Ideology and Leadership: A Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar Analysis of Jinnah's Speeches

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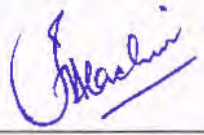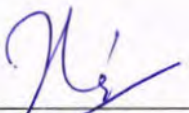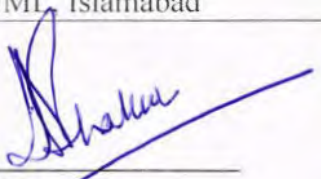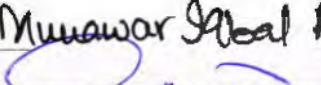
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Ideology and Leadership: A Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar Analysis of Jinnah's

Speeches

By

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Declaration

I, Mairas Imran, hereby declare that this research is a result of my research investigations and findings. The sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list thereof has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature……………………………..   Date…………………………………

Certification

This research project has been perused and approved as fulfilling one of the requirements for the award of M. Phil English degree in the Department of English Language and Literature, International Islamic University Islamabad. The researcher has submitted this thesis within the stipulated period.

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Abstract

Critical Discourse Analysis is a growing discipline and it is applied to various fields. Political discourse analysis is one of the most noticeable of all those fields. This thesis is based on the Critical Discourse Analysis of the political discourse of Jinnah. Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar framework is employed to conduct the transitivity and modality analysis of the selected speeches. Systemic functional grammar (SFG) is a linguistic theory oriented toward describing how language functions in context.

The main purpose of this thesis is to explore the underlying ideology in the selected speeches and to understand how the propagation of ideology takes place through language use. The structure and discourse features of the selected speeches of Jinnah are analyzed on the basis of ideational and interpersonal metafunction of Halliday. Moreover, the study also analyzes the pronominal choices used by the speaker and its effect on discourse.

This thesis recommends that similar discourse analysis can be conducted on larger corpora. Furthermore, the thesis also recommends conducting comparative researches by comparing two or more different contexts.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

This research focuses on Critical Discourse Analysis of the political discourse created through rhetorical speeches of the first Governor General of Pakistan, Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the relationship of language and ideology. The leadership qualities projected through the rhetorical speeches of Jinnah will be analyzed and then compared with the present leaders' speeches and crisis in Pakistan. This will help the present and future political leaders in understanding and realizing the importance of discourse in establishing and promoting national unity. This research mainly analyzes the ideology and qualities of Jinnah revealed through his speeches by exploring the construed ideology through transitivity and interpersonal meanings. There is always some underlying agenda behind every discourse which can be unveiled through linguistic analysis. It is a widely acknowledged assumption that discourse is the only medium through which ideology can be acquired and propagated. The legitimization of political plans and actions are more often carried out through ideological discourse.

There is an inseparable relationship between politics and language and power. They become operational with one another. In the absence of power, the political agenda becomes unworkable; similarly power becomes useless without ineffective language and vice versa. Power is mainly exercised by using language is an instrument. The instrumentalization of language is mainly carried out through the skillful use of political rhetoric with the help of which a particular ideology is represented. It extends from an individual political speaker to collective political representations, from style of speaking to the manner of thinking and from quality to quantity of a political discourse. The rulers and the ruled are also included in implications of power-language. Powerful language accompanied by the use of persuasive strategies can be easily seen

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in everyday matters, media and marketing strategies, at workplaces and even at domestic level. Thus, effective language usage is a powerful tool in the development of powerful political discourses.

Language plays a vital role in conveying the goals of the political orators to the audience in order to provoke, and persuade them towards their intended goals and meanings. Language obtains power when influential orators and politicians use it and it is not independently powerful. This explains why the discourses and language utilization of influential people can be studied and analyzed critically.

Behind every political discourse, there is an underlying agenda. In order to explore the underlying agenda, discourse analysis is carried out. There are different approaches to discourse analysis including speech act theory, the ethnography of communication, the study of conversation and critical discourse analysis. There is a remarkable increase in critical study of language in spoken discourse using critical discourse analysis as an approach. It is now widespread to great many disciplines. However, the primary focus of CDA is on the effect of inequalities and power relations in producing social wrongs, and specifically on discursive aspects of power relations and inequalities which incorporates questions of ideology, understanding ideologies to be 'meaning in the service power', (Thompson, 1984).

Ahmadvand asserts in his paper that in the present era it has become an essentially needed skill to understand the underlying meaning of the text, be it spoken or written, for the extraction of the information. Critical discourse analysis aims to expose the hidden meanings with the help of various other related disciplines and reveals the Ideological loads of the discourse. (Ahmadvand, 2011)

Discourse can be written, or spoken. Fowler describes discourse to be "whole complicated process of linguistic interaction between people uttering and comprehending texts." Moreover, he defines text to be "a unit of communication seen as a coherent syntactic and semantic structure which can be spoken or written down" (Fowler, 1986, p. 85- 86).

The core of a spoken discourse is text. It is considered to be a genuine language material delivered by the speaker to the hearers/ audience having different educational backgrounds and different aptitude for interpretations. Thus, it becomes essential to look into how the weaving of linguistic structure and discourse features are interrelated in revealing the ideology which could be discovered through critically analyzing beyond the text.

1.2. Significance and Scope of Study

The present study is concerned about the pattern of discourse in the projection of ideology with special reference to Jinnah's rhetorical speeches in English and the relation with the present leadership crisis in Pakistan. The current study is significant in a number of ways to various groups of people.

The way he inspired youth as well as the entire nation with the help of his discourse is a true benchmark for the present day leaders of our country. If the leaders of our country start focusing on the values and leadership qualities of the founding father of our nation as is reflected in his speeches, then Pakistan will reach the zenith of glory which Jinnah aspired for. Moreover, the present day politicians may have an idea regarding the impact of their speeches on the public whom they want to impress in every possible way through the tricks of language use.

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When it comes to the readers of this research especially the students then it may be helpful for them in order to understand the discursive patterns and ideological aspects of political speeches. This will greatly help them in writing their own thesis. On the other hand, the instructors may be able to acknowledge the significance of critical discourse analysis in language teaching including both spoken and written discourses.

1.3. Research Objectives

1. To study the overall structure of the speeches in terms of metafunctions of transitivity and modality

2. To study the role of interpersonal metafunction in Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar

3. To investigate the kinds of personal pronouns used in the speeches, their frequency and their role in the projection of ideology

4. To study the role of language and personal pronouns used by a political leader in order to propagate his/her ideology

5. To investigate the operating factors of leadership crisis in Pakistan as revealed through the speeches of Jinnah

1.4. Research Questions

Following are the research questions of this research:

1. What is the overall structure of the speeches?

2. What are the discourse features of Jinnah's speeches in terms of the meta-functions of (a) transitivity and (b) modality (levels of politeness)?

3. What is the role of interpersonal metafunction in Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar?

4. What kind of personal pronouns are used to project the ideology of Jinnah?

5. What is the frequency of using personal pronouns in Jinnah's rhetorical speeches and how it plays a role in construing and projecting his ideology and leadership qualities?

6. How a political leader uses language to propagate his/her ideology?

7. What are the operating factors of the leadership crisis in Pakistan as revealed through Jinnah's speeches?

1.5. Problems and Limitations

There is no problem free research so in every case there might exist some potential wrongdoings. The potential problems of this research might be related to the selected strategy of research. This research mainly focused to offer an in-depth analysis of the selected speeches of Jinnah based on the methodological approach of CDA. Thus the results cannot be generalized to all the contexts since they are based on a specific case study. Another problem with this study is the fact that there is such a difference in the length of the speeches, which made the quantitative analysis unequal.

Another problem is that the corpus of the analyzed data could be bigger, but in order to conduct critical analysis and close scrutiny it was aimed to analyze a small number of speeches. The research focused on critically analyzing the interpersonal meanings and exploring the ideological underpinnings of the selected speeches. Moreover, it was also not possible to apply all the three metafunctions on these speeches and the researcher was limited only in determining the structure (modal verbs, tenses of verbs and the pronominal choice) through the use of two metafunctions. The ideational function, paralleled to transitivity system which is represented by six (6) types of

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processes (material, mental, relational [attributive and identifying], verbal, behavioral and existential processes) and the interpersonal function, concentrated on pronominal choices and modality (levels of politeness) using the Systematic Functional Grammar of Halliday in analyzing the speeches.

1.6. Rationale of the Study

This research is mainly carried out to propose the significance and importance of discourse in carrying the agenda and ideology of Jinnah which he conveyed through his rhetorical speeches in English. Specifically, the study will focus on the role of interpersonal metafunction including personal pronouns as implied by M.A.K Halliday in his Systemic Functional Grammar approach. In one way or the other, ideology is related to language and unity and language plays a vital role in communicating the ideology which works at the back of each discourse in order to create unity or disunity in the society.

The Critical Discourse Analysis, being one of the most significant branches of the Discourse Analysis, is the discipline on which this research relies to draw the theoretical approach and methodological procedures. This kind of discourse analysis goes beyond the linguistic level, to cover even the grounds of the sociopolitical context.

1.7. Research Design

The research is based on the Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar approach. The two main components of the theory, interpersonal and ideational metafunction, are selected for the analysis of transitivity, modality and the use of pronouns in the selected speeches. The research is based on two major research methods i.e. the qualitative method and the quantitative method. The qualitative analysis incorporates the narrative description of the findings. However, in order to

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give a clear understanding of the statistical data tabulation method is used. The researcher has adopted the instrument used in the study of Wang 2010 for the analysis of modal verbs and modality (Guoling, 2006), for transitivity analysis and pronouns (Pingping 2007), and Halliday (1994) for verb tenses. Validity of the research is an important process as misinterpreted data can undermine the research. Lincoln and Guba put forward a number of constructs in their book 'Naturalistic Inquiry' with the help of a which a researcher can scrutinize the findings of the research. There are a number of constructs given by Guba for the internal and external validation of the findings of the research including credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. Lincoln and Guba argue that ensuring credibility is one of most important factors in establishing trustworthiness of the research. In order to ensure trustworthiness of the research a number of provisions can be made including triangulation, negative case analysis, peer scrutiny and frequent debriefing sessions. The findings of this research are validated in terms of peer scrutiny as well as frequent debriefing sessions also ensure the validity of the research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The basic aim of the related literature presented is to amplify the basis of the research and intensify the scope and significance of the present research. This chapter contains the related literature and review of previous studies in support of the current study.

The dictionary definition of Ideology is a system of belief or theory, usually political, held by an individual or group e.g. capitalism, communism etc. According to van Dijk, ideologies are evaluative: "they provide the basis for judgments about what is good or bad, right or wrong, and thus also provide basic guidelines for social perception and interaction" (1995: 248).

On the other hand, leadership can be defined as the action of leading a group or people or the ability to lead. Leadership mainly involves the establishing of clear vision, sharing that vision with the group of people in a convincing and compelling manner so that they follow willingly.

2.1. Rhetoric, Language and Politics

Language and politics are interlinked with each other. The study of politics intertwined with language basically started from the rhetorical studies of ancient Greece and Rome. Ancient rhetoric served as the art to influence the listeners through language use. Other the other hand, it was also related to aspects of political communication. "Classical rhetoric, apart from its uses in the courtroom, was primarily developed as an art" to persuade people in a political assembly. Thus, special arguments, special forms and figures of style were traditionally associated with political text and talk" (van Dijk 1997, p. 34).

In classical times, the power of rhetoric and the rhetorical art of using language for achieving persuasive ends were well defined. It is often claimed that the great Athenian democracy was

governed by Pericles for around 30 years merely due to the power of rhetoric. Later on, Cicero declared that the oratorical art is the most valuable skill of the Romans. However, in classical times, rhetoric was based on moral dimensions and an ideal classical orator was supposed to be morally and politically virtuous. The use of persuasive language was interlinked with the concern of honesty and truthfulness (Woods, 2006, p.51).

The concepts of style and figures were integral part of ancient rhetoric but only for the sake of ornamentation of language. The primary interest of ancient rhetoric was to study the ways in which language should be used to make the speeches more persuasive and the concept of studying language use to express a certain standing or ideology was absent.

In traditional grammar, rhetoric was the study of style through grammatical and logical analysis. However, the new rhetoric focuses on the study of how effective writing achieves its objectives. The term rhetoric in the modern sense offers analytical lens to concentrate and examine the ways of how to effectively convey oneself in relation to the subject of writing or speech, and the audience and to use methods for identifying the relation between text and context.

Rhetorical speeches are interesting form of political discourse and the main purpose of delivering the rhetorical speeches by various leaders is to persuade their audience and establish the validity of their political claims. There are many rhetorical devices incorporated in such speeches in order to make them more appealing to the audience. In order to increase the strength, persuasiveness and potency of language, one should incorporate more powerful linguistic devices such as metaphor, euphemism, parallelism and above all the use of pronoun (Allen, 2007, p.3).

instinct originated from the socialization of humans and it certainly does not claim that language merely arose out of these functions. Moving from Aristotle to modern period, it becomes quite obvious that politics always comes up against questions of language ranging from the selection of words to the choice of language. The politicians greatly recognize the importance of effective language use in achieving political goals and propagating individual or collective ideology. Hence the importance of language in politics is undeniable (Chilton, 2004, p.3-47).

As Woods (2006) in her book '*Describing Discourse*' states that language is an integral part of our life and that is social practice. It is language through which the social relationships are realized which not only directs us to act and behave in a certain manner but also acts as a strong shaping force of the world we live in. There are various levels of language structure including sounds, words, grammar and so on. Furthermore, she opines that just like existence of language in a social void is impossible so is the existence of the elements of language. A word does not contain meaning in itself and also it cannot be discovered. Meaning is something which we construct through our social and linguistic relationship with the entire world. It is the context of the social relationship which gives a meaning to our language. At the very least, language plus context is called as discourse and the context includes experiences, assumptions and expectations. Hence, the close association between politics and language cannot be overlooked. As Aristotle saw that human beings are naturally political animals who need to use language in order to achieve the political goals. Thus, language has a fundamental role in the transmission of political orators' goals to the audience in order to provoke, prevail, and persuade the audience toward the intended goals and meanings (p.51).

The ideological fights are mostly carried out by delivering effective rhetorical speeches, demonstrations, and political campaigns. Van Dijk explicitly states his observation that "it is eminently here that different and opposed groups, power, struggle and interests are at stake. In order to be able to compete, political groups need to be ideologically conscious and organized" (van Dijk, 1999, p.11).

According to Chilton (2004), the implicit and explicit definition of politics is found in both the traditional study of politics as well as in discourse studies of politics. There are two broad strands when it comes to defining politics as a term. The first view defines politics as "a struggle for power, between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it" while others consider it "as cooperation, as the practices and institutions that a society has for resolving clashes of interest over money, influence, liberty, and the like" (Chilton, 2004, p.3).

Chilton (2004) asserts that the western political perspective strongly embeds the fact that language and politics have a fundamental connection which is inseparable. Whenever we talk about politics, language cannot be kept out of discussion. He quotes the most famous definition of humans, as creatures possessing an exceptional capacity for speech, given by Aristotle: "But obviously man is a political animal [politikon zoon], in a sense in which a bee is not, or any other gregarious animal. Nature, as we say, does nothing without some purpose; and she has endowed man alone among the animals with the power of speech" (Chilton, 2004, p.5).

However, the unique human speech is viewed in teleological terms by Aristotle and is referred to as a functional term in modern linguistics. The main purpose of speech is to differentiate between useful and harmful, just and unjust etc. One most considerable thing that becomes quite evident is that without the language use, political activity cannot exist. Hence politics is primarily constituted in language. On the other hand, it might be the case that the language

2.2. Discourse

Before proceeding to the discussion regarding CDA, it is important to give a brief account of discourse and discourse analysis. Discourse has been considered as segments of naturally occurring language no matter smaller or bigger but the meaning conveyed must go beyond the sentence. In fact the term discourse refers to both spoken and written language and it cannot be restricted to a sentence. It has limitless sentential boundaries. In other words, discourse can be referent to as any coherent series of sentences, be it spoken or written. Although spoken and written discourses have different social and communicative functions and this aspect marks the difference between both of these types.

As Widdowson's perspective (2004) stated that:

> Texts can be written or spoken, and must be described in linguistic terms and in terms of their intended meaning. Discourse, on the other hand, as text in context, is defined by its effect. Furthermore, discourse "is the pragmatic process of meaning negotiation", and text, its product (p.8).

Locke (2004) opines that language is the basic feature of our daily life and its communications and it is the very essence which makes us human. However, Locke is of the view that it is not actually language when we notice words and phrases, speech tone and attitude which moves us to act and react. It is actually referred to as discourse. Moreover, language is not always discourse because discourse is linked to context. There must be participants in discourse and it has a definite structure. He gives a common dictionary definition of 'discourse' as a formal speech or essay on some specific subject. According to him "one definition regards discourse as a coherent way of making sense of the world (or some aspect of it) as reflected in human sign systems (including verbal language)" (p.11-13).

As Fairclough (1992) draws on Michel Foucault in defining a discourse as a practice which not only represents the world but in fact constructs and comprise a whole world in meaning. Furthermore, the key insight of Foucault is that 'discourse is in an active relation to reality, that language signifies reality in the sense of constructing meanings for it rather than that discourse is in a passive relation to reality, with language merely referring to objects which are taken to be given in reality' (p.64).

On the other hand, the importance of discourse cannot be overlooked in putting forward the agenda and conveying the ideology of a political leader. There is an inseparable operational link between language and ideology which gives meaning to discourse and communicates ideology. Behind each discourse there is a working ideology which can be revealed with the help of discourse analysis. Paltridge in his book "Discourse Analysis, An Introduction" states that the underlying meaning of a certain discourse and the way they are realized in language is of primary importance to discourse analysis (Paltridge, 2006, p.125).

2.3. Discourse Analysis

Discourse Analysis (DA) is a general term for a number of approaches to analyze any semiotic event or any written, spoken or sign language use. In contrast to conventional linguistics, discourse analysts not only analyze language use beyond sentence boundary but also focus on naturally occurring language use. Discourse analysis has been taken up in various areas of study such as social and philological sciences including communication studies, anthropology, psychology, cognitive and social psychology, sociology, linguistics, international relations and translation studies. All these fields have their own criteria, methodology, and dimension of analysis. As Coulthard asserts that the main aim of discourse analysis is:

The relationship between the discourse and the speakers and hearers by and for whom it is produced – concern with how speakers take and relinquish the role of speaker, how social roles affect discourse options in terms of who speaks when and what they can talk about, how non-verbal signaling works and how the actual form of utterances is conditioned by the social relationships between the participants (Coulthard, 1985, p.11).

Paltridge (2006) describes the relationship between linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour as how people understand and interpret what someone has said. The analysis of language in use is discourse analysis. Thus discourse analysis focuses on the relationship between language and the context in which it is used. It deals with the description and analysis of both written and verbal interactions (p.126).

Renkema (2009) defines discourse analysis as "the discipline devoted to the investigation of the relationship between form and function in verbal communication". Power is shown, for instance, by grammatical forms within a text or a text's genre and this power is achieved through the powerful use of language by political orators (p.1).

2.4. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical linguistics originated in the mid-1970 and it arouse as a need for an academic branch for scrutinizing the relationship between language and ideology, social structure. This branch was theoretically affected by the Critical theory of the Frankfurt school and by the Marxist philosophy. The pioneers of Critical linguistics were Roger Fowler, Tony Trew and Gunther Kress and they put forward their argument in these words: "the world-view comes to language-users from their relation to institutions and the socio -economic structure of their society. It is facilitated and confirmed for them by a language use which has society's ideological impress. Similarly, ideology is linguistically mediated [...]" (Fowler & Kress, 1979, p.185).

This argument came up with the need for a linguistic analysis which would be formal or neutral as well as critical. "The need then is for a linguistics which is critical, which is aware of the assumptions on which it is based and prepared to reflect critically about the underlying cause of the phenomena it studies, and the nature of the society whose language it is" (Fowler & Kress, 1979, p.186).

Critical linguistics relied on the Systemic Functional linguistics for an analytical framework. M. A. K. Halliday's books *Language as Social Semiotic* (1978) and *Introduction to Functional Grammar* (1985) were the main focus of CL for understanding grammar and interpretation of texts: "grammar has to interface with what goes on outside language: with the happenings and conditions of the world, and with the social processes we engage in" (Halliday, 2004, p.24).

It was Halliday's Systemic Functional linguistics which laid the foundation to establish three main assumptions for CL. Firstly; language serves a number of specific functions. Secondly, the selections made by the speakers from among the total inventory forms and processes are systematic. And the third assumption is that there is no arbitrary relation between the form and content but form signifies the content (Fowler & Kress, 1979, p.185).

According to Wodak and Meyer, Halliday's Functionalist Grammar served as a linguistic toolkit for CL and was the main focus of an analytic method to CL. There is a reference to Hallidayan systemic functional grammar in most of the studies. Systemic Functional Grammar (also called as Systemic Functional Linguistics) serves as main foundation of Critical Discourse Analysis as well as other theories in pragmatics. Hence it becomes quite evident that the understanding of the fundamental claims of Hallidayan grammar and his approach to linguistic analysis is necessary in order to understand CDA (Wodak & Meyer, 2002, p.8).

2.4.1. SFL and CDA Connection

Critical Discourse Analysis is a type of discourse analytical research in which the primary areas of study are dominance, social power abuse and inequality practiced and enacted through text and talk in the social and political context. Halliday developed an internationally influential grammatical model known as Systemic Functional Grammar which forms the basis of Critical Discourse Analysis as well as other theories in pragmatics.

There are several commonalities which are pointed out by the researchers who work in Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis. The three most prominent shared features are: 1) language is viewed as a social construct, considering the role of language in society and the way society has shaped language. 2) The dialectical view of language in which the specific discursive events influence the contexts in which they occur and the contexts are influenced by these discursive events. 3) The cultural and historical aspects of meaning are emphasized by both SFL and CDA.

In order to figure out the connection between these two fields is to examine CDA origins and developments in relation to SFL through a brief survey of the major works that have focused on the role of SFL in CDA for nearly last 30 years which is the lifetime of CDA itself. Early researchers analyzed the connections between language and social structure through SFL analysis of metafunctional features and studied the meanings in lexicogrammatical selections and patterns (Young & Harrison, 2004, p.1-4).

2.4.2. Maturity of CDA

With the maturity of CDA, some analysts developed areas out of CDA outside of SFL; however, almost all the researchers in CDA recognize the importance of SFL to the critical study of situated language events. The first major work that establishes a connection between SFL and

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CDA is 'Language and Control', edited by Fowler et al published in 1979. The next major work in the field of CDA was Norman Fairclough's 'Language and Power' published in 1989 in which he discussed the critical study of discourse by formulating a CDA theory. The basic tenets of the theory were formulated and provided an analytical model (Young & Harrison, 2004, p.3).

As Critical Linguistics was based on Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics, its main objective was to separate ideology in discourse and to uncover the phenomena behind the manifestation of ideology and ideological processes as systems of linguistic characteristics and processes. Furthermore, the development of SFL-based CL's analytical tools (Fowler et al., 1979; Fowler, 1991) was just to carry on with this specific purpose. Under Hallidayan influence, CL practitioners figure out that language has three important functions also known as meta-functions naming ideational, interpersonal, and textual. According to Fowler (1991) and Fairclough (1995b) refers to the speaker's experience of the world and its phenomena; the interpersonal function includes the addition of speaker's own views and attitudes in the phenomena along with establishing relation between speakers and listeners; textual function is somewhat instrumental to the ideational and interpersonal functions because a comprehensible discourse can only be produced by the speaker owing only to the textual function. The importance of this function can be realized from the fact that it helps in connecting discourse with its context. Hence it is an enabling function which connects discourse to the co-text and con-text in which it occurs.

Additionally, Hallidayan School has proposed six different process types of language when set in a specific discourse. The process type is determined by the verb of each clause in a sentence. The process type includes: material, mental, relational, verbal, behavioral, and existential (Fowler, 1991, p.71), (Fairclough, 1995b, p.25).

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Critical discourse analysts (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1993, 1995b, 1995a; Fowler et al., 1979; Fowler, 1991; Hodge & Kress, 1979) take Halliday's notion of language as a "social act" and central to their practice. According to Fowler et al. (1979), CL, like sociolinguistics asserts that "there are strong and persuasive connections between linguistic structure and social structure." However, whereas in sociolinguistics "the concepts 'language' and 'society' are divided...so that one is forced to talk of 'links between the two'", for CL "language is an integral part of social process" (p.189).

Both CDA and SFL agree that speakers exercise choices of vocabulary and grammar; these choices are consciously and/or unconsciously "principled and systematic". These choices, hence, are ideology-based. In sum, language is a social act and it is ideologically driven (Fowler et al., 1979, p.188).

2.4.3. Further Development of CDA

Critical Linguistics, which is now most commonly referred as CDA (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; van Dijk, 1998a), has developed over the years. Recent works have raised some concerns with the earlier developments in CL. The first concern was that the role of the audience and their interpretation of discourse might be different from that of the discourse analyst. The second concern is related to the broadening of scope of analysis beyond textual to intertextual analysis. Fairclough (1995b) has taken up both the issues. He claimed the inadequacy of the early works in CL and that CL could be more focused on interpretive practices of audience. In other words, he traced CL's assumption that both the audience and the analysts interpret the text in a similar manner. Boyd- Barrett (1994) while commenting on Fowler (1991) states that there is "a tendency towards the classic fallacy of attributing particular 'readings' to readers, or media 'effects,' solely on the basis of textual analysis" (p.31).

Fairclough (1995b) put forward another concern that the initial contributions of CL were more related to grammatical and lexical analysis and paid less attention to the intertextual analysis of texts: "the linguistic analysis is very much focused upon clauses, with little attention to higher-level organization properties of whole texts." Fairclough further adds that the purpose of pointing out these inadequacies is not to minimize the achievement of CL rather to shift the focus and developments of theory in the past several years. Although the shift of focus and development of theory towards which Fairclough pointed, have not resulted in the development of a single theoretical framework (p.28).

Today CDA, according to Bell & Garret (1998), is best viewed as "a shared perspective encompassing a range of approaches rather than as just one school" (p.7). According to Van Dijk (1998a), CDA is a specific direction of research therefore it does not possess a single theoretical framework. In addition to this, he also states that given the general views and motives of CDA, it can be observed that overall conceptual and theoretical frameworks are closely related.

The scholars whose reflections have made significant contribution in the advancement of CDA in recent times are mainly van Dijk (1988, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1998b, 1998a), Wodak (1995, 1996, 1999), and Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1993, 1995a, 1995b, 1999).

Critical Discourse Analysis is an offshoot of applied linguistics and is rooted in critical social scientific theory. As Janks (2001) asserts that critical discourse analysis stems from a critical theory of language which views language use as a form of social practice. This is an approach which analyzes discourses and takes into account the studies related to social problems including dominance, inequality and powerlessness (p.26).

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Norman Fairclough, a famous discourse analyst, is considered one of the founders of Critical discourse analysis. In his book, *Language and Power*, there is a detailed discussion regarding how power and dominance is practiced by the speaker. Furthermore, he discusses the three dimensional methodological framework based on description, interpretation and explanation for the analysis of discourse. Fairclough's concept in CDA is influenced by the Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics approach (Fairclough, 2003, p.5).

Fairclough (1995b) defines CDA as:

> CDA as discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque
> relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and
> texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate
> how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations
> of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships
> between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony (p. 135).

2.5. Systemic Functional Grammar

The origin of Functional Grammar is mainly from the work of J.F. Firth but it was mainly developed by M.A.K Halliday. The name systemic functional has its origin from the view of 'function' as a fundamental property of language which leads to the evolution of semantic system. It is a theory of language which is based on the notion of function of language (Halliday, 1985, p.12).

Halliday's systemic functional grammar constitutes two components: systematic grammar and functional grammar. These two serve as the essential components of the framework of linguistic theory. The main purpose of Systemic grammar is to explain the internal relations existing in a

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language system. This language system is further composed of several subsystems which help the language users to make choices. On the other hand, functional grammar has a purpose to demonstrate language as means of social interaction (Zhuanglin, 1988, p.307).

The underlying meanings in a particular discourse can be revealed by examining the linguistic choices offered by the discourse. Language is practiced by the speaker in relation to its social context. The choice of words greatly depends on the purpose of the discourse and Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar has examined language from the perspective of the functions it performs.

As Halliday (2004) states:

> "Language has developed in response to three kinds of social-functional needs. The first is to be able to construe experience in terms of what is going on around us and inside us. The second is to interact with the social world by negotiating social roles and attitudes. The third and final need is to be able to create messages with which we can package our meanings in terms of what is new or given" (p.11).

Systemic Functional Grammar describes the relationship between function, meaning and grammar in a very systematic and organized manner. It also represents the account by means of evidence rather than imposing some theoretical model due to which it holds vital importance in the field of applied linguistics and discourse analysis. With the help of Systemic Functional Grammar, it is easier to understand how the language users predict the meanings to be exchanged and the language to be used. Halliday's approach to grammar functions as a bottom-up and top-down process and is an interaction of texts and extra-linguistic situations. Systemic Functional theory views language as a source of communication acquired by people to express meaning in

the desired context. According to Halliday (1985) language exists and should be studied in various contexts such as classrooms, professional settings etc (p.7-11).

When particular aspects of a certain context are studied, it helps in understanding the meanings likely to be exchanged and the language likely to be used by the language users. These aspects of certain context incorporate the topics being discussed, the language users, and the language used by the users. Altogether the describe the linguistic variation in the text under discussion, broadly known as register (Halliday, 1985, p.12).

2.5.1. Metafunctions

Halliday analyzes language from the point of view of the functions it serves, and he explains its structure on this basis. He has discovered three metafunctions of language which he has distinguished in the development of his theory i.e. ideational, interpersonal, and textual. Systemic Functional Linguistics has tried the linguistic systems and tools to analysis. For instance, (though unequally yet) all the three linguistic functions - ideational, interpersonal, and textual - have been served to form the notion know as transitivity.

2.5.1.1. Ideational Metafunction

The primary and the foremost function of language is ideational or transitivity. In traditional grammar, transitivity was developed as the concept of transitive or intransitive verb. In SFL, the function of the verb is to establish a connection between grammar and metafunctions no matter the verb takes an object or not. However, Halliday describes transitivity to be an integral part of experiential function of the clause which deals with the transmission of ideas representing processes or experiences (Halliday, 1985, p.53).

Thus, transitivity constitutes of different types of processes having various labels such as actor, goal; senser, phenomenon; carrier, attribute; and circumstance which includes cause, location, manner, means and instrument. According to Halliday (1985) process refers to a semantic verb which includes doing, happening, feeling, expressing and behaving. In other words, this function aims to convey new information and communicate the content which is not known to the listener. It reflects the events and experiences in both the objective and subjective worlds. When a process expresses something like event, relation, physical, mental or emotional in the clause, it is referred to as material, relational, mental, verbal, behavioral and existential process. These linguistic processes are the products of perception of the world which are socially and culturally constructed with participants, noun phrase in circumstances expressed by adverbial and prepositional phrases (p.101-102).

Transitivity is basically a semantic system which helps in the analysis of representations of reality in a linguistic text and the same experience is created through various lexico-grammatical options influenced by variety of mind styles or authoritative and dominant ideology (Fowler, 1986, p.138). This shows that how the ideological stances of an author can be encoded by certain choices influenced by social and cultural institutions. As Fowler asserts that these linguistic codes are not capable of neutral representation of reality rather there is a working ideology behind them (Fowler, 1986, p.27).

Transitivity also serves as a rich analytical tool for the critical discourse analysis and deals with the effects of actor, action and goal on each other. This is a special discourse feature which is represented by the transitivity system in grammar. In this system, clause is the meaningful grammatical unit which shows what is happening, what is being done, what is felt and whatever the state is and so on. Though transitivity is peculiar to ideational function yet this notion, as a

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whole, is capable of creating a complete and applicable framework of discourse investigation known as Transitivity Analysis. According to Sudarto (2011), "Transitivity is the grammar of the clause for construction our experience of a process, participants directly involved in that process and circumstance" (p.349).

Zhuanglin (1988) asserts that this function mainly comprises transitivity and voice. The purpose of this function includes not only to specify the available options in meaning instead it also determines the nature of their structural realizations. Thus, there are six processes included in the transitivity system naming material process, mental process, relational process, behavioral process, verbal process and existential process as stated by Zhuanglin (p.312). This analytical framework has involved various processes which are briefly described as:

Material process depicts the action that something is done. Action verbs are mainly used to express this process (such as go, give, do). The logical subject is the actor and the goal of the action is referred to as logical direct object which is usually a noun or a pronoun.

Mental process is used to express mental phenomena including perception (see, look), reaction (like, please) and cognition (know, believe). There are two participants included in the mental process known as senser and phenomenon.

Relational process is categorized into two types: attributive and identifying. The attributive process depicts the attributes of specific object while the identifying process involves identical properties of two objects.

Verbal process expresses the exchange of information. These are the commonly used verbs such as tell, talk, praise, describe, show, etc. The main participants included in this process are sayer, receiver and verbiage.

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Behavioral process refers to physiological and psychological behaviors such as breathing, smiling, crying, dreaming etc. Generally there is only one participant in this process which is mostly a human. This process is much similar to that of the mental process. Sometimes it's become quite difficult to differentiate the behavioral process from material process which also has only one participant depending upon the concerned activity.

The existential process shows the existence or happening of something which is expressed by means of an existent.

2.5.1.2. Interpersonal Metafunction

In terms of Systemic Functional Grammar, there are main lexical grammatical systems with the help of which interpersonal function can be realized. These systems include mood, modality and key. It is the interpersonal metafunction which allows the speaker to participate in communicative acts, to take on roles and to understand and convey feelings, attitudes and judgment (Halliday, 1985, p.12).

