



UNIVERSIDADE DA CORUÑA

FACULTADE DE FILOLOXÍA

**Inter-university Master in Advanced English Studies and its
Applications**

Critical Discourse Analysis: The Rhetoric of Female

Political Activism in the 21st Century.

Yousafzai, Thunberg and Ocasio-Cortez

Estefanía Blanco López

June 2020

WOODWARD
SMITH
ELIZABETH ANNE
- 33270666Q

Firmado digitalmente
por WOODWARD
SMITH ELIZABETH
ANNE - 33270666Q
Fecha: 2020.06.09
10:12:14 +02'00'

When the whole world is silent, even one voice becomes powerful.

Malala Yousafzai

I know so many people who feel hopeless, and they ask me, "What should I do?" And I say:

"Act."

Greta Thunberg

Mentors of mine were under a big pressure to minimize their femininity to make it. I'm not going to do that. That takes away my power. I'm not going to compromise who I am.

Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	vii
1. Introduction	1
2. Theoretical framework	3
2.1. Critical discourse analysis	3
2.2. Classical rhetoric: proofs, structure and style.....	4
2.2.1. Proofs	4
2.2.2. Structure:.....	7
2.2.3. Style:	7
2.3. Context of culture	8
2.4. Figures of speech: schemes and tropes.....	8
2.4.1. Schemes	9
2.4.2. Tropes	10
2.5. Agency.....	13
2.6. Modality.....	15
3. Materials, methodology and context	16
3.1. Materials	16
3.2. Methodology.....	17
3.3. Context.....	17
4. Verbal and non-verbal behavior	20
5. Structure	22
5.1. Malala Yousafzai	22
5.2. Greta Thunberg.....	23

5.3. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez	24
6. Classical rhetoric: style and proofs.....	24
7. Figures of speech: schemes and tropes	31
8. Social agency	42
8.1. First person pronouns	43
8.2. Second person pronouns.....	49
8.3. Third person pronouns.....	50
9. Modality	55
9.1. Can.....	55
9.2. Could	56
9.3. Must.....	57
9.4. Should.....	57
9.5. Will.....	57
9.6. Would	58
9.7. May.....	59
10. Conclusions	59
REFERENCES	61
APPENDIX A: MALALA YOUSAFZAI’S SPEECH.....	63
APPENDIX B: GRETA THUMBERG’S SPEECH.....	70
APPENDIX C: ALEXANDRIA OCASIO-CORTEZ’S SPEECH	72
APPENDIX D: OCCURRENCES OF “WE” IN MALALA, GRETA AND ALEXANDRIA’S SPEECHES	78

Abstract

The purpose of this dissertation is to analyze three speeches by young female voices. In order to do so, theory on Critical Discourse Analysis will be presented, followed by a detailed study on Malala Yousafzai's Nobel Lecture in 2014, Greta Thunberg's speech at the United Nations during the Climate Action Summit in 2019, and Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez's speech at the C40 World Mayors Summit in 2019. The study focusses on linguistic and non-linguistic features in order to find out what kind of rhetorical devices have been used to create strong appeals and enhance persuasion, which results in the important political impact of the three orators. The findings will reveal the importance of context, figures of speech, agency, and modality in rhetoric and, more precisely, in persuasive discourse, as they are used to appeal to ethos, pathos, and logos, the three Aristotelian proofs that have been in the core of rhetoric since classical times.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, women, activism, Malala Yousafzai, Greta Thunberg, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Green New Deal, climate change, education.

1. Introduction

The art of oratory has been an object of study since ancient times and with it, rhetoric, the art of persuasion. As early as the 4th century, Aristotle elaborated a rigorous analysis of discourse and the importance of rhetoric to persuade audiences. In modern times, his analysis has been updated, but it is still the basis of new studies and theories. This is the case of Critical Discourse Analysis, henceforth CDA, the approach that will be taken into account as the methodology for this dissertation.

CDA will be applied in the study of speeches from three young female political activists, namely Malala Yousafzai, Greta Thunberg and Alexandria-Ocasio-Cortez. Their appearances in public and the media have put these three women in the spotlight of current activism and their discourses have motivated remarkable changes in their audiences and, consequently, in society. Their thriving success prompted my interest to know how rhetoric is applied in their speeches to persuade their audiences and why their appeals have a worldwide impact.

The aim of this dissertation is to analyze three speeches from the abovementioned political activists in order to study their sources of persuasion and to discover how they use rhetoric to affect their audiences through Aristotelian artistic proofs of *ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos*. Applying CDA, the focus will be on the analysis of context, figures of speech, agency, and modality in an attempt to explain how these young orators mesmerize their audiences.

The proposed research questions are: How have Yousafzai, Thunberg and Ocasio-Cortez applied figures of speech, agency, and modality within a specific context to persuade their audiences and appeal to *ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos*? And also, can their speeches be analyzed together in order to discover if they have similar persuasive tools and effects?

Apart from this introduction, this analysis will be divided into eight chapters and a conclusion. Chapter two deals with the theoretical framework of this dissertation. CDA has been

highly recurrent within rhetoric, discourse, and metaphor analysis as a method to study and describe political speeches and lectures. Several authors have written about the importance of raising critical awareness of the language and rhetoric used by political activists to persuade audiences. This will be my point of departure, which I shall develop in relation to Malala Yousafzai's Nobel Lecture in 2014, Greta Thunberg's speech at the United Nations during the Climate Action Summit in 2019, and Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez's speech at the C40 World Mayors Summit in 2019. Chapter three gives a description of the material and the methods that have been used in the analysis, and the context in which they were delivered, together with some information about the speakers. Chapter four exposes how body movements, clothes and voice affect the delivery of a speech. Chapter five reveals the structure of the speeches. Chapters seven, eight and nine unveil the results of the analysis of rhetorical devices, agency, and modality to see how they contribute to persuasion. Finally, chapter ten provides a conclusion about the findings of the analysis.

My research methodology for this dissertation required gathering relevant speeches from young female activists of the 21st century, a period when women gained political ground and new female leading figures appeared in the field of political activism. Once the speeches were selected, the next step was to decide the theoretical background that would best frame this analysis. This is how I became familiar with CDA, which provided an appropriate theoretical underpinning for the speeches chosen. The use of persuasive devices has been analyzed through a qualitative study of context, structure, figures of speech and non-verbal behavior, together with a quantitative study of the frequency of personal pronouns and modal auxiliary verbs. All in all, the dissection of the different elements that compose the speeches provides interesting results not only for linguistics, but also for other disciplines such as gender studies, as it helps understand the political impact and recognition that the three speakers have in today's world.

2. Theoretical framework

The aim of this chapter is to frame my research and provide a linguistic background to understand the rhetorical and linguistic strategies used in political activists' speeches to arouse emotions and inspire audiences. The three speeches analyzed in this dissertation reflect the speakers' ideology and thus, they will be considered political speeches, which are concerned with the making of political decisions and with establishing shared values (Charteris-Black 2013: xiii). Political activists appeal to their audiences by the use of rhetoric and persuasion. According to Perloff, "activists have doggedly employed persuasion to help change racial and gender role attitudes. [...] Political leaders have relied on persuasion when attempting to influence opinions toward policy issues" (4). In this regard, persuasion deals with molding the minds of the audience and shaping their attitudes to create a common system of values.

Charteris-Black's definition of rhetoric is "the formal study of persuasion" whereas that of oratory is "the application of this knowledge specifically to speech-making" (2013:3). Perloff and Charteris-Black reflect on the fact that both persuasion and rhetoric have been equated with hypocrisy, falsehood and manipulation, but they both underline the positive side of it and how the power of persuasion, with its ability to captivate audiences, fascinates people all over the world (Perloff 4). Furthermore, Perloff highlights the fact that the audience is always free to believe in what is being said. For him, persuasion is "a symbolic process in which communicators try to convince other people to change their attitudes or behaviour regarding an issue through the transmission of a message, in an atmosphere of free choice" (22).

2.1. Critical discourse analysis

For the purpose of this dissertation, Jonathan Charteris-Black's (2013) CDA framework will be used to examine three speeches. CDA is an approach to study discourse that considers linguistic and non-linguistic features. According to Charteris-Black, critical discourse analysts

state that language is essential in defining social power relationships. They study how inequalities in access to linguistic resources create differences in power and knowledge and they analyze language to identify those inequities. Power inequality leads to relations of domination which CDA studies from the perspective of the dominant group, whose discursive actions are considered illegitimate, as they should not use language to exert abuse of social power (2013: 83).

CDA consists of three steps, the first one being the analysis of the situational and cognitive circumstances in which the speech takes place, that is, the speech setting (speaker, location, date, occasion, and audience), the speaker's and audience's beliefs, assumptions and purpose, and the interaction between them. The second step involves the analysis of language and performance, that is, lexis, grammar, style, appearance, manner, and gesture. Finally, the third step aims to explain how the situational and cognitive circumstances (step 1) interact with the linguistic and performance features (step 2) to achieve persuasion.

This critical approach will be applied in the study of the speeches by Yousafzai, Thunberg, and Ocasio-Cortez, three skillful young female rhetoricians whose growing popularity is partly due to their ability to influence people through language.

2.2. Classical rhetoric: proofs, structure and style

As stated in the introductory section, Aristotle was the first one to study persuasion and rhetoric around 384-322 BC. In his definition, he classified the means of persuasion through three main structural principles or proofs: *ethos* (persuasion through personality and stance), *logos* (persuasion through reasoning), and *pathos* (persuasion through the arousal of emotion) (Cockcroft & Cockcroft 4). These three principles of persuasion are used in rhetoric to move audiences and convince them of what is being said, although in order to be a good communicator, the speaker must also incorporate a number of linguistic strategies as part of rhetoric.

2.2.1. Proofs

Ethos

Aristotle divided *ethos* into personality and stance. Regarding personality, orators must present themselves as trustworthy if they want to establish a relationship of trust with their audience. Hence, the appeal must be based on the speaker's character, as the audience may not accept an argument unless they are convinced of the speaker's practical wisdom, virtue, honesty, and goodwill, which contribute to his or her overall ethical credibility (Charteris-Black 2013: 8).

Goodwill and trust are based on the belief that the speaker cares about the interest of the audience, since only then will they be receptive and will allow persuasion to occur. This implies that the orator must be familiar with and understanding of the value system of the audience, especially when it is formed by people from different countries and cultures. For orators, making linguistic choices that match personal appearance is important to create an upright public identity that encourages trustworthiness. Dress, body posture, intonation, and structural organization must also be considered to make a good impression on the audience and appear as a reliable speaker.

Concerning stance, it is the "wider framework of attitudes, a sense of the persuader's position or viewpoint about what is being discussed" (Cockcroft & Cockcroft 17). Thus, it shows the listener the point of view that the speaker has taken. All in all, *ethos* is a proof in which behavior and language go hand in hand and to prove a *vir bonus dicendi peritus*, the orator must follow a morally virtuous path in life, based on practical wisdom and honesty.

Logos

Logos consists of persuading by appealing to arguments based on reason. Most of our everyday thinking is based on logical principles, and deductive reasoning starts from a generally accepted premise to a more detailed one. Whatever the choice of reasoning, it must be clear and concise and it must lead to a conclusion. "As a structuring principle in rhetoric, *logos* includes: the range of diverse arguments in the discourse; the structure of thought; [...] and the sequence,

coherence and logical value of these arguments (Cockcroft & Cockcroft 18).

According to Charteris-Black, “*logos* represents a proposition so that it can be judged according to whether it accords with everyday experience” (2013: 11). For him, the most persuasive means of arguing is by a syllogism, a structure in which there is a major premise followed by a minor premise and leading to a conclusion. However, in order to accept the conclusion, both premises need to be things that the audience already accept as true (2013: 11). Therefore, a speaker who aims to persuade must create a well-structured speech with logical and coherent arguments ordered following a reasonable sequence and that can be judged by the previous experience of the audience. Only then, the listeners will be open to persuasion.

Pathos

The third concept of rhetoric is *pathos*, which consists of persuading by appealing to the audience’s emotions. Aristotle considered that emotions are cognitive in nature, since they have a cause and they lead us to make evaluations that influence our opinions (Charteris-Black 2013:14).

Careful word choice is vital in giving or removing emotion, so the author must be tactful when dealing with certain topics. According to Charteris-Black, “an orator of wisdom, virtue and goodwill advances reasonable arguments, and in doing so, he excites emotional responses that are appropriate to the situation” (2013:15). Thus, *pathos* helps the speaker to make powerful appeals through emotion and it shows the audience the point of view from which they are being persuaded.

Cockcroft and Cockcroft go even further and state that “emotion is the 'raw material' of rhetoric, because without real (or simulated) emotion, effective persuasion is unlikely to take place” (57). This gives *pathos* a vital role in persuasion, describing it as essential in rhetoric.

All in all, the combination of the three structural principles, *ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos*, gives a speech the power of persuasion and guarantees its success whenever the speaker is trustworthy, the arguments are based on true data and expose experiences to which the audience can relate.

2.2.2. Structure

Aristotle believed that speeches required a minimum of four parts. The first of them would be the *prooimion* or *exordium*, a prologue in which the speaker “seeks to create rapport with the audience and arouses interest” (Charteris-Black 2013: 16). The second phase is the narrative, which varies depending on the aim of the speech. The purpose of this phase is “to outline the main arguments by setting out the central facts of a case” (2013: 17). After the narrative comes the proof, where the speaker makes use of artistic proofs in order to be persuasive. Finally, the last phase is the *peroratio* or epilogue, which summarizes the main points and appeals to the audience’s emotions. It is possible to find another phase between the proof and the epilogue, the *refutatio*, where the speaker rejects his opponent’s arguments by proving them false, unreasonable or unfair.

2.2.3. Style

In rhetoric, style is the combination of personal choice and social meaning, and for persuasion to take place, the choice of words must combine clear and elevated style to allow comprehension and encourage admiration. However, style is influenced by the branch of oratory employed. In this regard, **forensic** discourse uses the past tense quite frequently and a precise, clear, and simple style, since it is commonly addressed to a jury to accuse or defend somebody or something according to what is fair, unfair, real or unreal. **Deliberative** rhetoric tends to be more elaborate and complex, and it uses the future tense since it is typically addressed to the members of an assembly to support or reject an action because it can be harmful, useful, possible, or impossible. **Epideictic** speeches, usually written in the present tense, present an elevated and grand style, as they are addressed to an audience with the objective of praising or blaming somebody following criteria of what is pleasant or good and what is not. A correct style influences the audience by affecting it through the power of the appeals, so choosing the correct branch of oratory will boost persuasion and acceptance.

2.3. Context

To understand any given speech, we must have some global knowledge surrounding the discourse circumstances. According to Charteris-Black, “analysis of circumstances involves identifying the speaker’s beliefs and his or her purposes in making a speech, as well as identifying the audience’s beliefs, how these influenced the speech and how they were influenced by it” (2013: 86). Therefore, identifying the speaker’s choices and linking them to the context in which their speech was delivered will unveil the speaker’s purposes. This is especially important when dealing with political activism, as knowing the speaker’s background will give us hints on how the speech will unfold. Furthermore, the cultural background of a speaker influences what he or she says, as well as how it is said. Personal experiences, education, family background, religion and mother tongue are some variants that must be taken into account before studying a speech.

