the rope in May. Protect girls from cruelty which girls in my home country Pakistan are suffering through. Where they are forced to marry, leaving the schools to become brides when they should be girls. And giving birth to children, when they themselves are children. No child, anywhere, no child anywhere never should be target of conflict or violence.

And to the girls of Nigerian, you all sitting here, to the girls of Nigeria and across Africa, and all over the world, I want to say: do not let anyone tell you that you are weaker then, or less than anything. You are not less than a boy, you are not less than a child from a richer family or a richer country. You are the future of your country. You are going to build up your nation, you are going to build up your country, and you are stronger than anything and you can lead the change.

Today, I ask all countries to say no to wars. Let us say no to wars. Let us talk, let us, let us bring peace. Why not use dialogue, why not talk to each other? We are treating each other like animals, we are no more human beings. And I request that the war between Israel and Gaza should be ended. The conflict in Ukraine should be resolved. The bloodshed in Iraq and Syria should be stopped. The terrorism in Afghanistan and Pakistan should be eliminated. And the violence in Nigeria. And other Middle Eastern African countries should be ended. Violence anywhere in any country, war in anywhere in any country should be ended, let's say no to wars.

And instead of spending money on wars and guns and weapons, why not spend this money on education? Why not spend this money on education? And a country becomes powerful when its people are educated, when its future generation is educated. So to make a country powerful, do not make weapons, do not spend money on weapons, but rather spend the money on education on the people of that country.

Let us all stand together, stand together for peace and education, because together we are more powerful, stronger than any challenge. We are stronger than any challenge, we are stronger than fear, stronger than hatred, stronger than cruelty, stronger than any kind of violence, and stronger than poverty. We are stronger than any challenge. Education is the best weapon through which we can fight poverty, ignorance and terrorism. The road to education, peace and equality is very long. It is a very long journey. But if we go together, we will achieve our goals, we will complete our journey, we have to walk together.

And history, history is neither sent from the sky, nor does it get made up by itself. It is we who make the history, it is we who become the history. Let us make history and bring change, by becoming the change. Let us not forget, let us not forget that one book, one pen, one child and one teacher can change the world.

Thank you

Acceptance speech of the Liberty Medal at the National Constitution Centre in Philadelphia 21.10.2014.

I think the podium is always taller than me unfortunately. And even though my, my, my shoes are like two inches taller but still. Does not work. Thank you so much.

Bismillah hir rahman ir rahim. In the name of God, the most beneficent, the most merciful who is the God of all mankind.

Mayor Nutter, Mister Rosen, Miss Raditz, the honourable ambassador of Pakistan to the UN, Mister Ms Suhkan. Distinguished guests, brothers and sisters, I would like to say hello, Assalam o alaikum to all of you. Thank you.

I would have said hello in other languages, but once I went to stage and I said hola, Assalam o alaikum, bahrha and then I said orowa, which means goodbye, so I do not want to make that mistake again, so I just say hello. So I thank the people and especially the children of Philadelphia for the warm welcome, for the love and support, and I want to say hello especially to all the students from Philadelphia whom I invited and who have come here, thank you so much for coming, and it is a great honour for me to have you all. Dear brothers and sisters I am honoured to receive this medal, and it is not just a golden medal which you wear, but it is hope, it is courage, and it is support. This encourages me to continue my campaign for education, and to fight for the rights of every child.

Sometimes people forget that I am a student, I am seventeen and I have exams coming very soon. And last week, when I told my teacher that I could not do my homework because of the Nobel Peace Prize and so on, that excuse did not work. so.. And she told me you should finish your homework and tomorrow do it so I said yes Miss. So I study history in my school and I have learned that Philadelphia has a great importance in history and it is considered as birth place of America. A birth place for freedom, for independence, and for this liberty.

I learnt it was here in Philadelphia, that in 1776 13 American colonies announced their independence from the British Empire, with their deceleration of independence. And it shows that we have something in common, that you may know or you may not know my own beloved country Pakistan also became independent from the British Empire in 1947. And I am proud to have democracy in my country and I am proud that my country is independent. And democracy is what guarantees liberty. So, what may feel like an old story for most Americans and for, for many people, for us in Pakistan it has happened, it has happened within the lives of so many people. Independence, liberty is very important for us. And it does not feel like an old idea to those of us from countries like India, from Kenya, because it just happened recently in our history that we became independent. An independence not only mean that you are free, it also means that you have some shared responsibility and now you have to look after each other.