Locke (2001) supports the stance of Halliday in his own terms by stating that each of these three metafunctions holds different aspects of the world concerning different mode of meanings. The ideational metafunction is a mental representation of what the producer intends to communicate and with the help of this component the relationship between language and thought is explored in considerable detail. It describes the propositional content and modality. The ideational metafunction has further two sub-divisions termed as the experiential and logical. The experiential gives meaning to our experience. However, the logical defines the relationship between one process and another or one participant and another that hold same position in the text. The textual metafunction refers to the type/token ratio, vocabulary use and register. Moreover, textual metafunction deals with the interplay and relationship of the linguistic

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elements due to which coherence is created in the text. On the other hand interpersonal deals with the concepts like exchange structure, involvement and detachment, personal reference and use of pronouns and discourse markers. In other words, the interpersonal refers to the process of social interaction taking place (p.45).

2.5.1.3. Pronouns as a Grammatical Category

According to Pennycook (1994), a pronoun is always a complex piece of language that can rarely stand in a simple relationship to something else. Moreover, the pronouns are deeply embedded in naming people and groups and thus always political in the sense that they imply power relations (p.174).

According to Collins (1990) pronouns are groups of words that possess an ability to appear in place of other words, most often nouns, other pronouns or noun phrases. They help the speaker or the writer in avoiding the repetition of the same word again and again. The personal pronouns are used to point towards the people or things that the speaker is talking to or talking about and they can be used as a way for him to refer to himself. Furthermore, he states that there are two types of personal pronouns i.e. the subjective pronouns and the objective pronouns. The subjective pronouns are used for referring a subject complement or subject of a clause while the objective pronouns are used to refer to the same people or things as the equivalent subject pronouns and are used as the object, subject complement or prepositional complement of a clause. The subjective personal pronouns include I, we, you, he, she, it, and they while the objective personal pronouns include me, us, you, him, her, it, and them (Collins, 1990, p. 28-29).

According to Strauss and Feiz (2014) **pronouns** are referred to as closed class of words which can substitute the full noun referent. Pronouns are capable of labeling the entities in immediate discourse, by the use of I, you, this, or they, as well as the entities mentioned earlier in discourse

by the use of he, she, they, them or it. Like determiners, pronouns are capable of sharing information in various manners among the participants and this aspect turns pronouns to be the key factors in discursive reference (p.108-109).

Bramley (2001) describes pronouns to be of different types having various functions. Due to this fact, it is somewhat difficult to give one general definition of pronoun. According to some conventional explanation pronouns are considered to be linguistic devices that express fixed social relations and are used to socially construct identities rather than objective representation (p.13).

Collins and Hollo (2010) in their book 'English Grammar: An Introduction' state that there are many traditional grammarians who classify pronouns as a separate class. However, as the name depicts, pronouns share many similar features with other members of the noun class. Pronouns head noun phrases which in turn may act as a subject and object and may become dependent of the type taken by common nouns but with a number of limitations. This is the reason that in most of the modern grammars, pronouns are regarded as a subclass of nouns (p.55-56).

In traditional grammars, when pronouns are used in place of a noun the reference is made to one of the two main uses of pronouns called anaphoric in terms of modern linguists. However, the other use of pronouns is not included in the traditional definition of pronouns that apart from being used as anaphoric reference, pronouns can be used as deictically (Collins & Hollo, 2010, p.56).

There are various subclasses of pronouns such as personal pronouns, reflexive pronouns, and reciprocal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, relative pronouns, interrogative and indefinite

pronouns. A unique characteristic of personal pronouns is that they can occur in interrogative tags (Collins & Hollo, 2010, p.57).

According to Collins (1990), the reflexive pronouns can be used when the speaker wants to depict that the subject of the verb is the same person or thing as the object of the verb. The reflexive pronouns include: myself, ourselves, yourself, yourselves, himself, herself, itself and themselves. Unlike the personal and the possessive pronouns, there are two types of reflexive pronouns to use for the second person; that the singular and the plural form (p.33).

The possessive pronouns are used to talk about the people or things which have a connection with other things and they include: mine, my, our, ours, your, yours, his, hers, their and theirs. Thus, the use of possessive pronouns shows the association of something with something or someone. They are often used to show the contrast and also in those prepositional phrases which begin with 'of' in order to qualify a noun group. Indefinite pronouns are used when the speaker wants to refer to things or people about which they don't know or the identity is not of much importance such as anybody, everybody, someone and somebody. This, that, those and these are all demonstrative pronouns. Each other and one another are included in reciprocal pronouns and these pronouns are used as indirect objects or objects of verbs. They are used to suggest that people feel the same way, do the same thing or have the same relationship. On the other hand, who, whom, which or that are known as relative pronouns and are used by the speaker when a sentence contains the main clause which followed by a relative clause. Who, whom, which, whose are interrogative pronouns. They can be used as objects or subjects of a clause, or objects of a preposition (Collins, 1990, p.33-40).

On the basis of morpho-syntactic similarities, pronouns are classified together but these classes can differ from each other on the basis of grammatical perspective. Mostly pronouns are described on the basis of anaphoric and referential features (Bramely, 2001, p.13).

Although pronouns do not convey meaning to the extent other content words do, but they have the tendency to change the meaning, understanding and even the perception of the speaker depending on the way they are used. The relationship between speaker and listener or between speaker and a specific situation is indicated by means of pronouns. They can not only place distance between the speaker and listeners or a situation but they can also express solidarity and unity (Bramely, 2001, p.16).

2.5.1.4. Halliday's Pronoun System

According to Halliday (2000) personal system, including pronouns and possessives, can be employed to realize interpersonal meaning of language. There are three types of personal pronouns. The first personal pronoun includes 'I' and 'we'. The second personal pronoun includes you. The third ones include 'they' and 'it'. In political speech, the interpersonal meaning exists in the communication between the speaker and the audience. When one is giving an address, the purpose of it is to inform, suggest and communicate. The choice of different personal pronouns has an effect on the audience. Because the choice of personal pronoun can clearly make the audience know the attitude of the speaker. It can reflect the social relationship between the speaker and audience (p.191).

According to Halliday (2000), the use of personal system that is **pronouns** and possessives can be employed to understand the meaning of language in terms of its interpersonal aspect. The interpersonal meaning lies in the speech when one is delivering an address and the main aim is to

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inform and suggest. The selection of personal pronouns greatly affects the audience and it also reflects the social relationship between the speaker and the audience (p.191).

Halliday (2000) opines that personal system, including pronouns and possessives, possess interpersonal meaning of language. In political speech, the interpersonal meaning exists in the communication between the speaker and the audience. The purpose of an addresser is to inform, suggest and thus communicate. The choice of different personal pronouns has an effect on the audience. Because the choice of personal pronoun can clearly make the audience know the attitude of the speaker. It can establish the social relationship between the speaker and audience in a speech (p.191).

Halliday (2000) states that personal pronouns are used for the representation of the world according to the speaker, in context of speech exchange. He asserts that "the basic distinction is into speech roles (I and You) and other roles (he, she, it, they); there is also a generalized personal pronoun (one)." Halliday categorized pronouns into three types i.e., Anaphoric, Cataphoric and Exophoric. The anaphoric referents are first personal pronouns and are used to define the subject. The Cataphoric referents are used to define the subject which is yet to be introduced and are quite helpful in realizing the extra linguistic features, personal factors and power relations. The third category is related to the third personal pronouns both singular and plural (p.290-294).

According to Li (2002), personal pronouns demonstrate the interpersonal function in discourse and they aim to establish certain relationship between the speaker and the audience. Hence personal pronouns are considered to be a carrier of interpersonal meaning apart from Mood and Modality. Furthermore, Li also describes that the first person pronoun 'I' and 'We' refer to the addresser, while the second person pronoun 'You' refers to the addressee.

Halliday (1985) defines 'Deictic' as "an element which indicates whether or not some specific subset of the Thing is intended; and if so, which. It is either specific or non-specific." In this case, the element 'Thing' is used to refer the semantic core of the nominal group which maybe a common noun, proper noun or a personal pronoun. The specific deitics are categorized into two categories i.e. the demonstrative and the possessive. The demonstrative refers to some kind of nearness to the speaker while possessive deictics refer to person (p.161-164).

Halliday (1985) states that personal pronouns are used for the representation of the world according to the speaker, in context of speech exchange. He asserts that "the basic distinction is into speech roles (I and You) and other roles (he, she, it, they); there is also a generalized personal pronoun (one)." Halliday categorized pronouns into three types i.e., Anaphoric, Cataphoric and Exophoric. The anaphoric referents are first personal pronouns and are used to define the subject. The Cataphoric referents are used to define the subject which is yet to be introduced and are quite helpful in realizing the extra linguistic features, personal factors and power relations. The third category is related to the third personal pronouns both singular and plural (p.72).

Eggins (2004) describes the categorization of pronouns in her own terms as "cohesive resource of reference refers to how writer/speaker introduces participants and then keeps track of them once they are in the text." Sometimes participants are presented which means as 'new' while at other times their identity is required to be retrieved as it is encoded and presumed. In cases where the presumed referents cannot be retrieved, ambiguity and complexity arises. However, there are several different contexts which help in analyzing the identity of presumed referents such as Homophoric and Exophoric referents. The Homophoric referents are those which have shared

context of culture while Exophoric referents refer to the retrieval from immediate context (p.95-97).

2.5.1.5. The Use of Pronouns and Their Variants in Political Speeches

According to Bramely (2001), the first person pronoun 'I' is not used as a substitute for the speaker's name, but it is used to refer to himself. In political speeches, 'I' is mostly used by the speaker to express and convey his opinion. It is a way to make the speech more effective and more subjective, it shows the authority of the speaker and it can be a way to show compassion with the audience and also to narrate a story. However, some speakers might avoid the use of 'I' due to the issue of subjectivity. Another important function of using 'I' in political speeches is to give a sense of here and now in order to suggest that 'I' captures the moment. 'I' can also be used to create a close relationship with the audience as it makes the speech seem as if it is on a more personal level. Furthermore, it also depicts commitment of the speaker towards the audience and personal involvement in the issues. It also provides the speaker with a personal voice that distances him from others. Thus, it cannot always be expected that the other members of his party agree with the speaker's opinion when the pronoun 'I' is used and shows more of the individual opinion. Moreover, the most motivating reason behind the use of pronoun 'I' in political speeches is that it helps in establishing a positive image and in highlighting the personal qualities of the speaker. Thus the use of 'I' puts the speaker in more positive light at times and helps the audience to consider him more responsible and devoted (p.27-28).

On the other hand, Beard (2000) asserts that the use of 'I' in political speeches puts the speaker in a more positive light and thus separates the 'self' from 'other' and ends up in putting the 'self' in a more positive light. This separation of self from other can be considered as negative to

highlight one's own authority, supremacy and a sense of inequality on behalf of the speaker (p. 45).

According to Pennycook (1994), of all the pronouns, the use of 'I' seems the most innocent, referencing, and it appears to be an incontestable self. 'I' can also operate as one half of a construction of the Other and is capable of standing in opposition of 'you' or 'they' in the same way as 'we' does. It sits in an unproblematic relationship to a unitary self. Thus, pronouns can be considered to be always political as the inherent nature of all the pronouns is in fact political (p.177-178).

The use of pronoun 'You' refers to the person the speaker is talking to. There are multiple functions, one of which is to serve an indefinite pronoun which can be a replacement for I and refer to the speaker. It can also be used by the speaker to include himself as a member of a category. The indefinite 'you' is however not used to discuss the actual experience rather it points towards the conventional wisdom. In this sense, 'you' is mostly used to convey common sense or a universally known fact/truth, with the hope of receiving acceptance from the audience. The use of indefinite 'you' is generic in nature and can be referring to any one so it is entirely up to the audience if they count themselves in that group or not (Allen, 2007:13f).

The pronoun 'We' has a great importance in political speeches since it expresses the institutional identity. It is also used to separate 'us' from 'them' such as two political groups or parties. By establishing an 'us' and 'them' separation, a speaker becomes able to create the positive image of the group he belongs and the negative image of the other group. The intention behind this separation is to set one group apart from the other group and their actions, and to include or exclude hearers from group membership (Bramely, 2001:76ff).

'We' is sometimes used to convey the image one person or party as team and therefore a shared responsibility. It can be classified as the inclusive 'we' and the exclusive 'we'. The inclusive 'we' refers to both the speaker and the audience. It is also used sometimes by the politicians to avoid speaking about them as an individual and instead suggest that the audience is involved too and this creates a sense of responsibility, sharing and solidarity. In this way, the audience gets a share in the issues, success, and responsibility regarding the matter under discussion (Bramely, 2001:76ff).

Pennycook (1994) opines that "the pronoun 'we' is always simultaneously inclusive and exclusive, a pronoun of solidarity and of rejection, of inclusion and exclusion". On one hand, it defines a 'we' and on the other hand it defines a 'you' or a 'they'. It is also asserted that it is also frequently a covert assumption about shared communality. Whether it is in political speeches, academic writing or any other form of language use, the use of 'we' marks an instant claiming of authority and communality. This also implies an authority to speak for others or anyone who wants to claim the right to speak on behalf of a larger group. Additionally, there are more institutionalized uses of the pronoun 'we' that exist in various forms of discourse where there are clearly marked power differentials (p.175).

Pennycook (1994) refers to Fairclough's discussion (1989) regarding the use of 'we' and 'you' in a speech by Margaret Thatcher which states that the pronoun 'we' is frequently used in the inclusive sense to refer 'all of us together' while 'you' is generally used as a non-specific pronoun similar to one (p.178).

The third person plural pronoun 'they' is mostly used in the political speeches in order to distance the speaker from their group or others i.e. pronoun 'they' excludes 'I'. They points to those who are not we and is used to form an opposing relationship between the speaker and

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others, often imparts negativity towards others. They is just like 'we' is used to create an 'us' and 'them' separation. It can be used to create the speaker's image to be less responsible for his actions and to depict the ideological difference among the people and the positive self-representation of the speaker. They can be used in neutral context where the speaker does not speak of others in positive or negative way. The studies related to political usage of pronouns have demonstrated that 'they' can be used for distancing the speaker from the people spoken of (Bramely, 2001, p.182f).

2.5.1.6. Modality

Eggins (2004) asserts that in Functional Grammar, **mood** is made up of subject and finite. Thus mood is established by means of the subject and finite together. Their positioning in the clause determines various speech functions which play a vital role in establishing the interpersonal meaning of the clause as exchange and serves the social role and identity of the speaker during the interaction (p.156-159).

Halliday (2014) asserts that primary function of the finite is to signal the validity of the proposition which can be carried out in two ways i.e. reference of modality which implies the judgment and attitude of the speaker and the other is by reference to the time of speaking that is termed as tense. It is through the **tense shift** that speaker negotiates the validity of his proposition. Halliday has described three primary tenses including past, present and future which help in relating the here and now of the speech event (p.144).

According to Halliday (2014) speaker establishes his position and status through **modality** and also modality helps the speaker in validating his own judgments. When the exchanged commodity is in the form of information, the clauses are labeled as propositions and statements and the expressions are termed as modalization while in the form of goods and service, the

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modality expressions are defined as proposals and termed as modulation. Various techniques can be used to realize modality such as modal auxiliaries, adverbs, intonation and mental-process verbs (p. 686-691).

Halliday (2014) states that **modality** also plays an important role in carrying out the interpersonal metafunction of clauses showing to what degree the proposition is valid. Modality refers to the space between 'yes' and 'no', showing the speaker's judgments of the probabilities or the obligations involved in what he is saying. There are a number of ways to realize modality, such as non-verbal and verbal, through non-deliberate features and deliberate features, among the above expressive ways, one of the most common ways for the realization of modality as a function of the mood is through modal verbal operators (p. 691-692).

Halliday & Martin (1981) assert that in interpersonal metafunction, it is the type of modality which helps in determining the degree of intimacy or closeness and the type of relationship that exists between the participants of the text. Furthermore, they also describe the main grammatical categories of speech function, modality and tone in interpersonal communication. As far as modality is concerned, it helps in defining the social roles and relationships expressed by the speaker's judgement. It is the level of politeness (high, median and low) which determines the expression of the speaker and it is executed through the use of modal verbs. Thus the interpersonal meaning is referred to as a form of action which shows that the action of a speaker or writer towards the listener or reader by means of language. Therefore it is evident in interpersonal metafunction to establish the status and role of the language user and the way the status or role is conveyed and expressed by means of language use (p. 53).

Locke (2001) in his book *'Critical Discourse Analysis'* asserts that 'modality refers to the strength with which a particular proposition or statement is endorsed'. He states that usually

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modality is implied by the use of modal auxiliaries such as 'may' but can also be shown in the absence of modal auxiliaries and by using tempering adverbs e.g. 'possibly'(p. 82). On the other hand, Matthews (2005) defines modality as "category covering either a kind of speech act or the degree of certainty with which something is said" (p. 228). According to Eggins (2004), modality is a complicated area of English grammar which focuses on how to express attitudes and convey messages through different ways (p. 172). Moreover, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) assert that modality is a mode of expression which defines the relationship between the speaker and statement uttered. (p.143). Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) state that modality also has a system just like all the other tools of Systemic Functional Grammar. This system is classified into two terms, that is propositions and proposals which are referred to as modalizations and modulations. The modalizations involve the expression of intermediate possibilities; first, degrees of probability (possibly/probably/certainly), second, degrees of usuality (sometimes, usually, and always) (p. 7).

In traditional grammar, modality is mainly realized by modal operators, which are also called **modal auxiliary**. Modal operators include *could, can, will, may, might, would, shall, should, ought to, have to* and so on. When realized by modal verbal operators, modality involves degrees and scales about the validity of a proposition, which coins the term "Modal Commitment". The basic values of modal commitment are high, median and low on the scale and each level of modal commitment corresponds to different meaning.

The core of modality analysis lies in the concept of politeness. As Zhuanglin (1988) describes politeness, in pragmalinguistic, that it is a special way of language use to conduct smooth communication and self-defense of the individual when he/she interacts with other individuals. Similarly, it refers to the intermediate ranges between extreme positive and extreme negative. It

serves as one of the most important systems in social interactions. It depicts the speaker's judgment towards the topic, social role relationship, scale of formality and power relationship. In English, modal adverbs, adjectives, personal pronouns, notional verbs, tense, direct and indirect speech, excluding the modal verbs, are used to express modalization. Thus, politeness is used to point towards the behavior which directly shows the positive concern for others (p. 313).

Thompson (2004) in his book *'Introducing Functional Grammar'* states that it has become quite evident from many systemic functional grammar analyses that personal pronouns have an interpersonal function in discourse as they establish a relationship between the addresser and the audience. The pronominal choices such as the choice of first personal pronouns and second personal pronouns may give a different meaning of the text when interpreted. Therefore, it is assumed that the pronominal choices are ideologically driven. Traditionally, it is considered that the first person singular pronouns are exclusive because they point towards the addresser only. While the first person plurals are considered to be inclusive as they include both the addresser and the addressee. Similarly second person pronoun 'you' is a loner in the group, considered mostly exclusive because it points directly towards the person being addressed (p. 57).

Both linguists and anthropologists recognize the importance of **mood, modal auxiliary, tense shift and pronouns, and transitivity** in anchoring language to specific speakers in specific contexts and in signaling the reciprocal changes in the roles of interactants through their performance of, and engagement in, communicative acts.

2.6.Related Studies on CDA and SFG

2.6.1. Researches Based on International Political Speeches

It is a known fact that Systemic Functional Grammar is a widespread approach when it comes to analysis of language with respect to its functional meaning. Systemic Functional Grammar approach has always proved be a useful and effective tool whenever there is a need to analyze language with respect to its social and discourse function. Many researchers have applied Systemic Functional Grammar approach from different dimensions and explored a variety of aspects in texts, advertisements, speeches, historic political addresses etc. According to Banks (2002), Systemic Functional Linguistics is a useful and productive model for the analysis of text. Young and Harrison (2004) assert that it is a useful orientation to carry out Critical Discourse analysis.

Green (2007) analyzed the discourse of Malawi president Mutharika's first-term discourses made at the United Nations General Assemblies. The discursive strategies were investigated and the main focus was on pronominal choices made in the speech which play a vital role in revealingthe ideological underpinnings of a political speech. The findings of this study were that the pronominal choices were widely incorporated in the speech to shift the focus and the speech was strengthened using lexicon.

O'Halloran (2008) conducted a study for analyzing the language with respect to its visual orientation in print media. According to him the integration of metafunctions of language with semiotic resources in order to understand meaning is a great significance of Systemic Functional Linguistics. He used the approach of systemic functional-multimodal discourse analysis for exploring the meaning which is conveyed through printed texts by means of language use and visual imagery. Thus the analysis of linguistic and visual forms of semiosis is conducted in order

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to reveal the ideational meaning of the printed advertisements. The findings revealed how the metaphorical meanings are constructed by means of linguistic and visual elements.

Post (2008) applied the principles of Systemic Functional Linguistics in order to analyze the stylistic and communicative aspects of two texts of the same subject. The main focus of the study was the construction of realities through the functional properties of language. In 2008, Duran applied the Systemic Functional Grammar approach to analyze the American presidential speeches. The study was contrastive in nature and analysis was made of speeches delivered by President George Bush and Senator John Kerry before the 2004 presidential elections.

In 2009, Kulo conducted a research in order to investigate the relation between the form and function of language as thrown in political discourse. Two different speeches were analyzed which were delivered by Barack Obama and John McCain during their election campaigns in 2008. There is a depiction of frequent use of linguistic spin in both of the selected speeches.

In 2009, Aghagolzadeh and Khorshid presented a study entitled as "Language as a Puppet of Politics: A Study of Mc Cain's and Obama's Speech on Iraq War, A CDA Approach" as reflected in the International Journal of Criminology and Sociological Theory. The study analyzed the speeches of the two presidential nominees of the two parties: republican and democratic specifically John McCain and Barack Obama. The study incorporated the framework of CDA introduced by van Dijk.

Ye (2010) applied the SFL approach for analyzing Barack Obama's Victory speech. The significance of the study is to identify different Moods of the clauses. He mainly focused on the interpersonal metafunction of Obama's first Victory speech. According to his analysis, the speech was loaded with positive declarative clauses as well as imperative clauses. Moreover, he

found that the modal operators such as will, can and must are used in abundance. When it comes to pronominal choices, the first person pronoun 'I' is enormously used in the address followed by second person pronoun 'You'.

Obama's first victory speech and inaugural addresses have been studied and analyzed by various researchers and different aspects of Systemic Functional Grammar have been focused on so far to explore the ideological underpinnings. In 2010, Wang carried out his research on the same Victory speech of Obama employing the framework of SFG. He studied the speech through the linguistic lens of transitivity and modality wherein the language used was explained that how ideology and power should be served. He found out that there is an extensive use of modal verbs in the speech and the first person pronoun was enormously used. The pronominal choice of first person pronoun promoted a sense of individuality and confidence on part of the speaker. The present study and the study conducted by Wang (2010) is similar in terms of focus on transitivity and modality analysis using the Hallidyan framework, however, the corpus, speaker, subject and setting of the study are entirely different.

In 2011a, Alvi and Baseer studied Barak Obama's "Keynote Address at the 2004 Democratic National Convention". They applied the transitivity framework of Halliday for exploring the underlying meaning in the speaker's persuasive constructions. The findings showed that Obama practiced material processes of event and action along with the mental process of affection in order to win the minds of the audience.

In 2012, they analyzed Obama's another speech 'The great need of hour' which he delivered in 2008 and applied Halliday's framework of transitivity together with the Aristotle's three pronged framework of rhetoric comprising ethos, pathos and logos. The results of research revealed that the factors of ethos and pathos are being frequently used by Obama and it became clear that he is

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more inclined towards using circumstance of location and reason to achieve integrity and reliability of his entire discourse.

In 2011, Kamalu and Agangan conducted a study as shown in Language, Discourse and Society, Volume I, of Language Society RC 25 of the International Sociological Association, entitled "A Critical Discourse Analysis of Goodluck Jonathan's Declaration of interest in the PDP Presidential Primaries". A qualitative analysis was made to find out the rhetorical strategies used for propagation of certain ideology. The Critical discourse analysis and Systemic Functional Grammar framework was employed to reveal the underlying ideology and persuasive strategies in the speech.

Ayoola and Olusanya (2013) conducted interpersonal metafunction analysis of selected political advertisements of two political parties published in some Nigerian newspapers during the general elections. An equal sample was taken for each political party and then the selected advertisements were analyzed to explore how the language is used for promoting the views and opinions in political context through advertisements. The SFG framework was used to analyze the advertisements through mood choices and modality. The analysis showed that the interpersonal meaning does not always correspond with the lexicogrammar analysis as various mood choices have been employed to interact, negotiate, discuss and establish good relationship with the readers.

In 2014, Kondowe conducted a study in which he analyzed the interpersonal metafunctions in Bingu wa Mutharika's second term political discourse by employing the theoretical framework of Systemic Functional Grammar. There is a considerable increase in analyzing the political speeches nowadays due to a belief that they are enormously ideologically loaded. Thus the analysis of political discourses greatly helps in revealing the hidden ideologies of the leaders

which are construed in their discourses. Kondowe analyzed the inaugural address of Malawi president Bingu wa Mutharika and applied the framework of Systemic Functional Grammar focusing mainly on the choice of mood, modal auxiliary operators and personal pronouns. The analysis showed Mutharika delivered a speech which was imparting information and mostly declarative in its mood. However the modal auxiliary operators of median scale highly opted for 'will'. The pronominal choice was followed highly by the first person pronoun 'I' referring exclusively to the speaker and establishing his own authority and power. This resulted in establishing lack of interpersonal relation between the president and the people. In this way, SFG approach helped in revealing the hidden ideology behind the president's discourse which was mainly authoritative in nature turning out the citizens to be passive receivers and listeners. In this way, it has been proved that grammar not only helps in creating proper and correct structures but acts as a medium for demonstrating and structuring information and underlying agendas and beliefs.

In 2015, Ardiansah conducted a study and applied a framework of Systemic Functional Grammar based on Halliday and Matthiessen's (2004) framework. The purpose of using this framework was to find out the level of language structured to make different kinds of meanings. The study was carried out to reveal the interpersonal meaning of text. This study was mainly conducted on students' hortatory exposition text at one of the universities in Ciamis. Around five texts were analyzed to find out the interpersonal meaning and the types of modality incorporated in the text for creating the interpersonal meaning. This study revealed that the modality system contained in all the clauses generally depict the interpersonal meaning of the author with different value of language in those texts.

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2.6.2. Researches Based on Pakistani Political Speeches

Pakistan has a turbulent history which oscillates between militant rules and democratically elected civilian governments. The history of Pakistani politics has been greatly characterized by considerably larger periods of military rule and political instability. There is a continuous trend of political instability in Pakistan in which the constitutional development has been entangled. For most of its existence, Pakistan has been under the influence of direct and indirect military rule. There are four series of militant coups in Pakistan by the Army from Ayub Khan to General Pervez Musharraf. The history of martial laws was marked by Ghulam Muhammad (1951-54), Sikander Mirza (1955-58). Ayub Khan (1958-1969), Yahya (1969-1971), Ziaul-Haq (1977-1988) and last but not the least General Pervaiz Musharraf (1999-2008). However, the three periods of militant rule in Pakistan ranging from 1958-71, 1977-88 and 1999-2008 shows that the military regimes and democracy rule substitutes each other with an interval of ten years. Thus, militant rule had the longest tenure as compared to any of the democratically elected government. The longest militant rule and the short term democratic rule is the main reason that democracy got not enough time to take root in the population due to which the state institutions remained weak. There are large numbers of nations still striving hard for their right of self-determination. Pakistan is one of those nations which remained under the direct military rule for large intervals of time and still struggling to rise from the devastations caused due to martial laws.

The political set up of Pakistan is marked by mismanagement, confusion, power struggle and failed attempts at democracy. The military has thus ruled Pakistan for most of its existence and has played a great role in determining the internal politics, security, and economic developments and at the same time weakening the democracy. The military rule not only influenced the foreign

and domestic issues politically but also influenced the mediating confrontations among the feudal political leaders, parties and other state institutions which caused political instability in the country.

Ayub khan ousted Mirza and became the President of Pakistan. Ansari (2015) in his paper "Forced Modernization and Public Policy: A case study of Ayub Khan Era (1958-69)" focuses on the speeches and statements given by Ayub Khan during his entire rule. The discourses made by Ayub Khan at various occasions greatly justify his liberal outlook and his extremely authoritative mode of rule. The speeches and statements of Ayub Khan explored so far reveal the underlying ideology of progressive liberalism and modernist version of Islam. The ideological underpinnings of Ayub Khan's discourses manifested his open mindedness and his agenda of modernization which is the most prominent feature of his entire rule. Ayub Khan while throwing light on his progressive views states that "We were fortunate to have a religion which could serve as a vehicle of progress. But superstition and ritualism had given us a fatalistic outlook which was completely contrary to the teachings and message of Islam" (Khan, 1960). He emphasized more on the implementation of policies rather than better policy making. He was authoritative enough to emphasize more on the repressive policies against social factions such as media, academia etc. He made an utmost attempt of political exclusion. However, his tenure is marked as era of economic growth. He created class differences and suppressed labor as well as student unions. The speeches and statements of General Muhammad Ayub Khan are a clear manifestation of his liberal approach towards matter of religion. The ideological driven discourses made by him prove him to be a modernist Muslim as he personally believed in the modernist version of Islam. During his regime, he tried to modernize various spheres of Pakistani society through public policies. Moreover, he believed in modernization of country by means of

social reforms rather than focusing on constitutional and legal means. Thus, Ansari concludes that a government may initiate and implement public policies in a coercive manner but democracy, which often goes hand in hand with political modernization, may not seem suitable for social and religious modernization, and thus military governments are generally in a better position to initiate and implement modernization agenda than democratically elected governments.

According to Saeed (1989), Ayub Khan "strived to orientate the political system along liberal secular lines, and at the same time made an effort to institutionalize the role of Islam in the political system of Pakistan and symbolized the predicament of the Modernists in Pakistan" (p. 96-97). However, the method adopted by him for introducing the change was coercive and non-participatory. His military background and professional ethos emphasized discipline, order and authoritarian values rather than political participation and consensus-building through dialogue and accommodation.

In 2015, Samad made a compilation of famous speeches of Pakistani leaders in which the discourse made by Zia-ul-Haq was quoted. The reign of Zia-ul-Haq was based on ten extended years from 1977-88. He ruled Pakistan for eleven years and became the longest-serving head of state. These years witnessed a program of forced islamization in the country. His statements and speeches greatly depict his conservative state of mind unlike the other military regimes which embarked on the course of force modernization such as those of General Ayub Khan and General Pervaiz Musharraf. He used education as a tool of state control. His ruling period is mainly marked by his efforts and rigidness to make Pakistan an Islamic state and Islamize the Pakistani polity. Furthermore, his discourses are most noted for his forced islamization efforts along with his foreign policy in which he established close relationship with the United States and support

for the mujahideen against Soviets in Afghanistan. His most noticeable and remembered speech was the one delivered in the National Assembly before his death. He laid down the structure of an Islamic democracy in his address which he referred to as 'shuracracy'. Furthermore, he also requested his cabinet members to approve the establishment of 'Qazi courts'.

In 2011, Abbas conducted a study which was published in the Journal of Pakistan Studies. The focus of this study is a style analysis of the speech delivered by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto at the United Nations Security Council on December 15, 1971. The analysis of the discourse made by Bhutto revealed his underlying agenda and depicted his ideology. Through his discourse, he clearly separated himself from the military and established his legitimacy as a democratic leader. Furthermore, the discourse made by Bhutto is not only vivid and electrifying but also appeals to pathos. Although the analysis of the discourse revealed few stylistic flaws but the use of concrete terms and active voice made the speech more inspiring. The hyperbolic expressions and statements helped in getting enormous popularity among his indirect audience that is the Pakistani people. His discourse was highly marked with enthusiasm and showed the world that Pakistan possessed popular and forceful leadership. The paper came up with the conclusion the no other Pakistani leader would have dared to use such rhetoric against the super powers as Bhutto did.

Naz, Alvi and Baseer in 2012 tried to conduct critical discourse analysis of Benazir Bhutto's speech 'Democratization in Pakistan' and this speech was delivered on 25th September, 2007. In order to observe the linguistic spin in this speech from Halliday's point of view, transitivity analysis of this speech was made. The notions of different clauses/processes and circumstances were applied on the speech in order to explore the transitivity patterns and choices. The analysis showed that Benazir Bhutto was more concerned about the emotional and physical responses and

activity of the audience. Moreover, she was found more concerned about the material clauses in her political discourse as well. The excerpts taken from the speech are:

Ladies and gentlemen. I thank Ambassador Chamberlin and the Middle East Institute for the invitation to be with you this morning. I visit at critical and uncertain time in Pakistan. When the history of my nation is written, we will look back to the fall of 2007 as a genuine turning point in Pakistan.

The first sentence of this paragraph contains behavioral process. "I" is the behaver of the clause, "thank" shows that the process is behavioral and "the Middle East Institute" is the spatial location. "This morning" is the temporal circumstance. She used the behavioral clause to show her gratitude for being part of them to exchange her views with them. The next sentence, "I visit at critical and uncertain time in Pakistan", has the material process having the event "visit". The actor of the clause is "I", goal is "at critical and uncertain time", "time" indicates the temporality, and "in Pakistan" is the spatial location. She returned to Pakistan when there was ruling an autocratic government and there was a need of democracy. The next sentence starts with the relative conjunction „when". It consists of two clauses i.e. material and behavioral: "When the history of my nation is written, we will look back to the fall of 2007 as a genuine turning point in Pakistan". The first clause has the material process: event "written". "The history of my nation" is the goal of the clause. "We will look back to the fall of 2007 as a genuine turning point in Pakistan" is the behavioral clause as it contains "look". "I" is the behavior of the clause, "2007" is the temporal circumstance and "in Pakistan" is the spatial location. Benazir Bhutto displays her concern for the Pakistani masses. She declares the year 2007 as a turning point in the Pakistani political field. The analysis of the whole speech revealed that Benazir Bhutto was more

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concerned about the emotional and physical responses and activity of the audience. Moreover, she was found more concerned about the material clauses in her political discourse as well. This is an example of the Systemic Functional Grammar based analysis of Pakistani Political speech.