This being considered, the three speeches analyzed in this dissertation were delivered by women who were always in touch with more languages than just English. Yousafzai’s first language is Pashto, Thunberg’s mother tongue is Swedish, and Ocasio-Cortez is a fluent Spanish speaker thanks to her Puerto Rican roots. Furthermore, the lives of these women have been marked by powerful experiences and unique social and educational backgrounds that make them who they are today and reflect their values in their speeches. For this reason, section 3.3 will analyze the context surrounding their speeches.

2.4. Figures of speech: schemes and tropes

In political language the choice and arrangement of words is crucial to influence audiences. Figures of speech contribute to the aesthetic resources that language has to affect people. In fact, when used in political activism speeches, figurative language provides the discourse with emotion, beauty, and rhythm and it gives strength to the appeals by creating associations between words, which makes the audience empathize with the speaker and fosters persuasion.

According to Charteris-Black, classical rhetoric distinguished two different categories of figurative language: schemes and tropes. A scheme involves modifications in the normal or expected word order and affects grammatical structure, whereas with tropes, words are used with senses that are not literal or normal and it affects the choice of lexis (2013: 39).

2.4.1. Schemes

The first scheme considered in this dissertation for the analysis of the three speeches chosen is **ellipsis**, a rhetorical device that consists in the omission of a word or phrase or its substitution by zero when it is assumed that the meaning is retrievable from context (Charteris-Black 2013: 40). This scheme allows speakers to avoid repetition without losing the focus of what they want to say. It is used when the audience knows what the referent is and there is no need to name it.

Another scheme is **isocolon**, a rhetorical device that contributes to give balance to the text by using two clauses of similar length (Charteris-Black 2013: 41). It creates a rhythmic effect which is typical of political speeches, as it helps them to be remembered and makes it easier to connect one argument with the following one.

Concerning **parison**, it consists of a comparison between two subjects or entities which do not need to be mentioned if one can be inferred from the other (Charteris-Black 2013: 41).

Another common schematic device in political activism speeches is **antithesis**, also known as **contrastive pair**. Charteris-Black describes it as a semantic relation of opposition or contrast (2013: 40), and for Cockcroft & Cockcroft it occurs when two words are opposed in a contrary relationship (176). This scheme allows the speaker to highlight the contrast between what is good and desirable and what is not. Thus, the audience can relate to what the speaker says and take his or her side of the argument.

Regarding **three-part lists**, they occur when the speaker lists three elements together using a repetitive pattern. This is a common rhetorical device in political speeches, embedded in many

cultures as it gives a sense of unity and completeness (Beard 38). Therefore, different cultures use three-part lists in normal conversation to strengthen arguments and persuade the listeners. However, the three-part list is not mere repetition, as it can use different words with a similar meaning and, when spoken aloud, features like pitch, tempo, and rhythm play a major part in the effect it has in the audience (Beard 39). All in all, when used in political activism speeches, three-part lists help engage the audience with the appeals and persuade them with the arguments.

As for **parallelism**, it involves the repetition of a syntactic pattern, which often also involves lexical repetition. **Repetition** always adds emphasis and intensifies meaning (Charteris Black 2013: 41). Thus, no matter which form it takes – three-part lists, parallelism, **epiphora** (the repetition of a phrase at the end of a unit which does not need to be identical), or **anaphora** (the repetition of a phrase at the start of a unit) – repetition communicates a sense of conviction which arouses emotions in the audience. This is the reason why authors like Cockcroft & Cockcroft consider repetition the major resource of schematic rhetoric and the one with the closest affinity to the spontaneous expression of emotion (182).

2.4.2. Tropes

Moving on to tropes, the first one considered in this analysis is the use of **rhetorical questions**, grammatically correct questions for which the answer is already known and so not given (Charteris-Black 2013: 47). For Cockcroft & Cockcroft, rhetorical questions have a persuasive effect by shaking the confidence of an audience opposed to the persuader's view, or reinforcing an opinion already formed (236). They catch the audience's attention and make them revise their pre-established beliefs, reflecting on what is right or what can be done to improve a specific situation.

Another trope to be considered in this paper is **allusion**, an indirect evocation of another well-known textual or cultural reference (Charteris-Black 2013: 46). The use of allusions allows speakers to provide a context to the values implied in their speech, which gives the audience

information to understand the point of view from which the appeals are made. Furthermore, the use of allusions reinforces confidence in the good intentions of the speaker and enhances the message by including already accepted premises or support from respected historical figures or institutions, providing a reliable source to back up objective or subjective information.

Concerning **periphrasis**, it refers to the use of more words than is necessary to express a meaning and it often produces a formal register suitable for epideictic speeches. (Charteris-Black 2013: 47). It is commonly used to change the attention from a subject to his or her actions.

Regarding **metonymy**, it occurs when there is an attribute of an entity that is used to refer to another entity closely related in our experience. (Charteris-Black 2013: 47). Thus, it must be understood as a replacement of a concept by another one related to it. Through association, an idea put into words metonymically represents unexpressed or implicit ideas, which will have obvious implications for persuasion. Moreover, metonymy can also reveal those intangible human qualities that characterize an individual or social group (Cockcroft & Cockcroft 170).

A special type of metonymy called **synecdoche** will also be considered in the analysis. It occurs when a part is used to refer to the whole entity (Charteris-Black 2013: 47). According to Cockcroft & Cockcroft, “it works on the mathematical principle of dividing a whole into its parts” (172). Therefore, as the part represents the whole, synecdoche becomes an important persuasive tool through which specific concepts can be marginalized by omitting them.

In this dissertation, the analysis of the three speeches also considers **oxymoron**, even though there are not many examples of this trope in the presentations. Yet, it influences persuasion as it implies a combination of words of incongruous or contradictory meaning, often an adjective and a noun (Charteris-Black 2013: 47) which helps attract the attention of the audience.

Concerning **hyperbole**, a word or phrase which is deliberately exaggerated to intensify the meaning (Charteris-Black 2013: 46) it enhances persuasion by exaggeration. It appeals to emotion,

so it contributes to pathos and makes the arguments sound more convincing.

Regarding **metaphor**, it is a common device used in speeches to simplify political and social issues. Charteris-Black defines metaphor as a “word or phrase that is used with a sense that differs from another more common or more basic sense that this word or phrase has” (2011: 31). It connects two concepts that are not normally related and frames issues to make them intelligible for the audience and favorable to the argument being defended (2013: 202). Thus, the persuasive effect of metaphors lies in their ability to make the audience understand difficult or abstract concepts by relating them to what is familiar to the audience. It must be noted that in political language, metaphors can be used for ideological purposes because they activate unconscious emotional associations and thereby they contribute to myth creation (Charteris-Black 2011: 28). That is the reason why they are culture-specific, as they are based on our previous knowledge.

In an analysis carried out by Charteris-Black in 2009, he compared the use of metaphor in speeches delivered by men and women. The results showed that inexperienced female politicians had a tendency to avoid metaphor due to its connection with the emotional appeals associated with stereotypical femininity. Nevertheless, experienced and successful politicians who were familiar with political rhetoric generally use memorable and persuasive metaphors, which enhances the speaker’s reputation as a skilled orator (Charteris-Black 2013: 161). Therefore, in this dissertation we will see how the use of metaphors enriches the speeches of three female political activists who use this figure of speech to persuade their audience.

A common and interesting type of metaphor is **personification**. This trope is defined as a “linguistic figure in which an abstract and inanimate entity is described or referred to using a word or phrase that in other contexts would be used to describe a person” (Charteris-Black 2011: 61). Thus, it gives inanimate entities qualities of human beings. Personification has proved useful in persuasion because it evokes feelings and beliefs about human beings and applies them to abstract

entities, heightening the emotional appeal (61). The analysis of Yousafzai, Thunberg, and Ocasio-Cortez's use of figures of speech and their effect on persuasion will be the aim of section 7.

2.5. Agency

The term "agent" refers to the person or entity that performs an action. There are two ways in which agency can be manipulated in political discourses to provide a positive or negative representation of political subjects: through nominal forms and through verbal processes. The use of nominal forms includes pronouns, individual names, social or professional roles, and collective nouns. On the other hand, verbal processes refer to methods in which social agency is foregrounded or backgrounded by using verbs in the active or passive voice, or by using transitive and intransitive verbs. (Charteris-Black 2013:101-102).

In this dissertation, the analysis of agency will focus on the use of personal pronouns, which establish the relationship between the speaker and the audience, as well as that of the speaker towards the topic being discussed. In political language, the use of pronouns is essential as they fulfill legitimizing strategic functions by granting authority to the speaker and promoting positive self-presentation (Chilton 37). In the speeches analyzed in this paper, it is important to highlight the authority of the speakers, since they are women in political activism, until recently, a male-dominated field. Furthermore, their youth and inexperience in public speaking could encounter the rejection of certain sectors of society, so the strategic use of personal pronouns is crucial to highlight their role as professional and reliable figures of authority.

Personal pronouns can include or exclude the audience from the discourse due to their capacity to express unity or distance between the speaker and the listeners, establishing a common ground where both can agree or disagree. The following personal pronouns have been taken into account to find out how they work in the speeches by Yousafzai, Thunberg, and Ocasio-Cortez.

First person pronouns

First person personal pronouns can be singular (*I, me*) or plural (*we, us*). The singular forms are used to emphasize the position and the opinions of the speaker, excluding the audience, and to underline his or her commitment to the topic discussed. However, when the plural forms are used, the aim is to include the audience to emphasize a common ground that both, the speaker and the audience share. By making them active and responsible agents who can relate to what is being said, the speaker strengthens the points where they can work together or share the same opinions.

Second person pronouns

Second person personal pronouns are used to address someone other than the speaker. To identify the addressee we need to pay attention to the context in which the pronoun is used. Moreover, the same form, *you*, is used in singular and plural as subject or object pronoun, so the audience must pay attention to distinguish whether it refers to one or more referents. Furthermore, *you* can also be used to refer to people in general avoiding mentioning anyone in particular, but distancing the speaker from the addressee. It is equivalent to the special and slightly formal generic pronoun *one* and it is known as generic *you* (Huddleston 103 and Quirk et al. 354).

Third person pronouns

Regarding third person personal pronouns, they refer to people or entities other than the speaker and the addressee (Huddleston 103). They can be singular (*he, she, it, him, her*) or plural (*they, them*). Their reference can be anaphoric, if it refers to something that has been mentioned before, or cataphoric, when it refers to something mentioned later in the text.

Special attention must be paid to the third person singular pronoun *it* which, since it is the most neutral and semantically unmarked of the personal pronouns, can be used as referential or as an “empty”, “prop” or “dummy *it*” (Quirk et al. 348). According to Quirk, when the “prop *it*” has a meaning, it usually refers to the time or place of the event or state in question and the *it* which occurs as anticipatory subject in cleft sentences or in clauses with extraposition carries even less

meaning. However, in those cases it can be maintained that the pronoun is not completely empty of meaning, since it arguably has cataphoric reference to another clause (349).

Regarding the choice of a third person pronoun to avoid gender-biased language, Huddleston states that the pronoun *they* is the most widely accepted option. In this regard, *they* is a pronoun which, in its primary use, refers to groups and has plural referents and in a secondary use, it is interpreted semantically as singular to avoid revealing the gender of the referent (103).

2.6. Modality

Modal verbs are essential in the study of rhetoric and persuasion, as they express the speaker's degree of commitment towards what is being said. Charteris-Black describes modality as "the linguistic means for conveying how sure someone is about what he or she is saying" (2013: 110). Furthermore, he states that modality is used to indicate the speaker's stance, attitude, or position towards what is being said, especially the extent to which he or she believes it is true, necessary or obligatory, or desirable or undesirable (2013: 110). Thus, the analysis of modal verbs in a speech reveals the relationship between its content and the mental state of the speaker in relation to it, providing a perspective to what is being said. For Quirk et al., modality is "the manner in which the meaning of a clause is qualified so as to reflect the speaker's judgment of the likelihood of the proposition it expresses being true" (219), so it can be understood as the "grammaticalisation of a speaker's (subjective) attitudes and opinions" (Charteris-Black 2013: 111).

Political language aims to remove doubt from discourse and, to sound convincing about future actions, it uses modal verbs to communicate certainty, truth, and confidence. Any speaker delivering a political message must decide on the degree of conviction he or she wants to convey. A high degree of commitment to the appeals can be reached through the modal verbs *must*, *have to*, *will* and *ought to*, and it implies the existence of evidence that proves what is being said, whereas a low degree of commitment suggests uncertainty due to the absence of evidence or because the

outcome of an action is not sure and it can be achieved through the modal verbs *may*, *could*, *should*, *might*, and *should not*. Moreover, a negative degree of commitment to truth can be expressed through *could not* and *must not*. Therefore, commitment can be manipulated to influence the audience's perceptions of the truthfulness of a message (Charteris-Black 2013: 111-112).

Apart from modal verbs, modality can also be expressed through adverbs and noun phrases, although in this paper, only modal verbs will be considered for the analysis of the speeches made by Yousafzai, Thunberg and Ocasio-Cortez. The analysis of modality will prove useful in the analysis of the speeches by our three speakers to examine the chances their arguments have of being true and to understand how they use modal verbs to persuade their audiences.

3. Materials, methodology and context

3.1. Materials

As a way of putting into practice the theoretical background covered in the first part of this dissertation, I shall now consider how to apply CDA to three well-known speeches performed by charismatic young women activists and key figures in current politics, namely Malala Yousafzai, Greta Thunberg, and Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez.

Before diving into the material, we must be aware of the fact that “the text behind a speech is often produced by a speechwriter who may be supported by a team. [...] While a speech is a socially produced text, when it comes to delivery, it is a live performance by a single individual” (Charteris-Black 2013: xviii). Therefore, due to the youth of the speakers and the wide scope of their speeches in their public appearances, it seems naïve to believe that they are the single authors of the discourses they deliver. Instead, it is common sense to assume that they have had guidance in their writing and in the preparation of their staging. However, for the aim of this dissertation, the material of analysis will be the speeches themselves and the performance of the speakers only.

Chronologically speaking, the first speech included in the study was delivered by Malala

Yousafzai during the Nobel Prize Award Ceremony at the Oslo City Hall, Norway, in 2014, when she received the Nobel Peace Prize for her fight for the right of all children to education. The speech is 2203 words long and its written transcript can be read in **Appendix A**.

The second speech considered here was given by the Swedish environmental activist Greta Thunberg at the United Nations during the Climate Action Summit in New York, in 2019, where she addressed the world leaders to criticize their lack of involvement in the making of policies to curb climate change. The written transcript of the speech, which is 496 words long, can be found in **Appendix B**.

The third and last speech to be analyzed was performed by Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez at the C40 World Mayors Summit in Copenhagen, in 2019. There, she advocated for a Green New Deal to stop climate change. The speech is 1956 words long and the complete written transcript of the speech can be found in **Appendix C**.