Dear brothers and sisters, tonight I speak for those without voice. I speak for every child who's right to education has been neglected, I speak up for those girls who, who are persecuted. I speak up for every girl who has been robbed of her right of safe and quality education. I speak up for those 66 million girls who are deprived of their right of education, who cannot go to school, and who could not realise their God-given potential and their abilities.

Some of you may know my story. I was born in Swat valley and I was getting quality education and I was learning, I was going to school. But suddenly in my life when I was about ten or eleven, I saw a terrorism. I saw people who are against education, I saw the Taliban. They denied women's rights. And at that time I decided that I will speak against the ban on girls' education and I will speak against terrorism. That I will speak for my rights and I will speak for peace, and equality. And I decided it because I had two options: one was not to speak and wait to be killed, and the second was to speak and then be killed, and I chose the second one, because I did not want to live in their situation on oppression. I did not want to live in their situation of terrorism. And some people say: that why did you choose to speak up? I just get quite surprised I say: why should I not speak? It is our it is our duty to speak at this situation, when our people when our country need us, and that is why I spoke, because I felt a responsibility on myself, that I need to speak up for my rights and for the rights of girls in Swat valley or their right to go to school.

Thank you

As I said that I was not afraid of anything except some ghosts and a few dragons et cetera. I was not afraid of anyone, I was not afraid of anything, and continuing, continuing my education was my dream and I wanted to do it. But then things did not remain the same and, and even though there was peace in Swat things changed because the struggle of people, I did not know that one day I would be shot, and I realised that liberty comes at a high price. And the Taliban they attacked me in order to silence me. But I think they did, I think they committed a big mistake. They did a big mistake because nothing changed in my life as I said and you heard it. That weakness, fear, and hopelessness died, and strength power and courage was born. But it was actually the prayers of people that gave me the second life, and I am thankful to God and I am thankful to people for their support. And I believe that not only people, but even death supported me, and death did not want me so early, and said: 'you'll just go I'll just see you later'.

And I am very thankful to people, because it was the prayers of people and the support of people that did not let me to lose hope, and that is why I started, I restarted this campaign and I did not say that I am not going to do it anymore. So tonight, I stand here, with this medal and this has been given to me for my work which I want to do for the education of girls, for the education of every child, and we have been doing projects in Jordan for the Syrian refugees, I went to Nigeria on my seventeenth birthday to raise their voice, because we all know that there are more than 270 girls who are abducted by Boko Haram, and I was waiting because it is the sixth month and I was waiting that they would be released, but unfortunately they are not released yet and they have not been freed yet, and I am hoping that they will be released soon and we should continue this struggle. And, we ,we have done something through Malala Fund, but we should all remember that there are still 57 million children who are out of school. And we all need to protect children's rights.

So I call upon the world leaders, to come together, and consider it important, and I stand here, I speak up for my sisters in India who are being raped and then hang on trees in May. I speak up for my sisters and brothers in Syria, who were in schools, getting quality education, and suddenly they started living in camps and now are refugees. Their lives are important and we must struggle for them so that they do not become a generation lost. I raise my voice for my sisters in Northern Nigeria, because they have this right to be free they have this right to get education. That is why they should be freed, and in Islam there is no objection of education, in Islam every girl and every boy is allowed to get education. And getting education is not only each person's right, but also responsibility, so there are there are some groups who are

misusing the name of Islam for their own personal benefits, because Islam is the religion of peace.

And I also raise my voice for my brothers and sisters in Gaza, who are caught in the seize fire between Israel and Gaza. Why children have to suffer from wars? What crime have they committed? You see children dying every day, children being killed every day. But when you ask what they did, they did nothing. Their only crime is that they were born in that area. So I speak up for those children, and now it is important that we help them, it is important that we help them to, to rehabilitate, and we help them to continue their education. No girl, no child, anywhere, anywhere in this world should be deprived of education. So let's all lay down our weapons, because we cannot be at peace until we bring peace. Education is the best weapon through which we can fight poverty, ignorance and terrorism. So I ask all countries all around the world, that let us say no to wars, let us say no to conflicts. Why to pick up weapons? Why to kill each other? Why not speak? Why not talk? I think these are the best solutions. So let's not pick up guns, and instead of spending this money on these wars and these guns and weapons, why not spend this money on education?