In 2013, Sana Nawaz conducted an analysis of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's famous address delivered on 11th August, 1947. The main focus of the study was to explore the ideological and national facets of his discourse. The speech was explored in light of present scenario of the nation. This speech is of great historic importance and has been analyzed by various analysts. One of the analyses was published in The Express Tribune on 12th August, 2011 and this analysis was conducted by a famous journalist Nusrat Javed. He made an attempt to explore the ideological patterns of the address. He also tried to touch the favour and safeguard for minorities as set by Quaide-Azam.

In 2015, Khan, Malik and Mushtaq conducted a research and studied the discourses made by prominent political and military leadership i.e. Benezair Bhutto and General Pervez Musharraf respectively. The discourses made by these two leaders as mentioned in their autobiographies, "In the Line of Fire (2006)" and "Daughter of the East (2008)" by General Pervez Musharraf and Benazir Bhutto respectively were studied under the eclectic paradigm of Critical Discourse Analysis and its offshoot Political Discourse Analysis. The three dimensional framework developed by Norman Fairclough was applied on this research. In this research, the researchers concluded that both the civilian and military rulers made their utmost effort to persuade the readers and listeners in favor of their stance and position. The main focus of the research was on the pronominal choices which serve the agenda of the author. The extracts taken from the text

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were mainly to rationalize his exploits. "All four wheels of my car left the road and we shot quite some distance up in the air." Here the author has described an incident about an assassination attempt by the terrorists when he was headed towards the army house. Firstly he has used the possessive case of personal pronoun "my" that is singular in nature but later in his statement he turns towards a plural form of personal pronoun "we". Here the shift from singular to plural is striking for creating some extra effect in the narration of the incident. At home, General Musharraf is criticized for cooperating Americans in Afghan war after the incidents of 9/11. He also includes others in the formation of the policies. I wanted to explain the military situation, to demonstrate how successful we had been (p. 95).

The comparative analysis showed that both the leaders were rigid in their arguments and discourses in order to propagate their own agenda. There is aggression in the spirit of General Musharraf's discourse while Benazir Bhutto's discourse is marked by the elements of compliance and submissiveness which greatly depicts her political background as a struggling civilian politician against the military regimes. The study clearly reinforces the idea that arguer's identity, background, standpoint and ideology can be depicted by the informal fallacies of his/her discourse as traced in the autobiographies of Bhutto and Musharraf. Furthermore, it is also stated that the politicians or military dictators give statements and deliver speeches which are ideologically driven by specific agenda and they favor and justify their stance. In addition to this, the critical analysis of their discourses revealed the flaws in their arguments such as General Musharraf, being a militant, seems to threaten physically or psychologically in order to convince the audience with his own perspective. His misdirected arguments were more often based on the use of arms, guns, killings, bombs and military operations etc. His discourses clearly depict him being an aggressive male military General. On the other hand, Benazir Bhutto's discourses

explicitly demonstrate her arguments to arouse the feelings of pity among the audience for herself. Her arguments clearly show the identity of her gender and afflicted civilian leader.

2.6.3. Previous Studies on Personal Pronouns in Political Speeches

In 1960, Brown and Gilman conducted a pioneering study on the use of personal pronouns and the results of the study suggested that the choice of pronouns is dependent upon the relationship between the speaker and the listener. When the speaker and the listener address each other in the same way, it depicts solidarity and equality. However, when a person address the other person with a higher status than that person would address you, this depicts unequal social status. There is a relationship of power and solidarity between at least two people (Brown & Gilman, 1960:1ff).

There are a number of variables which can help in determining the status of a person including age, wealth, sex, physical strength, role in family, state etc. Brown and Gilman asserted that the way in which a person with a higher status addresses a person with lower status is an informal one and is referred to as T-form. On the other hand, the more formal form is the way in which a person with lower status addresses the person with a higher status. This type is referred to as V-form. Brown and Gilman claimed that the relationships of power or solidarity between the speaker and the hearer control the choice of form and it is greatly influenced by the culture of the speakers (Brown & Gilman, 1960:1f).

De Fina (1995) came up with a study which suggested that uncertainty or consistency can have different effects on speaker's self-presentation. The results of this study suggested that the choice of pronouns usage in a speech depicts various other choices including identification, involvement with the audience, as well as various purposes in political speeches. When a speaker uses the pronoun 'we' to refer himself, it shows that he intends to represent a group of people or

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organization instead of speaking as an individual. The use of pronoun 'I' validates that the speaker is trying to express more of a commitment to the audience by focusing on individual authority which shows that the political speeches have an important feature of highlighting the importance of authority. According to De Fina, there is a lack of second person pronoun usage in political speeches and this aspect highlights that there is no clear appeal to specific groups as addressees. She made an analysis which claimed that pronouns in a speech must be considered in the context of the whole speech to find out the pattern of pronoun usage and the meanings they are supposed to convey to the listeners. (De Fina, 1995:24f)

Beard (2000) asserted that pronominal choices in political speeches differ on a number of factors such as whether the speaker wants to share the responsibility with other people or presents himself as an individual authority. Moreover, the pronominal choices are also dependent on the confidence level of the speaker and the way speaker shares his views and opnions (p. 46).

Bramely (2001) states that the pronominal choices made by politicians have an important role in establishing an image of reality which is a primary concern of the political leaders. The use of pronouns reflects the varied identity of the speaker more specifically the individual or collective identity. When the politicians use the personal pronoun 'I', they mainly present themselves as an individual authority speaking out their individual perspective and eventually highlighting their own potentials and achievements. However, the pronominal choice 'you' is quite complicated as it can be used by the speaker to represent a part of or the overall audience. Bramely asserts that the pronoun 'you' is quite a generic pronoun as it can be used to represent anyone. However, Bramely opines that the pronoun 'we' can be used for representing a collective identity creating a clear distinction between 'us' and 'them' (p.260-266).

Proctor & I- Wen Su (2011) highlight the traditional view on pronominal usage in political speeches. According to them, there is a clear distinction between the pronouns us and we which are used to highlight the good qualities of the speaker. However, they and them are usually used in negative context. The political speeches are different from the usual conversation and are delivered in a much formal style (p.2).

According to Karapetjana (2011), the pronominal choices made by the politicians in their speeches reflect their personality and are capable of establishing a positive or negative image of the speaker. The results of the study conducted by Karapetjana suggest that the use of personal pronoun 'I' helps the speaker to show authority, responsibility, involvement and commitment. On the other hand, her study also claims that the use of personal pronoun 'we' can aid the involvement of audience and also creates a sense of collectivity and togetherness. She also claims that 'I' has a capability of creating distance between the speaker and the audience and that's why politicians mostly avoid using this pronoun. (Karapetjana, 2011: 43f)

Hakansson (2012) conducted a comparative study of the pronominal choices of two American presidents that is George W Bush and Barack Obama in their State of the Union speeches. This study mainly focused on determining whom the presidents refer to when they use the pronouns I, you, we and they. Then a comparison has been made between the differences in their usage of pronouns. It was found that the use of pronouns by these two presidents do not differ significantly. When they used the pronoun 'I', it referred to an individual rather than a group. The use of pronoun 'You' suggested it to be a generic pronoun as well as a way for the president to address the Congress. On the other hand, the pronominal usage 'We' referred to a sense of collectivity and responsibility being shared by the president as well as the Congress. The results

of the study also suggested that the pronominal choices depend upon the context of the speech (p. 9-20).

The scope of the present study is to unearth the ideology which has been propagated in the selected discourse by incorporating ideational and interpersonal discourse features. A transitivity and modality analysis of the speeches is conducted in this study using the Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar framework.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter puts forward the methodological framework that was used to conduct the analysis, aiming to comply with the research objectives of this thesis. Moreover, theoretical framework, research strategy, the corpora, research method; research instruments used in the study are also discussed in this chapter. It also includes the reliability and validity procedures.

3.1. Theoretical Framework

Theoretical framework is considered to be the backbone for the study. The Critical Discourse Analysis of the selected speeches of Jinnah has been conducted in the light of the theory presented by the prominent discourse analyst Halliday.

Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar approach and its theoretical reflections are quite helpful in understanding and exploring the core implications in discourse. Thus, the researcher has based her claim, in this particular study, on the Systemic Functional Grammar of M.A.K. Halliday- a critical discourse approach. Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar approach to language is considered as a resource through which people communicate and express meaning in context. The language exists in various contexts and must be studied in different contexts. Each context defines the meanings which are intended to be conveyed through language use (Halliday, 1985, p.7-11).

For this study, Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar has been selected as the theoretical framework. Halliday based his theory mainly by putting together the two vital components such as systemic grammar and functional grammar. Hence, these are the important as well as inseparable parts of an integral framework of the linguistic theory. Likewise, Halliday thinks of

the meta-functions which are inherent in any languages and that include the ideational function (transitivity), the interpersonal function (modality) and textual function.

More specifically, the speeches will be analyzed theoretically using Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar framework of transitivity and modality. In other words, the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions will be employed for analysis of the selected speeches of Jinnah.

Halliday affirms his argument that grammar of a language is a resource with the help of which not only inner and outer experiences are communicated but also it is a medium of communication and interaction with the world. On the basis of these functions of language as a resource, there are three metafunctions referred as ideational, interpersonal and experiential metafunction. The main focus of this study is ideational and interpersonal metafunction for exploring the ideology which is being transferred through the selected speeches of Jinnah. However, this study mainly focuses on the transitivity, mood choices, modality and personal pronouns. Halliday pointed out that interpersonal meaning can be expressed through mood, modality and key. Later on, he added pronoun system, attitudinal modifier and rhythmic features of words as well (Halliday, 2000, p.72).

The ideational and interpersonal metafunctions is used as a tool in order to analyze the interpersonal meanings depicted in the selected speeches of Jinnah. The aspects of mood, modality and personal pronoun system are used for the exploration of interpersonal meaning in the selected speeches. Moreover, it further analyzes the ideology and qualities of Jinnah revealed through his speeches by examining the use of various pronouns and the way they generate certain discourse and construe the ideology behind it. There is some underlying agenda behind every discourse. Speeches are considered as a distinctive genre of spoken discourse and are a subject for examining the grammatical aspects of language. The writers and speakers should

instill awareness on the usage of linguistic features as well as development of ideas. As Beard (2000) contends the importance of studying the language of politics as it enables an individual to understand how language is used and exercised by those who want to gain power and keep this power. Hence, politically structured discourses are perceived as instruments of mind control by dominant ideology (p.2).

Therefore, the researcher opted to study the discourse patterns of the selected speeches of Jinnah. The main purpose of the study was to lay an emphasis on the importance of research on critical discourse analysis of spoken discourse in political context as it is deemed crucial to reveal the persuasive strategies by studying the speech structure and discourse features in Jinnah's speeches.

3.2. Research Strategy

This study is basically a descriptive-qualitative study which has utilized the Critical Discourse Analysis methodology combined with that of a case study conducted on the selected speeches of Jinnah. It is qualitative as well as quantitative in nature. As it is designed to cater the complexities of meaning in social context which are naturalistic and observational so it shows the qualitative nature while the quantitative aspect of the study is due to the tabular representation of the corpus.

A top-down approach has been used to determine the structure i.e. modal verbs, tenses of verbs, pronominal choices and discourse features of the speeches depending on the frequency of the transitivity processes i.e. material, mental relational, behavioral, verbal and existential and modality.

3.3. Corpora of the Study

In this research, five speeches of Jinnah are selected for analysis. The speeches are taken from the book "Jinnah: Speeches and Statements 1947-1948" by S.M. Burke.

3.4. Research Method

The selected speeches are analyzed according to the Hallidayan framework of Systemic functional Grammar mostly paying attention to the ideational and interpersonal meaning and focusing on transitivity, modality and pronoun system, which operates as indicator enabling its interpretation. The speeches were thoroughly read before analyzing the transitivity, modality and pronoun usage in them.

The analysis of the speeches is both qualitative as well as quantitative since it incorporates the textual analysis along with the occurrences of pronouns in the speeches, mood choices and modality presented in tabular form. The element of transitivity, mood choices, modality and pronominal choices in a discourse help in unfolding the ideological underpinnings of the discourse. The entire corpus of the speeches resulted in N words.

3.4.1. Research Instrument

The research instruments which are used in the analysis of the corpora are based on Gouling (2006); Pingping (2007) in Wang (2010) for the analysis of modal verbs and modality and analysis of pronouns respectively while Halliday (1994) is utilized for the analysis of verb tenses.

Table 1 Analysis of Modal Verbs and Levels of Politeness (Guoling, 2006 in Wang, 2010)

Modal Verbs (Levels of Politeness)		
Positive	**Level**	**Examples**
This is the use of a linguistic unit (modal verb) to seek common ground and/or cooperation as well as sense of belongingness within the group. The speaker use modal verbs to intensify interest to hearer, use in-group identity markers, seek agreement, avoid disagreement, presuppose/assert common ground, offer/promise, be optimistic, give/ask reasons, assume/assert reciprocity, and offer sympathy/understanding towards the hearer/s.	Low	can, may, could, might, dare
	Median	will, would, should, shall
	High	must, ought to, need, has/had to
Negative		
This includes indirectness and apologies. These modal verbs tend to express respect and consideration to the hearer. Modal verbs that show conventional indirectness, hedging, pessimism, minimal imposition, deference, apology, impersonal relationship between the speaker and the hearer, nominalization, and incurring a debt/not indebting the hearer.	Low	needn't, doesn't, didn't, need to, have to
	Median	won't, wouldn't, shouldn't, isn't, wasn't
	High	mustn't, oughtn't, can't, couldn't, mayn't, mightn't, hasn't, hadn't

The above given table helps in the analysis of modal verbs and levels of politeness in the selected corpora. Modal verbs is a linguistic unit which are used by the speaker to intensify the emphasis in conversation. Thus, the modal verb is helpful in seeking a common ground as well as sense of belonging within the group. The modal verbs are used to promise, seek agreement, identity markers, assertion and are categorised as positive modal verbs. On the other hand, the modal verbs which are used to indicate conventional indirectness, apology, impersonal relationship with the hearer are categorised as negative modals and are shown in a separate column. The table 1, shows the representation of positive and negative modals separately while

the level of politeness is given with them. There are three levels of politeness including high, median and low.

Table 2 Analysis of Verb Tenses (Halliday, 1994)

Verb Tenses			
	Past	**Present**	**Future**
Simple	**Danced**	**dance/dances**	**will/shall dance**
The principal function of these verbs is to refer to a situation, an occurrence, or event in the past, present, and future time.			
Perfect	had eaten	has/have eaten	will/shall have eaten
These involve verb constructions that express finished actions that are relevant to the time referred to or ones that continue up to the time referred to.			
Progressive .	was/were walking	am/is/are walking	will be walking
These pertain to verb constructions that indicate actions or conditions continuing in the present, past, or future. These verbs also describe something that takes place during a limited time period.			

Table 2 serves as a guideline to find out the verb tenses mentioned in the selected speeches by

categorizing simple, perfect and progressive tenses in three separate rows and the columns in

front of each rows consists of the examples taken from the speeches.

Table 3 Analysis of Pronouns (Wang, 2010)

	Pronouns
Personal	Pronouns that are associated with a particular grammatical person, which may come as first person, second, or third; or depend on number – Singular or plural; gender, case, or formality are considered personal pronouns.
First	I (Me)
	We (Us)
Second	You (You)
Third	He (Him)
	She (Her)
	It (It)
	They (Them)
Possessive	Linguistic constructions that indicate a relationship of possession are known as possessive pronouns.
	My (Mine)
	Our (Ours)
	Your (Yours)
	His (His)
	Her (Hers)
	Its (Its)
	Their (Theirs)

The analysis of pronouns in the speeches is done on the basis of the above mentioned table. It serves the guideline for the analysis of pronouns in the speeches and how they are represented in tabular form. Singular and plural forms of pronouns are mentioned along with the examples from the analysis of the speeches.

Table 4 Transitivity Analysis (Pingping, 2007 in Wang 2010)

Ideational Function (Transitivity)		
Processes	**Participants**	**Core Meaning**
Material	Actor, Goal	This process expresses something that is done, hence, these processes are expressed by action verbs. Actor is represented with a logical subject; and the Goal of the action is represented with a logical direct object.
Mental	Senser, Phenomenon	This process denotes mental phenomena as 'perception', 'reaction', and 'cognition'. This involves two participants: the Senser and the Phenomenon.
Relational		This process can come in two modes: Attributive or Identifying. It is Attributive if it gives attributes or mentions the type it belongs to; and Identifying when it expresses the identical properties of two entities.
Verbal	Sayer, Receiver, Verbiage	This process refers to those of exchanging information. The main participant (Sayer) provides information (Verbiage – direct or implied) to the addressee/s (Receiver).
Behavioral	Behaver	This process pertains to physiological and psychological behavior (i.e. breathing, smiling, crying, staring, etc.) There is only 1 participant (Behaver) who 'experiences' the action denoted by the verb.
Existential	Existent	This process represents that something exists or happens. In this process, the existent (a noun, pronoun) is usually introduced by expletives.

Table 4 describes the transitivity features which are analysed in the speeches. The frequency of each aspect of the selected components of the theory is represented in the tabular form along with the percentage of frequency which makes it easier for the reader to understand the findings in a glance.

Although the identification of the ideational metafunction and the interpersonal metafunction could be criticized for its subjectivity, this issue is dealt through the validation suggestion of Lincoln and Guba (1985).

3.5. Validity and Reliability of the Research

Sarantakos (2013) has greatly emphasized that validity is a methodological element of the quantitative as well as qualitative research. This is a useful approach and yields highly in-depth information concerning people's motivations, concerns and behaviors. The validity of the research is a vital process and misinterpreted data could undermine the research. Yvonna S. Lincoln and Egon G. Guba were the minds behind various forms of information validation methods, including peer debriefing.

3.5.1. Peer Debriefing for the Review of the Analysis of Corpora

Lincoln and Guba defined peer debriefing: "It is a process of exposing oneself to a disinterested peer in a manner paralleling an analytical sessions and for the purpose of exploring aspects of the inquiry that might otherwise remain only implicit within the inquirer's mind" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 308).

They asserted that the worth of a research study is based on its trustworthiness which is primarily established by the four factors which are helpful in checking the soundness of qualitative research. These include:

1. **Credibility** which means confidence in the truth of the findings that could be demonstrated through persistent observation. In this regard, the researcher has spent considerable amount of time in analyzing the corpora of the study.

2. **Transferability**, this refers to the extent to which the results of the qualitative research could be generalized, transferred or adapted to other context.

3. **Dependability**, this shows that the findings are consistent and could be repeated. This could be enhanced by time triangulation. This aspect is fulfilled by the selection of the instruments for analysis from three years to distinguish whether a pattern could be determined in the corpora per year.

4. **Confirmability**, this refers to the degree to which the results were confirmed or corroborated by others. This was done by submitting the analysis of corpora of this study in a careful evaluation of the validator, namely:

   - Ms. Afshan Farooq
   - Ms. Shazia Shakeel

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS OF SELECTED SPEECHES

4.1. Introduction of Jinnah

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, one of the greatest politicians in the entire history of the world, was born on 25 December, 1876. He was a luminary in three walks of life; he was one of India's leading legal practitioners, one of the India's leading legislators, and also one of the most successful politicians. He entered politics in 1905 and by 1917 he emerged as a national leader and most visible supporter of Hindu-Muslim unity. In 1940, he demanded a separate nation for Muslims and managed to achieve an independent land for Muslims in 1947.

However, he attained a universal stature as a politician. He fought the impossible odds and make utmost efforts to win independence from the colonial rule. Undaunted by the odd conditions created by his political adversaries, he thrived to achieve remarkable success that few politicians can achieve. His political career was marked by the liberal as well as enlightened concepts of service above self.

Being a politician of great vision, integrity and strong character, it was much clear to him that he had to perform monumental task of good governance and needs to handle the grave issues and complex political problems, of the newly founded land right, from the day one. Jinnah's speeches and statements as the first Governor-General of Pakistan encompassed all the concerned areas which were of utmost importance to the newly founded state. He set out the preconditions to serve Pakistan i.e. 'honestly, earnestly and selflessly' and were meant to be fulfilled in letter and spirit. He greatly appeared to have retained the proverbial cool even in the extremely stressful conditions and this indeed is a hallmark of all the great men in the history of the world who have achieved success in spite of all the odds.

4.1.1. Introduction of Sample Speeches

The speeches of Jinnah include every pertinent issue that a state has to encounter. Nowhere in his speeches has the founder of Pakistan seemed to lost sight of the goals and ideals shaped in his mind since the beginning of his career. The researcher has selected five speeches for analysis and these speeches have been delivered on various occasions and time span.

Sample Speech 1: This speech is a Presidential address which was delivered on 11 August 1947 to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. This speech was delivered by Jinnah on his election as first president of the newly founded land Pakistan.

Sample Speech 2: This speech was delivered by Jinnah at the convocation ceremony of Dacca University held on 24 March 1948. In this address, the main focus of Jinnah was the role of students in the welfare and building of nation.

Sample Speech 3: This speech was delivered on 12 April 1948. It was a response to the address given by the students of Islamia College Peshawar. The main purpose of this address was to make the students realize their responsibilities in the prosperity of the nation. The address mainly focused on the responsibilities of youth.

Sample Speech 4: This speech was delivered to address the civil servants at Government house on 14 April 1948. The subject of the speech was mainly advice to the government officers on staying impartial.

Sample Speech 5: This speech was delivered as a response to the welcome address given by the Parsi community in honour of Jinnah and his sister Fatima Jinnah. It was delivered on 3 February 1948 at the Katrak Parsi colony. The subject of this speech was mainly to provide reassurance to

the Parsi community which was considered to be in minority. It was to assure the minorities that there will be equal treatment with them in this newly founded state.

4.2. In-Depth Analysis of Selected Speeches

The In-depth analysis of selected speeches of Jinnah is presented in this chapter of thesis. The analysis is divided in two parts i.e. the modality analysis and the transitivity analysis. The ideational metafunction analysis based on transitivity analysis of the speeches while the interpersonal metafunction analysis is based on the modality analysis including the modal verbs, tense of the sentences and personal pronouns usage in the entire corpora. The analysis entails the tabular presentation of the data along with the interpretation of the analyzed data.

Table 5 Statistics of Sample Speeches

Statistical Items	Statistics				
	Sample 1	Sample 2	Sample 3	Sample 4	Sample 5
Words	1,715	2,433	1,616	1,220	421
Lines	116	158	117	82	32
Sentences	66	89	77	45	14
Paragraphs	12	8	14	8	3
Characters	7,959	11,505	7,479	5,515	2,077

Table 1 describes the statistics of the selected sample speeches. The number of words in sample speech 1 is 1,715, the total number of lines are 117 based on 64 sentences in total. The sample 1 contains 12 paragraphs and 7,959 characters are included in the speech. The sample 2 includes 2,433 words, 157 lines, 83 sentences based on 8 paragraphs and 11.505 characters. On the other hand, the total number of words in sample speech 3 is 1,616. This sample consists 116 lines based on 77 sentences in total consisting of 8 paragraphs and 7,479 characters. The sample 4,

being the smallest of all the samples, consists of 1,220 words, 81 lines, 45 sentences, 8 paragraphs and 5,515 characters while sample 5 consists of 421 words, 32 lines, 14 sentences, 3 paragraphs and 2,077 characters.

4.2.1. Ideational Metafunction Analysis Based on Transitivity Analysis

The primary function of language as described by Halliday (1985) is ideational metafunction. This function helps the speaker to convey his experience of the real world as well as the internal world. Furthermore, this function also helps to express the reactions, cognition, perception as well as the linguistic acts of speaking and understanding (p. 332).

Table 6 Discourse Features of the Speeches in Terms of Transitivity

No.	Type of Processes	Speech 1		Speech 2		Speech 3		Speech 4		Speech 5		Total	
		Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
1.	Material	120	49	135	51	65	37	64	49	12	31	396	217
2.	Mental	28	11	30	11	35	20	19	14	7	18	119	74
3.	Relational	65	27	61	23	48	27	33	25	14	36	221	138
4.	Behavioral	7	3	5	2	0	0	6	4	3	8	21	17
5.	Verbal	9	4	10	4	18	10	6	4	2	5	45	29
6.	Existential	15	6	22	8	10	6	3	2	1	2	51	24
	Total Transitivity	244	100	263	99	176	100	131	98	39	100	853	499

In table 6, the consolidated results of the transitivity analysis from the selected five speeches of the study are presented. These speeches include The Presidential Address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Speech at the Dacca University Convocation, Speech in reply to the

address presented by the Students of Islamia College, Information Talk to Civil Officers at Government House, and Speech in Reply to Address of Welcome Presented to Quaid-i-Azam and Miss Fatima Jinnah by the Parsi Community of Sindh at the Katrak Parsi Colony. The instrument used in the analysis of this discourse feature is the guideline provided by Pingping (2007) in Wang (2010).

After consolidating all the processes used in the selected speeches of Jinnah, as shown in the above given Table 6, it has been found that the sample constituted the largest distribution of Material Process. The total frequency of Material Process is 396 with a total percentage of 499. The Material Process mainly shows that something has been done or happening and thus are represented by the action verbs (Pingping, 2007 in Wang, 2010). The second process which is present in high number after the material process is Relational Process. It is 221 in number with a total percentage frequency of 138 followed by the Mental Process standing third highest in number 119 or 74 percent. There is a clear presentation of each analyzed corpus along with the excerpts in order to give a clear picture of the discourse features according to the transitivity metafunction.

4.2.1.1. Sample Speech 1:

Presidential Address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, 11 August 1947

Among all the process used in the Presidential Address, the material processes are found to show the highest frequency of 120 or 49 percent. The excerpts from the first sample speech are presented in the figure given below in which the material process constituted the highest frequency. The examples from the speeches are mentioned in the tables with exact paragraph and sentence number from which it is taken. The paragraphs are shown in superscript with letter 'P' while sentence number is shown with letter 'S'.

Actor	Process	Goal
P1 S2 I ...	... cordially thank you	... for the honour you have conferred upon me
P1S10 This mighty sub-continent	... has been brought	...under a plan which is titanic
...	...will no doubt agree	... to maintain law and order
P2 S15 You ...	... must put that down	... That really is a poison
P3 S18 We ...		

This process refers to 'doing' and is usually indicated by a verb showing an action which can be concrete or abstract. Usually two participants are included in the process i.e. actor and goal. Actor is comparable with the subject of the clause while goal is comparable with the object. Noun phrases help in the determination of actor and goal. In the presence of both the actor and goal, the clause is either in active voice or passive voice. The result of the figure depicts that the use of material process in such an address demonstrates the intentions of the leader as well as government and also helps in depicting the further plans to be followed or required for the prosperity and growth of the nation.

The second highest process which is used in this sample speech is the Relational process with a frequency of 65 or 27 percent. It is the process of being. It consists of two modes known as attributive relation and identifying relation. The attributive relation refers to properties possessed by an object or the category in which it can be placed. Mostly it is used to describe people and objects.

Attributive	Identifying
P4 S24 ... are really knowing, intelligent, and ordinarily responsible	*P7S51* You are free; you are free to go to your temples
... *to* be very severely punished	*P7S52* You may belong to any religion or caste or creed...
P6S37 judgment it would have led us to terrific disaster.	*P10 S66...* in Your Excellency's capacity as President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan

The third highest used process in this speech is the Mental Process. It constitutes a frequency of 28 or 11 percent. This process mainly deals with feeling, thinking and seeing. This process represents the inner experience such as the perception, reaction and cognition. There are two participants in this process which are referred to as senser, the one who feels and perceives and phenomenon which is felt, thought and perceived (Halliday, 1985, p, 112). The excerpts for this process are given in the following figure.

Senser	Phenomenon
P4 S24 I...	Think ...
P4S20 I...	Know ...
P3S18 I...	Hope...
P6S36 We...	Believe...

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Then the Existential process is found to show the frequency of 15 or 6 percent. Following figure shows the excerpts from the sample speech 1 in which the existential process is found.

Existent	Existing
[P6S43] Now, if we want ... [P5 S25] Here again it is ... [P4 S22] which today is a colossal crime against society ...	[P5 S28] a practice is in vogue or is continuing anywhere... [P6S44] you are bound to succeed [P6 S32] the feeling that exists

The verbal process in this sample speech is found out in frequency of 7 or 3 percent. The following figure shows the excerpts of this process presented in the speech. The verbal process includes three participants known as sayer, receiver and verbiage.

Sayer	Receiver	Verbiage
[P1S4] I... [P2 S12] I... [P6S43] we...	[P1S3] those leaders who have spoken in appreciation... [P4S23] A citizen who does... [P6 S29] there are people...	[P2 S13] remember that you are now a Sovereign Legislative body... [P2S14] ...places on you the gravest responsibility

The Behavioral process presented in the figure shows the frequency of 7 or 3 percent.

Behaver	Behavior
P6S45 He...	*P9S64* look forward to Pakistan
P7S47 We...	*P6S43* concentrate on the well-being
P7S51 You...	*P2S15* The first observation

There are all the six processes present in the sample speech 1. There is greater utilization of material process in this sample speech and it is used in mentioning the past incidents, present intentions and undertakings along with future plans in order to persuade and motivate the youth and audience of the speech. The various reasons have been mentioned in this speech to make it clear to the audience that, with the formation of a separate State, a lesson must be learnt from the past mistakes in order to succeed in future. Thus, plans for future success and prosperity are strategically conveyed to the audience. The new code of conduct has been conveyed to improve the present condition of the country with reference to the previous actions of the citizens and administration of the country. Furthermore, the speaker has greatly conveyed his concerns regarding the present happenings as well as the previous incidents and reasons of downfall. In this way, the expression of being hopeful is conveyed in reference to the betterment of the country.

4.2.1.2. Sample Speech 2

The Role of Students in Nation Building, 24 March 1948

This speech was delivered by Jinnah at the convocation ceremony held at Dacca University. In the analysis of second corpus, there is a large number of material processes being used and the total analyzed frequency is 135 or 51 percent. The material process shows the speaker's

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accomplishments and his prospective plans for the audience. This is still strategic since the speaker aims to persuade and motivate the audience specifically focusing on the youth of the newly founded nation.

Actor	Process	Goal
[P11 S69] I ...	... did promise	to say a few words to the students on this occasion...
[P12 S71] I...	...done it	as a measure of duty which is incumbent upon every Musalman...
[P13 S78] We...	...have broken	...the shackles of slavery;

The second highest process found out in the analysis of the second speech is the relational process. Its frequency is 61 or 23 percent. The attributive processes relate to the attributes a certain object has, or talking about the type it belongs to; while the identifying processes express the identical properties of two entities. It may also be noted from the samples that non-literal language may be present, being directly or indirectly compared or associated, Pingping (2007) in Wang, (2010).

Attributive	Identifying
P12 S70 ...let me thank the Vice-Chancellor for the flattering terms	*P13 S72* ... success in the wider and larger world...
P13 S83 ...it is necessary for us to work as a united and disciplined nation.	*P14 S95* Those who are playing this game are living in a Fool's Paradise ...
P14 S103 ...set themselves up as the champion	

The third highest occurring process in the second corpora is mental process having frequency of 30 or 11 percent. These processes have to do with affection, cognition, or perception (Halliday, 1985). Likewise, this process is realized by two participants i.e. the senser, the one who felt and perceived; and the phenomenon, that which is felt, thought, and perceived.

Senser	Phenomenon
P16 S100 I...	know a young man...
P16 S143 He ...	...thought he had reached his height.
P17 S164 I...	...hope, nay I am confident that the East Bengal youth will not fail us.

Then the Existential process occurs having frequency of 22 or 8 percent while the verbal process is seemed to occur in frequency of 10 or 4 percent.

Existent	Existing
P16 S145 Government servants...	are living in a more miserable manner...
P13 S78 we are ...	...now free people
P13S83 A great responsibility rests on you and, on the contrary...	...now more than ever,
	P16 S156 Now these are avenues and fields open to you.

The verbal processes, which represent human experience "in the form of language" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004), were used in delivering the speaker's direct warnings to those who may have been the reasons of the present dilemmas, corruption related to past etc.

Sayer	Receiver	Verbiage
P11 S68 I made it clear...	to him...	that there were so many calls on me that I could not possible prepare ...
S105 I must warn ...	you ...	to beware of these fifth-columnists.
P15 S126 I would, therefore, ...	tell you...	...to a few points about which you should be vigilant and beware.

On the other hand, the minimal frequency of Behavioral process is found out in the speech having frequency of 5 or 2 percent.

Behaver	Behavior
[P13S77] you and your other fellow students ... [P14S105] I...	... behave just as you and do what you like [P13S90] ...were mercilessly butchered

These processes refer to physiological and psychological behavior, pointing towards activities in which both the physical and mental aspects are inseparable and indispensable. For political speeches to be effective and realistic it is not necessary to have large proportions of behavioral processes; rather, the audience expects real achievements and practical plans and solutions to problems and not the unachievable goals and dreams.

4.2.1.3. Sample Speech 3

Responsibilities of the Youth, 12 April 1948

This speech was delivered as a reply to the address presented by the Students of Islamia College, Peshawar. The analysis of this speech shows that the material process is present in highest frequency that is 65 and having percentage of 37.

Actor	Process	Goal
[P19 S169] I...	... take particular pride	... in the fact that the people of this Province have never and in
[P18 S166] I...	am indeed very happy ...	no way lagged behind ...
[P20 S170] you...	will expect me	to have the privilege of meeting and addressing the students.
		...to give you a bit of advice

The second highest frequency is that of the Relational process occurring in 48 or 27 percent.