3.2. Methodology

The analysis of the materials will be carried out by using two different methods or research: quantitative and qualitative. The former will consist in analyzing frequency rates to determine the frequency of pronouns and modal auxiliaries and establish tables of occurrences. This process will be carried out manually. The latter will focus on the study of figures of speech, divided into schemes and tropes and it will reveal which rhetoric elements have been used to influence the audience. This paper will also analyze non-verbal behavior to study the importance of gestures, space arrangement, or clothes.

3.3. Context

In order to analyze the three speeches included in this paper, first, I will consider the broader context in which they were delivered, and then the more specific context will be discussed.

The first speech to be considered is Malala Yousafzai's acceptance speech during the Nobel

Prize Award Ceremony. At the time when the speech was delivered, 2014, Malala was a seventeen-year-old woman from Pakistan, born to a Pashtun family who ran schools in the region of Mingora, in the Swat District of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, in northwest Pakistan. In this region, the local Taliban had banned women's access to education (Malala's Story). This led Malala to write a blog relating her life under the Taliban occupation of Swat in 2009. Her account of the events was turned into a documentary that put her in the public eye.

On October 9th, 2012, Malala was riding a bus home after school when she was shot by a Taliban in an attempt to kill her due to her activism. Despite the fact that the bullet hit her head, she survived, but she was in a critical condition and her family and doctors feared for her life. After her recovery, Malala continued with her activism, fighting for the right to education of every child (Malala's Story). She was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize together with Kailash Satyarthi "for their struggle against the suppression of children and young people and for the right of all children to education" (The Norwegian Nobel Committee, 2014). She became the youngest Nobel Prize laureate ever and her acceptance speech is now our object of study.

Moving on to Greta Thunberg's speech at the United Nations, it took place when she was sixteen years old. Thunberg was born in Sweden to a family of artists. Her mother is an opera singer and her father, an actor. At the age of 15, she began skipping school every Friday to protest outside the Swedish parliament demanding action against climate change. Her protests were extended to other young students all around the world, originating the movement "Fridays for Future". Despite her age, she has addressed world leaders to criticize their inefficiency to stop climate change, as they prioritize economy over sustainability. Her extraordinary power to encourage people to take action comes from her straightforward discourse through which she refuses to tell people that everything will be fine. Instead, she tells us that we are destroying our planet and, consequently, children's hopes for the future (Alter).

Although she gets support from people all around the world, many are the detractors who claim that a girl of her age should be attending school instead of giving lectures to adult politicians. Moreover, American conservative political commentator Michael Knowles called her “mentally ill” for having Asperger Syndrome, to which she responded that Asperger was a superpower. Some critics claim that children should not be politicized and describe her as a gullible girl who is being manipulated and cannot think for herself. However, she has repeatedly claimed that she too can think for herself and have her own opinions and therefore, she will continue her task of trying to change people’s minds (Brockes).

Our third speech was given by Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez at the C40 World Mayors Summit in 2019. Just like Thunberg, Alexandria has also endured rejection for being too young and inexperienced. She is the youngest congresswoman in America for the Democratic Party and at the time when the speech was delivered she was 30 years old. Her father was an architect born in the Bronx, whereas her mother is from Puerto Rico and worked as a house cleaner (Biography). After Alexandria’s election in 2018, she garnered international media attention thanks to her defense of progressive policies like tuition-free public college, gun control-policies, single-payer Medicare, end of privatization of prisons and the fostering of renewable energies.

Also in 2018, Ocasio-Cortez began to work towards the establishment of a Green New Deal, a set of policies aiming to stop climate change and economic inequality. It calls for investment to replace fossil fuels by renewable energies, but its costs bring detractors not only from the Republican Party, but also from a segment of the Democrats (Tejero 157-158). Nancy Pelosi, one of the heavyweights within the Blue party, mocked Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez for defending the Green New Deal (Cillizza). Nevertheless, Alexandria keeps on fostering a new change in policies that will curb greenhouse gas emissions and will guarantee high-paying jobs in clean energy industries. Her strength and enthusiasm seem to grow every time she encounters a new

obstacle and she seems persistent in achieving all her goals. Her passion is probably what makes her speeches so powerful and with them, she has gained millions of supporters all around the world.

All in all, the three speeches must be considered **deliberative** as the speakers address the audience with the objective of promoting future policy on children's education or climate change. However, in order to create a context for their speeches, they include some judicial and epideictic parts that contribute to Aristotle's artistic proofs (*ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos*).

4. Verbal and non-verbal behavior

Regarding the **position** of the speakers, Malala and Alexandria stood behind a lectern stand, which limited their movements and body language. Greta sat in a chair with an attached microphone. None of them had freedom of movement, as the fixed microphones restricted their mobility.

The only **moves** we see in Malala are with her right arm and hand and with her head. She lifts her right arm when she wants to emphasize certain words and she lifts her right hand tightening her fists on some occasions, raising her index finger for emphasis, or pointing at people in the audience with her whole hand open. She also moves her head from right to left to make eye contact with the audience and looks directly to important guests in the audience when she talks about them.

As for Greta, she does not sit still in the chair and bends repeatedly towards the microphone each time she wants to emphasize a word to achieve a more dramatic effect. Like Malala, she also moves her right arm for emphasis in the passionate parts of the speech, while both hands hold the papers with the transcript of the speech when she gives factual data.

With Alexandria we need to bear in mind the lectern stand again, which covers up to her chest. Still, we can see how she tends to gesticulate with both hands especially at the beginning of the speech. She smiles when the audience applauds and her looks are mostly directed to the right side of the audience.

Concerning **clothes**, it is important to analyze how the speaker's appearance transmits a powerful message of identity. In the case of Malala Yousafzai, her clothes also represent her religious beliefs. She wears a pink *duphata*, which is the typical Pakistani women's scarf. Its pink color symbolizes feminine power in the Pakistani culture and thus, it transmits the essence of the young activist who stands in front of the audience with a story to tell and a mission to achieve. During the speech, she fixes her *duphata* on several occasions, as it keeps slipping off her hair.

Pink was also the color chosen by Greta Thunberg. She wears a pink shirt, greenish-gray jeans and blue sneakers. Like in all her public appearances, Thunberg does not wear makeup and her hair is done in a braid. Her clothes are simple, informal and they make her look even younger than she really is. But in this case, her facial expression transmits a lot more information than her clothes. Her serious face shows anger and pain, and her glassy eyes are on the verge of tears.

As for Alexandria Ocasio, she wears an elegant black suit and high-heels, make-up with red lips, a pair of big hoop earrings and her hair is tied in a low ponytail.

Concerning the **voice** of the three speakers, there are several things that need pointing out. The three women use **intonation** to emphasize certain parts of their speech. Malala shows a tendency to raise her voice at the beginning of each sentence and she never reads and speaks at the same time. Instead, she **pauses** a few seconds to read before continuing and she uses the time while the audience claps to read the transcript. She always utters between two and six words and then, she makes a small pause to inhale.

In the case of Greta, she has a very soft, singsong **voice**, but it seems to break with invisible tears of anger. The speech has a poetic rhythm that several artists used to put music to Greta's voice, like the Australian musician Megan Washington and composer Robert Davidson. Thunberg's voice is not mature, but still, she succeeds at conveying her message effectively through intonation and pauses. Her **intonation** rises when she wants to stress a word or a clause,

and it always happens when trying to be emotional. As for **pauses**, she stops after every short sentence to breathe and read the transcript.

Alexandria's **voice** is modulated, firm and pleasant, but it turns wobbly at one point when she is about to cry. She uses long subordinate sentences and we notice a rising **intonation** at the beginning of the sentences, which end with a falling intonation. She makes intentional **pauses** to let the audience applaud and to breathe and she speaks and reads at the same time.

5. Structure

5.1. Malala Yousafzai

The duration of Malala's lecture is 26 minutes and 35 seconds. It is a prepared monologue and hence, it is not a spontaneous spoken discourse. The generic structure of the speech is: salutation, introduction of special guests, appreciation, prologue or *exordium*, personal experiences, *narratio*, *refutatio*, epilogue, and appreciation.

Malala begins by greeting in Arabic "*Bismillah hir rahman ir Rahim*" followed by a translation into English "In the name of God, the most merciful, the most beneficent", for those in the audience who do not understand Arabic and also, aware of the worldwide transcendence of her speech. This shows that her religion, Islam, is very present in her speech, but apart from connecting language and religion, she also uses this greeting to connect with the audience. She then introduces special guests such as "Your Majesties, Your Royal Highnesses, distinguished members of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, [...] Dear sisters and brothers". In addition, she thanks everyone who supported her as well as her parents and teachers, and emphasizes how honored she is to be awarded the Nobel Prize, thus highlighting the importance of the occasion.

Having framed her speech, she then moves on to talk about her childhood, the story behind her name, and relates personal experiences that bring her closer to her audience. Since the speech makes an appeal for education as a right that every child in the world must enjoy, she introduces

the subject by offering the award to those who want an education and offers herself to stand up for their rights. She recalls Mohammad in her speech together with allusions to historical figures and activists such as Nelson Mandela or Martin Luther King. She continues the speech saying that every woman and every child should have the right to receive an education and highlights several cases in which girls experience violence for defending such a right. To end her lecture, she expresses her desire that this will be the last time society has to fight for education, and encourages the audience to raise their voices and use their power to end the injustice towards which her fight is addressed. Once that is done, she thanks again the audience for listening.

5.2. Greta Thunberg

The duration of Thunberg's speech is 4 minutes and 25 seconds. It is also a prepared, non-spontaneous monologue. The generic structure of the speech is: prologue or *exordium*, *narratio*, proof, *refutatio*, epilogue, and appreciation.

Greta Thunberg opens her speech answering a question that the presenter asks: "What's your message to world leaders today?" To what she answers: "My message is that we'll be watching you". This can be seen as the prologue, as she states her intentions in the first sentence. From there, she begins accusing world leaders of their failure in tackling climate change, but what makes the speech really uncomfortable to world leaders is that the person accusing them of their mistakes is a teenager. Normally, it would be teenagers the ones that would need to be told off by adults. In this part of the speech, she sets out several facts that are favorable to her presentation, so we can see it as the narrative.

In the following part, the proof, Greta Thunberg presents arguments in favor of her main point by giving data and talking about personal experiences that would prove her arguments. This is followed by the refutation in which she rejects the excuses given by world leaders and lets them know that even children are aware of their failure. In the next part, the epilogue, Thunberg presents

emotional appeals saying that the younger generations will not forgive their failures and will not allow their inaction any longer. Finally, Greta thanks the audience for listening, through a “thank you” that implies a lot of friction between the speaker and the audience present.

5.3. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez

The duration of Alexandria’s speech is 13 minutes and 56 seconds. It is a prepared monologue and its generic structure is: salutation, appreciation, prologue or *exordium*, *narratio*, proof, personal experiences, *refutatio*, *narratio*, epilogue, and appreciation.

Alexandria begins her speech by greeting everyone in the audience and gives special thanks to the person who introduced her and to other groups like activists and scientists who support her cause. She then begins the *exordium* in which she gives the main reason why she is delivering the speech and then, she moves on to the *narratio* by setting out the facts that explain her main point. She also offers proof to support her arguments and gives examples of her own private personal life. Later, she begins her *refutatio* by rejecting the possibility of continuing what has been done until now, to finally introduce an epilogue in which she summarizes the most important points of her arguments to gain the audience’s support. She finishes thanking the audience for listening.

6. Classical rhetoric: style and proofs

The style of the three speeches relies on the appeals of *ethos*, *logos* and *pathos*. In the case of Malala’s lecture, opening her speech with an allusion to God might be enough for many to be convinced of her wisdom, honesty and goodwill. In the context in which the speech was delivered, the audience there present and even those of us listening to her from our homes, are all familiar with Malala’s value system and what is more, the audience is praising her for such values. It was precisely her goodwill which made her worthy of the Nobel Prize. However, as if this was not enough to prove *ethos*, she warms the audience’s hearts as soon as she thanks her parents for their unconditional love and for teaching her to always speak the truth.

Regarding Greta, she does not put much emphasis on highlighting *ethos*, as she uses her speech to tell off world leaders. However, *ethos* is achieved through the topic of her speech, her youth and her value system. First of all, she embodies the issue of climate breakdown. With powerful governments and corporations ignoring our planet's health and focusing on economic benefits, Greta is able to stand in front of them and condemn their practices, showing us what a single voice can do. We are reminded that she alone inspired millions of people to be conscious about climate change, so her credibility and good wisdom were taken for granted before her speech.

Her youth is also another factor to prove her honesty. Children and young people are believed to speak from their hearts and Miss Thunberg is no exception. Her speech is personal and despite her age, she dares to publicly criticize powerful world leaders. She claims that her childhood has been stolen, which makes the audience empathize with her.

Moreover, she stands as the voice of the younger generation, so the audience is prompted to believe that she acts on a system of values and moral principles built through education and common sense. She is able to engage the audience in her speech and show that when a young person like her is empowered, she can bring together many voices and have a say in dealing with climate change.

Concerning Alexandria, in the prologue of her speech she states that she is speaking with "candor", "frank honesty" and "truth". She does not hide the fact that in the United States she has earned the reputation of a rebel for fighting for the cause she believes in. This shows how strong her commitment is and helps the audience believe in her words. Alexandria also says that she is not there to waste time, but to speak on the issue of the climate crisis and the Green New Deal. Thus, she does not hide her intentions and the audience knows from the beginning of the speech what to expect from her.

Concerning *logos*, **Malala's** claims to stop violence towards those who want an education

are based on generally accepted premises such as the right of education for all children regardless of gender. She urges the audience to fight against the injustices, poverty and violence that prevent children, and girls in particular, from enjoying education in certain parts of the world. She talks about the attack she suffered and denounces it quoting the Holy Quran and Muhammad:

“Have you not learnt, have you not learnt that in the Holy Quran Allah says: if you kill one person it is as if you kill the whole humanity? [...] Do you not know that Mohammad, peace be upon him, the prophet of mercy, he says, “do not harm yourself or others.” [...] “And do you not know that the very first word of the Holy Quran is the word “Iqra,” which means “read”?”

By citing the Holy Quran, the holy book of the Islamic faith, she offers evidence for her statements from a source that is followed by the whole Islamic community. However, it is important to be aware of the nuances of Islam in order to understand what Malala’s detractors defend. According to the Taliban, the Holy Quran states that women should retreat from the public sphere and thus, they should refrain from seeking education. However, Malala’s interpretation of the Holy Quran is completely different, as according to her, it asserts that a woman can be educated and still be a loyal Muslim. For this reason, she cites the Holy Quran on her speech, to support her interpretation and convince the audience that by applying logical principles and deductive reasoning to the generally accepted word of the Holy Quran, we all come to the conclusion that her interpretation is the right one to be made.

Furthermore, she also makes use of data by saying that 66 million girls are deprived of education, but she fails to mention the source of such data. Instead, she names girls who are sitting among the audience as proof and examples of her statements being right.