We have this concept that a country becomes powerful just because it has an atom bomb, or it has a lot of weapons and soldiers. I think that country is not powerful at all. A country becomes powerful when its people are educated, when its future generation is educated. So let's change this concept and let's try to focus on people, and to make a country powerful let us not spend the money on weapons, but rather spend it on education and on the people of that country. I am requesting a lot and I am asking people to do a lot. But, I am not here just to say words but I am also here to share with you that action is also important. So, tonight I am grateful to receive the Liberty Medal, and I know that there is a price of hundred thousand dollars for this great honour, and tonight I would like to share with you that I have decided that all this fund will go to Pakistan and this will be spent on children who need education, who need support, and who need help, so this money is going to be very

So let us stand together for this liberty, stand together for peace, and education. Because together we are stronger, we are more powerful, we are stronger than fear, we are stronger than oppression, we are stronger than terrorism, we are stronger than any kind of violence, we are stronger than any challenge in our life. The road to education, peace and equality is quite long, and when I was young I was thinking that in a second I would be able to send every child to school, but as I am having more and more experience, I am realising that the journey is quite long, but if we continue our hard work, we will soon achieve our goals.

Hundred years ago, maybe, women were not, they were not expecting that one day they will have the right to vote. Maybe a few decades ago people were not expecting that there would be no discrimination on the basis of the of skin colour. And now, we are seeing these changes, we are seeing this as reality, we are seeing that in many countries women are allowed to vote, we are seeing that there is no discrimination on the basis of the skin colour or the language that you speak, even though there are in some countries but it has been decreasing, so we should be hopeful that the struggle we do does bring change. And I am hopeful that we will achieve our goals, but we need to work together. History is neither sent from the sky, nor does it get made up by itself. It is we who make history, it is we who become the history, so let us make history, bring change, by becoming the change, let us not forget that one book, one pen, one child, and one teacher can change the world.

Thank you so much. Thank you so much.

Nobel Lecture by Malala Yousafzai, Oslo, 10 December 2014.

Bismillah hir rahman ir rahim.

In the name of God, the most merciful, the most beneficent.

Your Majesties, Your royal highnesses, distinguished members of the Norwegian Nobel Committee.

Dear sisters and brothers, today is a day of great happiness for me. I am humbled that the Nobel Committee has selected me for this precious award.

Thank you to everyone for your continued support and love. Thank you for the letters and cards that I still receive from all around the world. Your kind and encouraging words strengthens and inspires me.

I would like to thank my parents for their unconditional love. Thank you to my father for not clipping my wings and for letting me fly. Thank you to my mother for inspiring me to be patient and to always speak the truth- which we strongly believe is the true message of Islam. And also thank you to all my wonderful teachers, who inspired me to believe in myself and be brave.

I am proud, well in fact, I am very proud to be the first Pashtun, the first Pakistani, and the youngest person to receive this award. Along with that, along with that, I am pretty certain that I am also the first recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize who still fights with her younger brothers. I want there to be peace everywhere, but my brothers and I are still working on that.

I am also honoured to receive this award together with Kailash Satyarthi, who has been a champion for children's rights for a long time. Twice as long, in fact, than I have been alive. I am proud that we can work together, we can work together and show the world that an Indian and a Pakistani, they can work together and achieve their goals of children's rights.

Dear brothers and sisters, I was named after the inspirational Malalai of Maiwand who is the Pashtun Joan of Arc. The word Malala means grief stricken", sad", but in order to lend some happiness to it, my grandfather would always call me Malala – The happiest girl in the world" and today I am very happy that we are together fighting for an important cause.

This award is not just for me. It is for those forgotten children who want education. It is for those frightened children who want peace. It is for those voiceless children who want change.

I am here to stand up for their rights, to raise their voice... it is not time to pity them. It is not time to pity them. It is time to take action so it becomes the last time, the last time, so it becomes the last time that we see a child deprived of education.

I have found that people describe me in many different ways.
Some people call me the girl who was shot by the Taliban.
And some, the girl who fought for her rights.
Some people call me a "Nobel Laureate" now.