Attributive	Identifying
[P20S182] ...your Government is like your own garden.	[P20S172] we were critical of the Government which was a foreign Government
[P21 S186] Do not take them to heart or repeat them parrot-like.	[P23S195] It demands a broader sense of vision, and greater sense of patriotism.
[P24 S205] think and act with sobriety and in all humility as selfless and true soldiers	

However, the mental process is found to exist in frequency of 35 or 20 percent.

Senser	Phenomenon
[P24 S205] I...	would earnestly advise...
[P25 S209] You...	must trust ...
[P27S216] My young friends ...	...fully realize the vital change.

The verbal process shows 18 or 10 percent while existential process shows the minimal frequency 10 or 6 percent. There is no behavioral process seen in the speech.

Sayer	Receiver	Verbiage
[P28 S225] I ...	...those who are responsible for the education of you young boys	...that they must concentrate and direct all energies in this direction.
[P27 S215] I ...	[P27S218] You are not to confine yourselves to becoming Government servants ...	...which was the avenue to which most of you aspired

Existent	Existing
[P20 S171] the problems...	...with which we are faced now
[S175] your goal ...	[P20 S170] Now that we have achieved...
[S176] The duties	... required of you now

On the transitivity analysis of third corpus of the study, it becomes clear that the speech contained high distribution of material processes, followed by the relational processes (both the Attributive and Identifying) and mental processes. However, the speech consists of very minimal

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number of verbal and existential processes while behavioral processes were totally absent. Thus, more pragmatic approach is projected on the part of the speaker which the audience always appreciates.

4.2.1.4. Sample Speech 4

Administration Must Be Impartial: Advice to Government Servants, 14th Apr 1948

This speech is based on information talk to civil officers at Government House. The analysis of this speech demonstrates the presence of material process in highest frequency of 64 or 49 percent. The material process, a process of doing which is a good choice in the address to demonstrate what the government has achieved, what the government is already doing and what the government plans to do in future regarding different aspects of affairs, home or abroad. The samples of this process is shown in the figure below.

Actor	Process	Goal
[P32 S243] The reason why I … [P33 S245] If you … [P34 S250] I wish …	… wanted to meet you …want to raise the prestige and greatness of Pakistan, to take the opportunity of impressing upon our leaders and politicians in the same way …	…is that I wanted to say a few words to you. you must not fall a victim to any pressure that if they ever try to interfere …

The frequency of relational process is 33 or 25 percent which happens to be the second highest while the third highest is mental process that is the frequency of 19 or 14 percent.

Attributive	Identifying
P36 S254 you will not remain on the blacklist if you discharge your duties and responsibilities honestly, sincerely and loyally...	*P38S278* It was a big task ...
P37 S263 There may be some selfish people...	*P38 S276* ...an organized plan to crush Pakistan and to break us.

Senser	Phenomenon
P38 S283 I ...	hope that you will continue in the same spirit ...
P38S285 We...	have to learn a lot ... adjust ourselves to new developments
P37S262 people ...	... should feel that justice has been done to them

Moreover, behavioral process and verbal process occur in similar frequency of 6 or 4 percent.

Behaver	Behavior
P37S260 they ...	...describe themselves lovers of their province.
P37S267 men who are fit for high jobs	...they will not escape our notice.
P37S263 your class is no exception	...who think of immediate advantages.

The verbal processes include all the modes of 'expressing' and 'indicating'. The content of what is said or indicated could be realized as a full projected clause, or even made up of a string of

sentences (Halliday, 1985). This process includes the sayer, which is indicated by the noun phrase (which are either humans or a collective entity); the receiver/addressee, may be explicitly stated or named, or may be implied (by the pronoun 'you'); and the verbiage, or the message propounded by the speaker.

The samples for this process are given below:

Sayer	Receiver	Verbiage
P39 S287 I…	thank you…	…for giving me this opportunity of saying these few words.
P39S288 I…	wish you…	all success in your efforts…
P36 S258 I…	… tell you	that you will not remain on the blacklist if …

The frequency of the existential process is found to be the lowest that is 3 or 2 percent. It is evident from the name of the process that this process emphasizes on the existence of someone or something.

Existent	Existing
P35 S251 you …	…now from today, resolve and determine to act according to my humble advice

The transitivity analysis of this speech revealed high frequency of material processes; this was followed by the relational and the mental processes respectively. The behavioral and the verbal processes revealed equal frequency. The existential processes which depict the existence of personalities, trends, or concepts were found to be minimal in frequency.

4.2.1.5. Sample Speech 5

Equal Treatment to All - Assurance to Minorities, 3 February 1948

Jinnah delivered this speech in reply to the welcome address given in honour of Jinnah and Miss Fatima Jinnah by the Parsi Community of Sindh at the Katrak Parsi Colony, Karachi. In the analysis of this sample speech, the highest frequency recorded is that of the relational process that is 14 or 36 percent.

Attributive	Identifying
[P40 S289] the kind words you have spoken [P40S293] Government is determined in its resolve … [P42S299] These unfortunate people require sympathetic handling …	[P40S297] Pakistan, which symbolizes the aspirations of a nation [P43S300] I see no reason why the future should hold any terror for them. [P43S302]Pakistan one of the greatest nations and a land of prosperity and plenty.

The second highest is the material process existing in frequency of 12 or 31 percent while on third is mental process having 7 or 18 percent.

Actor	Process	Goal
[P40 S289] I … [P40S293] Government [P41 S294] the Government	am thankful to you… …is determined in its resolve has been making genuine efforts	…for your Address of Welcome. …to root out lawlessness and to see that there is no recurrence of such incidents. …to allay the fears and suspicions of the minorities

The mental processes which deal with thinking, feeling and perceiving, were, on the other hand, strategically used to strike to the emotional side of the masses, leading to persuasion.

Senser	Phenomenon
P42 S296 I … *P42 S296* You…	realized that during the last few months there have been encroachments on private right of property.
P43 S300 Parsis as a community…	…should not judge Government's action too harshly …have fortunately escaped the ravage of the recent internecine conflict

The behavioral process has frequency of 3 or 8 percent, verbal process having 2 or 5 percent while existential process having 5 or 3 percent.

Behaver	Behavior
P43S301 They …	have already established a place for themselves in this country by their organizing ability, spirit of enterprise and hard work.

The verbal process includes all modes of 'expressing' and 'indicating'. The content of what is said or indicated could be realized as a full projected clause, or even made up of a string of sentences (Halliday, 1985). The components for this process includes the sayer, which is indicated by the noun phrase (which are either humans or a collective entity); the

receiver/addressee, may be explicitly stated or named, or may be implied (by the pronoun 'you') and the verbiage, or the message propounded by the speaker.

Sayer	Receiver	Verbiage
[P40 S289] I deeply appreciate ...	...your	offer of loyal co-operation
[P41 S294] the Government	...As you may be aware	has been making genuine efforts to allay the fears ...

Overall, on the basis of the transitivity analysis of the corpora analyzed, it can be deduced that there are linguistic devices that can illustrate the experiential metafunction of the clause which portrays the picture of reality as complex of processes associated with some participants and circumstances. The concept and framework of Halliday (1985) on transitivity constructions exemplify the behavior and social function of members in discourse. Moreover, it also influences the relationships which are enacted between them. Thus, the linguistic devices have the potential to contribute and define the role of the speaker and standing as a country's leader. Furthermore, the systematic and strategic use of these processes, the speaker can not only persuade, and motivate the audience but also he can achieve the acceptance and trust of the audience. Also, wise use of these processes can help the speaker in promoting his ideology and propagate the agenda for the benefit and welfare of the nation.

4.2.2. Interpersonal Metafunction Analysis Based on Modality Analysis

As described by Zhuanglin (1988) "The interpersonal function embodies all uses of language to express social and personal relations including the various ways the speaker enters a speech

situation and performs a speech act" (p.313). The main discourse features of interpersonal metafunction to be analyzed on the base of modality analysis are modal verbs, tense of the sentences and the personal pronouns. Modality mainly refers to the attitude of the speaker or speaker's opinion regarding the truth of the proposition expressed through a sentence. Moreover, it also points towards the attitude of the speaker towards a particular event or situation described by means of a sentence (Halliday, 1994, p.333).

Modality and mood mostly function to express the interpersonal meanings of language as conveyed by the speaker. Modality refers to the intermediate ranges lying between extreme positive and negative. It is one of the most important systems in social communication which not only expresses the judgment of the speaker towards the topic but also it depicts the social role relationship. In English, other than modal verbs, adverbs and adjectives, there are personal pronouns, tenses and modal verbs express the modalization. On the other hand, mood depicts the role of the speaker performed in the specific situation and also shows the role assigned by the speaker to the addressee. The imperative mood of the speaker indicates the role of command giving and the addressee is meant to obey or fulfill that command.

Table 7 Discourse Features of the Speeches in Terms of Modality Analysis

Modal Verbs	Sample Speech 1		Sample Speech 2		Sample Speech 3		Sample Speech 4		Sample Speech 5		Total	
	Freq. (F)	% of F	Freq .(F)	% of F	Freq. (F)	% of F	Freq. (F)	% of F	Freq .(F)	% of F	Freq .(F)	% of F
can, may, could, might, dare	10	8	14	28	15	30	5	12	1	11	45	17
needn't, doesn't, didn't, need to, have to	2	2	5	10	1	2	2	5	0	0	10	4
will, would, should, shall	27	23	22	45	14	28	24	58	3	33	90	33
won't, wouldn't, shouldn't, isn't, wasn't	0	0	0	0	2	4	6	15	2	22	10	4
must, ought to, need, has/had to	7	6	3	6	17	34	1	2	0	0	28	10
mustn't, oughtn't, can't, couldn't, mayn't, mightn't, hasn't, hadn't	4	3	5	10	1	2	3	7	3	33	16	6
Total of Modal Verbs	119	42	49	99	50	100	41	99	9	99	268	74

Table 8 Tenses

Tenses		Sample Speech 1		Sample Speech 2		Sample Speech 3		Sample Speech 4		Sample Speech 5		Total	
		Freq.(F)	% of F	Freq. (F)	% of F	Freq. (F)	% of F	Freq.(F)	% of F	Freq. (F)	% of F	Freq.(F)	% of F
Present	Simple	58	54	59	46	51	15	50	54	10	45	396	64
	Perf.	21	20	21	16	10	10	7	7	6	27	65	10
	Prog.	8	7	8	6	8	8	11	12	0	0	35	6
Past	Simple	9	8	24	19	19	19	5	5	4	18	61	10
	Perf.	1	1	3	2	2	2	0	0	1	4	7	1
	Prog.	0	0	2	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	4	1
Future	Simple	10	9	10	8	6	6	18	19	1	4	46	7
	Perf.	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	0
	Prog.	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	0
Total of Tenses		107	99	128	100	99	63	93	99	22	98	618	99

Table 9 Pronouns

Personal Pronouns		Sample Speech 1		Sample Speech 2		Sample Speech 3		Sample Speech 4		Sample Speech 5		Total	
		Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
First Person	I (me)	40	26	40	18	36	18	30	20	8	23	154	20
	We (us)	22	14	17	26	18	9	18	12	0	0	75	10
Second Person	You (you)	34	22	60	26	62	30	48	31	5	14	209	26
Third Person	He (him)	2	1	9	4	12	6	4	3	0	0	27	3
	She (her)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	It (it)	25	16	20	9	8	4	10	6	3	8	66	8
	They (them)	7	4	16	7	8	4	10	6	9	26	50	6
Possessive Pronoun													
My (mine)		4	3	4	2	5	2	3	2	0	0	16	2
Our (ours)		4	3	17	7	19	9	2	1	0	0	42	5
Your (yours)		10	6	28	12	29	14	23	15	3	8	93	12
His (his)		1	1	3	1	1	0	3	2	0	0	8	1
Her (hers)		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Its (its)		2	1	2	1	2	1	0	0	4	11	10	1
Their (theirs)		2	1	11	5	3	1	1	1	6	17	23	3
Total No. of Pronouns		153	98	227	118	203	98	152	96	35	107	773	97

4.2.2.1. Sample Speech 1:

Presidential Address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, 11 August 1947

This address was delivered by Jinnah on his election as first President on 11 August 1947. The address was delivered to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. In table 7, the results of the analysis of the first corpus that is the Presidential Address are given. The address is composed of 66 sentences based on 1,715 words. In the first of the corpus of the study, there is a considerable use of modal verbs i.e. will, would, shall, and should. The overall occurrence of modal verbs in the first corpus is 27 or 23 percent. These modal verbs not only indicate the expression of simple future tense but also help in expressing the determination, willingness, resolve and intentions of the speaker. These modal are categorized as positive modal verbs having median politeness level as it is defined in the instrument given by Guoling (2006) and proved from the study of Wang (2010). The following are the excerpts taken from the first corpus of the study where the use of positive modal verbs of median politeness can be seen:

> *P1 S4* *I sincerely hope that with your support and your co-operation we* **shall** *make this Constituent Assembly an example to the world. (Emphatic Statement)*

In the above given example, the speaker uses the positive modal verb of median politeness which is the most commonly used modal in the political speeches. In this example, the speaker is hopeful from the audience and seems to look forward for their support and cooperation. The intention of the speaker is communicated in a positive way through the use of modal verb 'shall.

> *P2 S15* *The first observation that I* **would** *like to make is this: You* **will** *no doubt agree with me that the first duty of a government is to maintain law and order, so that the life,*

property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State. (Declaring

Statement)

In the above mentioned lines, the speaker seems to state his opinion again in a very positive manner by the acquiring the modal verbs would and will. The main focus of the statement is promote a feeling of trust and confidence among the audience regarding their rights and safety on part of the Government. The choice of positive modal verbs proves to be absolutely good here.

*P5 S27 I want to make it quite clear that I **shall** never tolerate any kind of jobbery [corrupt employment practices], nepotism, or any any influence directly or indirectly brought to bear upon me. (Warning)*

This statement shows strong determination and intentions of the speaker. Although the positive modal verb shall is used by the speaker but the idea is conveyed appropriately that there will be no compromise on part of Government regarding any sort of corruption and evil deed.

*P6 S43 Now, if we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous, we **should** wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor. (Directing)*

In this example, the speaker has made clear the goals of the newly founded state and the ways to lead it on the path of success and prosperity. The statement is directing and guiding the listeners as well.

As the study of Wang (2010) also confirms that the high percentage of the use of modal verbs shows the appropriateness of the speaking since the addresses are delivered in spoken form. As compared to other verbs, it is more convenient to identify and comprehend the usage of modal

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verbs. Due to this reason these verbs are more conveniently accepted by the audience since at the time of listening to the address, the audience finds no time to reflect.

The second highest rate of modal verbs utilization in this corpus can be observed in case of positive low politeness modal verbs i.e. can, may could, might, dare. They obtained the frequency of 10 or 8 percent. The following lines are taken from the corpus as sample:

> [P1 S1] *We have to do the best we* **can** *in adopting a provisional constitution for the Federal Legislature of Pakistan.*

In the above mentioned lines, the speaker uses the positive modal verb of low politeness to achieve his goal. While in the example given below the use of 'may' depicts uncertainty.

> [P6 S38] **May** *be that view is correct;* **may** *be it is not; that remains to be seen.*

From the example given below, the use of modal verb 'might' also becomes clear.

> [P7 S60] *Today, you* **might** *say with justice that Roman Catholics and Protestants do not exist; what exists now is that every man is a citizen, an equal citizen of Great Britain, and they are all members of the Nation.*

The positive modal verbs of high politeness are used in frequency of 7 or 6 percent. These modal verbs include must, ought to, need, and has/had to. The following lines are taken from the corpus to show the manifestation of these verbs:

> [P6 S31] *But you* **must** *remember, as I have said, that this mighty revolution that has taken place is unprecedented.*

> [P4 S24] *These black-marketeers are really knowing, intelligent, and ordinarily responsible people, and when they indulge in black-marketing, I think they* **ought to** *be very severely*

punished, because they undermine the entire system of control and regulation of foodstuffs and essential commodities, and cause wholesale starvation and want and even death.

In the above mentioned lines, the speaker is pointing towards the main problem and reason of downfall and failure of a society as well as nation. He strongly states the moral obligation which is held on part of government and people that these evils of society should be thoroughly and strictly taken in to consideration. It is a moral duty to punish them and stop them.

*P4 S22 Now you **have to** tackle this monster, which today is a colossal crime against society, in our distressed conditions, when we constantly face shortage of food and other essential commodities of life.*

In the above given example, the responsibility of eradicating the evil from the society is laid on the audience. The use of 'have to' evokes the sense of doing an action in any case in order to make the society a better place to live.

The negative modal verbs which are being categorized in the high politeness include oughtn't, can't, couldn't, mayn't, mightn't, hasn't, and hadn't. There use can be seen in the analysis in frequency of 4 or 3 percent. Following lines show the use of these modal verbs:

*P2 S12 Dealing with our first function in this Assembly, I **cannot** make any well-considered pronouncement at this moment, but I shall say a few things as they occur to me.*

*P6 S35 On both sides, in Hindustan and Pakistan, there are sections of people who **may not** agree with it, who **may not** like it; but in my judgment there was no other solution, and I am sure future history will record its verdict in favour of it.*

The negative modal verbs of low politeness i.e. needn't, doesn't, didn't, need to, and have to show minimal usage of 2 or 2 percent. The negative marker 'not' as used in the samples shows that there is a lack of need to express the proposition by using the modal 'will'. In other words, the speaker has asked to do the opposite of the first proposition of the sentences.

*P1 S7 We **have to** do the best we can in adopting a provisional constitution for the Federal Legislature of Pakistan.*

On the other hand, the negative modals of median politeness i.e. won't, wouldn't, shouldn't, isn't, and wasn't entirely missing in the first corpus of the study. Given below are the samples from the analysis of first corpus.

*P2 S15 You **will no** doubt agree with me that the first duty of a government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State.*

The first corpus of the study is a Presidential Address of Jinnah on his election as the first president of Pakistan. Thus, it marks the beginning of the term as a President of Pakistan. As this address was delivered on the first election of Jinnah, it is quite evident that the intentions and hopes for the upcoming term of such an important leader are depicted in the address much clearly and explicitly. This address shows the purpose of enumerating the speaker's administrative principles for the upcoming newly founded State Pakistan. It also elaborates the appropriateness and convincing power of the speaker to convince the audience and make them understand the intentions for the new country and hopes of Jinnah from the people of Pakistan. The presentation of intentions is conveyed in a more favorable light which serves the purpose of both understanding the vision of the leader as well as wining of support from the audience.

This explains why these types of modals were used in the first corpus. The modal verbs of median politeness prove to be much beneficial as far as the expression of determination on doing something is concerned. Similarly, the positive modals of low politeness helped in establishing the hope of audience towards good governance as the message is being given by the speaker. As Biber et al.,(1999), asserts that research and reference grammars identify the core or principal of modal verbs, which are also referred to as modal auxiliaries, verbal modality markers or simply modals, are used to express modality. These modals more often include can, could, may, might, shall, should, will, would and must.

For the analysis of tenses of verbs, there is a considerably high percentage of use of Simple Tenses as compared to others. Simple present tense is seen to have the highest frequency of 396 or 64 percent followed by simple past tense which is 10 percent and simple future tense having 7 percent. However the minimal percentage was recorded on part of past perfect and past progressive tense which is 1 percent while the future perfect and future progressive tenses show zero usage in the first corpus of the study.

The simple present tense of verbs can be seen in the following excerpts along with the implied meanings:

> [P1 S4] *I sincerely* **hope** *that with your support and your co-operation we shall make this Constituent Assembly an example to the world. (Showing hope)*

In the above given example, the speaker seems to involve the audience and puts responsibility on them in the form of hope. The speaker makes it clear that with the cooperation of the audience they can set exemplary Assembly to the world.

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P1 S6 The first is the very onerous and responsible task of framing the future constitution of Pakistan. (Stating responsibility)

P2 S13 Remember that you are now a Sovereign Legislative body ... (Stating Fact)

In these lines, the speaker makes the audience realize that they are important and they have to play their role in the progress of the nation.

The other functions of using simple present tense of verbs in political speeches can be seen in the following lines:

P3 S16 I do not say that other countries are free from it, but I think our condition is much worse -- is bribery and corruption. P3 S17 That really is a poison. (General Statement)

P1 S2 I cordially thank you with the utmost sincerity ... (Emphatic Expression)

The results indicate the use of simple sentence structure of sentences as it is evident from the excerpts. The study of Wang (2010) greatly supports this evidence that the use of simple present tense is considerable in majority of the political addresses because the aim to point towards the domestic as well as worldwide situations covering all the field be it political, economic, social or cultural field. There is a general overview of all the areas and fields but also includes domestic references as well. The use of the simple tense helps in developing a close relationship between the speaker and the audience and establishes a better connection between them. Moreover, it becomes quite easier for the speaker to assert and validate his intentions while speaking and at the same time it develops acceptance the validity on part of audience.

On the other hand, the simple past tense is ranked to be second highest in frequency while the use of simple future tense of verbs has third highest ranking. The minimal distribution of simple

past tense of verbs with a frequency of 61 or 10 percent is seen in the first corpus of the study. The following lines show the distribution of past tense of verbs:

*P6 S33 But the question is, whether it **was** possible or practicable to act otherwise...*

*P6 S39 All the same, in this division it **was** impossible to avoid the question of minorities being in one Dominion or the other. S40 Now that **was** unavoidable. (Action completed in Past)*

The above given example indicates the completion of action in the past. As Halliday (1994) asserts that the simple past tense is used to refer things or actions in the past. Moreover, the use of simple past tense is quite effective in drawing comparisons between the past and present administration, past and present leaders, to create an impression towards the audience.

The use of simple future tense can be seen in the following samples taken from the first corpus of the study.

*P9 S63 I **shall** always be guided by the principles of justice and fair play without any, as is put in the political language, prejudice or ill-will; in other words, partiality or favoritism.*

*P6 S42 Now what **shall** we do?*

*P3 S16 I hope that you **will** take adequate measures as soon as it is possible for this Assembly to do so.*

The use of simple future tense in political speeches depicts the speaker's plans of action as well as the expectations. As the first corpus of the study is the speech delivered on the first presidential election of the newly founded state therefore, the simple future tense proves to be quite effective in putting forward the reforms of the speaker and also the prospective outcome of

these reforms in the future. Along with the potentials of the speaker, the simple future tense also helps in determining a clear picture to the audience regarding a better future for them. In this way, the audience gains confidence towards the speaker and speaker wins the support and trust from the audience.

The pronouns used in the first corpus of the study are clearly shown and tabulated in the table. There is a remarkable use of the first person pronoun I (me) and obtained the frequency of 40 or 26 percent while we (us) shows the frequency of 22 or 14 percent in the first corpus. The second person pronoun you (you) indicates 34 or 22 percent. Among the third person pronouns, 'it' shows 25 or 16 percent of frequency. However, among the possessive pronouns 'your' shows highest frequency of 10 or 6 percent as compared to other possessive pronouns. Given below are excerpts from the first corpus of the study where pronouns were used as a discursive strategy in order to gain the trust and confidence of the audience.

> [P2 S12] *Dealing with **our** first function in this Assembly, **I** cannot make any well-considered pronouncement at this moment, but **I** shall say a few things as **they** occur to **me**.*

> [P2 S15] ***You** will no doubt agree with **me** that the first duty of a government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State.*

The pronoun 'I' basically used to make a reference to the speaker himself who aims to be the first president of Pakistan. This highlights his success and authority. The pronoun 'We' can refer to an inclusive or exclusive identification of specific group. The inclusive identification of 'We' refers to the speaker and his party. As Pennycook (1994) has proved that the political speeches

incorporate the use of personal pronouns in abundance both in singular and plural forms and the purpose is to show power, solidarity and authority (p.173).

Furthermore, the use of personal pronoun 'I in the first corpus is in abundance and it shows the speaker's involvement and determination as far as his intentions and hopes for the newly formed state is concerned. It also shows personal involvement in making the hopes explicit to the youth of the nation which he greatly emphasized that the success of nation depends on the youth of that nation.

> [P3 S18] *We must put that down with an iron hand, and I hope that you will take adequate measures as soon as it is possible for this Assembly to do so.*

Now here the inclusive 'We' is used by the speaker in order to show solidarity with the audience along with the sense of sharing responsibility. As Pennycook (1994) refers to Fairclough's discussion (1989) regarding the use of 'we' and 'you' in a speech by Margaret Thatcher which states that the pronoun 'we' is frequently used in the inclusive sense to refer 'all of us together' while 'you' is generally used as a non-specific pronoun similar to one (p.178).

On the other hand, the use of pronoun 'We' reduces the speaker's involvement rather emphasizes the involvement of the audience being addressed to. 'You' pertains to the audience of the address, his supporters. This is coherent with the study of Brozin (2010) on the strategic use of pronouns in Obama's speeches. The study revealed that the pronoun 'we' shows speaker's claim of authority and representation for the whole nation.

On the basis of the overall structure of the first corpus of the study, it is revealed that there is an apparent use of positive modal verbs of median politeness, an extensive use of simple present,

past and future tenses of verbs, utilization of first person pronoun 'I' and second person pronoun 'You', third person pronoun 'it' and the possessive pronoun 'Your' in abundance.

4.2.2.2. Sample Speech 2

The Role of Students in Nation Building, 24 March 1948

The second corpus is the speech delivered by Jinnah on the convocation ceremony of students at Dacca University. This address was delivered on 24th March, 1948. In this address, Jinnah greatly emphasized on the role of students in the nation building. He explicitly pointed towards the importance of students and their role in the prosperity and growth of the nation. He strengthened his arguments by giving examples from various fields and tried to persuade and motivate the youth of the nation which were considered to be the building blocks of the future of the newly founded nation.

The analysis of modal verbs, given in detail in the table, shows the use of total 49 modals in the second corpus of the study. The address is composed of 89 sentences based on 2,433 words having the longest manuscript due to the number of sentences and words as compared to the rest of the sample speeches. The analysis shows that the use of positive modal verbs of median politeness i.e. will, would, shall, should obtained the highest occurrence of 22 or 45 percent. The highest frequency of these modal verbs of median politeness is maintained in the second corpus of the study too. According to Guoling (2006), the highest use of these modal verbs aims to maintain a favorable image to the audience.

The positive modal verbs of median politeness including will, would, shall, should still rank as the most commonly used modal verbs especially when it comes to political speeches. The modal verb 'should', on the other hand, is used to show strong recommendation or suggest an action

and also draws attention towards the necessity and importance of that action. Again the strong determination, willingness and intentions of the speaker are depicted by the abundant use of modals in the speeches. These modals function as an expression of profound intention of doing something. 'Would' depicts the past tense of will, however it also states a condition like in the sentence given below:

[P13 S74] *Just as you have won the laurels in your University and qualified yourselves, so I wish you all success in the wider and larger world that you **will** enter.*

[P15 S126] *My young friends, I **would**, therefore, like to tell you a few points about which you **should** be vigilant and beware.*

The second highest frequency of 14 or 28 percent for the modals of low politeness level i.e. can, may, could, might, dare. On the other hand, the use of modal verbs won't, wouldn't, shouldn't, isn't and wasn't, was seen to be entirely missing in the second corpus of the study. Following lines depict the use of modals can, may, could, might, dare in the speech:

[P13 S82] *It does not mean that you **can** now behave just as you please and do what you like, irrespective of the interests of other people or of the State. [S92] The care and rehabilitation of these unfortunate refugees, stricken in body and in soul, presented problems, which **might** well have destroyed many a well-established State.*

[P15 S128] *Secondly, guard against and weed out selfish people who only wish to exploit you so that they **may** swim.*

The use of modals must, ought to, need, has/had to and mustn't, oughtn't, can't, could, mayn't, mightn't, hasn't, hadn't earned 3 or 6 and 5 or 10 percent.

> *P16 S151 Now I want that you **must** divert your mind, your attention, your aims and ambition to other channels and other avenues and fields that are open to you.*

> *S150 Government **can** take only a certain number and the rest **cannot** settle down to anything else and being disgruntled are always ready to be exploited by persons who have their own axes to grind.*

Lastly, the use of modal verbs needn't, doesn't, didn't, need to and have to is present in frequency of 5 or 10 percent. Given below are the excerpts from the second corpus of the study where the above mentioned modal verbs are used.

> *P15 S132 Sixthly, there may be many who **did not** lift their little fingers to help us in our struggle ...*

Generally, the positive modal verbs of median politeness as well as the low politeness level have shown abundant presence as compared to the rest of the modal verbs. It shows the positive attitude and optimistic projection of ideology and intentions of the speaker. Moreover, the positivity in the use of political language is also depicted through the use of positive modal verbs. As Chilton and Schaffner (1997) asserts that regardless of particular motivations in various contexts, politicians and political institutions are sustained by manipulative use of language.

Furthermore, the analysis of verb tenses in the second corpus of the study shows that the simple present tense has acquired the highest frequency of 59 or 46 percent followed by the use of simple past tense which shows the second highest use of 24 or 19 percent. The present perfect

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tense stands third in ranking with the frequency of 21 or 16 percent in total. However, the rest of the tenses have shown minimal frequency in second corpus of the study.

As Halliday (1994) describes that the present tense of the verb is used to state facts, it also refers the perpetual actions and to indicate the personal ideas of the speaker on the matter under discussion. Occasionally, the use of simple present tense serves the purpose of creating dramatic effect, narration of an event in present tense as though it is happening now. There are excerpts given below from the speech in which various uses of simple present tense are indicated:

> *P17 S163 Finally, I **thank you** again Mr. Chancellor and particularly you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor for the warm welcome you **have given** me.*

> *P16 S160 I **know** a young man ... today he **is** manager in one of their firms and **drawing** fifteen hundred rupees a month –in just four years. S162 These **are** the opportunities to have and I **do** impress upon you now to think in these terms.*

The following lines depict the use of simple future tense in the corpus:

> *P16 S158 You **will** be far happy and far more prosperous with far more opportunities to rise if you take to commerce and industry and **will** thus be **helping** not only yourselves but also your State.*

The simple past tense of the verb is used to narrate events and to refer to an author or an author's narration of the developments in an author's ideas over time (Halliday, 1994). Hence the simple past tense of verbs in the second corpus is used to refer to the incidents happened in the past and points towards the abusive and acts of corruption. The excerpts containing the use of past perfect tense are given below:

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P16 S161 *Four years ago he **went** into a banking corporation on two hundred rupees, because **he had studied** the subject of banking.*

It is evident from the result of the analysis of the first as well as the second corpus of the study that the use of simple tense ranks the highest frequency which is supported in the study of Wang (2010), where it is proved that it is quite natural to use simple tense especially simple present tense in the political speeches. The reason behind using more simple tense in the political speeches is the presentation of domestic as well as the worldwide events and situations ranging from political, economic and cultural fields. Moreover, the use of simple tense also provides the speaker with the facility of showing closeness with the audience along with the easy identification and acceptance of the validity of the assertions of the speaker.

The use of pronouns as shown in the table demonstrates that there is a frequent utilization of the second person pronoun 'You' which happens to be in frequency of 60 or 26 percent.

P12 S73 *Many of **you** have today got **your** diplomas and degrees and **I** congratulate **you**.*

The second highest frequency is of first person pronoun 'I' with a frequency of 40 or 18 percent. If we see the use of 'we', it shows the frequency of 17 or 26 percent. The percentage of pronoun 'We' is however recorded to be the highest as compared to the rest of the corpora. The excerpts containing the use of pronoun I and We are given below:

P15 S126 ***My** young friends. **I** would, therefore, like to tell **you** a few points about which **you** should be vigilant and beware.*

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P16 S146 *Now **I** want **you** to get out of that rut and that mentality and especially now that* *we are in free Pakistan.*

P13 S78 ***We** have broken the shackles of slavery; **we** are now a free people. (Inclusive 'we')*

The inclusive 'we' refers to both the speaker and the audience. It is also used sometimes by the politicians to avoid speaking about them as an individual and instead suggest that the audience is involved too and this creates a sense of responsibility, sharing and solidarity. In this way, the audience gets a share in the issues, success, and responsibility regarding the matter under discussion (Bramely, 2001:76ff).

The inclusive 'We' gives an idea of the speaker's intention to incorporate the involvement of the audience and to engage the audience as well as mentioned in the speech. The use of inclusive 'We' also helps in the development of sense of responsibility and sharing among the audience. However, the exclusive 'We' mentions the collective entity that works with speaker excluding the audience i.e. the speaker and his party.

However, it is clear from the examples from the corpus that here the pronoun 'We' is mainly used to persuade the audience and also to motivate them and engage them. Furthermore, it also engages the attention of the audience with a mutual feel of sharing responsibility with the speaker and to work as a whole. Therefore, the use of pronoun 'We' spreads the responsibility and it can be certainly manipulated for creating political effect to establish a sense of group unity.

Wilson (1990) claims that the inclusive pronoun 'We' has a strategic use as well in order to show solidarity whereas the exclusive pronoun 'We' can be used to share responsibility with the audience. The use of inclusive 'We' may express the exclusion of some other groups that is the

division between 'Us and 'Them'. The pronoun 'Us can also be used inclusively to influence and persuade the people in changing their attitude towards positivity. Furthermore, it is asserted that the first person pronouns can be used by the politicians in their strategies in order to gain the people's allegiance, and to make them believe that the decisions being made are the right ones (p.71).

> *P13 S83 A great responsibility rests on you and, on the contrary, now more than ever, it is necessary for us to work as a united and disciplined nation.*

> *S84 What is now required of us all is constructive spirit and not the militant spirit of the days when we were fighting for our freedom.*

Beard (2000) confirms in his study that the personal pronouns occupy an enormous part of political speeches as it helps in establishing the idea that towards whom the speaker is pointing (p. 43). The pronominal choices in political speeches are also interesting because they make an important influence on the overall effect of the speech. The possessive pronoun 'yours' obtained the highest frequency of 28 or 12 percent while 'our' shows the second highest frequency of 17 or 7 percent as far as possessive pronouns are concerned. The excerpts are given below in which the use of possessive pronouns is indicated:

> *P11 S68 When I was approached by your Vice-chancellor with a request to deliver the Convocation Address, I made it clear to him...*

The possessive pronoun 'our' highlights the good and the positive outcome of the leadership. The pronoun 'it' is also used in the speech which shows the frequency of 20 or 9 percent, their shows 11 or 5 percent while its, their, my and he are recorded to show minimal frequency of 2 or 1, 11 or 5, 4 or 2 and 9 or 4 percent respectively.