Greta exhibits *logos* through data to prove her points. She first talks about the general and popular idea that we need to cut our emissions in half in the next ten years. Then, she concludes

that such an idea is unacceptable and moves on to give detailed data to prove her point:

“To have a 67% chance of staying below a 1.5°C global temperature rise – the best odds given by the [Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change] – the world had 420 gigatons of CO₂ left to emit back on January 1st, 2018. Today that figure is already down to less than 350 gigatons”.

As we can see, together with the facts and figures, she includes the source of the statistics she is giving and by providing this information she hits her audience with science and logic that backs up her anger towards those who try to deny reality.

Alexandria's contribution to *logos* goes along the same lines Greta has pursued. Ocasio-Cortez declares that she is speaking with “frankly scientific consensus” and proceeds in doing so by offering data and quotes from University researchers:

“By 2030, according to researchers at the University of Washington Madison and the University of Oregon, (quote) “seawater is likely to submerge some 4,000 miles of Internet cable in the United States and engulf more than a thousand data centers that house servers, routers, and other hardware by the end of this decade”.

Besides that, she also quotes former US president Franklin D. Roosevelt as a figure of authority: “we face the arduous days that lie before us in the warm courage of global unity with the clear consciousness of seeking old and precious moral values”.

Finally, to awake the urge to act in her audience, she states that despite the rigorous scientific facts, the climate crisis does not need to be examined by scientific experts anymore, but it needs politicians to tackle the issue.

Regarding *pathos*, we already mentioned **Malala**'s wisdom, virtue, and goodwill, which leads to reasonable arguments that, at the same time, prompt emotional responses. Malala is not afraid of making appeals based on emotion if they are also supported by *ethos* and *logos*. In this sense, she talks openly about the attack she suffered by the Taliban to publicly denounce that no

girl should see herself involved in any terrorist attack for wanting an education. However, it is worth mentioning the subtlety of her words as she incorporates metaphors and does not describe obnoxious details. Therefore, she is careful with her word choice and avoids morbid issues. Her description of the attack stands as follows: “I was just ten when more than 400 schools were destroyed. Women were flogged. People were killed. And our beautiful dreams turned into nightmares”, “The terrorists tried to stop us and attacked me and my friends who are here today, on our school bus in 2012, but neither their ideas nor their bullets could win”.

Most people in the audience have always had access to education, so there is a chance that they would not feel identified with the events that the speaker narrates. This is why Malala points out that she tells her story not because it is unique, but because it is not, including in her speech all the victims who, like herself, suffered the consequences of seeking education in countries where girls must not aim for such a right. She appeals to emotion arousing empathy in the audience, so that even those who had an education, can feel compassion for the victims.

Furthermore, emotions can also be aroused through humor, and a good example of this is when Malala talks about how honored she feels at receiving the Nobel Award. She says:

“I am pretty certain that I am also the first recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize who still fights with her younger brothers. I want there to be peace everywhere, but my brothers and I are still working on that”.

The arousal of emotion is also present in another humorous statement when Malala tries to describe how people refer to her by saying: “Some people call me a ‘Nobel Laureate’ now”. However, my brothers still call me that annoying bossy sister”; and again when she makes fun at herself for being quite short, which provokes immediate laughter from the audience: “though I appear as one girl, one person, who is 5 foot 2 inches tall, if you include my high heels (it means I am 5 foot only), I am not a lone voice”. All in all, through *pathos*, the emotion of sympathy that

such scenarios cause among the audience might be considered an acceptable proof of her argument.

Although the three rhetorical devices are combined to persuade the audience, in **Greta's** speech there is one that stands over the rest and it is that of *pathos*. If careful word choice is vital in giving emotion to a discourse, there is no doubt that Greta's "How dare you!" exclamation is one that truly has power over the audience. Her facial expression denotes passion in what she says and the intonation she uses in certain words demonstrates how much she cares about the issue of climate change. As a result, her emotion and passion touch the audience who feel her anger and frustration.

Coming from a young woman it is hard to listen to her blaming adults for the injustices she talks about. At the beginning of the discourse she states: "I should be back in school on the other side of the ocean. Yet you all come to us young people for hope. How dare you!" As listeners, we feel the power of her arguments because we acknowledge that she is right, she should be in school. Yet, she needs to be far from her teachers and classmates to teach adult world leaders about things that even a girl of her age understands. Thus, we perceive as fair her anger towards those preventing her from being back in school and asking the younger generations for hope.

To make her feelings even clearer, she continues her speech by addressing the audience saying: "You have stolen my dreams and my childhood with your empty words". Childhood is believed to be the tenderest age and adults should be fixing problems to ensure an emotionally healthy childhood. Therefore, whereas some people would say that Greta is overreacting, we need to understand that she is mourning for an emotionally healthy childhood, which she cannot fully enjoy due to her commitment to fixing climate issues that adults are not solving.

Thunberg uses an apocalyptic narrative saying that "People are suffering. People are dying. Entire ecosystems are collapsing. We are in the beginning of a mass extinction, and all you can talk about is money and fairy tales of eternal economic growth. How dare you!" This quote

exemplifies the rage and desperation the speaker feels. While world leaders only show the good picture, Greta is determined to show the world the real situation, even if it is unpleasant for the majority of us.

Alexandria also uses emotion in her appeals. In this regard, she describes some personal situations to evoke *pathos*. She talks about hurricanes Maria and Dorian to influence her audience's emotions and make an impact on them:

“The climate change powered storm killed over 3,000 Puerto Ricans, American citizens. My own grandfather died in the aftermath, all because they were living under colonial rule, which contributed to the dire conditions and lack of recovery. [...] the climate crisis's path is first impacting those who have not only contributed to our emissions the least, but have already suffered greatly in the global history of inequality, colonization and imperialism, stacking one injustice upon another”.

By talking about her late grandfather, she establishes a connection between the audience and her family history that helps her to build bonds so that the audience feels emotionally attached to her. She also talks about the innocent people that suffer the consequences of the climate breakdown, people who have been suffering throughout history due to injustice and inequality.

However, **Alexandria**'s contribution to *pathos* goes beyond that. Her strategy of a Green New Deal could help relieve the devastating consequences of the long abuse we have exerted towards the planet. Still, many people are against her proposal because of the high costs it would require. For this reason, she talks about the effects that climate change can have in future generations since, despite not having children, she dreams about motherhood and imagines how their future would look like:

“A woman whose dreams of motherhood now taste bittersweet because of what I know about our children's future. And that our actions are responsible for bringing their most dire

possibilities into focus. I speak to you as a daughter and descendants of colonized peoples, who have already begun to suffer”.

Alexandria’s voice trembles as she talks about having children. Her emotion reaches the audience who empathize with her concerns about the future we are leaving for those generations that will come after us. She sounds like the voice of experience, as her family and consequently herself, already began to suffer the consequences of climate breakdown. It is the people who live in less developed countries and also immigrants in the First World countries who suffer the direct consequences of the inaction of governments when tackling climate change.

All in all, *ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos* are taken into consideration in the speeches of the three activist women. Their consideration of the appeals gives strength to their arguments and engages the audiences in their presentations, stimulating their interest and empathy towards their causes.

7. Figures of speech: schemes and tropes

Malala, Greta, and Alexandria’s styles are articulated in a wide range of schemes and tropes. Starting with **schemes**, we can find evidence of **ellipsis** in the following examples:

- (1) The so-called world of adults may understand it, but we children don’t. (Malala)
- (2) But she couldn’t . . . because she was a girl. (Malala)
- (3) Fifty percent may be acceptable to you. (Greta)
- (4) Not only because it is the right thing to do. It is. Nor because it is where we can find solutions. We can. (Alexandria)

In example 1, “understand it” has been omitted and in example 2 “be a doctor” underwent ellipsis too. This scheme in adversative clauses is common in Malala’s speech, especially when what is omitted is something negative. In example 3, when Greta says “fifty percent” she omits what that percentage refers to, which is the chance of staying below 1.5°C. In example 4 we have two sentences with the same type of ellipsis “It is” and “We can”. These two sentences only make

sense by taking into account the previous ones. The ellipsis is made to avoid redundancy, as otherwise, the previous sentences would have to be repeated almost completely.

In the speeches, we also find evidence of **isocolon**, which consists of two sentences of similar lengths that contribute to give balance to the text. The sentences do not have the same structure, but they do have a similar or even equal number of words. Some examples are:

(5) We have already taken many steps. Now it is time to take a leap. (Malala)

(6) This is all wrong. I shouldn't be up here. (Greta)

(7) To do any less is to stall or regress. We have two choices: to move forwards or backwards. (Alexandria)

Similar to this scheme, we also find **parison** when Yousafzai talks about how some people describe her by the terrible attack she suffered, and others by the great things she has accomplished. Through parison she is able to compare two different views that show how everything can be seen from different perspectives:

(8) Some people call me the girl who was shot by the Taliban. And some, the girl who fought for her rights. (Malala)

The same scheme is used by Greta Thunberg as she blames the audience for having to be delivering the speech when she should be in school, and by Alexandria Ocasio as she tries to make sure that people believe in what she says because it is a fact, and not because she is a radical as other politicians had suggested.

(9) I shouldn't be up here. I should be back in school. (Greta)

(10) The statement is not a matter of radicalism, it is a matter of fact, of policy, and of science. (Alexandria)

An evidence of **antithesis or contrastive pairs** is also found in two of the speeches:

(11) Education went from being a **right** to being a **crime**. (Malala)

(12) The statement is not a matter of **radicalism**, it is a matter of **fact**. (Alexandria)

In example 11, Malala makes an appeal to the audience by putting together two opposites: right and crime. This is seen as an appeal to *pathos* because of the emotional effect it produces in the audience by making a clear distinction between what is positive and desirable and what is negative and needs to be avoided. Another appeal to pathos happens in example 12, when Alexandria uses antithesis between what is a fact and what is radicalism, that is, an extreme conception that exaggerates reality. Furthermore, the following example shows how sometimes it is the context and not the actual opposites what establishes what is good and what is not:

(13) Let us become the **first** generation that decides to be the **last** that sees empty classrooms, lost childhoods and wasted potentials. (Malala)

There are also examples of sentences where Yousafzai and Ocasio combine contrastive pairs with three-part lists to strengthen the power of their appeals:

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

(15) We must choose whether this moment will lead us to **regression** or **evolution**, **authoritarianism** or greater **democracy**, **extraction** or **preservation**. (Alexandria)

In example 14, the contrastive pairs are: strong-weak, wars-peace, guns-books, easy-hard, and tanks-schools. It is easy to find the antithesis of wars-peace in political speeches, and the contrast between guns-books or tanks-schools is a recurrent feature in Malala’s speeches, as she tends to put together horrible images of war and inspiring images of education in order to increase the persuasive effect and leave a good impression on her audience. In example 15 we see a three-part list of contrastive pairs which are regression-evolution, authoritarianism-democracy, and

extraction-preservation. In this case, Ocasio-Cortez asks the audience to choose among those options based on what they think would be the best choice.

Continuing with **three-part lists or tricolons**, our speakers use them in their speeches to create a feeling of unity by connecting similar ideas that add power to their reasoning, so they become a persuasive device no matter if it is to defend their arguments or to discourage others' ideas. In fact, the following are examples in which they use three-part lists in a negative way:

(16) Some will say this is **impractical**, or too **expensive**, or too **hard**. (Malala)

(17) Those numbers do not include **tipping points**, **most feedback loops**, **additional warming** hidden by toxic air pollution or the aspects of equity and climate justice. (Greta)

(18) That contribution is measured in the form of **emissions**, **injustice**, and **inequality**. (Alexandria)

Sometimes, three-part lists mix with other schemes such as repetition or even **parallelism**. This is the case of the following examples by Malala and Alexandria:

(19) **It is for those** forgotten children who want education. **It is for those** frightened children who want peace. **It is for those** voiceless children who want change. (Malala)

(20) **It is unsustainable to** naively believe that building a wall can shield ourselves from humanity's collective destiny. **It is unsustainable to** promote amnesia [...]. And frankly, **it is unsustainable to** continue to believe that our system [...]. (Alexandria)

These examples help create rhythm and get the attention of the audience, but parallelism does not always appear together with three part lists as we can see in the following examples:

(21) People are suffering. People are dying. (Greta)

(22) Not only because it is the right thing to do. It is. Nor because it is where we can find solutions. We can. (Alexandria)

Similarly, there is extensive evidence of **repetition** in the speeches where this scheme

works as a persuasive tool through which Malala, Greta and Alexandria offer several arguments using the same grammatical structure to support their main points and emphasize their statements:

(23) **It is not time to pity them. It is not time to pity them.** It is time to take action **so it becomes the last time, the last time, so it becomes the last time** that we see a child deprived of education. (Malala)

(24) But I think the more important question is **why shouldn't they? Why shouldn't they** have this right to go to school? (Malala)

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

(26) How dare you! (x4) (Greta)

(27) **It is not a coincidence** that these disasters get relatively little media coverage and that even less of the coverage dares to mention climate change. **It is not a coincidence** that the truth is controversial. None of this is a coincidence, because climate change **is not a coincidence** or a scientific anomaly. (Alexandria)

As we can see, repetition creates rhythm, stresses the importance of the speakers' arguments, and strengthens their appeals. Moreover, they act as a call to the audience to wake up, take measures, or react to what is being said. Sometimes, repetition helps the audience remember a specific speech, as in the case of Greta, whose discourse is now known as the “How dare you” speech. However, in example 26 we also need to consider “How dare you!” as an **epiphora**, as Greta repeats this sentence twice at the end of a unit to achieve a greater effect with her words.

Moving on to **tropes**, examples 24 and 25 are also examples of **rhetorical questions**, which are persuasive elements of both *logos* and *pathos*. Greta also uses them in her speech to appeal to

those who are not acting and to persuade them to do something:

(28) How dare you pretend that this can be solved with just ‘business as usual’ and some technical solutions? (Greta)

Another use of rhetorical questions that we see in Yousafzai’s speech is that of the open question to express her own opinion on an issue she has previously exposed. Here is an example:

(29) The world can no longer accept that basic education is enough. Why do leaders accept that for children in developing countries, only basic literacy is sufficient, when their own children do homework in Algebra, Mathematics, Science and Physics? (Malala)

As we can see, she first makes a statement and then she uses a rhetorical question to make the audience reflect on how they are being misled by world leaders into supporting basic education, while they encourage an upper education for their own children.

The speeches that we are analyzing also contain several **allusions**. In the case of Yousafzai, she uses some religious references. In this regard, she begins her lecture greeting God, she refers to Allah, Mohammad, and the Holy Quran.

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

The religious allusions help to give context to her values and provide enough information to analyze her background as a Muslim. Once that is done, we, the audience, know that she is right when she criticizes the Taliban for “misusing the name of Islam”.