However, my brothers still call me that annoying bossy sister. As far as I know, I am just a committed and even stubborn person who wants to see every child getting quality education, who wants to see women having equal rights and who wants peace in every corner of the world.

Education is one of the blessings of life—and one of its necessities. That has been my experience during the 17 years of my life. In my paradise home, Swat, I always loved learning and discovering new things.

I remember when my friends and I would decorate our hands with henna on special occasions. And instead of drawing flowers and patterns we would paint our hands with mathematical formulas and equations.

We had a thirst for education, we had a thirst for education because our future was right there in that classroom. We would sit and learn and read together. We loved to wear neat and tidy school uniforms and we would sit there with big dreams in our eyes. We wanted to make our parents proud and prove that we could also excel in our studies and achieve those goals, which some people think only boys can.

But things did not remain the same. When I was in Swat, which was a place of tourism and beauty, suddenly changed into a place of terrorism. I was just ten that more than 400 schools were destroyed. Women were flogged. People were killed. And our beautiful dreams turned into nightmares.

Education went from being a right to being a crime. Girls were stopped from going to school.

When my world suddenly changed, my priorities changed too. I had two options. One was to remain silent and wait to be killed. And the second was to speak up and then be killed. I chose the second one. I decided to speak up.

We could not just stand by and see those injustices of the terrorists denying our rights, ruthlessly killing people and misusing the name of Islam. We decided to raise our voice and tell them: Have you not learnt, have you not learnt that in the Holy Quran Allah says: if you kill one person it is as if you kill the whole humanity?

Do you not know that Mohammad, peace be upon him, the prophet of mercy, he says, do not harm yourself or others". And do you not know that the very first word of the Holy Quran is the word Iqra", which means read"?

The terrorists tried to stop us and attacked me and my friends who are here today, on our school bus in 2012, but neither their ideas nor their bullets could win.

We survived. And since that day, our voices have grown louder and louder. I tell my story, not because it is unique, but because it is not. It is the story of many girls.

Today, I tell their stories too. I have brought with me some of my sisters from Pakistan, from Nigeria and from Syria, who share this story. My brave sisters Shazia and Kainat who were also shot that day on our school bus. But they have not stopped learning. And my brave sister

Kainat Soomro who went through severe abuse and extreme violence, even her brother was killed, but she did not succumb.

Also my sisters here, whom I have met during my Malala Fund campaign. My 16-year-old courageous sister, Mezon from Syria, who now lives in Jordan as refugee and goes from tent to tent encouraging girls and boys to learn. And my sister Amina, from the North of Nigeria, where Boko Haram threatens, and stops girls and even kidnaps girls, just for wanting to go to school.

Though I appear as one girl, though I appear as one girl, one person, who is 5 foot 2 inches tall, if you include my high heels. (It means I am 5 foot only) I am not a lone voice, I am not a lone voice, I am many.

I am Malala. But I am also Shazia.

I am Kainat.

I am Kainat Soomro.

I am Mezon.

I am Amina. I am those 66 million girls who are deprived of education. And today I am not raising my voice, it is the voice of those 66 million girls.

Sometimes people like to ask me why should girls go to school, why is it important for them. But I think the more important question is why shouldn't they, why shouldn't they have this right to go to school.

Dear sisters and brothers, today, in half of the world, we see rapid progress and development. However, there are many countries where millions still suffer from the very old problems of war, poverty, and injustice.

We still see conflicts in which innocent people lose their lives and children become orphans. We see many people becoming refugees in Syria, Gaza and Iraq. In Afghanistan, we see families being killed in suicide attacks and bomb blasts.

Many children in Africa do not have access to education because of poverty. And as I said, we still see, we still see girls who have no freedom to go to school in the north of Nigeria.

Many children in countries like Pakistan and India, as Kailash Satyarthi mentioned, many children, especially in India and Pakistan are deprived of their right to education because of social taboos, or they have been forced into child marriage or into child labour.

One of my very good school friends, the same age as me, who had always been a bold and confident girl, dreamed of becoming a doctor. But her dream remained a dream. At the age of 12, she was forced to get married. And then soon she had a son, she had a child when she herself was still a child – only 14. I know that she could have been a very good doctor.