S79 ***Our** State is **our** own State.*

*P13 S88 Thwarted in **their** desire to prevent the establishment of Pakistan, **our** enemies turned **their** attention to finding ways and means to weaken and destroy **us**.*

*P13 S93 But those of **our** enemies who had hoped to kill Pakistan at **its** very inception by these means were disappointed. S94 Not only has Pakistan survived the shock of that upheaval, but **it** has emerged stronger, more chastened and better equipped than ever.*

The analysis of the speech has also made it clear that the positive self-representation and negative other-representation is also present in the speech. This particular feature is affirmed by the famous critical discourse analyst who is more into the CDA of political text Van Dijk (2004). He asserts that political speeches are stuffed with macro strategies of positive self-representation and negative other-representation which are closely associated with the polarization of in-group compared to out-group ideologies or us-them. From the analysis of the second corpus of study, it is become clear that the use of modal verbs will, would, shall, should is greatly exhibited with evident use of simple present, perfect and simple past tense of verbs. Moreover, it is also found that the pronouns I, You, it are also used in high frequencies, also a generous number of possessive pronoun 'Your' and 'Our' is pervasive.

4.2.2.3. Sample Speech 3

Responsibilities of the Youth, 12 April 1948

This address was delivered on 12th April, 1948 and it laid entire emphasis on asserting the responsibilities of the youth. This address holds an important place in history as the speaker of the address had a vision for the nation which can only be fulfilled if the youth of the nation participate and work harder for the purpose of nation building. Jinnah always emphasized on the

role and responsibilities of young generation and he always considered them as the future of the nation. He strongly felt that if the youth is directed on the right path and given proper guidance at the right time, then no power can prevent them from having a better future and a prosperous nation. According to him, the years of hard work are very few in which the students have to focus on their studies and after that they will be taking benefit of those years throughout their life. These years can either make them or destroy them so this period is the crucial one in determining the bright or dark side of their future.

The analysis of this corpus also showed similarities with other speeches in terms of the results. This speech is composed of 77 sentences based on 1,616 words and stands the third longest manuscript amongst all the selected speeches. The modals must, ought to, need, has/had occur in highest frequency of 17 or 34 percent, will, would, shall, should showing 14 or 28 percent followed by can, may, could, might, dare having frequency of 15 or 30 while the rest of the modals only show minimal percentage from the total analysis of the modal verbs used in this speech. Given below are the excerpts extracted from the third corpus of the study where the repeated use of the above mentioned modals is seen.

> *P20 S170 Now that we have achieved our national goal, you **will** expect me to give you a bit of advice regarding the manner in which we **can** put our shoulders behind the most difficult and important task of building up our new State into what we all wish it to be.*

> *S171 The first thing you **should** do is to learn to appreciate the difference in the approach to the problems with which we are faced now…*

The use of modal verb can expresses the ability, in the sense of being able to do something or knowing how something can be done as given in the following lines:

*P20 S177 You **must** devote yourself whole-heartedly to your studies, for that is your first obligation to yourselves, your parents and to the State. S178 You **must** learn to obey for only then you **can** learn to command.*

The modal verb 'May' expresses any possible circumstance:

*P20 S181 You **can** make a big contribution towards bringing about harmony and unity where for personal and other selfish considerations some people **may** adopt courses which are likely to lead to disruption and disunity.*

The propositions expressed by the use of all these modal verbs indicate an optimistic perspective of the speaker on part of audience that is the youth of Pakistan. This is another ideal strategy which is used sometimes by the speaker to persuade the audience in realizing and understanding the good will of the speaker and also to satisfy them that the country can prosper well in the light of his guidance and leadership.

The negative modals used in the entire speech shows the frequency of 4 in aggregate out of which the negative modal doesn't earned 2 percent. This modal indicates the negative of the act of performing an action or conducting an activity or task (Guoling, 2006) in Wang (2010).

When it comes to the tenses of verbs, Simple tenses have an enormous occurrence in the entire speech. The simple present tense scored the highest occurrence of 51 or 15 percent, and then the second highest occurrence can be seen in terms of simple past tense which shows 19 or 19 percent while the third highest is ranked to be simple future tense having 6 percent. As Halliday (1994) states that simple present tense of verbs is used to refer to a situation, an occurrence or event in the present, therefore the following excerpts present the use of the simple present tense in the speech.

*P28 S220 You must be **reading** newspapers and **knowing** how Pakistan **is moving** fast in creating various institutions of the kind I **have** mentioned. S221 Many of you **do not know** how fast it **is going**, but it **is going** very fast.*

There are several other functions of using present tense which include mentioning the current reforms to address the already known problems and general statements.

*P28 S222 Those **are** the avenues, those **are** the channels where you can **do** well to yourselves and also **serve** the nation better than as clerks. (General Statement)*

*P28 S223 I **want** to impress upon those who **are** responsible for the education of you young boys that they must concentrate and **direct** all energies in this direction. (Directing)*

*P25 S206 Remember, you must have patience. S207 Rome was not built in a day. S208 Time factor, therefore, **is** essential. (Stating Fact)*

*P28 S223 I **want** to impress upon those who **are** responsible for the education of you young boys that they must concentrate and direct all energies in this direction. (Emphasizing on Education)*

Again, this is confirmed in the study of Wang (2010), where it is natural that simple present tense ranks with top priority since the addresses are to present the domestic and worldwide situations ranging from political, economic and cultural fields at present. Moreover, the use of the tense facilitates the creation of a close relationship between the speaker and the audience and the easy identification and acceptance of the validity of the assertions contained in the speaking.

In contrast, simple past tense, as described by Halliday (1994) mainly functions to refer to a situation, an occurrence or event in the past, is used in the speech for recalling the previously

existing reasons for the downfall of the nation and examples are also given from the past situations in order to advise the youth.

> [P42 S298] *The problem **was** further complicated by the influx of a large number of refugees - whose tempers **had been** frayed by the suffering undergone by them.*

On the other hand, the present perfect tense is seen to show the highest frequency among the rest of the perfect tenses. The frequency of present perfect tense is 10 or 10 percent.

> [P42 S296] *I **realized** that during the last few months there have been encroachments on private right of property...*

When it comes to the analysis of pronouns, the table shows the great proportion on the occurrence of second person pronoun 'You' which is found in frequency of 62 or 30 percent. In third corpus of the study, this is highest frequency of pronouns. The second highest is first person pronoun 'I' showing 36 or 18 percent while 'We' occurs in 18 or 9 percent.

> [P30 S238] *I want to make it clear that the public is absolutely free to do what **they** like, provided **they** maintain discipline.*

> [P22 S199] ***We**, therefore, need a wider outlook, an outlook which transcends the boundaries of provinces, limited nationalism, and racialism. (Inclusive 'We')*

> [S200] ***We** must develop a sense of patriotism which should galvanise and weld **us** all into one united and strong nation.[S201] That is the only way in which **we** can achieve **our** goal, the goal of **our** struggle, the goal for which millions of Musalmans have lost their all and laid down their lives. (Inclusive 'We')*

However, the third highest frequency is observed in case of possessive pronoun 'Your' which is 29 or 14 percent. While the rest of possessive and person pronouns show minimal usage in this corpus of the study.

> *P22 S192 I naturally welcome your statement that you do not believe in provincialism. S193 You must learn to distinguish between your love for your province and your love and duty to the State as a whole.S194 Our duty to the State takes us a stage beyond provincialism.*

Lastly, the pronoun 'Our' garnered the second highest frequency of 19 or 9 percent among the possessive pronouns.

> *P25 S211 The success of our achievements will depend upon our unity, discipline and faith not only in ourselves but in God who determines the destinies of peoples and nation.*

The result is manifested in this corpus on the usage of pronouns which is supported by Bramely (2008) in Gocheco (2012) in her thesis at the Australian National University. The argument given by her was that pronouns were used to project positive images of the politicians, in the context of the Australian political media interview. Furthermore, pronouns are a key factor in "the construction of reality – a reality that is created and understood in the discourse of the moment."

The study of Green (2007) in Gocheco (2012) further supports and confirms the result. Green investigated the use of pronouns as one of the discursive strategies in political speech. The study consisted a continuous use of the in-group pronouns such as we, our, and us. The minimal occurrence of the first person singular pronouns was the response to the 'level of solidarity and responsibility' which the politician wanted to show (p.8). Thus, pronouns are used to create and

reinforce group identities to display power. Therefore, the manifestations on the use of pronouns in this corpus maintained to create a positive image of the speaker and in conveying the ideology of the speaker in a better way that its validity cannot appear to be doubtful to the audience as well as the readers.

4.2.2.4. Sample Speech 4

Administration Must Be Impartial: Advice to Government Servants, 14th Apr 1948

This speech was delivered as an information talk to the civil officers at the government house. The main purpose of this speech was to make the Government servants realize the importance of fair dealing and devotion to their duty instead of staying loyal towards the individuals. It's the duty and institution which there to stay, so no matter how much the ministers and other political leader try to pressurize them or influence them, they should stay impartial and devoted towards their duty. Moreover, the speech also focused on the moral obligations of the Government servants.

This speech is composed of 45 sentences based on 1,220 words. Evidently, the same result came out in the analysis of the modal verbs used in accordance to the other corpora of the study. The modal verbs will, would, shall, should earned the highest frequency of 24 or 58 percent followed by the positive modals can, may, could, might, dare having 5 or 12 percent while the positive modals of high politeness i.e. must, ought to, need, has/had to show 1 or 2 percent. The following lines are extracted from the corpus in order to show the use of these modals:

*P33 S247 You **should** have no hand in supporting this political party or that political party, this political leader or that political leader—this is not your business.*

*S249 If you **will** start with that determination, you **will** make a great contribution to the building up of Pakistan...*

*P37 S260 Everybody **should** realize that there is a fundamental and vital change of the entire Government...*

The use of 'Can' is to express ability, in the sense of being able to do something or knowing how to do something as shown in the sample below:

*P36 S259 It is you who **can** give us the opportunity to create powerful machinery, which will give you a complete sense of security*

On the other hand, the negative modals won't, wouldn't, shouldn't, isn't and wasn't show frequency of 6 or 15 percent, mustn't, oughtn't, can't, couldn't, mayn't, mightn't, hasn't/hadn't show 3 or 7 percent while needn't, doesn't/didn't , need to, have to occur in frequency of 2 or 5 percent which is quite minimal as compared to other speeches. Given below are the excerpts extracted from the fourth corpus of the study:

*P36 S258 I tell you that you **will not** remain on the blacklist if you discharge your duties and responsibilities honestly, sincerely and loyally to the State.*

*P38 S282 And your province **has not** lagged behind in this respect...*

*S285 We **have to** learn a lot and we **have to** adjust ourselves to new developments, new issues which are facing us.*

The propositions and assertions expressed by the use of all these modals show positive approach of the speaker and convey a clear perspective of the speaker on moral values and obligations which cannot be compromised at any cost for the benefit of the nation and its prosperity.

When it comes to the analysis of the tenses of the verbs, the result is much similar to the analysis of other speeches in terms of tenses. Again, the simple present tense is used in abundance exhibiting the frequency of 50 or 54 percent and stands to be occurring in highest frequency even from simple future tense which is 18 or 19 percent and past tense being 5 or 5 percent. Following are the excerpts taken from the corpus where the use of simple tenses can be clearly seen.

*P39 S288 I **wish** you all success in your efforts. (Greeting)*

*P33 S244 The first thing that I **want** to tell you is this that you should not be influenced by any political pressure, by any political party or individual politician. (Warning or Declarative Statement)*

S246 Service is the backbone of the State. Governments are formed, Governments are defeated, Prime Ministers come and go, Ministers come and go, but you stay on... (Emphatic Statement)

*P33 S249 If you **will** start with that determination, you **will** make a great contribution to the building up of Pakistan.*

*P32 S243 The reason why I **wanted** to meet you is that I **wanted** to say a few words to you.*

The only difference which is found in this speech is the occurrence of present progressive tense and it shows the frequency of 11 or 12 percent. The following extracts are taken from the speech in order to make its use more clear:

*P34 S250.... for which not only your province, but others too, **are suffering**–if they try and interfere with you in this way, I say, they **are doing** nothing but disservice to Pakistan.*

Other functions of the tense include mentioning of current reforms to address known problems, administrative achievements so far, and general statements.

> *P35 S251* *I hope that each one of you will understand his, own sphere of duty and responsibility and act with others harmoniously and in complete co-operation, keeping in mind that each has to do his duty within the sphere to which he belongs. (General Statement)*

On the aspect of pronouns, the table given in the start clearly demonstrates the proportion on the occurrence of second person pronoun 'You' in abundance as compared to other pronouns. The frequency is 48 or 31 percent. The first person pronoun 'I' shows the frequency of 30 or 20 percent, followed by 'We' having 18 or 22 percent.

> *P35 S253* I hope **you** will now, from today, resolve and determine to act according to **my** humble advice that I am giving **you**.

> *S257* *If **you** will give **me** the opportunity of **your** sacrifices, some of **you** at least, believe **me**, **we** will find a remedy for that very soon. (Inclusive 'We')*

In contrast to the above samples, following excerpts show the usage of inclusive 'we'. As observed, the inclusive 'we' is used strategically to convey that the speaker involves the addressees in his plans of reforms and other plans for the better future of the nation. There are, however, different referents for the pronoun 'we'. The exclusive 'we' does not refer to the addressee. This has been supported by Wales (2006) that "it is used to refer to the speaker and third parties who may or may not be present in the immediate situation (may be the speaker's cronies)." The use of pronoun can, hence, be exploited to share responsibility. The inclusive

'we', however, refers to the speaker and the audience and in this case the speaker presumes to speak on behalf of the audience.

Among the possessive pronouns, the pronoun 'Your' shows the highest frequency of 23 or 15 percent while the rest of the pronouns show minimal frequency.

4.2.2.5. Sample Speech 5

Equal Treatment to All - Assurance to Minorities, 3 February 1948

This speech is a reply to the welcome address presented in honour of Jinnah and his sister Fatima Jinnah by the Parsi community of Sindh at the Katrak Parsi colony, Karachi. In this address, Jinnah gave an assurance to the minorities that there will be equal treatment to all. Apparently, the audience of this address was the Parsis, however, it does not limit only to them but the address was implied to assure the rest of the minorities as well about impartial and equal treatment.

This corpus is composed of 14 sentences in total constituting 421 words and is the shortest manuscript of all the speeches of the study. The modal verbs will, would, shall, should shows the highest frequency of 3 or 33 which is the same as that of mustn't, oughtn't, can't, couldn't, mayn't, mightn't, hasn't, hadn't.

> *P42 S299 These unfortunate people require sympathetic handling, and your assistance in resettling them **will** be most welcome.*

> *P43 S300 I see no reason why the future **should** hold any terror for them.*

Moreover, won't, wouldn't, shouldn't, isn't, wasn't show frequency of 2 or 22. The positive modals of low politeness i.e. can, may, could, might, dare shows the frequency of 11 percent.

However, the use of negative modals of low politeness and the positive modals of high politeness is entirely missing.

> *P41 S294 As you **may** be aware, the Government has been making genuine efforts to allay the fears and suspicions of the minorities.*

When the tenses of the verbs are considered, the results show that the simple tenses are used in high frequency as compared to any other tense. This is somewhat common feature in the analysis of all the speeches. The simple present tense holds the highest occurrence value that is 10 or 45 percent, the second highest is simple past tense that is 4 or 18 percent while the simple future tense exhibits 4 percent of the use.

> *P40 S289 I **am** thankful to you for your Address of Welcome.*

> *P42 S296 I **realized** that during the last few months there have been encroachments on private right of property*

> *P42 S299 These unfortunate people require sympathetic handling, and your assistance in resettling them **will** be most welcome.*

There is a minimal usage of present perfect and past perfect tense i.e. 27 percent and 7 percent respectively while the other tenses are absolutely missing in the speech.

> *P43 S300 Parsis as a community **have** fortunately **escaped** the ravage of the recent internecine conflict that **has brought** so much suffering to other communities.*

When it comes to the analysis of pronouns, it is seen that the first person singular pronoun 'I' has the highest frequency of 8 or 23 percent while plural pronoun 'We' is absent in the speech. The

In this study, the overall focus has been on the use of various modal verbs which are the markers of politeness as far as selected spoken discourses are concerned. The core of modality mainly surrounds the concept of politeness. Hirschova (2006) in Svarova (2008) has described politeness in terms of its pragmalinguistics sense and stated that politeness is a special way of using the language to institute smooth communication and self-defense of the individual while interacting with other individuals.

As it is clear from the table, there is a great prevalence in the use of positive median politeness i.e. will, would, shall, should as manifested in all the selected speeches with a total frequency of 90 or 33 percent which is the highest mean percentage. The median politeness indicates the intent of the speaker to address a wider range of audience both rich and poor, students and professionals, young and old age people. Thus the analysis shows that the addresses of Jinnah were not targeting any specific audience in most of the cases. There were examples for people from all the fields of life even in the addresses which were target based.

On the other hand, the second highest level of modality is the low positive politeness, i.e. can, may, could, might, and dare as it is evident from the table too. The average mean shows 17 percent for all the five speeches. Whereas the third highest average mean for high positive politeness i.e. ought to, need, has/had to is 28 or 10 percent.

The table further shows very little distribution for the negative polite modals whether it is low, median or high politeness level i.e. 4, 4 and 6 percent respectively. Negative politeness creates distance between the speaker and the audience, which refutes the purpose of delivering the persuasive and motivational political speeches. Every person has a specific role in society, and whether the person is of ordinary social status or a politician, he holds and projects a specific self-image.

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Political leaders must consider the fact that they cannot speak casually as their own person. Instead they speak in a manner that is acceptable, appropriate and suits well to his status as a leader. His words must intent to gain confidence, trust and acceptance from the audience and supporters. This can be referred to as politeness.

From the table, it becomes clear that there is a varied frequency of occurrence of each level and type of politeness. The distribution of positive and negative politeness through the modal verbs does vary and the level, form, and distribution of negative and positive politeness correlate with speaker's status. Overall, the modality function has been noted since the rationale of the analyzed political speeches was to motivate, guide, and direct the audience to work hard and with utmost honesty and passion for the success of the nation.

However, the use of negative modals of low politeness and the positive modals of high politeness is entirely missing.

*P41 S294 As you **may** be aware, the Government has been making genuine efforts to allay the fears and suspicions of the minorities.*

When the tenses of the verbs are considered, the results show that the simple tenses are used in high frequency as compared to any other tense. This is somewhat common feature in the analysis of all the speeches. The simple present tense holds the highest occurrence value that is 10 or 45 percent, the second highest is simple past tense that is 4 or 18 percent while the simple future tense exhibits 4 percent of the use.

*P40 S289 I **am** thankful to you for your Address of Welcome.*

*P42 S296 I **realized** that during the last few months there have been encroachments on private right of property*

*P42 S299 These unfortunate people require sympathetic handling, and your assistance in resettling them **will** be most welcome.*

There is a minimal usage of present perfect and past perfect tense i.e. 27 percent and 7 percent respectively while the other tenses are absolutely missing in the speech.

*P43 S300 Parsis as a community **have** fortunately **escaped** the ravage of the recent internecine conflict that **has brought** so much suffering to other communities.*

When it comes to the analysis of pronouns, it is seen that the first person singular pronoun 'I' has the highest frequency of 8 or 23 percent while plural pronoun 'We' is absent in the speech. The

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second person pronoun 'You' shows 5 or 14 percent. The following excerpts show the usage of these pronouns explicitly:

> *P40 S289* *I am thankful to you for your Address of Welcome (S.Pr.) and the kind words you have spoken about me and Miss Fatima Jinnah.*

Third person pronoun 'They' and 'It' shows the frequency of 9 or 6 percent and 3 or 8 percent respectively. The following lines are taken from the corpus:

> *P41 S294* *... it is not because they are not wanted here but because they are more prone to listen to people across the borders, who are interested in pulling them out.*

'They' is used in political speeches to create an image of 'other' and to divide people in groups. Bramely suggests that the speaker's pronominal choice indicates his or her varied identity, more specifically his or her individual or collective identity. Furthermore, Bramely asserts that it is the primary concern of politicians to create an image of the reality according to them and pronouns are of major importance in doing so (Bramely, 2001, p.262-266).

Among the possessive pronouns, the pronoun 'Your', 'Its' and 'Their' can be seen to show the occurrence of 8, 11 and 17 percent respectively. The use of the possessive pronoun 'their' is given below:

> *P40 S289* *I assure you that Pakistan means to stand by its oft-repeated promises of according equal treatment to all its nationals irrespective of their caste and creed.*

This speech is considerably shorter as compared to the rest of the speeches which were selected to be analyzed and is mainly focused on the equal rights of minorities.

In this study, the overall focus has been on the use of various modal verbs which are the markers of politeness as far as selected spoken discourses are concerned. The core of modality mainly surrounds the concept of politeness. Hirschova (2006) in Svarova (2008) has described politeness in terms of its pragmalinguistics sense and stated that politeness is a special way of using the language to institute smooth communication and self-defense of the individual while interacting with other individuals.

As it is clear from the table, there is a great prevalence in the use of positive median politeness i.e. will, would, shall, should as manifested in all the selected speeches with a total frequency of 90 or 33 percent which is the highest mean percentage. The median politeness indicates the intent of the speaker to address a wider range of audience both rich and poor, students and professionals, young and old age people. Thus the analysis shows that the addresses of Jinnah were not targeting any specific audience in most of the cases. There were examples for people from all the fields of life even in the addresses which were target based.

On the other hand, the second highest level of modality is the low positive politeness, i.e. can, may, could, might, and dare as it is evident from the table too. The average mean shows 17 percent for all the five speeches. Whereas the third highest average mean for high positive politeness i.e. ought to, need, has/had to is 28 or 10 percent.

The table further shows very little distribution for the negative polite modals whether it is low, median or high politeness level i.e. 4, 4 and 6 percent respectively. Negative politeness creates distance between the speaker and the audience, which refutes the purpose of delivering the persuasive and motivational political speeches. Every person has a specific role in society, and whether the person is of ordinary social status or a politician, he holds and projects a specific self-image.

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Political leaders must consider the fact that they cannot speak casually as their own person. Instead they speak in a manner that is acceptable, appropriate and suits well to his status as a leader. His words must intent to gain confidence, trust and acceptance from the audience and supporters. This can be referred to as politeness.

From the table, it becomes clear that there is a varied frequency of occurrence of each level and type of politeness. The distribution of positive and negative politeness through the modal verbs does vary and the level, form, and distribution of negative and positive politeness correlate with speaker's status. Overall, the modality function has been noted since the rationale of the analyzed political speeches was to motivate, guide, and direct the audience to work hard and with utmost honesty and passion for the success of the nation.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter consists of findings, conclusion and recommendations on the basis of the results obtained from the analysis of the selected corpora.

5.1. Findings

Based on the results of the study, given below is the summary of the findings:

1. The analysis of the five speeches shows that the speeches were delivered in simple and plain language. However, there are some long sentences in the speeches too but overall; the structure of the speeches is simple and understandable. The analysis of the speeches has shown that the language which is used by the speaker of the speeches is plain and simple in terms of vocabulary. This point can be well explained with the examples: in the second paragraph of the first sample speech :

   > *"I sincerely hope that with your support and your co-operation we shall make this Constituent Assembly an example to the world." ... It is far more difficult to construct than to have a militant spirit for the attainment of freedom. It is easier to go to jail or fight for freedom than to run a Government." We have broken the shackles of slavery; we are now a free people.s»Our State is our own State."*

   However, the speeches also constitute of long sentences but even those sentences are easy to comprehend. For instance,

   > *"s»A great responsibility rests on you and, on the contrary, now more than ever, it is necessary for us to work as a united and disciplined nation."...s»Our enemies, among whom I regret to say, there are still some Muslims, have set*

about actively encouraging provincialism in the hope of weakening Pakistan and thereby facilitating the re-absorption of this province into the Indian Dominion.

PS S6I Now I think we should keep that in front of us as our idea land you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus, and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.

2. The structural analysis depicts that the modal verbs will, would, shall, should obtained the highest frequency percentage, followed by the modals can, may, could, might, dare which is 17 percent and the third highest by the modals must, ought to, need, has/had to is 20 percent. As far as the use of modal verbs is concerned, it becomes evident from the statistics of the research that the use of positive modal verbs of median level politeness including will would shall, should show the highest percentage of occurrence that is 33%. The choice of modal verbs particularly the level of politeness play a vital role in depicting the attitude and force of the speaker to the proposition as well as to the audience. Moreover, the level of politeness also depicts the speaker's status and relationship with the audience. The highest frequency of median modal verbs depict the balanced personality of the speaker. For instance,

> *POS63 I **shall** always be guided by the principles of justice and fair play without any , as is put in the political language, prejudice or ill-will; in other words, partiality or favoritism .S64 My guiding principle **will** be justice and complete impartiality, and I am sure that with your support and cooperation, I can look forward to Pakistan becoming one of the greatest Nations of the world."*

In the above mentioned lines, the use of positive modal verbs of median politeness can be seen which depicts the elements of balance and confidence in the personality of Jinnah. Moreover, the speaker has seemed to evoke a sense of togetherness and sharing with the audience.

> *P6 S29 I know there are people who do not quite agree with the division of India and the partition of the Punjab and Bengal ... and I am sure future history will record its verdict in favour of it .S36 And what is more, it will be proved by actual experience , as we go on that that was the only solution of India's constitutional problem.*

In the above given example, the use of median positive modal verb will indicates the confidence of the speaker in his vision and there is a sense of equality on part of the speaker. The message is neither oppressive nor dominating for the audience.

> *P5S27 I want to make it quite clear that I shall never tolerate any kind of jobbery [corrupt employment practices], nepotism, or any any influence directly or indirectly brought to bear upon me. S28 Whenever I will find that such a practice is in vogue or is continuing anywhere, low or high, I shall certainly not countenance it.*

From the above lines, the use of modal verbs depict median level of politeness, however, there is an inclination of the speaker towards the seriousness of the matter and also the speaker has laid due emphasis on the fact that there will be no tolerance as far as corruption and dishonesty is concerned. However, any sort of domination or supremacy

on part of the speaker can not be depicted from these lines. It does not evoke the sense of oppression of the audience and at the same time a message which is genuine is also conveyed.

> *P2 s13 The first and the foremost thing that I **would** like to emphasize is this: remember that you are now a Sovereign Legislative body and you have got all the powers.s14 It therefore places on you the gravest responsibility as to how you **should** take your decisions.s15 The first observation that I **would** like to make is this: You **will** no doubt agree with me that the first duty of a government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State.*

In the above example, it becomes quite obvious that the speaker has tried his best to evoke the sense of community, togetherness and solidarity among the audience. The utilization of median positive modal verbs is carried out in a very convincing and compelling manner. The speaker has conveyed the message of unity and mutual cooperation in an explicit manner that together we, government and people, can make a disciplined and prosperous nation. Thus, due importance is given to the audience and their role in cooperation with the government.

The next highest percentage of utilization of modal verbs is shown by the positive modal verbs of low level politeness. The low median modal verbs include can, may, could, might, dare show 17% of the result. The low value of politeness stands for less stressed propositions, opinions that are not inclined towards dominance. For instance, in the following lines it becomes quite obvious that the speaker has used low positive modal

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verbs for the purpose of creating unity among the audience. He is not emphasizing on his views rather he is more likely to assert his opinion with lesser force.

> *P653:Any idea of a united India **could** never have worked , and in my judgment it would have led us to terrific disaster. s3« **May** be that view is correct; **may** be it is not; that remains to be seen. On both sides, in Hindustan and Pakistan, there are sections of people who may not agree with it, who may not like it; but in my judgment there was no other solution ...*

On the other hand, the use of low positive modal verbs is very tactfully made to show confidence in the ability and power of nation. Also a neutral perspective is conveyed regarding religion, caste and creed that affairs of nation's progress has nothing to do with these aspects. A sense of uniformity and equality is aroused among the people including minorities.

> *P754« No power **can** hold another nation, and specially a nation of 400 million souls, in subjection; nobody **could** have conquered you, and even if it had happened , nobody **could** have continued its hold on you for any length of time ...ss2 You **may** belong to any religion or caste or creed -- that has nothing to do with the business of the State ...*

The lines given below also make good use of low positive modal 'can' in the sense that the role of people and their importance has been conveyed without reflecting self.

> *s64l am sure that with your support and cooperation, I **can** look forward to Pakistan becoming one of the greatest Nations of the world.*

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The findings reveal that the high positive modal verbs i.e. must, ought to, need, has/had to show a percentage of 10%. These modal verbs are mainly used to express strong opinions and to establish strong forces in discourse. Furthermore, they also depict the particular social status and personality of the speaker by reflecting dominance to certain extent. Following are few examples taken from the analysis:

> *P115S110 The State language therefore, **must** obviously be Urdu, a language that has been nurtured by a hundred million Muslims of this sub-continent, a language understood throughout the length and breadth of Pakistan and above all, a language which, more than any other provincial language, embodies the best that is in Islamic culture and Muslim tradition and is nearest to the language used in other Islamic countries.*

> *P16S151 Now I want that you **must** divert your mind, your attention, your aims and ambition to other channels and other avenues and fields that are open to you ....*

> *P20S177 You **must** devote yourself whole-heartedly to your studies, for that is your first obligation to yourselves, your parents and to the State. .s178 You **must** learn to obey for only then you can learn to command.s179 In your criticism of the Government you **must** learn to be constructive.*

In the above mentioned examples, the speaker strongly gives his opinion and lays a required amount of stress depending up the demand of the proposition. It also becomes evident from these examples that the speaker is the responsible leader who is guiding,

motivating and at the same time strongly compelling the audience to recognize their role in nation building and prosperity.

3. The tenses of the verbs in the speeches revealed that the simple present, present perfect, simple future and simple past tense obtained the significant percentage 64, 10, 10, 7 percent respectively. As far as the tenses of verbs is concerned, the results of the analysis depict that there is more simple tenses of verbs employed by the speaker which greatly depicts a close relationship which the speaker has established with his audience. In order to evoke a sense of better connection with the nation, speaker has made enormous use of simple tenses of verbs as becomes evident from the following excerpt:

> *ᵨ₄₃ ₛ₃₀₀ Parsis as a community **have** fortunately escaped the ravage of the recent internecine conflict that has brought so much suffering to other communities.ₛ₃₀₁ They **have** already established a place for themselves in this country by their organizing ability, spirit of enterprise and hard work.ₛ₃₀₂ Pakistan **provides** an ample field for the outlet of their genius particularly in the realm of trade, commerce and industry and they should come forward and play their role as true citizens in making Pakistan one of I see no reason why the future should hold any terror for them the greatest nations and a land of prosperity and plenty.*

4. The overall use of personal pronouns in the corpora shows that the mean percentage for first person pronoun 'I' and 'we' is 20 or 10 percent, second person 'You' is 26 percent, third person pronoun he, it, they occur as 3,8, 6 percent respectively. However, the possessive pronouns my, our, your, his, its, their shows mean frequency percentage of 2, 5, 12, 1, 1, and 3 respectively. The use of pronoun 'You' refers to the person the speaker

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is talking to. There are multiple functions, one of which is to serve an indefinite pronoun which can be a replacement for I and refer to the speaker.

> *p/ass.A great responsibility rests on you and, on the contrary, now more than ever, it is necessary for us to work as a united and disciplined nation.*

The indefinite 'you' is however not used to discuss the actual experience rather it points towards the conventional wisdom. In this sense, 'you' is mostly used to convey common sense or a universally known fact/truth, with the hope of receiving acceptance from the audience. (Allen, 2007:13f).

On the other hand, Beard (2000) asserts that the use of 'I' in political speeches puts the speaker in a more positive light and thus separates the 'self' from 'other' and ends up in putting the 'self' in a more positive light. This separation of self from other can be considered as negative to highlight one's own authority, supremacy and a sense of inequality on behalf of the speaker (p. 45).

> *p15 s126 My young friends, I would, therefore, like to tell you a few points about which you should be vigilant and beware .s134All this demands complete solidarity, unity and discipline. s135 I assure you, 'Divided you fall, United you stand'.*

In the following excerpt, the use of 'I' greatly depicts the hopes and positive intentions of the speaker on part of his nation.

> *p17 s163 Finally, I thank you again Mr. Chancellor and particularly you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor for the warm welcome you have given me and the very flattering*

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personal references made by you .si64 I hope, nay I am confident that the East Bengal youth will not fail us.

'We' is sometimes used to convey the image one person or party as team and therefore a shared responsibility. It can be classified as the inclusive 'we' and the exclusive 'we'. The inclusive 'we' refers to both the speaker and the audience. It is also used sometimes by the politicians to avoid speaking about them as an individual and instead suggest that the audience is involved too and this creates a sense of responsibility, sharing and solidarity. In this way, the audience gets a share in the issues, success, and responsibility regarding the matter under discussion (Bramely, 2001:76ff).

> *p76 si70 Now that we have achieved our national goal , you will expect me to give you a bit of advice regarding the manner in which we can put our shoulders behind the most difficult and important task of building up our new State into what we all wish it to be : namely one of the greatest States in the world.*

The above lines are the best example of the use of pronoun 'We' in its inclusive role. The speaker is using pronoun 'We' as he is including the audience as well.

5. The discourse features in terms of transitivity as revealed from the analyzed corpora shows that the transitivity function of material processes has highest mean frequency percentage of 217, followed by second highest relational processes to be 138 and third highest is of mental processes i.e. 74 percent. However, verbal, existential and behavioral processes show minimal frequency percentage of 29, 24 and 17 percent respectively.