There are also allusions to the Indo-Pakistani wars and conflicts when she talks about how honored she feels to receive the Nobel Award together with Kailash Satyarthi:

(31) I am proud that we can work together, we can work together and show the world that an Indian and a Pakistani can work together and achieve their goals of children’s rights. (Malala)

Malala would not have mentioned the fact that they can work together if the relationship

between their countries of origin was better. However, India and Pakistan have been involved in wars and conflicts for the last seventy-three years. That is why Malala wants to emphasize that she and Kailash Satyarthi can work together to make a better world. She also mentions historical figures like Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela, Mother Teresa, and Aung San Suu Kyi, who help her enhance her message:

(32) Great people who brought change, like Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela, Mother Teresa and Aung San Suu Kyi, once stood here on this stage. (Malala)

Regarding Thunberg, the allusions in her speech are two. The first one is a reference to an intergovernmental body of the United Nations, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, which is mentioned to provide a reliable source of objective and scientific information when she presents data concerning climate change and its impact on the environment.

(33) To have a 67% chance of staying below a 1.5 degrees global temperature rise – the best odds given by the [Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change] – the world had 420 gigatons of CO₂ left to emit back on January 1st, 2018. (Greta)

The second allusion is done using the maxim “business as usual”, which is attributed to Winston Churchill. The term is a policy that became popular during WWI when the British government decided to keep running the country as if nothing was happening. It was believed that any change in the way society was ruled would imply the victory of the foe. The effect that this allusion seeks in the audience is to make them consider their inactivity to tackle environmental issues and the consequences it is bringing.

(34) How dare you pretend that this can be solved with just ‘business as usual’ and some technical solutions? (Greta)

Concerning Alexandria, there are allusions to the Republican Party of the United States of America, and more precisely to Donald Trump when she states:

(35) To the chagrin of many of the politicians and voters, I am sad to report that there is no middle road on the climate crisis. (Alexandria)

Where we read “many of the politicians and voters” we should interpret the republicans, as Trump denied climate change repeatedly in favor of unlimited oil, natural gas and coal production. This is not the only allusion she makes to Trump and his policies, since she also mentions the wall he promised during his campaign to prevent Mexicans from crossing the border.

(36) It is unsustainable to naively believe that building a wall can shield ourselves from humanity's collective destiny. (Alexandria)

Alexandria also includes a cultural reference in the following sentence:

(37) When we speak in what scientists, in the terms that scientists are urging us to, we can be easily labeled as alarmist or if you are not a man, hysterical. (Alexandria)

By suggesting that women would be called hysterical, she is referring to the way women were given a wastebasket diagnosis for non-medical reasons throughout history. Furthermore, there are references to Hurricane Maria and Hurricane Dorian. She also uses a quote by researchers at the University of Washington Madison and the University of Oregon to strengthen her argument, and she paraphrases Franklin D. Roosevelt on the original New Deal:

(38) We face the arduous days that lie before us in the warm courage of global unity with the clear consciousness of seeking old and precious moral values. (Alexandria)

Moving on to **periphrasis**, before the quote from example 43, Alexandria does not give the name of the author of the first New Deal. Instead, she refers to him as “a prior US president who pioneered the original New Deal”. By referring to him through a description of what he did, she emphasizes his achievements instead of his name as a public figure.

During her speech, Malala also speaks about her “sisters”, girls from other countries who suffered similar situations to hers. She refers to them through a long periphrasis instead of just

giving their name. By doing so, she makes sure that we understand how important it is that we know who they are, their stories, and their names.

In the speech we can find **metonymy** when Malala calls the audience members and those listening “sisters and brothers”. Of course, nobody takes that verbatim and we know that she is addressing those listening to her and those who share the same goal with regard to education. It is also worth mentioning that she places “sisters” before “brothers” to emphasize that she is talking to women about issues that concern them.

We also find examples of **oxymoron**. One of them appears when Malala tells the audience about the origin of her name, which means “grief stricken” and “sad”. However, her grandfather used to add something to her name when addressing her “Malala — The happiest girl in the world”. Taking into account that Malala means sad, it contradicts the superlative adjective “happiest”.

The same occurs in Greta’s speech when she talks about how world leaders have stolen her dreams and her childhood with their “empty words”. Words are never empty, they always carry meaning, so Greta uses this oxymoron to exemplify that politicians’ words mean nothing her.

Moving on to **synecdoche**, our three speakers use this trope as we can see in the examples:

(39) Though I appear as one girl, though I appear as one girl, one person, [...], I am not a lone voice, I am many. I am Malala. But I am also Shazia. I am Kainat. I am Kainat Soomro. I am Mezon. I am Amina. I am those 66 million girls who are deprived of education. And today I am not raising my voice, it is the voice of those 66 million girls. (Malala)

(40) The eyes of all future generations are upon you. (Greta)

(41) The United States, [...], withdrew from the Paris Agreement. (Alexandria)

In example 39 we can see how Yousafzai uses synecdoche to express her determination to represent and raise her voice for those who have been silenced and who do not enjoy the right to education due to gender inequality reasons. Greta also uses synecdoche in example 40 when she

uses “eyes” to refer to how the younger generations will pay attention to the measures proposed by the governments. As for Alexandria, she uses synecdoche in example 41 when she mentions the United States to refer to the current government of such country.

Regarding **hyperbole**, Malala uses it to intensify her feelings when she states:

(42) We had a thirst for education. We had a thirst for education, because our future was right there in that classroom. (Malala)

This statement clearly contributes to *pathos* through the emotion behind the word “thirst” to describe how much she needed to go to school. Furthermore, she would also have a future even if she had not gone to school, although she makes clear that it would not be the future that she was dreaming of. Nevertheless, if there is one speech in which *pathos* is important that is Greta’s. In her case, hyperbole can be seen in sentences like the following:

(43) You have stolen my dreams and my childhood with your empty words. (Greta)

Technically speaking nobody can steal dreams or a childhood. Thus, she is speaking metaphorically to exaggerate the feeling of loss she has experienced due to the disillusion of how world leaders are acting towards our planet. The whole speech is emotional and exaggeration might not be only in the words used, but also in the tone she uses.

Concerning Alexandria’s speech, there is no hyperbole per se. Instead, she gives a subjective interpretation of factual data and, since she is not a scientist, her detractors would find it easy to consider her speech as a whole hyperbole. However, she already knows that because of the information she is giving, she could be considered an alarmist or hysterical:

(44) When we speak in what scientists, in the terms that scientists are urging us to, we can be easily labeled as alarmist or if you are not a man, hysterical. (Alexandria)

Regarding the use of **metaphors**, it is common to use them as a device to simplify political or social matters, to gain the audience’s attention and to demonstrate the speaker’s right intentions.

In this regard, Yousafzai uses a well-known metaphor in which she is represented as a bird and her father is portrayed as the owner of the bird, suggesting that she was set free by her father, who let her pursue the education she was aiming for:

(45) Thank you to my father for not clipping my wings and for letting me fly. (Malala)

Other metaphors are used to create imagery through which we can understand Malala's feelings. In the following example we can see how strongly she desired to go to school through a metaphor that links "thirst" and "education":

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

Malala uses figurative language when she refers to the audience as "Dear sisters and brothers". The use of this sentence instead of the common 'Ladies and Gentleman' is explained due to the speaker's desire to establish bonds with the audience, as it has the connotation affection, considering the public as members of her family. As a result, the listeners become immediately emotionally engaged in the speech and they are more open to persuasion.

In Alexandria's speech we can also find metaphors, which she uses to connect with her audience and explain the current climate situation in a memorable and persuasive way:

(47) It's no secret that we are meeting here today, at a very perilous juncture, a crossroads, one of extinction or opportunity. (Alexandria)

(48) I am sad to report that there is no middle road on the climate crisis. (Alexandria)

(49) The Green New Deal is an economic boon for the many that contrasts with the current prophets of planetary extraction that benefit the very few. (Alexandria)

(50) They have made us the present instrument of their wishes and in the spirit of that gift we should take it. (Alexandria)

In examples 47 and 48, Ocasio uses the metaphor of the crossroads to exemplify the current

opportunity to decide which path we want to follow with regard to the climate breakdown. This visual metaphor seeks to influence the audience's feelings in a way that they support her policy of the Green New Deal. In example 49, she calls those against her policy "prophets of planetary extraction" explaining what they do in an intelligible way. Finally, in example 50 she makes her last attempt to gain the audience's trust and support through a metaphor that evaluates politicians and policies. As she states that we have been made the present instrument of politicians' goals, the audience should hopefully take the hint and become ready to act and contribute to her cause.

Concerning **personification**, which provides words with emotion to evoke feelings, there are several examples in the three speeches:

(51) It is time the world thinks bigger. (Malala)

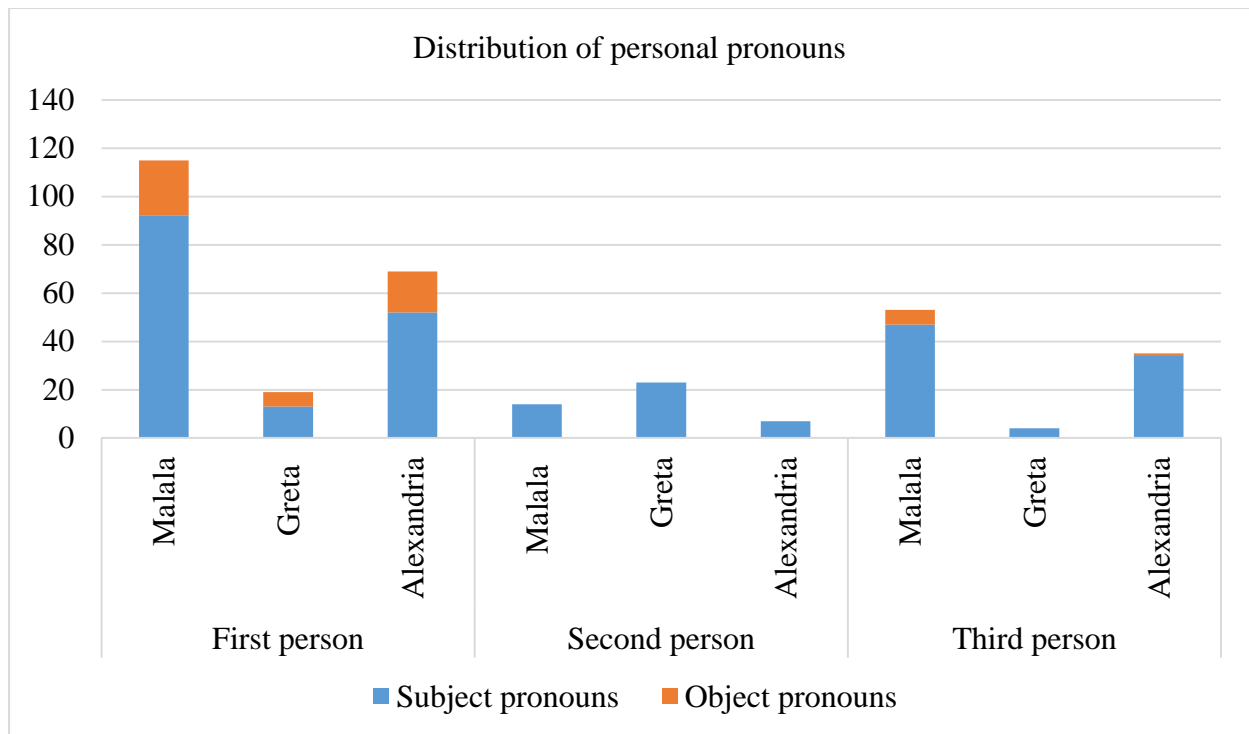
(52) Numbers are too uncomfortable (Greta)

(53) Dreams of motherhood now taste bittersweet. (Alexandria)

In example 51, Malala gives the world a human trait: the ability to think; in example 52 Greta says numbers are uncomfortable when we all know that only people can feel that way; and, in example 53, Alexandria states that dreams have a taste, despite the fact that only human beings have taste. All in all, personification helps to create imagery and appeals to emotion (*pathos*), so it can be considered a persuasive device.

8. Social agency

The analysis of personal pronouns has provided details that are worth taking into consideration, as they have been used as a device to persuade the audience and interfere in their emotions. Therefore, they can be considered an element of *ethos* and *pathos*. As we have seen in section 2.5., the use of pronominal forms establishes the relationship between the speaker and the audience, as well as that of the speaker towards the topic being discussed in the speech. The following chart shows the number of subject and object pronouns in the speeches we are analyzing:



As we can see in this chart, first person pronouns have the highest frequency in Malala and Alexandria’s speeches, which means that the speakers talk mainly about their own experience or giving their own opinion. However, in the case of Greta, second person pronouns have the highest frequency because she constantly addresses her audience.

8.1. First person pronouns

In the following table, we can see the first person pronouns that have been taken into account to analyze agency together with the number of times that they occur:

	Singular		Plural	
	I	Me	We	Us
Malala	56	17	36	6
Greta	7	0	6	6
Alexandria	12	1	40	16

Total	75	18	82	28
-------	----	----	----	----

The use of first person singular pronouns indicates the personal involvement of the speakers, their commitment to the issues they lecture about. On the other hand, the use of plural forms of first person pronouns indicate that the audiences have been included in the arguments of the speech, creating a sense of belonging or community that makes the listeners more open to suggestions and receptive to agree with what is being said.

I is the most frequently used first person pronoun in Malala and Greta's speeches. Thus, it is safe to assume that Yousafzai and Thunberg are placing themselves as the authors and originators of each of the appeals they make. However, in Alexandria's speech, *we* is the most frequently used pronoun, which could suggest that her arguments were created and are shared by a larger group of people that she is representing. If we analyze the verbs that follow the pronoun *I*, we can divide the occurrences in five groups. Sometimes, *I* is used to present a personal opinion as we see in the following examples:

(54) **I** think the more important question is why shouldn't they? (Malala)

(55) **I** should be back in school on the other side of the ocean. (Greta)

(56) **I** think we have our work cut out for us. (Alexandria)

There are other occasions in which the pronoun *I* is used to talk about hypothetical situations:

(57) **I** will begin, but it is not where **I** will stop. **I** will continue this fight until **I** see every child, every child in school. (Malala)

(58) Because if you really understood the situation and still kept on failing to act, then you would be evil and that **I** refuse to believe. (Greta)

(59) But if **I** were to have a child in the next few years he, she or they will have to contend with a world where some of our most precious, critical infrastructure goes underwater. (Alexandria)

Other examples of *I* precede the expression of an action:

(60) **I** tell my story, not because it is unique, but because it is not. (Malala)

(61) **I**'d also like to thank the mayor's officials. (Alexandria)

(62) **I** will not waste much time, and **I** want to move to speak with candor, frank honesty, truth, and frankly scientific consensus. (Alexandria)

Some others relate personal experiences from the past:

(63) **I** remember when my friends and **I** would decorate our hands with henna on special occasions. (Malala)

(64) **I** was honestly a little bit surprised. (Alexandria)

Finally, this pronoun is also used by Malala and Alexandria to describe themselves as the speakers in charge of delivering a message on behalf of those who aim for education or those who suffer the consequences of the climate change respectively:

(65) **I** am Malala. But **I** am also Shazia. **I** am Kainat. **I** am Kainat Soomro. **I** am Mezon. **I** am Amina. **I** am those 66 million girls who are deprived of education. (Malala)

(66) On this note, **I** speak to you not as an elected official or public figure, but **I** speak to you as a human being. [...] **I** speak to you as a daughter and descendants of colonized peoples, who have already begun to suffer. (Alexandria)

Greta describes herself in comparison with those dying and suffering as we can see in example 67 and she describes her current state of annoyance with the first *I* of example 68:

(67) **I**'m one of the lucky ones. (Greta)

(68) You say you hear us and that you understand the urgency, but no matter how sad and angry **I** am, **I** do not want to believe that. (Greta)

The first person plural pronoun *we* represents both the speaker and the addressee. The latter might or not be clear, so sometimes it can be doubtful to know who *we* refers to. Apart from establishing a sort of collective identity, it also establishes who does not belong there. In this regard,

context is extremely important in identifying who is included under the *we* pronoun. The next chart classifies the thirty-six occurrences of *we* in Malala’s speech, the 6 occurrences in Greta’s lecture and the 40 occurrences in Alexandria’s discourse, making a distinction between those usages in which *we* has an inclusive function and those in which its use is to exclude others and specify the addressee. A complete table with examples of the occurrences can be seen in **Appendix D**.