But she couldn't ... because she was a girl.

Her story is why I dedicate the Nobel Peace Prize money to the Malala Fund, to help give girls quality education, everywhere, anywhere in the world and to raise their voices. The first place this funding will go to is where my heart is, to build schools in Pakistan—especially in my home of Swat and Shangla.

In my own village, there is still no secondary school for girls. And it is my wish and my commitment, and now my challenge to build one so that my friends and my sisters can go there to school and get quality education and to get this opportunity to fulfil their dreams. This is where I will begin, but it is not where I will stop. I will continue this fight until I see every child, every child in school.

Dear brothers and sisters, great people, who brought change, like Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela, Mother Teresa and Aung San Suu Kyi, once stood here on this stage. I hope the steps that Kailash Satyarthi and I have taken so far and will take on this journey will also bring change – lasting change.

My great hope is that this will be the last time, this will be the last time we must fight for education. Let's solve this once and for all. We have already taken many steps. Now it is time to take a leap. It is not time to tell the world leaders to realise how important education is - they already know it - their own children are in good schools. Now it is time to call them to take action for the rest of the world's children.

We ask the world leaders to unite and make education their top priority.

Fifteen years ago, the world leaders decided on a set of global goals, the Millennium Development Goals. In the years that have followed, we have seen some progress. The number of children out of school has been halved, as Kailash Satyarthi said. However, the world focused only on primary education, and progress did not reach everyone.

In year 2015, representatives from all around the world will meet in the United Nations to set the next set of goals, the Sustainable Development Goals. This will set the world's ambition for the next generations.

The world can no longer accept, the world can no longer accept that basic education is enough. Why do leaders accept that for children in developing countries, only basic literacy is sufficient, when their own children do homework in Algebra, Mathematics, Science and Physics?

Leaders must seize this opportunity to guarantee a free, quality, primary and secondary education for every child. Some will say this is impractical, or too expensive, or too hard. Or maybe even impossible. But it is time the world thinks bigger.

Dear sisters and brothers, the so-called world of adults may understand it, but we children do not. Why is it that countries which we call “strong” are so powerful in creating wars but are so weak in bringing peace? Why is it that giving guns is so easy but giving books is so hard? Why is it, why is it that making tanks is so easy, but building schools is so hard?

We are living in the modern age and we believe that nothing is impossible. We have reached the moon 45 years ago and maybe will soon land on Mars. Then, in this 21st century, we must be able to give every child quality education.

Dear sisters and brothers, dear fellow children, we must work... not wait. Not just the politicians and the world leaders, we all need to contribute. Me. You. We. It is our duty. Let

us become the first generation to decide to be the last, let us become the first generation that decides to be the last that sees empty classrooms, lost childhoods, and wasted potentials.

Let this be the last time that a girl or a boy spends their childhood in a factory.

Let this be the last time that a girl is forced into early child marriage.

Let this be the last time that a child loses life in war.

Let this be the last time that we see a child out of school.

Let this end with us.

Let's begin this ending ... together ... today ... right here, right now. Let's begin this ending now.

Thank you so much.

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Oslo Education Summit speech 7th of July 2015

Bismillah hir rahman ir rahim.

In the name of God, the most merciful, the most beneficent, who is the God of all mankind.

Your Highness, the Crown Prince, honorable Secretary General of the United Nations Ban Ki-moon, honorable Presidents, Prime Minister, especially the Prime Minister of Norway, I am very honored to be here and meet the honorable Prime Minister of Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif, for coming here and joining us in this summit. Many thanks to Mr. Gordon Brown for all the work he has done, and continues to do for education.

Dear sisters and brothers, I am humbled to be back in Oslo where, last December, I received the Nobel Peace Prize, and I stood together with Kailash Satyarthi and I received that prize on behalf of children.

I am back here again to ask world leaders to invest more in education and ensure 12 years of quality education, of quality and free, both primary and secondary education for every child.

I am here as the voice of children, as the voice of those 60 million girls who are deprived of education. Girls whose future depends on the chance to go to school. Girls whose future depends on the decisions that will be made by our leaders.

I am here on behalf of those girls - including some of my own friends— who have been denied the right to education. Who have been forced to get married at an early age. And others who are trapped in poverty, child labour, and child trafficking.