5.2. Conclusion

The conclusion answers the research questions that were manifested in the Introduction of the study.

The first research question put forward was the overall structure of the speeches and it is well served from the analysis of the speeches in detail. The overall structure of the analyzed speeches of Jinnah clearly shows that the linguistic features used by the speaker express determination, motivation, willingness and intention on the part of the speaker. The language used was such that the audience could easily understand it. The main focus of the speeches was to motivate the people and citizens of the newly founded country Pakistan rather than focusing on the use of embellished language and complex sentences. Thus, the language was easy to embrace and understand.

The second research question was focused on the discourse features in terms of transitivity and modality. Hence, the discourse features in terms of transitivity express that the focus of the speaker is more on reality based achievements rather than dreams and unattainable goals. The speaker also intends to make reality based assessments and opinions. While in terms of modality, the use of linguistic units is to seek cooperation and team work and also to persuade and motivate the audience so that they should work hard as a unit. The main motive is to establish sense of solidarity, unity and strength among the audience. It also revealed his attitude or opinion about the truth of a proposition expressed by a sentence and made his audience to plainly accept his speeches, thus, it aided him great emphasis to serve and show his positivity to achieve greater goals.

The third research question is answered well through the interpersonal analysis of the corpora. The role of interpersonal metafunction in Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar cannot be

overlooked. It has a vital role in determining role of the speaker in communicative acts. It helps in conveying feelings, and attitudes.

The fourth research questions is about using the kinds of personal pronouns so it becomes clear from the analysis that various kinds of personal pronouns are used by the speaker in his speeches and they proved to be quite helpful in understanding the ideological underpinnings of the speeches. However, the use of first person pronoun 'I' and second person pronoun 'You' was found to be in abundance. The use of pronouns has different referential connotations in the speeches depending upon the context of discussion. The results also revealed that the use of pronoun 'I' was in abundance and the use of this pronoun never aroused the feeling of speaker's supremacy and audience's inferiority at any point in the speech. However, the use of pronoun 'I' was entirely in a positive manner which helped in communicating the intentions of the speaker and also to guide the audience. Furthermore, the use of 'You also indicated the positivity in the speaker's attitude and tone. It would be safe to claim that the use of pronoun 'You' was not generic at any point in the speeches and it was focused on addressing the audience and the people of Pakistan. However, the use of generic 'you' has negative connotation in political speeches and it is mostly used by the politicians to criticize others.

The fifth research question is regarding the frequency of personal pronouns usage in the corpora and the way they construe ideology and promote the leadership qualities. As far as the frequency of personal pronouns is concerned, the second person pronoun 'You' shows the highest average frequency of 209 or 26 percent, followed by the first person pronoun 'I' constituting the frequency of 154 or 20 percent. However, there is a minimal usage of other pronouns, this shows that the speaker has his entire focus on the addressees even more than himself. He was more indulged in guiding the youth, as well as the other citizens of the nation from all age groups, cast

and creed. This shows that speaker's intent was not to assure his supremacy by talking about his own qualities and personality throughout the speeches. He was not indulged in self-praise and self-centeredness rather he was focused, and determined about motivating the audience and directing them to do what is required from them for the prosperity of the nation. It also becomes evident that the interest of the nation and its people was of primary importance for the speaker. Thus, the pronominal choices made in the corpora depicted positivity, selflessness, importance of public interest, devotion and spirit of hard work and enthusiasm in the overall personality of the speaker. These are, indeed, qualities of a true leader.

The sixth research question is regarding the use of language for the propagation of ideology. Hence, political leaders must consider the fact that they cannot speak casually as their own person. Instead they speak in a manner that is acceptable, appropriate and suits well to his status as a leader. His words must intent to gain confidence, trust and acceptance from the audience and supporters.

There are several operating factors working behind the present leadership crisis in Pakistan. As revealed from this study, the main problem is the duality of words and actions. The personality of Jinnah, as a leader, as portrayed through his speeches shows that he was determined, possessed strength of character to do good deeds and motivate the citizens for doing good and hard work for the welfare and success of nation. Moreover, he had a clear vision and foresightedness along with the potential to do what is right and guide others from indulging in corruption as well. The present leadership crisis in Pakistan is mainly due to the shortsightedness of the leaders, the politeness is also lacking in their attitude and language. Furthermore, they are not strong enough to take a well-considered stance and then stand by their words. Jinnah

motivated, guided and directed the students for the welfare of the nation and asked them not to be used by the evil. However, the current leadership provokes for the worst.

Nowadays in Pakistan, politics is considered more like a business and it is not seriously considered and adopted for the welfare of its people. There is no gauge, no check and balance to monitor the work of leaderships in Pakistan. Politics is turned out a profession or business for meeting one's own needs and fulfilling desires. There are no defined parameters to scrutinize the quality of leadership. There are workshops for the teachers in order to bring them up to the level of specific institution, specialization and house jobs for the doctors, and training for the selected candidates of civil services but unfortunately there is no such thing designed for the refinement and improvement of selected political candidate. There is a dire need to set a proper criterion for the candidates to enter the parliament and educational level of the politicians should be raised as well as it should be made sure that the requirements must be strictly followed. High educational standard of the leader is much needed since a leader must have a vision and knowledge to accept and meet the challenges in a competent manner. Pakistan and its people need an honorable and formidable leader who is progressive in his ideas, persuasive in his advocacy and equally persistent in the implementation of the ideas like Jinnah.

It is a huge responsibility to lead, govern and serve the nation so for that it should be a must for a leader to be more visionary, learned, disciplined and competent. Leading a nation is not a small job to do, a leader is on a high pedestal and pedestals are always shaky. For staying on the higher pedestal and leading the nation successfully, strength of character is greatly required. It's a high time to think about the present political crisis in Pakistan and improve the condition in light of the example settled by Jinnah and other visionary leaders.

No doubt, the application of Critical Discourse Analysis in this study has helped in revealing the ideology of the speaker by emphasizing on the positive and good deeds.

5.3. Recommendations

The present research can be discussed in terms of its theoretical and practical implication. As far as theoretical standing of the research is concerned it shows that language can be effectively used as a tool to construct and propagate specific ideology. Furthermore, language serves as a medium through which the listeners or readers are influenced. Thus, it can be asserted that this study has its implications for the theory of Critical Discourse Analysis. The present study also highlighted the theoretical stance that political discourses are generally characterized by linguistic expressions which are purposefully chosen by the speakers to achieve specific goals and to influence the audience. This study makes it clear that Jinnah very carefully opted for specific forms, words and expressions in order to construe and convey the specific ideology. Hence, this research has implications for the theory of Political Discourse Analysis as well which is studied under the umbrella of Critical Discourse Analysis. Besides, this research also has implications for the future researches since there is an increasing interest in research to study the speeches of great leaders who rendered invaluable services. In this way, it serves as an incentive for further researches in the field of Political Discourse Analysis.

Recommendations for further researchers are that the combination of micro and macro-structural approach in the analysis of text can be focused in conducting researches related to Critical Discourse Analysis. Since there are already quite a lot of researches conducted on pronominal choices in political speeches of politicians of the same country or in same context, so it might be interesting to compare and contrast the political speeches from different countries of the world having different societal and geographical values. It is highly recommended that further political

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discourse research should be conducted in those countries where democracy is considerably a new phenomenon and where the Systemic Functional Linguistics is not much institutionalized. Moreover, it is also recommended to study the political discourses of leaders to unearth the contradictions between their ideologies before and after elections.

A similar approach as that of the present research can be applied on a wider perspective and broader corpora to shed light on other features of Critical Discourse Analysis as well such as to discover the ethnic disputes and conflicts in political discourses to resolve them in order to improve the overall political structure.

This research has significant pedagogical implications as well. As the analysis reveals that the speeches of Jinnah contain the grammatical metaphors and prove to be quite comprehensive as compared to the speeches delivered by the present leaders. Thus, it is suggested that these speeches should be included in the curriculum of grammar skills and language teaching classes. The language teachers are advised to include these speeches as a complementary part of English language learning classrooms instead of teaching and focusing entirely on international parliamentary speeches. The language teachers are advised to teach the students and motivate them to learn how to critically analyze text using Critical Discourse Analysis approach. This will prove to be an ideal pedagogical tool in improving the skills of the students to become communicatively competent but also in improving their critical discourse and analytical skills.

This research holds not only pedagogical implications for language teachers and language learners. It has its implications for literature teachers and students as well. The literature teachers can also apply Systemic Functional Grammar in their classes which will help the students in gaining knowledge which will eventually help in improving writing skills. It will be helpful for their reading comprehension too. In addition to this, Critical Discourse Analysis is an approach

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which helps in developing an insight into the discursive structures of various texts together with the socio-political effects. It creates awareness equally among the readers and the listeners to critically analyze the discourses and understand the underlying ideologies.

Another important pedagogical implication of this study for the students is that the attempt to critically analyze the texts will help in developing an aptitude for critically thinking about the aspects being implicitly left, misinterpreted, manipulated by some writers and speakers. Moreover, the students can learn to think critically and to achieve self-actualization which is considered to be the fundamental aspect of all educational enterprise. The short-sightedness and close mindedness of students can be overcome by applying the CDA approach to the researches. In this way, the students can enhance their analytical abilities to unearth the underlying agendas and ideologies, and understanding the fallacious arguments, religious and political taboos, political conflicts, suppression of minorities, distorting the realities, construction and imposition of ideologies.

Furthermore, research can be conducted featuring different genres and contexts of spoken discourse such as live conversations employing Critical Discourse Analysis as an approach with more linguistic outputs. This analysis helps the learners in exploring the use of language and how it can be used to achieve communicative goals in various contexts.

On the other hand, it is highly recommended that the present political leaders should take guidance from the speeches of Jinnah in order to improve the content of their speeches as well as it will also hone their oratory skills. The speeches of Jinnah serve to be a perfect example of enthusiasm, devotion, oration, discipline as well as quality of content which lacks in the speeches of the present political leaders. Jinnah's speeches can prove to be of utmost guidance for the present political leaders in order to become politically groomed.

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The political history of Pakistan is replete of mainly two types of leaderships/rulers i.e. military Generals and Civilian politicians. Both of them are always found to defend themselves and project positive and constructive role for the betterment of the nation through oral as well as written discourse. In order emphasize their claims; they relied on booming assertions and strong aggressive discourse. The propagation and enforcement of the ideas and agendas takes place through various mediums such as media interviews, television talk shows, public speeches and articles etc. In effort of proving their political assertions and claims to be genuine and arguing in favor of their rule and role, they unknowingly commit errors which turn out to be the logical fallacies. Hence studies can be conducted to focus on these logical fallacies of the political discourses through the lens of Critical Discourse Analysis. Moreover, the misleading arguments and claims can be scrutinized from various perspectives using CDA as approach.

Critical Discourse Analysis of the political discourses specifically made by the Pakistani military Generals, i.e. General Zia ul Haq, General Ayub Khan and General Pervaiz Musharraf, can prove to be yet another interesting dimension. Furthermore, comparative study of military leaders and civilian leaders can be conducted which will probably lead to striking revelation. It will also depict the ways in which the discourses are affected by the mind-set, background and overall exposure of the military and the civilian leaders.

There is a great difference between the speeches delivered by Jinnah and the present political leaders. This research is an attempt to offer an insight into the Pakistani political discourse. It lends an idea for future researchers to inquire more about Pakistani political discourses and the frame of mind with which the ideology is propagated by the leaders of Pakistan. It facilitates to develop a critical point of view regarding the overall prevailing ideological crisis of Pakistani leadership crisis in comparison with the ideology propagated by the discourses of Jinnah. It

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promotes an idea for future researchers to critically analyze the policies and strategic planning of the state apparatuses and also to observe the interactional behavior of the political leaders of Pakistan. There is a large scope for the researchers to focus this area for their research. Moreover, the political discourse in National Assembly of Pakistan can be an interesting area to be explored and it will prove to a productive research as it will provide a better understanding of our own political leaders, their ideology and the crisis in Pakistan. Use of aggressive language and hyperbolic expressions can also be an attention grabbing topic for the future researches. Besides, a comparison can be made between the discourses made by Pakistani leaders on national and international forum. It will definitely prove to be stimulating. There is a need to conduct research on such topics as there is a considerable vacuum in this area of research in Pakistani context.

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APPENDIX A

(Transitivity Analysis)

1. On His Election As First President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan

11 August 1947

Presidential Address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan at Karachi

[P1 S1] Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen!

[S2] I cordially **thank** [Material] you, with the utmost sincerity, for the honour you **have** [Relational] conferred upon me -- the greatest honour that **is** [Relational] possible for this Sovereign Assembly to confer -- by **electing** [Material] me as your first President.[S3] I also **thank** [Material] those leaders who **have** [Relational] spoken in appreciation of my services and [thank them for] their personal references to me.[S4] I sincerely **hope** [Mental] that with your support and your co-operation we shall **make** [Material] this Constituent Assembly an example to the world. [S5] The Constituent Assembly **has** [Relational] **got** [Material] two main functions to **perform** [Material].[S6] The first **is** [Relational] the very onerous and responsible task of **framing** [Material] the future constitution of Pakistan and the second of **functioning** [Material] as a full and complete sovereign body as the Federal Legislature of Pakistan.[S7] We **have to** [Relational] **do** [Material] the best we can in adopting a provisional constitution for the Federal Legislature of Pakistan.[S8] You **know** [Mental] really that not only we ourselves are **wondering** [Behavioral] but, I **think** [Mental], the whole world is **wondering** [Behavioral] at this unprecedented cyclonic revolution which has **brought** [Material] about the plan of **creating and establishing** [Material] two independent Sovereign Dominions in this sub-continent.[S9] As it is, it **has** [Relational] been

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unprecedented; there **is** [Relational] no parallel in the history of the world. *S10* This mighty sub-continent with kinds of inhabitants **has** [Relational] been **brought** [Material] under a plan which **is** [Relational] titanic, unknown, unparalleled. *S11* And what **is** [Relational] very important with regard to it **is** [Relational] that we **have** [Relational] **achieved** [Material] it **peacefully** [Behavioral] and by means of an evolution of the greatest possible character.

P2 S12 **Dealing** [Material] with our first function in this Assembly, I cannot **make** [Material] any **well-considered** [Mental] **pronouncement** [Verbal] at this moment, but I shall **say** [Verbal] a few things as they **occur** [Material] to me. *S13* The first and the foremost thing that I would **like** [Mental] to **emphasize** [Material] is this: remember [Mental] that you are **now** [Existential] a Sovereign Legislative body and you **have** [Relational] **got** [Material] all the powers.*S14* It therefore places on you the **gravest** [Relational] **responsibility** [Behavioral] as to how you should **take** [Material] your decisions.*S15* The first **observation** [Material] that I would **like** [Mental] to **make** [Material] is this: You will no **doubt** [Mental] **agree** [Material] with me that the first duty of a government **is** [Relational] to **maintain** [Material] law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully **protected** [Material] by the State.

P3 S16 The second thing that **occurs** [Material] to me **is** [Relational] this: One of the biggest curses from which India **is** [Relational] **suffering** [Material]-- I do not **say** [Verbal] that other countries are free from it, but I **think** [Mental] our condition **is** [Relational] much worse-- **is** [Relational] bribery and corruption.*S17* That really **is** [Relational] a poison. *S18* We must **put that down** [Material] with an **iron hand** [Relational], and I **hope** [Mental] that you will **take** [Material] adequate measures as soon as it **is** [Relational] possible for this Assembly to **do** [Material] so.

P4 S19 Black-marketing **is** [Relational] another curse.[S20] Well, **I know** [Mental] that black-marketeers are frequently **caught** [Material] and **punished** [Material]. [S21] Judicial sentences are **passed** [Material], or sometimes fines only are **imposed** [Material].[S22] **Now** [Existential] you **have to** [Mental] tackle [Material] this monster, which **today** [Existential] **is** [Relational] a colossal crime against society, in our **distressed** [Relational] conditions, when we constantly face shortage of food and other essential commodities of life. [S23] A citizen who **does** [Material] black-marketing **commits** [Material], I **think** [Mental], a greater crime than the biggest and most grievous of crimes. [S24] These black-marketeers are really **knowing, intelligent, and ordinarily responsible** [Relational] people, and when they **indulge** [Material] in black-marketing, I **think** [Mental] they *ought to* be **very severely** [Relational] **punished** [Material], because they **undermine** [Material] the entire system of control and regulation of foodstuffs and essential commodities, and **cause** [Material] wholesale **starvation** [Material] and **want** [Material] and even **death** [Material].

P5 S25 The next thing that **strikes** [Material] me is this: **Here** [Existential] again it **is** [Relational] a legacy which **has** [Relational] been **passed** [Material] on to us.[S26] Along with many other things, **good** and **bad [Relational]**, **has** [Relational] **arrived** [Material] this great evil -- the evil of **nepotism** and **jobbery** [Material].[S27] I **want to make it quite clear** [Material] that I shall never **tolerate** [Material] any kind of **jobbery** [Material] [corrupt employment practices], **nepotism** [Material], or any any influence directly or indirectly **brought** [Material] to bear upon me. [S28] Whenever I will **find** [Material] that such a practice is in vogue or is continuing **anywhere** [Existential], low or high, I shall certainly not **countenance** [Material] it.

P6 S29 **I know** [Mental] there are people who do not quite **agree** [Material] with the **division** [Material] of India and the **partition** [Material] of the Punjab and Bengal.*S30* Much has been **said** [Verbal] against it, but **now** [Existential] that it **has** [Relational] been **accepted [Material]**, it is [Relational] the duty of every one of us to **loyally** [Behavioral] **abide** [Material] by it and **honourably** [Behavioral] **act** [Material] according to the **agreement** [Material] which is [Relational] **now** [Existential] final and binding on all *S31* But you must **remember** [Mental], as I **have** [Relational] **said** [Verbal], that this mighty **revolution** [Material] that **has** [Relational] **taken place** [Material] is unprecedented.*S32* One can quite **understand** [Mental] the feeling that **exists** [Existential] between the two communities wherever one community **is** [Relational] in majority and the other **is** [Relational] in minority.*S33* But the question is, whether it **was** [Relational] possible or practicable to act otherwise than what **has** [Relational] been **done** [Material].*S34*A **division** [Material] **had** [Relational] to **take place** [Material].*S35* On both sides, in Hindustan and Pakistan, there are sections of people who may not **agree** [Material] with it, who may not **like** [Mental] it; but in my **judgment** [Mental] there **was** [Relational] no other solution, and I am **sure** [Mental] future history will **record** [Material] its verdict in favour of it.*S36* And what **is** [Relational] more, it will be **proved** [Material] by actual experience as we **go on** [Material] that that **was** [Relational] the only solution of India's constitutional problem. *S37*Any idea of a united India could never **have** [Relational] **worked** [Material], and in my judgment it would **have** [Relational] **led** [Material] us to terrific disaster. *S38* May be that **view** [Mental] **is** [Relational] correct; may be it **is** [Relational] not; that remains to be seen [Mental].*S39* All the same, in this division it **was** [Relational] impossible to **avoid** [Material] the question of minorities being in one Dominion or the other. *S40* Now that **was** [Relational] unavoidable. *S41* There **is** [Relational] no other solution. *S42* **Now** [Existential] what shall we **do** [Material]? *S43*

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Now [Existential], if we want to **make** [Material] this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous, we should wholly and solely **concentrate** [Material] on the well-being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor.[544] If you will **work** [Material] in co-operation, **forgetting** [Mental] the past, **burying** [Material] the hatchet, you are bound to succeed. [545] If you **change** [Material] your past and **work** [Material] together in a spirit that every one of you, no matter to what community he **belongs** [Material], no matter what relations he **had** [Relational] with you in the past, no matter what **is** [Relational] his colour, caste, or creed, is first, second, and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges, and obligations, there will be no end to the **progress** [Material] you will **make** [Material].

[P7 546] I cannot **emphasize** [Material] it too much.[547] We should **begin** [Material] to work in that spirit, and in course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities, the Hindu community and the Muslim community -- because even as regards Muslims you **have** [Relational] Pathans, Punjabis, Shias, Sunnis and so on, and among the Hindus you **have** [Relational] Brahmins, Vashnavas, Khatris, also Bengalees, Madrasis and so on -- will **vanish** [Material].[548] Indeed if you **ask** [Verbal] me, this **has** [Relational] been the biggest hindrance in the way of India to **attain** [Material] the freedom and independence, and but for this we would **have** [Relational] been free people long long ago.[549] No power can hold another nation, and specially a nation of 400 million souls, in subjection; nobody could **have** [Relational] **conquered** [Material] you, and even if it had **happened** [Material], nobody could **have** [Relational] **continued** [Material] its hold on you for any length of time, but for this. [550] Therefore, we must **learn** [Material] a lesson from this. [551] You are free; you are free to **go** [Material] to your temples, you are free to **go** [Material] to your mosques or to any other place or **worship** [Material] in this State of Pakistan.[552] You may belong to any religion or caste or creed -- that

has [Relational] nothing to do [Material] with the business of the State.[553] As you **know** [Mental], history **shows** [Material] that in England conditions, some time ago, were much worse than those **prevailing** [Material] in India today.[554] The Roman Catholics and the Protestants **persecuted** [Material] each other.[555] Even **now** [Existential] there are some States in existence where there are discriminations **made** [Material] and bars **imposed** [Material] against a particular class. [556] **Thank** [Material] God, we are not **starting** [Material] in those days.[557] We are **starting** [Material] in the days **where there** [Existential] is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another. [558] We are **starting** [Material] with this fundamental principle: that we are all citizens, and equal citizens, of one State.[559] The people of England in [the] course of time had to **face** [Material] the realities of the situation, and **had** [Relational] to **discharge** [Material] the responsibilities and burdens **placed** [Material] upon them by the government of their country; and they **went** [Material] through that fire step by step.[560] **Today** [Existential], you might **say** [Verbal] with justice that Roman Catholics and Protestants do not **exist** [Material]; what **exists now** [Existential] **is** [Relational] that every man **is** [Relational] a citizen, an equal citizen of Great Britain, and they are **all** members of the Nation.

[P8 S61] Now I **think** [Mental] we should **keep** [Material] that in front of us as our ideal, and you will **find** [Material] that in course of time Hindus would **cease** [Material] to be Hindus, and Muslims would **cease** [Material] to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is [Relational] the personal **faith** [Mental] of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.

[P9 S62] Well, gentlemen, I do not **wish** [Mental] to **take up** [Material] any more of your time; and **thank** [Material] you again for the honor you **have** [Relational] **done** [Material] to me.[563] I shall

always [Existential] be **guided** [Material] by the principles of justice and fair play without any, as is put in the political language, **prejudice** or **ill-will** [Behavioral]; in other words, **partiality** or **favoritism** [Behavioral].[564] My guiding principle will be **justice** [Material] and complete **impartiality** [Material], and I am **sure** [Mental] that with your support and co-operation, I can **look** [Mental] forward to Pakistan **becoming** [Material] one of the greatest Nations of the world. -

[P10 S65] I **have** [Relational] **received** [Material] a message from the United States of America **addressed** [Verbal] to me. [S66] It reads [Verbal]:

I **have** [Relational] the honour to **communicate** [Material] to you, in Your **Excellency's capacity** [Relational] as President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, the following message which I **have** [Relational] just **received** [Material] from the Secretary of State of the United States: On the occasion of the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly for Pakistan, I **extend** [Material] to you and to the members of the Assembly, the **best wishes** [Mental] of the Government and the people of the United States for the successful conclusion of the great work you are about to **undertake** [Material].

2. The Role of Students in Nation Building

24 March 1948

Speech at the Dacca University Convocation

P11 S67 Mr. Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen!

S68 When I was **approached** [Material] by your Vice-chancellor with a request to **deliver** [Material] the Convocation Address, I **made** [Material] it clear to him that there were so many calls on me that I could not possible **prepare** [Material] a formal convocation address on an academic level with regard to the great subjects with which University deals, such as arts, history, philosophy, science, law and so on.*S69* I did, however, **promise** [Material] to **say** [Verbal] a few words to the students on this occasion, and it **is** [Relational] in fulfillment of that promise that I will **address** [Material] you **now** [Existential].

P12 S70 First of all, let me **thank** [Material] the Vice-Chancellor for the **flattering terms** [Verbal] in which he **referred** [Material] to me. *S71* Mr. Vice-Chancellor, whatever I **am** [Existential], and whatever I **have** [Relational] **been** [Existential] able to do, I **have** [Relational] **done** [Material] it merely as a measure of duty which is incumbent upon every Musalman to **serve** [Material] his people **honestly** [Behavioral] and **selflessly** [Behavioral].

P13 S72 In **addressing** [Material] you I am not **speaking** [Material] **here** [Existential] to you as Head of the State, but as a friend, and as one who **has** [Relational] always **held** [Material] you in **affection** [Behavioral].*S73* Many of you **have** [Relational] **today** [Existentia] **got** [Material] your diplomas and degrees and I **congratulate** [Material] you. *S74* Just as you **have** [Relational] **won** [Material] the laurels in your University and **qualified** [Material] yourselves, so I **wish** [Mental]

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you all success in the wider and larger world that you will **enter** [Material]. [575]Many of you **have** [Relational] **come** [Material] to the end of your scholastic career and **stand** [Material] at the threshold of life. [576] Unlike your predecessors, you fortunately **leave** [Material] this University to **enter** [Material] life under a sovereign, independent State of your own.[577] It is necessary that you and your other fellow students fully **understand** [Mental] the implications of the revolutionary change that **took place** [Material] on the birth of Pakistan.[578] We **have** [Relational] **broken** [Material] the shackles of slavery; we are **now** [Existential] a free people.[579] Our State is our **own** [Relational] State.[580] Our Government is our **own** [Relational] Government of the people, responsible to the people of the State and **working** [Material] for the good of the State.[581] Freedom, however, does not mean licence.[582] It does not **mean** [Mental] that you can **now** [Existential] **behave** [Material] just as you **please** [Mental] and do what you **like** [Mental], irrespective of the interests of other people or of the State.[583]A great responsibility rests on you and, on the contrary, **now** [Existential] more than ever, it **is** [Relational] necessary for us to work as a **united** [Relational] and **disciplined** [Relational] nation.[584] What **is** [Relational] **now** [Existential] required of us all is constructive spirit and not the militant spirit of the days when we **were** [Relational] **fighting** [Material] for our freedom.[585] It **is** [Relational] far more difficult to **construct** [Material] than to **have** [Relational] a militant spirit for the **attainment** [Material] of freedom.[586] It **is** [Relational] easier to **go** [Material] to jail or **fight** [Material] for freedom than to **run** [Material] a Government. [587] Let me **tell** [Verbal] you something of the difficulties that we **have** [Relational] **overcome** [Material] and of the dangers that still **lie** [Material] ahead.[588] **Thwarted** [Material] in their desire to **prevent** [Material] the establishment of Pakistan, our enemies turned their attention to **finding** [Material] ways and means to **weaken** [Material] and **destroy** [Material] us.[589] Thus, hardly **had** [Relational] the new State come into **being** [Material]

when came the Punjab and Delhi holocaust.[590] Thousands of men, women and children **were** [Relational] **mercilessly** [Behavioral] **butchered** [Material] and millions **were** [Relational] **uprooted** [Material] from their homes.[591] Over fifty lakhs of these **arrived** [Material] in the Punjab within a matter of weeks.[592] The care and **rehabilitation** [Material] of these unfortunate refugees, stricken in body and in soul, presented problems, which might well **have** [Relational] **destroyed** [Material] many a well-established State. [593] But those of our enemies who **had** [Relational] **hoped** [Mental] to kill Pakistan at its very **inception** [Material] by these means were **disappointed** [Material].[594] Not only **has** [Relational] Pakistan **survived** [Material] the shock of that upheaval, but it **has** [Relational] **emerged** [Material] stronger, more chastened and better equipped than **ever** [Existential].

[P14 595] There **followed** [Relational] in rapid succession other difficulties, such as withholding by India of our cash balances, of our share of military equipment and lately, the institution of an almost complete economic blockade of your Province.[596] I **have** [Relational] no **doubt** [Mental] that all right-thinking men in the Indian Dominion **deplore** [Material] these happenings and I am **sure** [Mental] the attitude of the mind that **has** [Relational] been responsible for them will change, but it **is** [Relational] essential that you should **take** [Material] note of these developments.[597] They stress the importance of continued vigilance on our part.[598] Of late, they attack on your province, particularly, **has** [Relational] **taken** [Material] a subtler form.[599] Our enemies, among whom I **regret** [Mental] to **say** [Verbal], there are still some Muslims, **have** [Relational] set about actively encouraging provincialism in the **hope** [Mental] of **weakening** [Material] Pakistan and thereby **facilitating** [Material] the **re-absorption** [Material] of this province into the Indian Dominion.[5100] Those who are **playing** [Material] this game are **living** [Material] in a Fool's Paradise, but this does not **prevent** [Material] them from **trying** [Material].

S101 A flood of a false propaganda **is** [Relational] being daily **put** [Material] forth with the object of **undermining** [Material] the solidarity of the Musalmans of this State and **inciting** [Material] the people to commit acts of lawlessness.*S102* The recent language controversy, in which I am **sorry** [Mental] to make note, some of you **allowed** [Material] yourselves to **get involved** [Material] even after your Prime Minister had **clarified** [Material] the position, **is** [Relational] only one of the many subtle ways whereby the poison of provincialism **is** [Relational] being sedulously **injected** [Material] into this province. *S103* Does it not **strike** [Mental] you as rather odd that certain sections of the Indian press to whom the very name of Pakistan is anathema, should in the matter of language controversy, set themselves up as the champion of what they **call** [Material] your 'just rights'? *S104* **Is** [Relational] it not significant that the very persons who in the past **have** [Relational] **betrayed** [Material] the Musalmans or fought against Pakistan, which **is** [Relational] after all merely the embodiment of your fundamental right of self-determination, should **now** [Existential] suddenly pose as the saviours of your just right and incite you to defy the Government on the question of language? *S105* I must **warn** [Material] you to beware of these fifth-columnists.*S106* Let me **restate** [Verbal] my **views** [Mental] on the question of a State language for Pakistan. *S107* For official use in this Province, the people of the Province can **choose** [Material] any language they **wish** [Mental].*S108* This question will be **decided** [Material] solely in accordance with the **wishes** [Mental] of the people of this province alone, as freely **expressed** [Behavioral] through their accredited representatives at the appropriate time and after full and dispassionate **consideration** [Material].*S109* There can, however, **be** [Existential] only one lingua franca, that is, the language for inter-communication between the various provinces of the State, and that language, should be Urdu and cannot be any other.*S110* The State language therefore, must obviously be Urdu, a language that **has** [Relational]

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been nurtured by a hundred million Muslims of this sub-continent, a language **understood** [Mental] throughout the length and breadth of Pakistan and above all, a language which, more than any other provincial language. **embodies** [Material] the best that is in Islamic culture and Muslim tradition and **is** [Relational] nearest to the language used in other Islamic countries.[S111] It **is** [Relational] not without significance that Urdu **has** [Relational] been driven out of the Indian Union and that even the official use of the Urdu script **has** [Relational] been disallowed [Material].[S112] These facts are fully **known** [Mental] to the people who are **trying** [Material] to exploit the language controversy in order to stir up trouble.[S113] There **was** [Relational] no justification for **agitation** [Behavioral] but it did not suit their purpose to admit this.[S114] Their sole object in **exploiting** [Material] this controversy **is** [Relational] to create a split among the Muslims of this State, as indeed they **have** [Relational] made no secret of their efforts to incite hatred [Mental] against non-Bengali Musalmans.[S115] Realizing, however, that the statement that your Prime Minister **made** [Material] on the language controversy, on return from Karachi, **left** [Material] no room for agitation, in so far as it conceded the right of the people of this province to **choose** [Material] Bengali as their official language if they so **wished** [Mental], these persons **changed** [Material] their tactics.[S116] They started **demanding** [Material] that Bengali should be the State language of the Pakistan Center and since they could not overlook the obvious claims of Urdu as the official language of a Muslim State, they **proceeded** [Material] to demand that both Bengali and Urdu should be the State languages of Pakistan. [S117] **Make** [Material] no mistake about it.[S118] There can be only one State language, if the component parts of this State are to march forward in unison, and that language, in my **opinion** [Mental], can only be Urdu. [S119] I **have** [Relational] **spoken** [Material] at some length on this subject so as to **warn** [Material] you of the kind of tactics **adopted** [Material] by the enemies of Pakistan and certain opportunist

politicians to **try** [Material] to disrupt this State or to discredit the Government.[S120] Those of you who are about to enter life, be on your guard against these people.[S121] Those of you who **have** [Relationa] still to **continue** [Material] your studies for some time, do not **allow** [Material] yourselves to be exploited by any political party or self-seeking politician.[S122] As I **said** [Verbal] the other day, your main occupation should be in fairness to yourselves, in fairness to your parents and indeed, in fairness to the State, to **devote** [Material] your attention solely to your studies.[S123] It is only thus that you can **equip** [Material] yourselves for the battle of life that lies **ahead** [Existential] of you. [S124] Only thus will you be an asset and a source of strength and of pride to your State.[S125] Only thus, can you **assist** [Material] it in solving the great social and economic problems that confront it and enable it to **reach** [Material] its destined goal among the most progressive and strongest nations of the world.