	FUNCTION	ADDRESSEE	OCURRENCES
Malala	Inclusive function	Sisters and brothers	21
		The entire world	
		The audience	
	Exclusive function	Malala and her mother	15
		Kailash Satyarthi and Malala	
		Malala and her friends	
		Pakistani girls	
		Children	
Greta	Inclusive function	The entire world	1
	Exclusive function	Greta’s supporters	5
		Greta’s generation	
		Young people	
Alexandria	Inclusive function	C40 members	17
		The entire world	
		Advancing societies	
	Exclusive function	Elected officials	23

As we can see in the table, the pronoun *we* performs mainly an inclusive function, in

Malala's speech, as she wants to include the audience in her arguments and appeals. She has mostly used *we* to refer to her "sisters and brothers", which is quite ambiguous and does not really state who she is including there. We need to listen to another speech delivered by Yousafzai in 2014 at Malala Day at the UN to comprehend that "Islam says that we are all sisters and brothers, and we should respect each other". This explanation makes it clear that "sisters and brothers" refers to the people who share her same religious beliefs. However, it seems safe to assume that she is including all those listeners who fight with her for a better education for girls and children. The second most recurrent use appears when she narrates anecdotes with her female school friends in Pakistan. She wants the audience to empathize with her and see the difference between the situation in her hometown and that of most people in the audience, by describing the horrible situations they had to endure for wanting an education.

It is interesting how she tends to use the exclusive *we* at the beginning of the speech, leaving aside the audience, to tell her story and provide a context for her speech while persuading the audience through several arguments. Then, towards the end, she uses the inclusive *we* to engage the audience in her last appeals and encourage them to take action and support her in her fight.

Moving on to Greta, *we* performs mainly an exclusive function. The reason for this is to make a distinction between Greta's ideology and that of the people ruling the most powerful countries of the world. Greta considers that young people, her generation, are the ones who will change the world for the better by promoting measures to stop climate change. Thus, she uses the pronoun *we* to refer to herself and her supporters.

As for Alexandria, she uses exclusive *we* to refer only to elected officials like herself, politicians who have the power to support her policy and implement the Green New Deal. The inclusive *we*, however, is used to refer to the general audience present listening to her when giving the speech, that is, the C40 members, representatives of advancing societies, and people in general.

After all, the C40 fosters climate action to encourage a more sustainable future, so everybody in the audience would probably be interested in being part of the *we* in Alexandria's speech.

Similar to *we*, *us* is also used with an inclusive or exclusive function on different occasions.

The following examples show the inclusive use:

(69) Let's solve this once and for all. (Malala)

(70) The popular idea of cutting our emissions in half in 10 years only gives **us** a 50% chance of staying below 1.5 degrees. (Greta)

(71) I'd also like to thank the mayor's officials and everyday people who are joining **us** here and watching from afar today. (Alexandria)

In these examples, the speakers include the audience in their appeals. However, in the following examples we can see the exclusive function of "us":

(72) The terrorists tried to stop **us** and attacked me and my friends who are here today. (Malala)

(73) Yet, you all come to **us** young people for hope. (Greta)

(74) The scientists have done much of their job and now it is the time for **us** to do ours. (Alexandria)

Concerning the pronoun *me*, it appears in Malala's speech seventeen times and in Alexandria's just once. *Me* is restricted to talk about their own experiences and feelings:

(75) The terrorists tried to stop us and attacked **me** and my friends who are here today. (Malala)

(76) Thank you Miss Hedegaard for the introduction thank you to C40 in the city of Copenhagen for welcoming **me**. (Alexandria)

Malala uses the pronoun *me*, to tell the audience past events and personal experiences, and in turn, the audience feels empathy towards Yousafzai and their bond becomes stronger.

8.2. Second person pronouns

Concerning the second person pronoun *you*, it makes reference to an addressee from whom the speaker wants to make a distinction and it can be the audience or not. Sometimes, *you* refers to the general public as a way to avoid naming a specific addressee. Moreover, we must bear in mind that this pronoun presents the same form in singular and plural, as a subject or object pronoun. The following chart summarizes the occurrences of *you* in the speeches:

Uses of “you”	Author	Occurrences		Examples
Singular	Malala	2	3	Thank you to my father.
	Greta	0		—
	Alexandria	1		Thank you Miss Hedegaard.
Plural	Malala	7	29	Thank you to everyone for your continued support and love.
	Greta	22		How dare you !
	Alexandria	0		—
Generic	Malala	5	6	Thank you so much.
	Greta	1		Thank you .
	Alexandria	6		I speak to you as a human being.
Total	Malala			14
	Greta			23
	Alexandria			7

The plural use of *you* has the highest occurrences, followed by the generic use and finally the singular use. This shows how the audience and the general public are the main addressees of the appeals in each of the three speeches. They do not focus on what we can do by ourselves, but

on what we can achieve working together with a common goal.

8.3. Third person pronouns

Concerning third person pronouns, they can appear in anaphoric or cataphoric position to refer to something that has already been mentioned or to something that will be mentioned afterwards. They can be divided between singular (*he, she, it, him, her*) and plural (*they, them*). As we will see in the pronominal analysis, singular third person pronouns are often used when the speaker narrates a personal experience or opinion, whereas the plural forms are used to refer to something within the speech. The following table shows the total number of occurrences of third person pronouns in the speeches analyzed.

Pronoun		Singular				Plural		Total occurrences
		he	she	him	it	they	them	
Occurrences	Malala	1	9	1	31	6	5	53
	Greta	0	0	0	3	1	0	4
	Alexandria	1	1	0	24	8	1	35

Subject pronouns *he* and *she* present a great difference regarding their number of occurrences in Malala’s speech. *She* is used by Yousafzai when she talks about girls who struggled when trying to access education.

(77) At the age of 12, **she** was forced to get married. And then soon **she** had a son. **She** had a child when **she** herself was still a child — only 14. I know that **she** could have been a very good doctor. But **she** couldn’t . . . because **she** was a girl. (Malala)

In the case of the pronoun *he*, it is used only once to refer to the prophet Muhammad to avoid repeating his name twice in the same sentence:

(78) Do you not know that Muhammad, peace be upon him, the prophet of mercy, **he** says, “do

not harm yourself or others”. (Malala)

In the example above we also find the only occurrence of the object pronoun *him*, as there is only one sentence in the whole speech that refers in a familiar way to a masculine figure. Moreover, there are zero occurrences of its feminine counterpart *her*, as Malala always refers to her friends by using the subject pronoun *she*. *Her* can only be found in this speech as a possessive adjective.

Greta does not use *he*, *she*, *him*, or *her* in the speech and Alexandria uses *he* and *she* just one time each as we can see in the following quote from her speech:

(79) But if I were to have a child in the next few years **he, she** or they will have to contend with a world where some of our most precious, critical infrastructure goes underwater or our most staple and widely used crops struggle to grow and feed our population. (Alexandria)

It is interesting the use of third person pronouns in that example, as she uses “he, she or they” all together to avoid gender bias in her language. According to Huddleston, “no-singular 3rd person pronoun in English is universally accepted as appropriate for referring to a human when you don’t want to specify sex” (103). Therefore, Alexandria makes use of three third person subject pronouns to refer to a future child emphasizing that gender is not important in her statement. Thus, although in the table above we have counted *they* as the third person plural subject pronoun, in this particular example we cannot know whether Alexandria is referring to a singular *he/she* or to several children.

Moving on, *it* is mainly used as an anaphoric or cataphoric reference pronoun, or as a “dummy *it*”. It appears 31 times and its occurrences have been gathered in the following table:

	Referential <i>it</i>		Dummy <i>it</i>	Total occurrences
	Anaphoric <i>it</i>	Cataphoric <i>it</i>		
Malala	19	5	7	31
Greta	3	0	0	3

Alexandria	14	0	10	24
------------	----	---	----	----

Concerning Malala’s speech, the anaphoric *it* is the most frequent in this speech, and it refers to something that has been said before. In the following example, *it* refers to “my story” and it is used to avoid the repetition of those words:

(80) I tell *my story*, not because **it** is unique, but because **it** is not. (Malala)

There are five occurrences of cataphoric *it* in which the pronoun refers to something that is mentioned later in the text. In the following examples, *it* not only presents the information that follows, but it also gives emphasis and catches the attention of the audience:

(81) And today I am not raising my voice, **it** is the voice of those 66 million girls. (Malala)

(82) Why is **it** that giving guns is so easy but giving books is so hard? (Malala)

There are also seven examples of dummy *it*, all of them related to time clauses as we can see in the following example:

(83) **It** is not time to pity them. (Malala)

Regarding Greta’s speech, there are three anaphoric *it*, and 14 cases in Alexandria’s speech, among which we find:

(84) The world is waking up and change is coming, whether you like **it** or not. (Greta)

(85) The statement is not a matter of radicalism, **it** is a matter of fact, of policy, and of science.

(Alexandria)

In Alexandria’s speech we also find ten uses of dummy *it*, most of them preceding the verb “to be” plus an adjective. One example whose grammatical structure is repeated several times in the speech is the following:

(86) **It** is not a coincidence that the truth is controversial. (Alexandria)

Concerning third person plural pronouns, we need to analyze their occurrences in each speech separately to pay attention at who they refer to. In the case of Malala’s speech *they* and

them are used to refer to groups of people. The following table shows the number of occurrences and the referents of these two pronouns:

	Girls/children	World leaders	Taliban	Total
They	5	1	0	6
Them	3	1	1	5

As we can see, *they* and *them* are mainly used to refer to girls and children when Malala tells anecdotes or when she makes appeals to engage the audience. The context in which these pronouns are used helps to get the audience to empathize with the referents of Malala’s stories and claims. Thus, in the following examples we can see how *they* and *them* contribute to make the audience think about how lucky they are for having had access to school and to reflect on the urge to help those who are deprived of education:

(87) Why shouldn’t **they** have this right to go to school? (Malala)

(88) Sometimes people like to ask me why should girls go to school, why is it important for **them**. (Malala)

The Taliban group is only referred to once through the object pronoun *them* to distance that group from the audience. Yousafzai also devotes two sentences to refer to world leaders and she uses *they* and *them* again to distance herself and the audience from that specific group of people.

(89) It is not time to tell the world leaders to realize how important education is — **they** already know it. (Malala)

(90) We decided to raise our voice and tell **them**: Have you not learnt [...] (Malala)

Regarding Greta’s speech, there is just one example of “they” and none of “them”:

(91) **They** also rely on my generation sucking hundreds of billions of tons of your CO2 out of the air with technologies that barely exist. (Greta)

In this case, *they* refers not to a group of people, but to the numbers that the speaker is presenting as evidence of the current climate situation.

Regarding Alexandria’s use of third person plural pronouns, their occurrences have been classified in the following table, which is followed by several examples:

	Children	Family	Scientists	People	Injustices	Total
They	2	1	1	4	0	8
Them	0	0	0	0	1	1

(92) Our children bear responsibility for our inaction, despite the fact that **they** didn't make the choice. (Alexandria)

(93) My own grandfather died in the aftermath, all because **they** were living under colonial rule, which contributed to the dire conditions and lack of recovery. (Alexandria)

(94) Just as **they** have created the technologies and identified the targets, we must create the political will. (Alexandria)

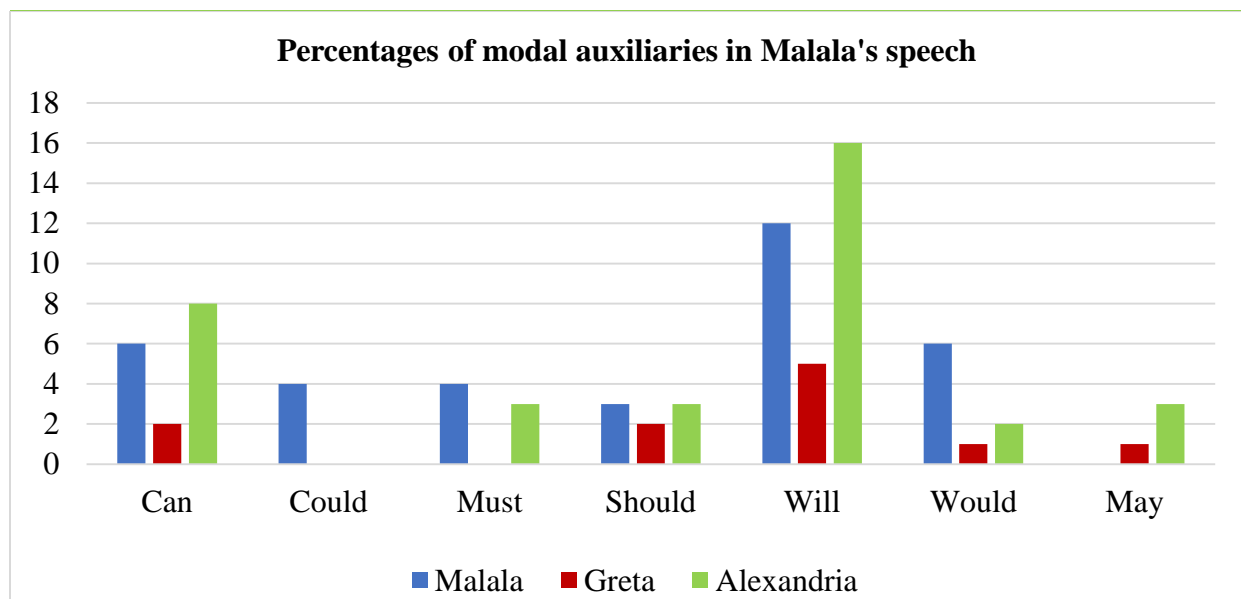
(95) **They** have asked for discipline and direction under leadership. (Alexandria)

(96) It is unsustainable to promote amnesia around gross injustices and ignorance of our pasts to abdicate responsibility simply because it was our ancestors who committed **them** and not us. (Alexandria)

As we can see, *they* and *them* are used to refer to various subjects. *They* is used to refer to children in example 92 and to refer to her family in example 93. In these two cases, the pronoun *they* is used in appeals that attempt to engage the audience through emotions and empathize with what she is saying. *They* is also applied to scientists in example 94. But in the majority of the cases of *they*, it refers to people living in democracies and voting for their political representatives like in example 95. As for *them*, in example 96 we can see how it is used to refer to past injustices.