I am here on behalf of 146 children and teachers who were brutally killed in an attack by a terrorist in Peshawar in Pakistan. I am here on behalf of those three girls in Afghanistan who had acid thrown in their faces by terrorists for their crime to go to school.

I am here on behalf of those 28 million children who are out of school because of the ongoing and tragic conflicts and wars.

There is a whole generation of children in Syria and many other war affected areas such as Afghanistan, Iraq, and Palestine where children have been kept away from the classroom by conflicts.

Last year, I met a girl called Mezon at the Zaatari refugee camp in Jordan. To her, the right of education is as basic as food. And is as basic, and as needed as water. She believes that being a refugee is not an excuse to learn less: it is motivation to learn more. She knows that there is no tomorrow for the children of Syria unless the children of Syria are educated today.

And it leads me to question: What is Mezon's crime that she stays away from her home, that she stays away from her country, from education, from her school? What is the crime of all those children who are homeless now, and who are refugees?

I myself have not seen my home, have not seen my country for more than two and half years. My crime was to speak up for my right and for girl's rights to go to school.

And it leads me to question: Why do we suffer? Why do children have to suffer, become homeless, and become targets of wars? What crime have they committed?

Dear brothers and sisters, world leaders need to be serious. World leaders need to be serious and think of the world as one country, as the land of all people, where every person deserves equality, equal rights, no matter whether they are black or white, man or woman, rich or poor.

A child should not be kept away from the opportunity of going to school or receiving health care just because that child is from a poor family or is from a poor country. That child has no choice. World leaders need to think of the rest of the world's children as their own children.

No world leader would want his or her child to be deprived of education, or not to have health facilities, or want their children to become victims of war. Now, the world needs a change. Dear sisters and brothers, only 15 years ago, when the world came together to write the Millennium Development Goals, leaders set goals too low

The MDGs included the right of a child to primary education only. They remained silent about a child's right to a secondary education, the education they need to succeed in the modern world.

The dream was small, so they achieved small. But now, we must not repeat this mistake. We must aim higher.

Only nine years of education is not enough. If nine years is not enough for your children, then it is not enough for the rest of the world's children.

We must promise that we will not aim for goals that are easily achievable - but we will aim for goals that are worth working for.

And what I am talking about is not impossible. It simply requires making a choice.

The good thing is that, in the halls of the United Nations, it has been agreed that basic education is not enough. But a commitment only counts if a commitment is kept. We are going to continue this fight to ensure that quality, free primary and secondary education is ensured to every child. That it becomes a reality for a child rather than a dream.

There will be many tests in the coming months and years. One will come next week, when representatives from around the world will meet in Ethiopia to discuss funding of the new development goals. My message is that in these goals, secondary education would be ensured.

We must take action this year in 2015, we must finance our future now. The issue is not that there is not enough money. The issue is the lack of commitment of our world leaders to invest in education.

The money to send each child to primary and secondary education for 12 years for free is already there. Educating every Mezon and her brothers would only take \$39 billion extra dollars each year.

It may appear as a huge number, but the reality is that it is not at all. The world spends many times more than this on weapons and military. In fact and unfortunately, \$39 billion are spent

on militaries only just in eight days.

If the world leaders decide to take one week and a day off from war and military work, we can put every child in school. Weapons are the tools of destruction, it's very simple. A war can never end a war, and there is always loss of lives and destruction involved.

Books are a better investment in our future than bullets. Books, not bullets, will pave the path towards peace and prosperity.

Dear sisters and brothers, the right to education of millions of children has been ignored. But now it is time to end it, and it should end with us.

I encourage all my sisters and brothers to join me in this mission of 12 years of free, quality primary and secondary education for every child. I urge and am hopeful that world leaders, politicians, NGOs, parents and every person would come together to contribute to this campaign and ensure that every girl and every boy receives 12 years of quality education.

I am turning 18 soon on the 12th of July, and my life of being a child will come to an end. It's quite hard. But there is something that I have learnt from being a child that I will not leave behind and I will take on into this new life of adulthood. And that is to dream: In fact, to dream big, to aim higher, without limit.

My message today is very simple to the leaders: be a child for a moment, dream with no limit, and dream bigger, this is how you can achieve bigger.

Thank you.