[P15 S126] My young friends, I would, therefore, **like** [Mental] to **tell** [Verbal] you a few points about which you should be vigilant and beware.[S127] Firstly, beware of the fifth-columnists among ourselves. [S128] Secondly, guard against and weed out selfish people who only **wish** [Mental] to **exploit** [Material] you so that they may **swim** [Material].[S129] Thirdly, **learn** [Material] to judge who are really true and really honest and unselfish servants of the State who wish to serve the people with heart and soul and **support** [Material] them. [S130] Fourthly, consolidate the Muslim League Party which will **serve** [Material] and build up a really and truly great and glorious Pakistan.[S131] Fifthly, the Muslim League **has** [Relational] **won** [Material] and **established** [Material] Pakistan and it **is** [Relational] the Muslim League whose duty it **is** [Relational] **now** [Existential], as custodian of the sacred trust, to construct Pakistan.[S132] Sixthly, there may be many who did not **lift** [Material] their little fingers to **help** [Material] us in our struggle, nay even **opposed** [Material] us and **put** [Material] obstacle in our great struggle openly and not a few

worked in our enemy's camp against us, who may **now** [Existential] **come** [Material] forward and put their own attractive slogans, catch-words, ideals and programmes before you.*S133* But they **have** [Relational] yet to prove their bonafides or that there **has** [Relational] really been an honest change of heart in them, by supporting and joining the League and **working** [Material] and pressing [Material] their **views** [Mental] within the League Party organization and not by **starting** [Material] mushroom parties, at this juncture of very great and grave emergency when you **know** [Mental] that we are **facing** [Material] external dangers and are called upon to deal with internal complex problems of a far-reaching character affecting the future of seventy millions of people. *S134*All this demands complete solidarity, unity and discipline. *S135* I **assure** [Verbal] you, 'Divided you fall, United you stand'.

P16 S136 There **is** [Relational] another matter that I would **like** [Mental] to **refer to** [Material]. *S137* My young friends, hitherto, you **have** [Relational] been **following** [Material] the rut. *S138* You **get** [Material] your degrees and when you are **thrown** [Material] out of this University in thousands, all that you **think** [Mental] and hanker for is Government service.*S139* As your Vice-Chancellor **has** [Relational] rightly **stated** [Verbal] the main object of the old system of education and the system of Government existing, hitherto, was really to **have** [Relational] well-equipped clerks.*S140* Of course, some of them **went** [Material] higher and **found** [Material] their level, but the whole idea **was** [Relational] to **get** [Material] well-qualified clerks. *S141* Civil Service **was** [Relational] mainly staffed by the Britons and the Indian element **was** [Relational] **introduced** [Material] later on and it **went** [Material] up progressively.*S142* Well, the whole principle **was** [Relational] to **create** [Material] a mentality, a psychology, a state of mind, that an average man, when he **passed** [Material] his B.A. or M.A. **was** [Relational] to **look** [Mental] for some job in Government.*S143* If he **had** [Relational] it he thought he **had** [Relational] reached his height.*S144* I

know [Mental] and you all **know** [Mental] what **has** [Relational] been really the result of this. [S145] Our experience **has** [Relational] shown that an M.A. **earns** [Material] less than a taxi driver, and most of the so-called Government servants are **living** [Material] in a more miserable manner than many menial servants who are **employed** [Material] by well-to-do people. [S146] **Now** [Existential] I want you to **get out** [Material] of that rut and that mentality and especially **now** [Existential] that we are in free Pakistan. [S147] Government cannot absorb thousands. [S148] Impossible. [S149] But in the competition to **get** [Material] Government service most of you get demoralized. [S150] Government can **take** [Material] only a certain number and the rest cannot settle down to anything else and being disgruntled are always ready to be exploited by persons who **have** [Relational] their own axes to grind. [S151] **Now** [Existential] I want that you must **divert** [Material] your mind, your attention, your aims and ambition to other channels and other avenues and fields that are open to you and will increasingly become so. [S152] There is [Relational] no shame in doing manual work and labor. [S153] There **is** [Relational] an immense scope in technical education for we want technically qualified people very badly. [S154] You can **learn** [Material] banking, commerce, trade, law, etc., which provide so many opportunities **now** [Existential]. [S155] Already you find that new industries are being **started** [Material], new banks, new insurance companies, new commercial firms are opening [Material] and they will **grow** [Material], as you go on. [S156] **Now** [Existential] these are avenues and fields open to you. [S157] **Think** [Mental] of them and **divert** [Material] your attention to them, and **believe** [Mental] me, you will thereby benefit yourselves more than by merely **going** [Material] in for Government service and remaining there, in what I should say, a circle of clerkship, **working** [Material] there from morning till evening, in most dingy and uncomfortable conditions. [S158] You will be far **happy** [Mental] and far more prosperous with far more opportunities to rise if you take to

commerce and industry and will thus be **helping** [Material] not only yourselves but also your State.[S159] I can **give** [Material] you one instance.[S160] I **know** [Mental] a young man who was in Government service.[S161] Four years ago he **went** [Material] into a banking corporation on two hundred rupees, because he **had** [Relational] **studied** [Material] the subject of banking and **today** [Existential] he **is** [Relational] manager in one of their firms and **drawing** [Material] fifteen hundred rupees a month –in just four years. [S162] These are the opportunities to **have** [Relational] and I do impress upon you **now** [Existential] to **think** [Mental] in these terms.

[P17 S163] Finally, I **thank** [Material] you again Mr. Chancellor and particularly you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor for the warm **welcome** [Material] you **have** [Relational] **given** [Material] me and the very flattering personal references **made** [Material] by you.[S164] I **hope** [Mental], nay I am confident that the East Bengal youth will not fail us.

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3. Responsibilities of the Youth

12 April 1948

Speech in reply to the address presented by the Students of Islamia College, Peshawar

P18   *S165*   Mr.   President,   Ladies   and   Gentlemen! *S166* I am indeed very **happy** [Mental] to be present here **today** [Existential] and to **have** [Relational] the privilege of **meeting** [Material] and **addressing** [Verbal] the students of this great Dar-ul-Ulum, who are the future builders of Pakistan.

P19 S167 On this occasion the **thought** [Mental] that is naturally uppermost in my mind is the support and help that the movement for the **achievement** [Material] of Pakistan **received** [Material] from the student community, particularly of this Province.*S168* I cannot help **feeling** [Mental] that the unequivocal and unmistakable decision of the people of this Province to join Pakistan, which was **given** [Material] through the referendum held last year, **was** [Relational] **helped** [Material] considerably by the contribution **made** [Material] by the students.*S169* I **take** [Material] particular **pride** [Mental] in the fact that the people of this Province **have** [Relational] never and in no way lagged behind in the struggle for freedom and achievement of Pakistan.

P20 S170 **Now** [Existential] that we **have** [Relational] **achieved** [Material] our national goal, you will expect me to **give** [Material] you a bit of advice regarding the manner in which we can **put** [Material] our shoulders behind the most difficult and important task of building up our new State into what we all **wish** [Mental] it to be; namely one of the greatest States in the world.*S171* The first thing you should do is to **learn** [Material] to appreciate the difference in the approach to the problems with which we are **faced** [Material] **now** [Existential], in contrast with those which were **facing** [Material] us when we were **struggling** [Material] for our independence.*S172* During

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our struggle for the achievement of Pakistan we were critical of the Government which was a foreign Government and which we wanted to replace by a Government of our own.[S173] In doing so we **had** [Relational] to sacrifice many things including the academic careers of our younger generation.[S174] May I **say** [Verbal] that you **played** [Material] your part magnificently.[S175] **Now** [Existential] that you **have** [Relational] **achieved** [Material] your goal that **is** [Relational], a Government of your **own** [Relational], and a country which **belongs** [Material] to you and in which you can **live** [Material] as free men, your responsibilities and your approach to the political, social and economic problems must also change.[S176] The duties required of you **now** [Existential] are: develop a sound sense of discipline, character, initiative and a solid academic background. [S177] You must **devote** [Material] yourself whole-heartedly to your studies, for that **is** [Relational] your first obligation to yourselves, your parents and to the State.[S178] You must **learn** [Material] to obey for only then you can learn to command.[S179] In your criticism of the Government you must learn to be constructive.[S180] Government **welcomes** [Material] constructive criticism.[S181] You can **make** [Material] a big **contribution** [Material] towards bringing about harmony and unity where for personal and other selfish considerations some people may adopt courses which are likely to lead to disruption and disunity. [S182] **Remember** [Mental] that your Government is **like** [Mental] your own garden. [S183] Your garden **flourishes** [Material] by the way you **look after** [Material] it and the efforts that you **put** [Material] towards its improvement.[S184] Similarly, your Government can only **flourish** [Material] by your patriotic, honest and constructive efforts to improve it.

[P21 S185] I am not **making** [Material] any particular reference to you but **now** [Existential] that I **have** [Relational] had the opportunity of talking to you I must warn you not to **allow** [Material] your actions to be guided by ill-digested information or slogans and catch-words.[S186] Do not **take**

[Material] them to heart or repeat them parrot-like.*S187* **Take** [Material] advantage of your period of training that this institution offers you, by **equipping** [Material] yourself to become leaders of the future generation.*S188* There **is** [Relational] a common fault with the students against which I must warn you.*S189* The students **believe** [Mental] that no one can **tell** [Verbal] them anything which they do not already **know** [Mental].*S190* That mentality **is** [Relational] harmful and often leads to quite a lot of mischief.*S191* But if you want to learn by your **own** [Relational] experience, and not by the experience of your elders, let me **tell** [Verbal] you that as you become older, you will be more ready to **learn** [Material] from your costly experiences and the knocks that you shall **have** [Relational] **received** [Material] during your lifetime, which will harm you more than anybody else.

P22 S192 I naturally **welcome** [Material] your **statement** [Verbal] that you do not **believe** [Mental] in provincialism.*S193* You must **learn** [Material] to distinguish between your **love** [Mental] for your province and your **love** [Mental] and duty to the State as a whole.*S194* Our duty to the State **takes** [Material] us a stage beyond provincialism.*S195* It **demands** [Material] a broader sense of vision, and greater sense of patriotism.*S196* Our duty to the State often **demands** [Material] that we must be ready to submerge our individual or provincial interests into the common cause for common good.*S197* Our duty to the State **comes** [Material] first; our duty to our Province, to our district, to our town and to our village and ourselves comes next.*S198* **Remember** [Mental] we are **building up** [Material] a State which **is** [Relational] going to **play** [Material] its full part in the destinies of the whole Islamic World.*S199* We, therefore, need a wider outlook, an outlook which transcends the boundaries of provinces, limited nationalism, and racialism.*S200* We must develop a sense of patriotism which should galvanise and weld us all into one united and strong nation.*S201* That **is** [Relational] the only way in which we can **achieve** [Material] our goal, the

goal of our struggle, the goal for which millions of Musalmans **have** [Relational] **lost** [Material] their all and laid down their lives.

P23 S202 You **have** [Relational] **referred** [Material] to the question of Khyber University.*S203* Let me **tell** [Verbal] you that nothing is nearer to my heart than to **have** [Relational] a great centre of culture and **learning** [Material] in a place like Peshawar, a place from where the rays of knowledge and culture can **spread** [Material] throughout the Middle East and Central Asia.*S204* I, therefore, fully **sympathize** [Mental] with your **aspirations** [Mental] in this behalf and, provided you go the right way about it, perhaps you will get your university sooner than you can imagine.

P24 S205 Finally, I would earnestly **advise** [Verbal] you to think and act with sobriety and in all humility as selfless and true soldiers of the people, and with absolute loyalty to Pakistan.

P25 S206 **Remember** [Mental], you must **have** [Relational] patience.*S207* Rome **was** [Relational] not built in a day. *S208* Time factor, therefore, **is** [Relational] essential.*S209* You must **trust** [Mental] in your Government and I **assure** [Verbal] you that they are fully alive to the needs of the people, and particularly the masses who require special attention.*S210* **Give** [Material] them full chance and opportunity.*S211* The success of our achievements will depend upon our unity, discipline and faith not only in ourselves but in God who **determines** [Material] the destinies of peoples and nations.

P26 S212 I **thank** [Material] you once more for the honour that you **have** [Relational] done me today [Existential].*S213* I **wish** [Mental] you every **happiness** [Mental] and success. *S214* *Pakistan Zindabad.*

P27 S215 There **is** [Relational] one thing which I am **sorry** [Mental] to **say** [Verbal] I missed to refer in my written speech.*S216* My young friends you must **now** [Existential] fully realize the vital change. *S217* The fundamental change that **has** [Relational] taken place.*S218* You are not **now** [Existential] merely to confine yourselves to **becoming** [Material] Government servants which **was** [Relational] the avenue to which most of you aspired.*S219* You must **now** [Existential] **realize** [Material] that fresh fields, new channels and avenues are **now** [Existential] being thrown open to you where you **have** [Relational] unlimited opportunities, namely, you must **now** [Existential] direct your attention to science, commercial banking, insurance, industry and technical education.

P28 S220 You must be **reading** [Material] newspapers and **knowing** [Mental] how Pakistan **is** **moving** [Material] fast in creating various institutions of the kind I **have** [Relational] mentioned. *S221* Many of you do not **know** [Mental] how fast it **is** [Relational] going, but it **is** [Relational] going very fast and as we go on, these institutions will **multiply** [Material].*S222* Those are the avenues, those are the channels where you can do well to yourselves and also **serve** [Material] the nation better than as clerks.*S223* I want to impress upon those who are responsible for the education of you young boys that they must concentrate and direct all energies in this direction.

P29 S224 You do not **know** [Mental] what **is** [Relational] waiting for you.*S225* I give one instance to illustrate.*S226* I **know** [Mental] one young man who **took** [Material] a Government job as usual after he **had** [Relational] completed his university career.*S227* He **was** [Relational] a B.Com. and **had** [Relational] some training in the commercial system.*S228* He **was** [Relational] very **happy** [Mental] to get a job in a Government department on Rs. 150 p.m.*S229* He **was** [Relational] quite **happy** [Mental] because an average B.A. does not **get** [Material] more than a tongawala or a taxiwala.*S230* He **was** [Relational] very **happy** [Mental].*S231* He would not **have** [Relational]

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received [Material] more than a few hundreds even after twenty five years service.[S232] But suddenly somebody **picked** [Material] him up and **got** [Material] him in his bank and straightaway he was given Rs. 500 p.m.[S233] **Now** [Existential], **today** [Existential], that is, four years after, let me **tell** [Verbal] you, that he **is** [Relational] drawing Rs. 1,500 p.m.–Rs. 1,500 he would **have** [Relational] never received till the time he died.[S234] **Now** [Existential], therefore, I once more impress upon you to direct your minds to these channels.

[P30] [S235] One thing more I would **like** [Mental] to **say** [Verbal] that there **is** [Relational] some impression that the public **is** [Relational] kept away from me.[S236] This you may **call** [Verbal] the Government's management or the State visit of mine. [S237] I want this impression to be removed.[S238] I want to **make** [Material] it clear that the public **is** [Relational] absolutely free to do what they **like** [Mental], provided they maintain discipline; whereas the public **gets** so excited that they break every rule and every arrangement in their **enthusiasm** [Mental] and **regard** [Mental] for me.[S239] But that does no good to anybody and it **is** [Relational] dangerous.[S240] Therefore, I **wish** [Mental] that everyone will impress upon the people especially my young friends to line up if they want to **see** [Mental] me.[S241] You can by all means **come** [Material] and **see** [Mental] me with full freedom, but line up properly, keep order and maintain discipline so that I can comfortably pass as the object **is** [Relational] that I should **see** [Mental] you and you should **see** [Mental] me.

[P31] [S242] Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I **thank** [Material] you again for the honour you **have** [Relational] **done** [Material] me **today** [Existential].

4. Administration Must Be Impartial: Advice to Government Servants

14th Apr 1948

Information Talk to Civil Officers at Government House, Peshawar

P32 S243 The reason why I wanted to **meet** [Material] you **is** [Relational] that I wanted to **say** [Verbal] a few words to you, who are **occupying** [Material] a very important position in the administration of Pakistan in this Province.

P33 S244 The first thing that I want to **tell** [Verbal] you **is** [Relational] this, that you should not be influenced by any political pressure, by any political party or individual politician.*S245* If you want to raise the prestige and greatness of Pakistan, you must not fall a victim to any pressure, but **do** [Material] your duty as servants to the people and the State, **fearlessly** [Behavioral] and **honestly** [Behavioral].*S246* Service **is** [Relational] the backbone of the State. Governments are **formed** [Material], Governments are defeated, Prime Ministers **come** [Material] and **go** [Material], Ministers **come** [Material] and **go** [Material], but you **stay** [Material] on, and, therefore, there **is** [Relational] a very great responsibility placed on your shoulders.*S247* You should **have** [Relational] no hand in supporting this political party or that political party, this political leader or that political leader–this **is** [Relational] not your business.*S248* Whichever Government **is** [Relational] **formed** [Material] according to the constitution, and whoever **happens** [Material] to be the Prime Minister or Minister **coming** [Material] into power in the ordinary constitutional course, your duty **is** [Relational] not only to **serve** [Material] that government **loyally** [Behavioral] and **faithfully** [Behavioral], but, at the same time, **fearlessly** [Behavioral], maintaining your high reputation, your prestige, your honour and the integrity of

your service.[S249] If you will **start** [Material] with that determination, you will **make** [Material] a great contribution to the building up of Pakistan, of our conception and our dream [Mental]–a glorious State and one of the greatest nations in the world.

[P34 S250] While impressing this upon you on your side, I wish [Mental] also to **take** [Material] the opportunity of impressing upon our leaders and politicians in the same way that if they ever try to **interfere** [Material] with you and **bring** [Material] political pressure to bear upon you, which **leads** [Material] to nothing but corruption, bribery and nepotism; –which is [Relationl] a horrible disease, and for which not only your province, but others too, are suffering–if they **try** [Material] and **interfere** [Material] with you in this way, I **say** [Verbal], they are **doing** [Material] nothing but disservice to Pakistan.

[P35 S251] I **hope** [Mental] that each one of you will **understand** [Mental] his, own sphere of duty and responsibility and **act** [Material] with others harmoniously and in complete co-operation, keeping in mind that each has to **do** [Material] his duty within the sphere to which he belongs.[S252] If you on your side start with that determination and enthusiasm–and I **hope** [Mental] the other side will also **realize** [Mental] what terrible evil they are **raising up** [Material] and how it demoralises the services to try and influence this department or that department; this officer or that officer–and if you will stick to your determination you will have **done** [Material] a great service to your nation.[S253] **Putting** [Material] pressure and influence on service people, I **know** [Mental], is a very common fault of politicians and those with influence in political parties, but I **hope** [Mental] you will **now** [Existential], from **today** [Existential], resolve and determine to act according to my humble advice that I am **giving** [Material] you.

[P36 S254] May be some of you may fall victims for not **satisfying** [Material] the whims of Ministers.[S255] I **hope** [Mental] it does not happen, but you may even be put to trouble not because

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you arc **doing** [Material] anything wrong but because you arc **doing** [Material] right.[S256] Sacrifices **have** [Relational] to be made and I **appeal** [Verbal] to you, if need be, to come forward and **make** [Material] the sacrifice and **face** [Material] the position of being put on the blacklist or being otherwise worried or troubled.[S257] If you will **give** [Material] me the opportunity of your sacrifices, some of you at least, **believe** [Mental] me, we will find a remedy for that very soon.[S258] I **tell** [Verbal] you that you will not remain on the blacklist if you **discharge** [Material] your duties and responsibilities honestly, sincerely and loyally to the State.[S259] It **is** [Relational] you who can **give** [Material] us the opportunity to create powerful machinery, which will **give** [Material] you a complete sense of security.

[P37 S260] Everybody should **realize** [Mental] that there **is** [Relational] a fundamental and vital change of the entire Government and the Constitution under which we are **working** [Material].[S261] You should try to **create** [Material] an atmosphere and work in such a spirit that everybody gets a fair deal and justice **is** [Relational] done to everybody.[S262] And not merely should justice be done but people should feel that justice **has** [Relational] been done to them.[S263] There may be some selfish people–and I **know** [Mental] your class **is** [Relational] no exception– who **think** [Mental] of immediate advantages, and work or act for better prospects and promotions and so on for themselves, and therefore, for the time being, they **create** [Material] difficulties and sometimes they describe themselves lovers of their province and sometimes they **start** [Material] slogans about outsiders such as Punjabi, Sindhis or Pathans.[S264] All such things are a hindrance and an obstruction in the way of galvanizing the people and welding them together as one great nation.[S265] It **is** [Relational] not that we want to **put** [Material] any difficulty in the way of the sons of the province.[S266] No doubt, it **is** [Relational] your province.[S267] If you **have** [Relational] men who are fit for high jobs, I **assure** [Verbal] you, they will not **escape**

[Material] our notice.[S268] You should **draw** [Material] our attention and **tell** [Verbal] us that there **is** [Relational] a man; and not only shall we **be** [Relational] very **glad** [Behavioral] that he should flourish, prosper and progress in this province, but we shall **see** [Mental] to it that he **is** [Relational] given his proper place in Pakistan.[S269] We want men who are fit for high jobs and sometimes it **is** [Relational] really difficult to **find** [Material] the right type of men. [S270] There are so many things that are **going on** [Material] and I sometimes **find** [Material] great difficulty in getting the right man for the right post.[S271] It **is** [Relational] very difficult.[S272] I am **trying** [Material] my very best to **get** [Material] the right men.[S273] If you will **give** [Material] me time and your support and cooperation, **believe** [Mental] me, that the field for service **is** [Relational] not going to be confined so far as you are concerned, to your province but will be extended to the whole of Pakistan.[S274] Of course, it must take time; it cannot be done at once.[S275] I **hope** [Mental] that with assistance, co-operation and support from you and from the people, we shall be able to make very rapid progress.

[P38 S276] Finally, I **congratulate** [Material] you for having **done** [Material] well so far.[S277] The dangerous position in which we **were** [Relational] placed when we **took** [Material] over power from the British Government, **has** [Relational] **passed** [Material]. [S278] It **was** [Relational] a big task and things **were** [Relational] **made** [Material] difficult for us.[S279] I need not go into details, but you **know** [Mental] how we **were** [Relational] constantly **faced** [Material] with an organized plan to **crush** [Material] Pakistan and to **break** [Material] us.[S280] In other provinces as well as in your province, the services **have** [Relational] **done** [Material] well in spite of all that.[S281] We **have** [Relational] warded off and withstood all machinations.[S282] And your province **has** [Relational] not **lagged** [Material] behind in this respect.[S283]And, therefore, I sincerely **congratulate** [Material] you for the way in which you

have [Relational] **managed** [Material] things here, and I **hope** [Mental] that you will continue in the same spirit.^{S284} There **is** [Relational]plenty of room for improvement.^{S285} We **have** [Relational] to **learn** [Material] a lot and we **have** [Relational] to adjust ourselves to new developments, new issues which are **facing** [Material] us.^{S286} But I am **sure** [Mental] you will **play** [Material] your part well.

$^{P39\ S287}$ I **thank** [Material] you for **giving** [Material] me this opportunity of **saying** [Verbal] these few words. ^{S288} I **wish** [Mental] you all success in your efforts.

5. Equal Treatment to All - Assurance to Minorities

3 February 1948

Speech in Reply to Address of Welcome Presented to Quaid-i-Azam and Miss Fatima Jinnah by the Parsi Community of Sindh at the Katrak Parsi Colony, Karachi

P40 S289 I am **thankful** [Material] to you for your **Address** [Verbal] of **Welcome** [Material] and the kind words you **have** [Relational] **spoken** [Material] about me and Miss Fatima Jinnah.*S290* I deeply **appreciate** [Behavioral] your offer of loyal co-operation with the Government of Pakistan and I **assure** [Verbal] you that Pakistan means to stand by its oft-repeated promises of according equal treatment to all its nationals irrespective of their caste and creed. *S291* Pakistan, which symbolizes the **aspirations** [Mental] of a nation that found itself in a minority in the Indian sub-continent, cannot be unmindful of the minorities within its **own** [Relational] borders.*S292* It **is** [Relational] a pity that the fair name of Karachi **was** [Relational] sullied by the sudden outburst of communal frenzy last month and I cannot find words strong enough to condemn the action of those who **were** [Relational] responsible for it.*S293* Government **is** [Relational] determined in its resolve to **root out** [Material] lawlessness and to **see** [Mental] that there **is** [Relational] no recurrence of such incidents.

P41 S294 As you may be aware, the Government **has** [Relational] been **making** [Material] genuine efforts to allay the fears and suspicions of the minorities and if their exodus from Sind still continues, it **is** [Relational] not because they are not wanted **here** [Existential] but because they are more prone to **listen** [Behavioral] to people across the border, who are interested in **pulling them out** [Material].*S295* I am **sorry** [Mental] for these misguided people for nothing but disillusionment awaits them in their promised land.

P42 S296 I **realized** [Mental] that during the last few months there **have** [Relational] been encroachments on private right of property but you should not judge Government's action too harshly.*S297* Accommodation could not be provided for the large number of Pakistan officials and foreign legations without **disturbing** [Material]some of the local residents.*S298* The problem **was** [Relational] further complicated by the influx of a large number of refugees - whose tempers **had** [Relational] been frayed by the **suffering** [Material] undergone by them.*S299* These unfortunate people require sympathetic **handling** [Material], and your assistance in resettling them will be most welcome.

P43 S300 Parsis as a community **have** [Relational] fortunately **escaped** [Material] the ravage of the recent internecine conflict that **has** [Relational] **brought** [Material] so much suffering to other communities, and, I **see** [Mental] no reason why the future should hold any **terror** [Mental] for them.*S301* They **have** [Relational] already **established** [Material] a place for themselves in this country by their organizing ability, spirit of enterprise and hard work.*S302* Pakistan **provides** [Material] and ample field for the outlet of their genius particularly in the realm of trade, commerce and industry and they should come forward and **play** [Material] their role as true citizens in **making** [Material] Pakistan one of the greatest nations and a land of prosperity and plenty.

APPENDIX B

(Modality Analysis)

Key:

1. Modal verbs:

Low Politeness: Underline
Median Politeness: **Bold**
High Politeness: *Italics*
Positive and negative are highlighted in yellow and blue color respectively

2. Pronouns:

First Person: **Bold** + **Red color**
Second Person: **Bold** + **Green color**
Third Person: **Bold** + **Blue Color**
Possessive Pronouns: **Bold** + **Orange color**

3. Tenses:

Simple Present – S.Pr.

Present Perfect – Pr.Perf.

Present Progressive – Pr.Prog

Simple Past – S.Past

Past Perfect – P.Perf.

Past Progressive – P.Prog.

Simple Future – S.Future

Future Perfect – F.Perfect

Future Progressive – F. Prog.

1. On His Election As First President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan

11 August 1947

Presidential Address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan at Karachi

P1 S1 Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen!

S2 I cordially thank you (S. Pr.), with the utmost sincerity, for the honour you have conferred upon me (Pr. Perf) -- the greatest honour that is possible for this Sovereign Assembly to confer (S.Pr) -- by electing me as your first President.*S3* I also thank those leaders (S. Pr) who have spoken in appreciation of my services and [thank them for] their personal references to me (Pr. Perf).*S4* I sincerely hope that with your support and your co-operation (S. Pr) we **shall** make this Constituent Assembly an example to the world (S. Future). *S5* The Constituent Assembly has got two main functions to perform (Pr.Perf).*S6* The first is the very onerous and responsible task of framing the future constitution of Pakistan (S. Pr.) and the second of functioning as a full and complete sovereign body as the Federal Legislature of Pakistan .*S7* We have to do the best we can (S. Pr.) in adopting a provisional constitution for the Federal Legislature of Pakistan.*S8* You know really (S. Pr.) that not only we ourselves are wondering but, I think (S.Pr.), the whole world is wondering at this unprecedented cyclonic revolution (Pr. Prog.) which has brought about the plan of creating and establishing two independent Sovereign Dominions in this sub-continent (Pr. Perf.).*S9* As it is, it has been unprecedented (Pr. Perf.); there is no parallel in the history of the world (S. Pr.). *S10* This mighty sub-continent with all kinds of inhabitants has been brought (Pr. Perf) under a plan which is titanic, unknown, unparalleled (S. Pr.). *S11* And what is

very important with regard to it is (S. Pr.) that we have achieved it peacefully and by means of an evolution of the greatest possible character (Pr. Perf.).

P2 S12 Dealing with our first function in this Assembly (Pr. Prog.), I ▬▬▬ make any well-considered pronouncement at this moment, but I **shall** say a few things as **they** occur to me (S.Future). *S13* The first and the foremost thing that I **would** like to emphasize is this: remember that you are now a Sovereign Legislative body (S. Pr.) and you have got all the powers (Pr. Perf.).*S14* It therefore places on you the gravest responsibility (S. Pr.) as to how you **should** take your decisions.*S15* The first observation that I **would** like to make is this: You **will** no doubt agree with me (S. Future) that the first duty of a government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State (S. Pr.).

P3 S16 The second thing that occurs to me is this (S.Pr.): One of the biggest curses from which India is suffering (Pr. Prog.) -- I do not say that other countries are free from it, but I think our condition is much worse -- is bribery and corruption (S. Pr.).*S17* That really is a poison. *S18* We **must** put that down with an iron hand, and I hope that you **will** take adequate measures as soon as it is possible for this Assembly to do so (S. Future).

P4 S19 Black-marketing is another curse (S. Pr.).*S20* Well, I know that black-marketeers are frequently caught and punished (S.Pr.). *S21* Judicial sentences are passed, or sometimes fines only are imposed (S.Pr.).*S22* Now you **have to** tackle this monster, which today is a colossal crime against society, in our distressed conditions, when we constantly face shortage of food and other essential commodities of life (S. Pr). *S23* A citizen who does black-marketing commits, I think, a greater crime than the biggest and most grievous of crimes (S.Pr.).*S24* These black-marketeers are really knowing, intelligent, and ordinarily responsible people (S.Pr.), and when they indulge in black-marketing (S.Pr.), I think they **ought to** be very severely punished, because they

undermine the entire system of control and regulation of foodstuffs and essential commodities, and cause wholesale starvation and want and even death (S. Pr.).

P5 S25 The next thing that strikes me is this (S.Pr.): Here again it is a legacy (S.Pr.) which has been passed (Pr. Perf.) on to us.*S26* Along with many other things, good and bad, has arrived (Pr. Perf.) this great evil -- the evil of nepotism and jobbery.*S27* I want to make it quite clear (S.Pr.) that I **shall** never tolerate any kind of jobbery [corrupt employment practices], nepotism, or any any influence directly or indirectly brought to bear upon me (S. Future). *S28* Whenever I **will** find that such a practice is in vogue (S. Pr.) or is continuing (Pr. Prog.) anywhere, low or high, I **shall** certainly not countenance it (S. Future).

P6 S29 I know there are people who do not quite agree with the division of India and the partition of the Punjab and Bengal (S.Pr.).*S30* Much has been said against it (Pr.Perf.), but now that it has been accepted (Pr. Perf.), it is the duty of every one of us to loyally abide by it (S.Pr.) and honourably act according to the agreement which is now final and binding on all (S.Pr.)*S31* But you **must** remember, as I have said, that this mighty revolution that has taken place (Pr.Perf.) is unprecedented.*S32* One can quite understand the feeling that exists between the two communities wherever one community is in majority and the other is in minority (S. Pr.).*S33* But the question is, whether it was possible or practicable to act otherwise (S.Past) than what has been done (Pr. Perf.).*S34* A division *had to* take place (S. Past).*S35* On both sides, in Hindustan and Pakistan, there are sections of people who *may not* agree with it, who *may not* like it; but in my judgment there was no other solution (S.Past), and I am sure (S.Pr.) future history **will** record its verdict in favour of it (S. Future).*S36* And what is more, it **will** be proved by actual experience (S. Future), as we go on (S.Pr.) that that was the only solution of India's constitutional problem (S.Past). *S37* Any idea of a united India **could** never have worked (Pr.Perf.), and in my judgment it **would**

have led us to terrific disaster. [S38] May be that view is correct; may be it is not; that remains to be seen (S. Pr.). [S39] All the same, in this division it was impossible to avoid the question of minorities being in one Dominion or the other (S. Past). [S40] Now that was unavoidable (S.Past). [S41] There is no other solution (S.Pr.). [S42] Now what shall we do? [S43] Now, if we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous, we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor (S.Pr.). [S44] If you will work in co-operation (S. Future), forgetting the past, burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed (S.Pr.). [S45] If you change your past and work together in a spirit that every one of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste, or creed, is first, second, and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges, and obligations (S.Pr.), there will be no end to the progress you will make (S. Future).

[P7 S46] I cannot emphasize it too much. [S47] We should begin to work in that spirit, and in course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities, the Hindu community and the Muslim community -- because even as regards Muslims you have Pathans, Punjabis, Shias, Sunnis and so on (S. Pr.), and among the Hindus you have Brahmins, Vashnavas, Khatris, also Bengalees, Madrasis and so on -- will vanish (S. Future). [S48] Indeed if you ask me, this has been the biggest hindrance in the way of India to attain the freedom and independence (Pr. Perf.), and but for this we would have been free people long long ago (Pr. Perf.). [S49] No power can hold another nation, and specially a nation of 400 million souls, in subjection; nobody could have conquered you, and even if it had happened (Past Perf.), nobody could have continued its hold on you for any length of time, but for this (Pr. Perf.). [S50] Therefore, we must learn a lesson from this. [S51] You are free (S. Pr.); you are free to go to your temples (S. Pr.), you are free to go to

your mosques or to any other place or worship in this State of Pakistan (S. Pr.).[S52] You may belong to any religion or caste or creed -- that has nothing to do with the business of the State (S. Pr.).[S53] As you know, history shows that in England conditions, some time ago, were much worse than those prevailing in India today (S.Past).[S54] The Roman Catholics and the Protestants persecuted each other (S. Past).[S55] Even now there are some States in existence where there are discriminations made and bars imposed against a particular class (S. Pr.). [S56] Thank God, we are not starting in those days (Pr. Prog.).[S57] We are starting in the days (Pr.Prog.) where there is no discrimination (S.Pr.), no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another (Pr. Prog.). [558] We are starting with this fundamental principle (Pr.Prog.): that we are all citizens, and equal citizens, of one State (S. Pr.).[S59] The people of England in [the] course of time had to face the realities of the situation, and had to discharge the responsibilities and burdens placed upon them by the government of their country; and they went through that fire step by step (S. Past).[S60] Today, you might say with justice that Roman Catholics and Protestants do not exist (S.Pr.); what exists now is that every man is a citizen (S.Pr.), an equal citizen of Great Britain, and they are all members of the Nation (S.Pr.).