9. Modality

As stated in section 2.6., the analysis of modality is essential in CDA due to its importance to understand the speaker's attitude towards the speech. When analyzing Malala's speech, it becomes apparent that some modal auxiliary verbs are more common in the material than others. The following chart shows the frequency rates of each modal verb in the speech:



9.1. Can

There are six occurrences of *can* in Malala's speech, two in Greta's and eight in Alexandria's, but no instances of *cannot* or *can't*. However, there is a case in Malala's speech in which *can* is followed by *no longer*, making it negative. If we pay attention to the use of *can* and *could* in the speeches, it becomes clear that the narration of present situations exceeds that of past or hypothetical accounts, as *can* is used sixteen times in the speeches and *could* just four. As we all know, these two modals are used to express ability, request, permission or possibility (Quirk et al. 222-223). The function of *can* in each example is as follows:

Possibility:

According to Quirk, when *can* is used to express possibility it can be substituted by "it is

possible” and an infinitive clause (Quirk et al. 222).

(97) I am proud that we **can** work together. (Malala)

(98) How dare you pretend that this **can** be solved with just ‘business as usual’ and some technical solutions? (Greta)

(99) [...] we **can** think about ourselves. (Alexandria)

Ability:

Can may also express ability when it can be substituted by “be able to”, “be capable of” or “know how to” (Quirk et al. 222).

(100) We wanted to make our parents proud and prove that we could also excel in our studies and achieve those goals, which some people think only boys **can**. (Malala)

(101) We are in the beginning of a mass extinction and all you **can** talk about is money and fairy tales of eternal economic growth. (Greta)

(102) It is unsustainable to naively believe that building a wall **can** shield ourselves from humanity's collective destiny. (Alexandria)

9.2. Could

Concerning *could*, there are zero occurrences in Greta’s and Alexandria’s speeches, but five in Malala’s, one of which is the contracted negative form *couldn’t*. Some examples are:

(103) [...] but neither their ideas nor their bullets **could** win. (Malala)

(104) I know that she **could** have been a very good doctor. (Malala)

(105) But she **couldn’t**... because she was a girl. (Malala)

In example 108 *could* is used to talk about a past event, whereas in examples 109 and 110, *could* is used to refer to ability. In example 111, Malala uses *could* to talk about a hypothetical situation and, in example 112 she uses the negative form of *could* to explain the previous hypothetical situation never happened because it was not permitted.

9.3. Must

In the case of *must*, there are four occurrences in Malala’s speech, zero in Greta’s and three in Alexandria’s discourse, all of which express either obligation or necessity.

(106) We **must** create the political will. (Alexandria)

(107) This will be the last time we **must** fight for education. (Malala)

In example 106, *must* expresses obligation and is used to appeal to the audience to start acting while emphasizing the commitment of the speaker to fight for good causes. However, *must* is used to express necessity in example 107 as an appeal for the audience to engage in what she proposes.

9.4. Should

There are 8 occurrences of *should* in the speeches, three of which are in the negative form:

(108) Sometimes people like to ask me why **should** girls go to school, why is it important for them. But I think the more important question is why **shouldn’t** they? (Malala)

(109) I **shouldn’t** be up here. I **should** be back in school on the other side of the ocean. (Greta)

(110) And that **should not** be daunting, intimidating, or lead us to its despair. It **should** be inspiring, because this is the work of advancing societies. (Alexandria)

The examples above are all considered uses of “putative should” which according to Quirk et al. is used when we try to deliver “emotional reactions or express a necessity, plan or intention for the future” (1014). Here, *should* refers to a situation that has the possibility to exist and strengthens the appeals that aim for an emotional reaction from the audience.

9.5. Will

Concerning the use of *will* in the material, we can classify the occurrences by paying attention to whether it is used to make a prediction or to express the intention to do something. Generally speaking, the expression of prediction is the most frequent use of *will*, which is also true in these speeches where 21 of the 31 total occurrences of *will* are used to express prediction:

(111) This **will** set the world's ambition for the next generations. (Malala)

(112) With today's emissions levels, that remaining CO2 budget **will** be entirely gone. (Greta)

(113) [...] operating in the same way **will** not get us out. (Alexandria)

On the other hand, the expression of intentionality leaves 10 occurrences of *will* in these speeches. According to Quirk et al. when *will* is used preceded by the personal pronoun *I*, it implies the intention of the speaker to carry out what is being said (214):

(114) This is where I **will** begin, but it is not where I **will** stop. I **will** continue this fight until I see every child, every child in school. (Malala)

(115) My message is that we'll be watching you. (Greta)

(116) I **will** not waste much time, and I want to move to speak with candor, frank honesty, truth, and frankly scientific consensus. (Alexandria)

9.6. Would

There are 9 occurrences of *would* in the speeches analyzed, two of which are in contracted form. In the following example, Malala expresses habitual prediction through *would* by talking about different things that she used to do:

(117) I remember when my friends and I **would** decorate our hands with henna on special occasions. And instead of drawing flowers and patterns, we **would** paint our hands with mathematical formulas and equations. (Malala)

Another use of *would* is that of expressing intention, as we can see in these two examples present in the speeches when the speakers thank the audience for their presence or their love:

(118) I **would** like to thank my parents for their unconditional love. (Malala)

(119) I'd also like to thank the mayor's officials and everyday people who are joining us here and watching from afar today. (Alexandria)

The hypothetical use of *would* is present once in Greta's speech to talk about an imaginary

situation. Interestingly, she uses *would* to make a statement suggesting something by denying it:

(120) Because if you really understood the situation and still kept on failing to act, then you **would** be evil and that I refuse to believe. (Greta)

9.7. May

There are four occurrences of *may* in the speeches, one in Greta's discourse and three in Alexandria's. In these four occurrences, *may* is used to express possibility. Some examples are:

(121) Fifty percent **may** be acceptable to you, but those numbers do not include tipping points, [...] or the aspects of equity and climate justice. (Greta)

(122) Meeting the climate crisis will require the largest economic mobilization we **may** have ever tried to pursue as a human species. (Alexandria)

Unlike other modals, *may* shows a low degree of certainty. However, it can strengthen trust between the audience and the speaker since, due to its relative probability, the speaker can use it to warn the audience to be cautious and critical with the information given, as it might not be accurate.

10. Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to investigate three speeches by Malala Yousafzai, Greta Thunberg, and Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez to analyze how they use rhetoric to appeal to and persuade their audiences. As political activists, they have gained considerable political recognition, which triggered my curiosity to study the persuasive elements used in their speeches. The theoretical framework for this analysis was provided by CDA, through which proofs, structure, context, style, figures of speech, agency, and modality were studied as central elements of persuasion in political language.

Figures of speech have been used as tools to create imagery that simplifies political issues and for an aesthetic purpose that evokes emotions (*pathos*). The narration of personal experiences

shows the speakers' commitment and affects the audience through descriptions of past situations. This contributes to *ethos*, promoting the speakers' kindness, and good intentions that help to connect the speaker and the audience creating a feeling of community.

The analysis of agency showed that personal pronouns connect the speakers with the audience and the topics discussed. First person pronouns expressed commitment which strengthen *ethos*. Third person pronouns were used to distance the speakers from those with different opinions and to show how others are suffering, setting real examples that contribute to *logos* and *pathos*. Then, through second person pronouns, the audience was asked to take action.

Concerning modality, modal verbs have been used to express different degrees of commitment, ability, necessity, or obligation as a way of claiming both authority and responsibility. Ability and commitment highlight faith and *ethos*, while necessity or obligation enhance the possibilities of a real persuasion by moving the audience (*pathos*). Modality was also used to make future predictions, which allowed audiences to imagine how working together they can make a difference.

Based on the findings of this analysis, it is safe to state that the three speakers succeed in persuading their audiences by the use of rhetoric devices that lead to powerful persuasive appeals. This explains the great political influence that they have earned in the past years. However, their success entails more than linguistic strategies. Their age and personal experiences have helped to create the image of leaders who, though they are still young, seem to be reliable, all of which strengthens *ethos*. They seem trustworthy because they encourage their audiences to be responsible and act. Their speeches work as an invitation to take part in the building of a better world. They address world leaders and normal people highlighting the power that we all have to make things better, and we believe in them because they have set a wonderful example for us to follow. They are our inspiration, and as such, we can only hope that they will continue affecting audiences through rhetoric to fight for justice, equity, and good conscience.

REFERENCES

- Alter C., Haynes S. and Worland J. "TIME 2019 Person of the Year: Greta Thunberg." *TIME's Person of the Year 2019*, <https://time.com/person-of-the-year-2019-greta-thunberg/>. Accessed 26 May 2020.
- Beard, A. *The Language of Politics*. Routledge, 2000.
- "Biography". *Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez*, <https://ocasio-cortez.house.gov/about/biography>. Accessed 26 May 2020.
- Brockes, Emma. "When Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez met Greta Thunberg: 'Hope is contagious'." *The Guardian: Best of 2019*, 29 June 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2019/jun/29/alexandria-ocasio-cortez-met-greta-thunberg-hope-contagious-climate>. Accessed 26 May 2020.
- Charteris-Black, Jonathan. *Analysing Political Speeches: Rhetoric, Discourse and Metaphor*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Charteris-Black, Jonathan. *Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Chilton, P. *Analysing Political Discourse: Theory and Practice*. Routledge, 2004.
- Cillizza, Chris. "Nancy Pelosi just threw some serious shade at Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez's 'Green New Deal'." *CNN Politics*, 8 Feb. 2019, <https://edition.cnn.com/2019/02/07/politics/pelosi-alexandria-ocasio-cortez-green-new-deal/index.html>. Accessed 26 May 2020.
- Cockcroft, R. & Cockcroft, S. M. *Persuading People: An Introduction to Rhetoric*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2005.
- Guardian News. "Greta Thunberg to World Leaders: 'How Dare You? You Have Stolen My Dreams and My Childhood'." *Youtube*. 23 Sep. 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TMrtLsQbaok>.

- Halliday, M. A. K. *Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar* (4th ed.). Routledge, 2014.
- Huddleston, Rodney & Pullum, Geoffrey. *A Student's Introduction to English Grammar*. Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Malala Fund. "Malala Yousafzai Nobel Peace Prize Speech." *YouTube*, 11 Dec. 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=1603&v=MOqIotJrFVM&feature=emb_logo.
- "Malala's Story." *Malala Fund*, www.malala.org/malalas-story?sc=header. Accessed 26 May 2020.
- Malala Yousafzai – Nobel Lecture. NobelPrize.org. Nobel Media AB 2020. 1 Mar. 2020. <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/2014/yousafzai/lecture/>
- NowThis News. "Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez Speaks at Global Climate Summit". *Youtube*. 11 Oct. 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zeoysEEyD9I>.
- Perloff, R. M. *The Dynamics of Persuasion: Communication and Attitudes in the 21st Century* (6nd ed.). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2018.
- Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G. & Svartvik, J. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. Longman, 1985.
- Tejero, Héctor & Santiago, Emilio. *¿Qué hacer en caso de incendio?: manifiesto por el Green New Deal*. Capitán Swing, 2019.
- The Nobel Peace Prize for 2014. NobelPrize.org. Nobel Media AB 2020. Sun. 15 Mar 2020. <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/2014/press-release/>

APPENDIX A: MALALA YOUSAFZAI'S SPEECH

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

Your Majesties, Your Royal Highnesses, distinguished members of the Norwegian Nobel Committee,

Dear sisters and brothers, today is a day of great happiness for me. I am humbled that the Nobel Committee has selected me for this precious award.

Thank you to everyone for your continued support and love. Thank you for the letters and cards that I still receive from all around the world. Your kind and encouraging words strengthen and inspire me.

I would like to thank my parents for their unconditional love. Thank you to my father for not clipping my wings and for letting me fly. Thank you to my mother for inspiring me to be patient and to always speak the truth — which we strongly believe is the true message of Islam. And also thank you to all my wonderful teachers, who inspired me to believe in myself and be brave.

I am proud, well in fact, I am very proud to be the first Pashtun, the first Pakistani, and the youngest person to receive this award. Along with that, I am pretty certain that I am also the first recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize who still fights with her younger brothers. I want there to be peace everywhere, but my brothers and I are still working on that.

I am also honoured to receive this award together with Kailash Satyarthi, who has been a champion for children's rights for a long time. Twice as long, in fact, than I have been alive. I am proud that we can work together, we can work together and show the world that an Indian and a Pakistani can work together and achieve their goals of children's rights.

Dear brothers and sisters, I was named after the inspirational Malalai of Maiwand who is the Pashtun Joan of Arc. The word Malala means "grief stricken," "sad," but in order to lend some happiness to it, my grandfather would always call me "Malala — The happiest girl in the world"

and today I am very happy that we are together fighting for an important cause.

This award is not just for me. It is for those forgotten children who want education. It is for those frightened children who want peace. It is for those voiceless children who want change.

I am here to stand up for their rights, to raise their voice... it is not time to pity them. It is not time to pity them. It is time to take action so it becomes the last time, the last time, so it becomes the last time that we see a child deprived of education.

I have found that people describe me in many different ways. Some people call me the girl who was shot by the Taliban. And some, the girl who fought for her rights. Some people call me a "Nobel Laureate" now.

However, my brothers still call me that annoying bossy sister. As far as I know, I am just a committed and even stubborn person who wants to see every child getting quality education, who wants to see women having equal rights and who wants peace in every corner of the world.

Education is one of the blessings of life and one of its necessities. That has been my experience during the 17 years of my life. In my paradise home, Swat, I always loved learning and discovering new things. I remember when my friends and I would decorate our hands with henna on special occasions. And instead of drawing flowers and patterns, we would paint our hands with mathematical formulas and equations.

We had a thirst for education. We had a thirst for education, because our future was right there in that classroom. We would sit and learn and read together. We loved to wear neat and tidy school uniforms and we would sit there with big dreams in our eyes. We wanted to make our parents proud and prove that we could also excel in our studies and achieve those goals, which some people think only boys can.

But things did not remain the same. When I was in Swat, which was a place of tourism and beauty, it suddenly changed into a place of terrorism. I was just ten when more than 400 schools

were destroyed. Women were flogged. People were killed. And our beautiful dreams turned into nightmares.

Education went from being a right to being a crime.

Girls were stopped from going to school.

When my world suddenly changed, my priorities changed too.

I had two options. One was to remain silent and wait to be killed. And the second was to speak up and then be killed.