[P8 S61] Now I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal (S. Pr.), and you will find (S. Future) that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus, and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State (S. Pr.).

[P9 S62] Well, gentlemen, I do not wish to take up any more of your time (S.Pr.); and thank you again (S. Pr.) for the honor you have done to me (Pr. Perf.).[S63] I shall always be guided by the principles of justice and fair play without any (S. Future), as is put in the political language, prejudice or ill-will; in other words, partiality or favoritism (S. Pr.).[S64] My guiding principle will

be justice and complete impartiality, (S. Future) and I am sure that with your support and co-operation, I can look forward to Pakistan becoming one of the greatest Nations of the world (S. Pr.).

P10 S65 I have received a message from the United States of America addressed to me (Pr. Perf.). *S66* It reads (S. Pr.):

I have the honour to communicate to you, in Your Excellency's capacity as President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, the following message which I have just received from the Secretary of State of the United States (Pr. Perf.): On the occasion of the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly for Pakistan, I extend to you (S. Pr.) and to the members of the Assembly, the best wishes of the Government and the people of the United States for the successful conclusion of the great work you are about to undertake (S.Pr.).

2. The Role of Students in Nation Building

24 March 1948

Speech at the Dacca University Convocation

P11 S67 Mr. Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen!

S68 When I was approached (S.Past) by your Vice-chancellor with a request to deliver the Convocation Address, I made it (S.Past) clear to him that there were so many calls on me (S.Past) that I could not possible prepare a formal convocation address on an academic level with regard to the great subjects with which University deals, such as arts, history, philosophy, science, law and so on.*S69* I did, however, promise to say a few words to the students on this occasion,(S. Past) and it is in fulfillment of that promise (S.Pr.) that I will address you now (S. Future).

P12 S70 First of all, let me thank the Vice-Chancellor (S.Pr.) for the flattering terms in which he referred to me (S.Past). *S71* Mr. Vice-Chancellor, whatever I am (S. Pr.), and whatever I have been able to do, I have done (Pr. Perf.) it merely as a measure of duty which is incumbent upon every Musalman to serve his people honestly and selflessly (Pr. Perf.).

P13 S72 In addressing you I am not speaking here to you as Head of the State (Pr. Prog.), but as a friend, and as one who has always held you in affection (Pr. Perf.).*S73* Many of you have today got your diplomas and degrees (Pr. Perf.) and I congratulate you (S. Pr.). *S74* Just as you have won the laurels in your University and qualified yourselves (Pr. Perf.), so I wish you all success in the wider and larger world (S.Pr.) that you will enter (S. Future). *S75*Many of you have come to the end of your scholastic career and stand at the threshold of life (Pr.Perf). *S76* Unlike your

predecessors, you fortunately leave this University to enter life under a sovereign, independent State of your own (S. Pr.).[577] It is necessary that you and your other fellow students fully understand the implications of the revolutionary change (S. Pr.) that took place on the birth of Pakistan (S. Past).[578] We have broken the shackles of slavery (Pr. Perf.); we are now a free people (S. Pr.).[579] Our State is our own State (S. Pr.).[580] Our Government is our own Government of the people, responsible to the people of the State (S. Pr.) and working for the good of the State (Pr. Prog.).[581] Freedom, however, does not mean licence (S. Pr.).[582] It does not mean that you can now behave just as you please and do what you like, irrespective of the interests of other people or of the State (S. Pr.).[583]A great responsibility rests on you and, on the contrary, now more than ever, it is necessary for us to work as a united and disciplined nation (S. Pr.).[584] What is now required of us all is constructive spirit (S. Pr.) and not the militant spirit of the days when we were fighting for our freedom (Past.Prog.).[585] It is far more difficult to construct than to have a militant spirit for the attainment of freedom (S. Pr.).[586] It is easier to go to jail or fight for freedom than to run a Government (S. Pr.). [587] Let me tell you something of the difficulties (S. Pr.) that we have overcome and of the dangers that still lie ahead (Pr. Perf.).[588] Thwarted in their desire to prevent the establishment of Pakistan, our enemies turned their attention to finding ways and means to weaken and destroy us (S.Past).[589] Thus, hardly had the new State come into being when came the Punjab and Delhi holocaust.[590] Thousands of men, women and children were mercilessly butchered and millions were uprooted from their homes (S. Past).[591] Over fifty lakhs of these arrived in the Punjab within a matter of weeks (S. Past).[592] The care and rehabilitation of these unfortunate refugees, stricken in body and in soul, presented problems, which might well have destroyed many a well-established State (Pr. Perf.). [593] But those of our enemies who had hoped (Past Perf.) to kill Pakistan at its very inception by these

means were disappointed (S. Past).[594] Not only has Pakistan survived the shock of that upheaval, but it has emerged stronger, more chastened and better equipped than ever (Pr. Perf.).

[P14 S95] There followed in rapid succession other difficulties, such as withholding by India of our cash balances, of our share of military equipment and lately, the institution of an almost complete economic blockade of your Province (S.Past).[596] I have no doubt that all right-thinking men in the Indian Dominion deplore these happenings and I am sure the attitude of the mind (S. Pr.) that has been responsible for them will change, but it is essential that you should take note of these developments (S. Pr.).[597] They stress the importance of continued vigilance on our part (S. Pr.).[598] Of late, they attack on your province, particularly, has taken a subtler form (Pr. Perf.).[599] Our enemies, among whom I regret to say, there are still some Muslims, have set about actively encouraging provincialism in the hope of weakening Pakistan (S. Pr.) and thereby facilitating the re-absorption of this province into the Indian Dominion.[S100] Those who are playing this game are living in a Fool's Paradise (Pr. Prog.), but this does not prevent them from trying (S. Pr.). [S101] A flood of a false propaganda is being daily put forth with the object of undermining the solidarity of the Musalmans of this State and inciting the people to commit acts of lawlessness (Pr. Prog.).[S102] The recent language controversy, in which I am sorry to make note, some of you allowed yourselves to get involved even after your Prime Minister had clarified the position (S. Past), is only one of the many subtle ways whereby the poison of provincialism is being sedulously injected into this province (S.Pr). [S103] Does it not strike you as rather odd that certain sections of the Indian press to whom the very name of Pakistan is anathema, should in the matter of language controversy, set themselves up as the champion of what they call your 'just rights'? (S. Pr.) [S104] Is it not significant that the very persons who in the past have betrayed the Musalmans or fought against Pakistan (Pr. Perf.), which is after all merely

the embodiment of your fundamental right of self-determination, **should** now suddenly pose as the saviours of your just right and incite you to defy the Government on the question of language? (S. Pr.) [S105] I *must* warn you to beware of these fifth-columnists.[S106] Let me restate my views on the question of a State language for Pakistan (S. Pr.). [S107] For official use in this Province, the people of the Province can choose any language they wish (S. Pr.).[S108] This question **will** be decided solely in accordance with the wishes of the people of this province alone (S. Future), as freely expressed through their accredited representatives at the appropriate time and after full and dispassionate consideration (S. Past).[S109] There can, however, be only one lingua franca, that is, the language for inter-communication between the various provinces of the State, and that language, **should** be Urdu and ████ be any other.[S110] The State language therefore, *must* obviously be Urdu, a language that has been nurtured by a hundred million Muslims of this sub-continent (Pr. Perf.), a language understood throughout the length and breadth of Pakistan and above all, a language which, more than any other provincial language (S. Past), embodies the best that is in Islamic culture and Muslim tradition and is nearest to the language used in other Islamic countries (S. Pr.).[S111] It is not without significance that Urdu has been driven out of the Indian Union and that even the official use of the Urdu script has been disallowed (Pr. Perf).[S112] These facts are fully known to the people who are trying to exploit the language controversy in order to stir up trouble (Pr. Prog.).[S113] There was no justification for agitation but it did not suit their purpose to admit this (S. Past).[S114] Their sole object in exploiting this controversy is to create a split among the Muslims of this State (S. Pr.), as indeed they have made no secret of their efforts to incite hatred against non-Bengali Musalmans (Pr. Perf.). [S115] Realizing, however, that the statement that your Prime Minister made on the language controversy, on return from Karachi, left no room for agitation, in so far as it conceded the right

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of the people of this province to choose Bengali as their official language if they so wished, these persons changed their tactics (S. Past).[S116] They started demanding (Past. Prog.) that Bengali should be the State language of the Pakistan Center and since they *could not* overlook the obvious claims of Urdu as the official language of a Muslim State, they proceeded to demand that both Bengali and Urdu should be the State languages of Pakistan (S. Past). [S117] Make no mistake about it (S. Pr.).[S118] There can be only one State language, if the component parts of this State are to march forward in unison, and that language, in my opinion, can only be Urdu. [S119] I have spoken (Pr. Perf.) at some length on this subject so as to warn you of the kind of tactics adopted by the enemies of Pakistan and certain opportunist politicians to try to disrupt this State or to discredit the Government.[S120] Those of you who are about to enter life, be on your guard against these people (S. Pr.).[S121] Those of you who have still to continue your studies for some time, do not allow yourselves to be exploited by any political party or self-seeking politician (S. Pr.).[S122] As I said the other day, your main occupation should be in fairness to yourselves, in fairness to your parents and indeed, in fairness to the State, to devote your attention solely to your studies (S. Pr.).[S123] It is only thus that you can equip yourselves for the battle of life that lies ahead of you (S. Pr.). [S124] Only thus will you be an asset and a source of strength and of pride to your State (S. Future).[S125] Only thus, can you assist it in solving the great social and economic problems that confront it and enable it to reach its destined goal among the most progressive and strongest nations of the world (S. Pr.).

[P15 S126] My young friends, I would, therefore, like to tell you a few points about which you should be vigilant and beware (S. Future).[S127] Firstly, beware of the fifth-columnists among ourselves (S. Pr.). [S128] Secondly, guard against and weed out selfish people who only wish to exploit you so that they may swim (S.Pr.).[S129] Thirdly, learn to judge who are really true and

really honest and unselfish servants of the State who wish to serve the people with heart and soul and support them (S. Pr.). *S130* Fourthly, consolidate the Muslim League Party (S. Pr.) which will serve and build up a really and truly great and glorious Pakistan (S.Future).*S131* Fifthly, the Muslim League has won and established Pakistan (Pr. Perf.) and it is the Muslim League whose duty it is now, as custodian of the sacred trust, to construct Pakistan (S.Pr.).*S132* Sixthly, there may be many who did not lift their little fingers to help us in our struggle, nay even opposed us (S. Past) and put obstacle in our great struggle openly and not a few worked in our enemy's camp against us, who may now come forward and put their own attractive slogans, catch-words, ideals and programmes before you (S. Pr.).*S133* But they have yet to prove their bonafides or that there has really been an honest change of heart in them (Pr. Perf.), by supporting and joining the League and working and pressing their views within the League Party organization and not by starting mushroom parties, at this juncture of very great and grave emergency when you know that we are facing external dangers (Pr. Prog.) and are called upon to deal with internal complex problems of a far-reaching character affecting the future of seventy millions of people. *S134* All this demands complete solidarity, unity and discipline (S. Pr.). *S135* I assure you, 'Divided you fall, United you stand' (S.Pr.).

P16 S136 There is another matter that I would like to refer to. *S137* My young friends, hitherto, you have been following the rut (Pr. Perf. Prog.). *S138* You get your degrees and when you are thrown out of this University in thousands, all that you think and hanker for is Government service (S. Pr.).*S139* As your Vice-Chancellor has rightly stated (Pr. Perf.) the main object of the old system of education and the system of Government existing, hitherto, was really to have well-equipped clerks.*S140* Of course, some of them went higher and found their level, but the whole idea was to get well-qualified clerks (S. Past). *S141* Civil Service was mainly staffed by the Britons and the

Indian element was introduced later on and it went up progressively (S. Past).[S142] Well, the whole principle was to create a mentality, a psychology, a state of mind, that an average man, when he passed his B.A. or M.A. was to look for some job in Government (S. Past).[S143] If he had it he thought he had reached his height (Past. Perf.).[S144] I know and you all know what has been really the result of this (S. Pr.). [S145] Our experience has shown (Pr. Perf.) that an M.A. earns less than a taxi driver, and most of the so-called Government servants are living in a more miserable manner than many menial servants who are employed by well-to-do people (S. Pr.).[S146] Now I want you to get out of that rut and that mentality and especially now that we are in free Pakistan (S. Pr.).[S147] Government *cannot* absorb thousands.[S148] Impossible.[S149] But in the competition to get Government service most of you get demoralized (S. Pr.).[S150] Government can take only a certain number and the rest *cannot* settle down to anything else and being disgruntled are always ready to be exploited by persons who have their own axes to grind (S. Pr.).[S151] Now I want that you *must* divert your mind, your attention, your aims and ambition to other channels and other avenues and fields that are open to you (S. Pr.)and will increasingly become so (S.Future).[S152] There is no shame in doing manual work and labor (S.Pr.).[S153] There is an immense scope in technical education for we want technically qualified people very badly (S.Pr.).[S154] You can learn banking, commerce, trade, law, etc., which provide so many opportunities now (S.Pr.). [S155] Already you find that new industries are being started, new banks, new insurance companies, new commercial firms are opening (Pr.Prog.)and they will grow as you go on (S. Future). [S156] Now these are avenues and fields open to you (S.Pr.). [S157] Think of them and divert your attention to them, and believe me (S. Pr.), you will thereby benefit yourselves more than by merely going in for Government service and remaining there, in what I should say, a circle of clerkship, working there from morning till evening, in most dingy and uncomfortable conditions

(S. Future). ^{S158} You will be far happy and far more prosperous with far more opportunities to rise (S. Future) if you take to commerce and industry and will thus be helping not only yourselves but also your State (Future Prog.).^{S159} I can give you one instance.^{S160} I know a young man (S. Pr.) who was in Government service (S.Past).^{S161} Four years ago he went into a banking corporation on two hundred rupees (S.Past), because he had studied the subject of banking (Past Perf.) and today he is manager in one of their firms (S.Pr.) and drawing fifteen hundred rupees a month –in just four years (Pr.Prog.). ^{S162} These are the opportunities to have and I do impress upon you now to think in these terms (S. Pr.).

^{P17 S163} Finally, I thank you again Mr. Chancellor (S.Pr.) and particularly you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor for the warm welcome you have given me (Pr.Perf.) and the very flattering personal references made by you (S.Past).^{S164} I hope, nay I am confident (S.Pr.) that the East Bengal youth will not fail us (S. Future).

3. Responsibilities of the Youth

12 April 1948

Speech in reply to the address presented by the Students of Islamia College, Peshawar

P18   *S165*   Mr.   President,   Ladies   and   Gentlemen!

S166 I am indeed very happy to be present here today and to have the privilege of meeting and addressing the students of this great Dar-ul-Ulum, who are the future builders of Pakistan (S.Pr.).

P19 S167 On this occasion the thought that is naturally uppermost in my mind is the support and help that the movement for the achievement of Pakistan received from the student community, particularly of this Province (S.Pr.).*S168* I ▬▬▬ help feeling that the unequivocal and unmistakable decision of the people of this Province to join Pakistan, which was given through the referendum held last year (S.Past), was helped considerably by the contribution made by the students (S.Past).*S169* I take particular pride in the fact that the people of this Province have never (S.Pr.) and in no way lagged behind in the struggle for freedom and achievement of Pakistan (S.Past).

P20 S170 Now that we have achieved our national goal (Pr.Perf.), you will expect me to give you a bit of advice regarding the manner in which we can put our shoulders behind the most difficult and important task of building up our new State into what we all wish it to be (S. Future); namely one of the greatest States in the world.*S171* The first thing you should do is to learn to appreciate the difference in the approach to the problems with which we are faced now (S.Pr.), in contrast with those which were facing us (Past Prog.) when we were struggling for our independence (Past.Prog.).*S172* During our struggle for the achievement of Pakistan we were critical of the Government (S.Past) which was a foreign Government (S.Past) and which we

wanted to replace by a Government of **our** own (S.Past).[S173] In doing so **we** *had to* sacrifice many things including the academic careers of **our** younger generation (S.Past).[S174] May I say that **you** played your part magnificently (S.Past).[S175] Now that **you** have achieved your goal (Pr. Perf.) that is, a Government of your own, and a country which belongs to **you** (S.Pr.) and in which **you** can live as free men, your responsibilities and your approach to the political, social and economic problems *must* also change.[S176] The duties required of **you** now are: develop a sound sense of discipline, character, initiative and a solid academic background (S.Pr.). [S177] **You** *must* devote yourself whole-heartedly to your studies, for that is your first obligation to yourselves, your parents and to the State (S.Pr.).[S178] **You** *must* learn to obey for only then **you** can learn to command.[S179] In your criticism of the Government **you** *must* learn to be constructive.[S180] Government welcomes constructive criticism (S.Pr.).[S181] **You** can make a big contribution towards bringing about harmony and unity where for personal and other selfish considerations some people may adopt courses which are likely to lead to disruption and disunity (S.Pr.). [S182] Remember that your Government is like your own garden (S.Pr.). [S183] Your garden flourishes by the way **you** look after **it** and the efforts that **you** put towards its improvement (S.Pr.).[S184] Similarly, your Government can only flourish by your patriotic, honest and constructive efforts to improve **it**.

[P21 S185] I am not making any particular reference to **you** (Pr. Prog.) but now that I have had the opportunity of talking to **you** (Pr. Perf) I *must* warn you not to allow your actions to be guided by ill-digested information or slogans and catch-words.[S186] Do not take **them** to heart or repeat **them** parrot-like (S.Pr.).[S187] Take advantage of your period of training that this institution offers **you**, by equipping yourself to become leaders of the future generation (S.Pr.).[S188] There is a common fault with the students (S.Pr.) against which I *must* warn you.[S189] The students believe

that no one can tell them anything which they do not already know (S.Pr.).[S190] That mentality is harmful and often leads to quite a lot of mischief (S.Pr.).[S191] But if you want to learn by your own experience, and not by the experience of your elders (S.Pr.), let me tell you that as you become older, you will be more ready to learn from your costly experiences (S.Future) and the knocks that you shall have received during your lifetime (Future Perf.), which will harm you more than anybody else (S.Future).

[P22 S192] I naturally welcome your statement that you do not believe in provincialism (S.Pr.).[S193] You must learn to distinguish between your love for your province and your love and duty to the State as a whole.[S194] Our duty to the State takes us a stage beyond provincialism (S.Pr.).[S195] It demands a broader sense of vision, and greater sense of patriotism (S.Pr.).[S196] Our duty to the State often demands that we must be ready to submerge our individual or provincial interests into the common cause for common good (S.Pr.).[S197] Our duty to the State comes first (S.Pr.); our duty to our Province, to our district, to our town and to our village and ourselves comes next (S. Pr.).[S198] Remember we are building up a State which is going to play its full part in the destinies of the whole Islamic World (Pr. Prog.).[S199] We, therefore, need a wider outlook, an outlook which transcends the boundaries of provinces, limited nationalism, and racialism (S.Pr.).[S200] We must develop a sense of patriotism which should galvanise and weld us all into one united and strong nation.[S201] That is the only way in which we can achieve our goal, the goal of our struggle, the goal for which millions of Musalmans have lost their all and laid down their lives (Pr. Perf.).

[P23 S202] You have referred to the question of Khyber University (Pr. Perf).[S203] Let me tell you that nothing is nearer to my heart than to have a great centre of culture and learning in a place like Peshawar, a place from where the rays of knowledge and culture can spread throughout the

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Middle East and Central Asia (S.Pr.).*S204* I, therefore, fully sympathize with your aspirations in this behalf and, provided you go the right way about it (S.Pr.), perhaps you will get your university sooner than you can imagine (S.Future).

P24 S205 Finally, I would earnestly advise you to think and act with sobriety and in all humility as selfless and true soldiers of the people, and with absolute loyalty to Pakistan.

P25 S206 Remember, you *must* have patience.*S207* Rome was not built in a day (S.Past). *S208* Time factor, therefore, is essential (S.Pr.).*S209* You *must* trust in your Government and I assure you that they are fully alive to the needs of the people, and particularly the masses who require special attention (S.Pr.).*S210* Give them full chance and opportunity (S.Pr.).*S211* The success of our achievements will depend upon our unity, discipline and faith not only in ourselves but in God (S.Future) who determines the destinies of peoples and nations (S.Pr.).

P26 S212 I thank you once more (S.Pr.) for the honour that you have done me today (Pr.Perf.).*S213* I wish you every happiness and success (S.Pr.). *S214* Pakistan Zindabad.

P27 S215 There is one thing which I am sorry to say (S.Pr.) I missed to refer in my written speech (S.Past).*S216* My young friends you *must* now fully realize the vital change. *S217* The fundamental change that has taken place (Pr. Perf.).*S218* You are not now merely to confine yourselves to becoming Government servants (S.Pr.) which was the avenue to which most of you aspired (S.Past).*S219* You *must* now realize that fresh fields, new channels and avenues are now being thrown open to you where you have unlimited opportunities, namely, you *must* now direct your attention to science, commercial banking, insurance, industry and technical education.

P28 S220 You *must* be reading newspapers and knowing how Pakistan is moving fast in creating (Pr. Prog.) various institutions of the kind I have mentioned (Pr. Perf.). *S221* Many of you do not know (S.Pr.) how fast it is going (Pr.Prog.), but it is going very fast (Pr.Prog.) and as we go on, these institutions will multiply (S.Future).*S222* Those are the avenues, those are the channels (S.Pr.) where you can do well to yourselves and also serve the nation hetter than as clerks.*S223* I want to impress upon those who are responsible for the education of you young boys (S.Pr.) that they *must* concentrate and direct all energies in this direction.

P29 S224 You do not know (S.Pr.) what is waiting for you (Pr.Prog.).*S225* I give one instance to illustrate (S.Pr.).*S226* I know one young man (S.Pr.) who took a Government job (S.Past) as usual after he had completed his university career (Past.Perf.).*S227* He was a B.Com. (S.Past) and had some training in the commercial system.*S228* He was very happy to get a job in a Government department on Rs. 150 p.m (S.Past).*S229* He was quite happy (S.Past) because an average B.A. does not get more than a tongawala or a taxiwala (S.Pr.).*S230* He was very happy (S.Past).*S231* He would not have received more than a few hundreds even after twenty five years service (Pr.Perfect).*S232* But suddenly somebody picked him up (S.Past) and got him in his bank (S.Past) and straightaway he was given Rs. 500 p.m.*S233* Now, today, that is, four years after, let me tell you (S.Pr), that he is drawing Rs. 1,500 p.m.–Rs. 1,500 (Pr.Prog.) he would have never received (Past.Perf.) till the time he died (S.Past).*S234* Now, therefore, I once more impress upon you to direct your minds to these channels (S.Pr.).

P30 S235 One thing more I would like to say that there is some impression that the public is kept away from me (S.Pr.).*S236* This you may call the Government's management or the State visit of mine. *S237* I want this impression to be removed.*S238* I want to make it clear that the public is absolutely free to do what they like (S.Pr.), provided they maintain discipline (S.Pr.); whereas

the public gets so excited (S.Pr.) that they break every rule and every arrangement in their enthusiasm and regard for me (S.Pr.).[S239] But that does no good to anybody and it is dangerous (S.Pr.).[S240] Therefore, I wish that everyone will impress upon the people especially my young friends to line up if they want to see me (S.Pr.).[S241] You can by all means come and see me with full freedom, but line up properly, keep order and maintain discipline so that I can comfortably pass as the object is that I should see you and you should see me.

[P31 S242] Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you again for the honour (S.Pr.) you have done me today (Pr.Perf.).

4. <u>Administration Must Be Impartial: Advice to Government Servants</u> <u>14th Apr 1948</u>

<u>Information Talk to Civil Officers at Government House, Peshawar</u>

P32 S243 The reason why I wanted to meet you (S.Past) is that I wanted to say a few words to you (S.Past), who are occupying a very important position in the administration of Pakistan in this Province (Pr.Prog.).

P33 S244 The first thing that I want to tell you is this (S.Pr.), that you should not be influenced by any political pressure, by any political party or individual politician.*S245* If you want to raise the prestige and greatness of Pakistan (S.Pr.), you must not fall a victim to any pressure, but do your duty as servants to the people and the State, fearlessly and honestly (S.Pr.).*S246* Service is the backbone of the State (S.Pr.). Governments are formed, Governments are defeated, Prime Ministers come and go (S.Pr.), Ministers come and go (S.Pr.), but you stay on (S.Pr.), and, therefore, there is a very great responsibility placed on your shoulders (S.Pr.).*S247* You should have no hand in supporting this political party or that political party, this political leader or that political leader–this is not your business (S.Pr.).*S248* Whichever Government is formed according to the constitution (S.Pr.), and whoever happens to be (S.Pr.) the Prime Minister or Minister coming into power in the ordinary constitutional course, your duty is not only to serve (S.Pr.) that government loyally and faithfully, but, at the same time, fearlessly, maintaining your high reputation, your prestige, your honour and the integrity of your service.*S249* If you will start with that determination (S.Future), you will make a great contribution to the building up of Pakistan (S.Future), of our conception and our dream–a glorious State and one of the greatest nations in the world.

P34 S250 While impressing this upon you on your side, I wish also to take the opportunity of impressing upon our leaders and politicians in the same way that if they ever try to interfere with you and bring political pressure to bear upon you, which leads to (S.Pr.) nothing but corruption, bribery and nepotism; –which is a horrible disease (S.Pr.), and for which not only your province, but others too, are suffering (Pr.Prog.)–if they try and interfere with you in this way, I say (S.Pr.), they are doing nothing but disservice to Pakistan (Pr.Prog.).

P35 S251 I hope (S.Pr.) that each one of you will understand (S.Future) his, own sphere of duty and responsibility and act with others harmoniously and in complete co-operation, keeping in mind that each has to do his duty within the sphere to which he belongs (S.Pr.).*S252* If you on your side start with that determination and enthusiasm (S.Pr.)–and I hope the other side will also realize (S.Future) what terrible evil they are raising up (Pr.Prog.) and how it demoralises the services to try and influence this department or that department (S.Pr.); this officer or that officer–and if you will stick to your determination (S.Future) you will have done a great service to your nation (Future Perf.).*S253* Putting pressure and influence on service people, I know, is a very common fault of politicians and those with influence in political parties (S.Pr.), but I hope you will now (S.Future), from today, resolve and determine to act according to my humble advice that I am giving you (Pr.Prog.).

P36 S254 May be some of you may fall victims for not satisfying the whims of Ministers.*S255* I hope it does not happen (S.Pr.), but you may even be put to trouble not because you are doing anything wrong but because you are doing right (Pr.Prog.).*S256* Sacrifices have to be made (Pr.Perf.)and I appeal to you, if need be, to come forward and make the sacrifice and face the position of being put on the blacklist or being otherwise worried or troubled (S.Pr.).*S257* If you

will give me (S.Future) the opportunity of your sacrifices, some of you at least, believe me (S.Pr.), we **will** find a remedy for that very soon (S.Future).[S258] I tell you (S.Pr.) that you **will not** remain on the blacklist (S.Future) if you discharge (S.Pr.) your duties and responsibilities honestly, sincerely and loyally to the State.[S259] It is you (S.Pr.) who <u>can</u> give us the opportunity to create powerful machinery, which **will** give you a complete sense of security (S.Future).

[P37 S260] Everybody **should** realize that there is a fundamental and vital change of the entire Government (S. Pr.) and the Constitution under which we are working (Pr. Prog.).[S261] You **should** try to create an atmosphere and work in such a spirit that everybody gets a fair deal and justice is done to everybody.[S262] And not merely **should** justice be done but people **should** feel that justice has been done to them (Pr.Perf).[S263] There **may** be some selfish people–and I know your class is no exception (S.Pr.)–who think of immediate advantages, and work or act for better prospects and promotions and so on for themselves, and therefore, for the time being, **they** create difficulties (S.Pr.) and sometimes **they** describe themselves lovers of their province (S.Pr.) and sometimes **they** start slogans about outsiders such as Punjabi, Sindhis or Pathans (S.Pr.).[S264] All such things are a hindrance and an obstruction in the way of galvanizing the people and welding **them** together as one great nation (S.Pr.).[S265] It **is not** that we want to put any difficulty in the way of the sons of the province (S.Pr.).[S266] No doubt, it is your province (S.Pr.).[S267] If you have men who are fit for high jobs, I assure you (S.Pr.), **they** **will not** escape our notice (S.Future).[S268] You **should** draw our attention and tell us that there is a man (S.Pr.); and not only **shall** we be very glad that he **should** flourish, prosper (S.Future) and progress in this province, but we **shall** see to it (S.Future) that he is given his proper place in Pakistan (S.Pr.).[S269] We want men who are fit for high jobs and sometimes it is really difficult to find the right type of men (S.Pr.). [S270] There are so many things (S.Pr.) that are going on (Pr.Prog.) and I sometimes find

will give me (S.Future) the opportunity of your sacrifices, some of you at least, believe me (S.Pr.), we **will** find a remedy for that very soon (S.Future).[S258] I tell you (S.Pr.) that you **will not** remain on the blacklist (S.Future) if you discharge (S.Pr.) your duties and responsibilities honestly, sincerely and loyally to the State.[S259] It is you (S.Pr.) who <u>can</u> give us the opportunity to create powerful machinery, which **will** give you a complete sense of security (S.Future).

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great difficulty in getting the right man for the right post (S.Pr.).[S271] It is very difficult (S.Pr.).[S272] I am trying my very best to get the right men (Pr.Prog.).[S273] If you **will** give me time and your support and cooperation (S.Future), believe me (S.Pr.), that the field for service is not going to be confined so far as you are concerned, to your province (Pr.Prog.) but **will** be extended to the whole of Pakistan (S.Future).[S274] Of course, it *must* take time; it _____ be done at once.[S275] I hope that with assistance, co-operation and support from you and from the people (S.Pr.), we **shall** be able to make very rapid progress (S.Future).

[P38 S276] Finally, I congratulate you (S.Pr.) for having done well so far.[S277] The dangerous position in which we were placed when we took over power from the British Government (S. Past), has passed   (Pr.   Perf.). [S278] It was a big task (S.Past) and things were made difficult for us (S.Past).[S279] I need not go into details, but you know (S.Pr.) how we were constantly faced (S.Past) with an organized plan to crush Pakistan and to break us.[S280] In other provinces as well as in your province, the services have done well in spite of all that (Pr.Perf.).[S281] We have warded off and withstood all machinations (Pr.Perf.).[S282] And your province *has not* lagged behind in this respect (Pr.Perf.).[S283] And, therefore, I sincerely congratulate you (S.Pr.) for the way in which you have managed things here (Pr.Perf.), and I hope (S.Pr.) that you **will** continue in the same spirit (S.Future).[S284] There is plenty of room for improvement (S.Pr.).[S285] We have to learn a lot and we have to adjust ourselves to new developments, new issues which are facing us (Pr.Prog.).[S286] But I am sure (S.Pr.) you **will** play your part well (S.Future).

[P39 S287] I thank you (S.Pr.) for giving me this opportunity of saying these few words. [S288] I wish you all success in your efforts (S.Pr.).

5. Equal Treatment to All - Assurance to Minorities

3 February 1948

Speech in Reply to Address of Welcome Presented to Quaid-i-Azam and Miss Fatima Jinnah by the Parsi Community of Sindh at the Katrak Parsi Colony, Karachi

P40 S289 I am thankful to you for your Address of Welcome (S.Pr.) and the kind words you have spoken about me and Miss Fatima Jinnah (Pr.Perf.).*S290* I deeply appreciate your offer of loyal co-operation with the Government of Pakistan (S.Pr.) and I assure you that Pakistan means to stand by its oft-repeated promises of according equal treatment to all its nationals irrespective of their caste and creed (S.Pr.). *S291* Pakistan, which symbolizes the aspirations of a nation that found itself in a minority in the Indian sub-continent, ▮▮▮ be unmindful of the minorities within its own borders.*S292* It is a pity (S.Pr.) that the fair name of Karachi was sullied (S.Past) by the sudden outburst of communal frenzy last month and I ▮▮▮ find words strong enough to condemn the action of those who were responsible (S.Past) for it.*S293* Government is determined in its resolve to root out lawlessness and to see that there is no recurrence of such incidents (S.Pr.).

P41 S294 As you may be aware, the Government has been making genuine efforts to allay the fears and suspicions of the minorities (Pr.Perf.Prog) and if their exodus from Sind still continues (S.Pr.), it is not because they are not wanted here but because they are more prone to listen to people across the border (S.Pr.), who are interested in pulling them out.*S295* I am sorry for these misguided people for nothing but disillusionment awaits them in their promised land (S.Pr.).

P42 S296 I realized (S.Past) that during the last few months there have been encroachments on private right of property (Pr.Perf.) but you should not judge Government's action too harshly.*S297* Accommodation *could not* be provided for the large number of Pakistan officials and foreign legations without disturbing some of the local residents.*S298* The problem was further complicated by the influx of a large number of refugees (S.Past) - whose tempers had been frayed (Past.Perf) by the suffering undergone by them.*S299* These unfortunate people require (S.Pr.) sympathetic handling, and your assistance in resettling them will be most welcome (S.Future).

P43 S300 Parsis as a community have fortunately escaped (Pr.Perf.) the ravage of the recent internecine conflict that has brought so much suffering to other communities (Pr.Perf.), and,.*S301* They have already established (Pr.Perf.) a place for themselves in this country by their organizing ability, spirit of enterprise and hard work.*S302* Pakistan provides and ample field for the outlet of their genius particularly in the realm of trade, commerce and industry (S.Pr.) and they should come forward and play their role as true citizens in making Pakistan one of I see no reason why the future should hold any terror for them the greatest nations and a land of prosperity and plenty.