I chose the second one. I decided to speak up.

We could not just stand by and see those injustices of the terrorists denying our rights, ruthlessly killing people and misusing the name of Islam. We decided to raise our voice and tell them: Have you not learnt, have you not learnt that in the Holy Quran Allah says: if you kill one person it is as if you kill the whole humanity?

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

And do you not know that the very first word of the Holy Quran is the word “Iqra,” which means “read”?

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

We survived. And since that day, our voices have grown louder and louder. I tell my story, not because it is unique, but because it is not.

It is the story of many girls.

Today, I tell their stories too. I have brought with me some of my sisters from Pakistan, from Nigeria and from Syria, who share this story. My brave sisters Shazia and Kainat who were also shot that day on our school bus. But they have not stopped learning. And my brave sister

Kainat Soomro who went through severe abuse and extreme violence; even her brother was killed, but she did not succumb.

Also my sisters here, whom I have met during my Malala Fund campaign. My 16-year-old courageous sister, Mezon from Syria, who now lives in Jordan as a refugee and she goes from tent to tent encouraging girls and boys to learn. And my sister Amina, from the North of Nigeria, where Boko Haram threatens, and stops girls and even kidnaps girls, just for wanting to go to school.

Though I appear as one girl, though I appear as one girl, one person, who is 5 foot 2 inches tall, if you include my high heels (it means I am 5 foot only), I am not a lone voice, I am not a lone voice, I am many.

I am Malala. But I am also Shazia. I am Kainat.

I am Kainat Soomro. I am Mezon.

I am Amina. I am those 66 million girls who are deprived of education. And today I am not raising my voice, it is the voice of those 66 million girls.

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

Dear sisters and brothers, today, in half of the world, we see rapid progress and development. However, there are many countries where millions still suffer from the very old problems of war, poverty and injustice.

We still see conflicts in which innocent people lose their lives and children become orphans. We see many people becoming refugees in Syria, Gaza and Iraq. In Afghanistan, we see families being killed in suicide attacks and bomb blasts.

Many children in Africa do not have access to education because of poverty. And as I said, we still see girls who have no freedom to go to school in the north of Nigeria.

Many children in countries like Pakistan and India, as Kailash Satyarthi mentioned, many children, especially in India and Pakistan, are deprived of their right to education because of social taboos, or they have been forced into child marriage or into child labour.

One of my very good school friends, the same age as me, who had always been a bold and confident girl, dreamed of becoming a doctor. But her dream remained a dream. At the age of 12, she was forced to get married. And then soon she had a son. She had a child when she herself was still a child — only 14. I know that she could have been a very good doctor.

But she couldn't . . . because she was a girl.

Her story is why I dedicate the Nobel Peace Prize money to the Malala Fund, to help give girls quality education, everywhere, anywhere in the world and to raise their voices. The first place this funding will go to is where my heart is, to build schools in Pakistan—especially in my home of Swat and Shangla.

In my own village, there is still no secondary school for girls. And it is my wish and my commitment, and now my challenge to build one so that my friends and my sisters can go there to school and get quality education and they get this opportunity to fulfil their dreams.

This is where I will begin, but it is not where I will stop. I will continue this fight until I see every child, every child in school.

Dear brothers and sisters, great people who brought change, like Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela, Mother Teresa and Aung San Suu Kyi, once stood here on this stage. I hope the steps that Kailash Satyarthi and I have taken so far and will take on this journey will also bring change — lasting change.

My great hope is that this will be the last time, this will be the last time we must fight for education. Let's solve this once and for all.

We have already taken many steps. Now it is time to take a leap.

It is not time to tell the world leaders to realise how important education is — they already know it and their own children are in good schools. Now it is time to call them to take action for the rest of the world's children.

We ask the world leaders to unite and make education their top priority. Fifteen years ago, world leaders decided on a set of global goals, the Millennium Development Goals. In the years that have followed, we have seen some progress. The number of children out of school has been halved, as Kailash Satyarthi said. However, the world focused only on primary education, and progress did not reach everyone.

In year 2015, representatives from all around the world will meet at the United Nations to set the next set of goals, the Sustainable Development Goals. This will set the world's ambition for the next generations.

The world can no longer accept that basic education is enough. Why do leaders accept that for children in developing countries, only basic literacy is sufficient, when their own children do homework in Algebra, Mathematics, Science and Physics?

Leaders must seize this opportunity to guarantee a free, quality, primary and secondary education for every child.

Some will say this is impractical, or too expensive, or too hard. Or maybe even impossible. But it is time the world thinks bigger.

Dear sisters and brothers, the so-called world of adults may understand it, but we children don't. Why is it that countries which we call "strong" are so powerful in creating wars but are so weak in bringing peace? Why is it? Why is it that giving guns is so easy but giving books is so hard? Why is it? Why is it that making tanks is so easy, but building schools is so hard?

We are living in the modern age and we believe that nothing is impossible. We have reached the moon 45 years ago and maybe we will soon land on Mars. Then, in this 21st century, we must

be able to give every child quality education.

Dear sisters and brothers, dear fellow children, we must work... not wait. Not just the politicians and the world leaders, we all need to contribute. Me. You. We. It is our duty.

Let us become the first generation that decides to be the last that sees empty classrooms, lost childhoods and wasted potentials.

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

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

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

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

Let's begin this ending, together, today, right here, right now. Let's begin this ending now.

Thank you so much.

APPENDIX B: GRETA THUMBERG'S SPEECH

My message is that we'll be watching you.

This is all wrong. I shouldn't be up here. I should be back in school on the other side of the ocean. Yet, you all come to us young people for hope. How dare you!

You have stolen my dreams and my childhood with your empty words and yet I'm one of the lucky ones. People are suffering. People are dying. Entire ecosystems are collapsing. We are in the beginning of a mass extinction and all you can talk about is money and fairy tales of eternal economic growth. How dare you!

For more than 30 years, the science has been crystal clear. How dare you continue to look away and come here saying that you're doing enough when the politics and solutions needed are still nowhere in sight.

You say you hear us and that you understand the urgency, but no matter how sad and angry I am, I do not want to believe that. Because if you really understood the situation and still kept on failing to act, then you would be evil and that I refuse to believe.

The popular idea of cutting our emissions in half in 10 years only gives us a 50% chance of staying below 1.5 degrees, and the risk of setting off irreversible chain reactions beyond human control.

Fifty percent may be acceptable to you, but those numbers do not include tipping points, most feedback loops, additional warming hidden by toxic air pollution or the aspects of equity and climate justice.

They also rely on my generation sucking hundreds of billions of tons of your CO₂ out of the air with technologies that barely exist. So a 50% risk is simply not acceptable to us, we who have to live with the consequences.

To have a 67% chance of staying below a 1.5 degrees global temperature rise – the best

odds given by the [Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change] – the world had 420 gigatons of CO2 left to emit back on January 1st, 2018. Today that figure is already down to less than 350 gigatons.

How dare you pretend that this can be solved with just ‘business as usual’ and some technical solutions? With today’s emissions levels, that remaining CO2 budget will be entirely gone within less than eight and a half years.

There will not be any solutions or plans presented in line with these figures here today, because these numbers are too uncomfortable and you are still not mature enough to tell it like it is.

You are failing us, but the young people are starting to understand your betrayal. The eyes of all future generations are upon you and if you choose to fail us, I say: We will never forgive you.

We will not let you get away with this. Right here, right now is where we draw the line. The world is waking up and change is coming, whether you like it or not.

Thank you.

APPENDIX C: ALEXANDRIA OCASIO-CORTEZ'S SPEECH

Good afternoon everyone. Thank you Miss Hedegaard for the introduction thank you to C40 in the city of Copenhagen for welcoming me and all of our... all... everyone in this movement, to your city and as I'd especially like to thank the activists and advocates, indigenous people, scientists and climate realists who are largely responsible for making this moment happen. I'd also like to thank the mayor's officials and everyday people who are joining us here and watching from afar today. I was honestly a little bit surprised and incredibly humbled to be invited here today to speak on the issue of the climate crisis and the Green New Deal. And... back in the United States, many of us advocating on this issue have garnered a bit of a reputation as troublemakers and radicals, so in that spirit I will not waste much time, and I want to move to speak with candor, frank honesty, truth, and frankly scientific consensus.

It's no secret that we are meeting here today, at a very perilous juncture, a crossroads, one of extinction or opportunity. And every decision we make between now and in our children's lifetimes will determine how human life will fare, whether we suffer greatly or build together. It is our choice.

To the chagrin of many of the politicians and voters, I am sad to report that there is no middle road on the climate crisis. We will either address the problem meaningfully and in accordance with scientific consensus, or we will not. The statement is not a matter of radicalism, it is a matter of fact, of policy, and of science. And many of the decisions we make, particularly as executives and policymakers, will either contribute to destruction or preservation. And that contribution is measured in the form of emissions, injustice, and inequality.

As elected officials, we have an obligation to tell the truth, and in many different junctures and moments we have not. Not on this issue, not fully, and certainly not in our policy. Many of us have read the science, have been briefed by the world's experts, and have seen the projections and

implications in our communities. Yet, we speak in broad terms, as though we do not know the things that we know. We do not speak often enough about this crisis in real, human, understandable terms, and that impulse is understandable, because when we speak in what scientists, in the terms that scientists are urging us to, we can be easily labeled as alarmist or if you are not a man, hysterical.

In my own community in the United States, in New York City, all three major airports servicing the world's most complex airspace, are projected to be flooded, in part or whole by 2080. That is given our current trajectory and accounting for optimism in our actions. Through the fault of human cognitive bias, which lulls us into discounting the value of our future, the year 2080 seems like an abstraction. But if I were to have a child in the next few years he, she or they will have to contend with a world where some of our most precious, critical infrastructure goes underwater or our most staple and widely used crops struggle to grow and feed our population.

Even if we don't want to think about our children, we can think about ourselves. By 2030, according to researchers at the University of Washington Madison and the University of Oregon, (quote) “seawater is likely to submerge some 4,000 miles of Internet cable in the United States and engulf more than a thousand data centers that house servers, routers, and other hardware by the end of this decade”. And that is just in our privilege pocket of some of the wealthiest areas in the most privileged nations in the world.

Money alone will not save us, and right now federal governments are failing to act. The United States, to the horror of the world, withdrew from the Paris Agreement. But despite that, many of the other actors in charge of some of the most advanced and wealthiest economies have withdrawn from the agreement in action. Not a single one is on track to meet their Paris goals.

Deeper still, we don't have to project one minute into our future to see that the climate crisis is already here. On this note, I speak to you not as an elected official or public figure, but I speak

to you as a human being. A woman whose dreams of motherhood now taste bittersweet because of what I know about our children's future. And that our actions are responsible for bringing their most dire possibilities into focus. I speak to you as a daughter and descendants of colonized peoples, who have already begun to suffer.

Just two years ago, one of the deadliest disasters in the United States struck in the form of Hurricane Maria. The climate change powered storm killed over 3,000 Puerto Ricans, American citizens. My own grandfather died in the aftermath, all because they were living under colonial rule, which contributed to the dire conditions and lack of recovery.

This year we saw hurricane Dorian wreck similar ravaged in the Bahamas. And that is not a coincidence, as many have noticed and noted in an awful turn, the climate crisis's path is first impacting those who have not only contributed to our emissions the least, but have already suffered greatly in the global history of inequality, colonization and imperialism, stacking one injustice upon another. But this is everyone's loss too- and no person is insulated from this reality because many of the people ravaged and marginalized in our current regimes, the lineages of farmers, indigenous peoples, and tightly knit communities, also have knowledge of many of the practices that are our solutions as well. So it is no secret that many of our scientific conclusions reinforce indigenous wisdom and practices cultivated over thousands of years.

It is not a coincidence that these disasters get relatively little media coverage and that even less of the coverage dares to mention climate change. It is not a coincidence that the truth is controversial. None of this is a coincidence, because climate change is not a coincidence or a scientific anomaly. Climate change is a consequence. It is a consequence of our unsustainable way of life. Because it is unsustainable to organize our society as we have, centered and prioritizing personal gain and profit over any and all human or planetary considerations.

It is unsustainable to naively believe that building a wall can shield ourselves from

humanity's collective destiny. It is unsustainable to promote amnesia around gross injustices and ignorance of our pasts to abdicate responsibility simply because it was our ancestors who committed them and not us. Our children bear responsibility for our inaction, despite the fact that they didn't make the choice. And frankly, it is unsustainable to continue to believe that our system a runaway unaccountable law-breaking pursuit of profit whose inequality is so socially destabilizing that it is giving rise to authoritarians who burn our forests and challenge the democracies that listen to basic science and to think that that has nothing to do with this.

It is unsurprising that this juncture coincides with a political moment of stark contrasts, that we must choose whether this moment will lead us to regression or evolution, authoritarianism or greater democracy, extraction or preservation. Our greatest choice is to move towards a cooperative, collaborative world that aligns with scientific consensus, whose economy center and benefit the middle and lower classes and the marginalized, which is to say, most people, and who honor the inherent value of all human dignity and can put everyone to work. All of this means that rising to the challenge of the climate crisis demands not only that we act meaningfully, but also that we change society. The two are inextricable.

Our current logic created this mess and operating in the same way will not get us out. Changing society for the better is the most sustainable thing we can do and meeting the climate crisis will require the largest economic mobilization we may have ever tried to pursue as a human species. And that is what a green new deal is all about, preserving our planet with a just transition focused on economic opportunity, jobs and justice, peace and prosperity.

Simply put, to get the job done, much of the industrialized world, the developing world, the global South, all of us will have to retrofit many of our buildings, change and update our energy grids, educate a labor pool in a myriad of different skills and capacities, work with regions to create just transitions for impacted workers and communities, and pursue some of the most ambitious

civil engineering society has ever seen. And that should not be daunting, intimidating, or lead us to its despair. It should be inspiring, because this is the work of advancing societies and we have been entrusted by the public to pursue it. To do any less is to stall or regress. We have two choices: to move forwards or backwards.

Many of the places that will require attention and investment first are the frontline communities that have been historically neglected. Rural areas, poor urban areas, indigenous lands... Again, this is not a coincidence or even a form of affirmative action. It is common sense. We have already invested virtually everywhere else and much of those places will enjoy continued attention due to their existing political and economic power. Now we must invest in the places left behind to not only catch up, but leapfrog to the future. And much of this work of this scale has been done before. It is possible. We have mobilized on a massive scale for war and our only test of leadership is if we have the political will to mobilize on that scale for anything else.

At the present moment, solving the climate crisis is no longer a primarily scientific question; it is now a political one. The scientists have done much of their job and now it is the time for us to do ours. Just as they have created the technologies and identified the targets, we must create the political will. A green New Deal centers the leadership of frontline communities, from miners to farmers, to indigenous communities, working in poor communities and urban communities alike. Not only because it is the right thing to do. It is. Nor because it is where we can find solutions. We can. But also, because it is the winning political coalition that can empower change.

The green New Deal is an economic boon for the many that contrasts with the current prophets of planetary extraction that benefit the very few. And with that, I think we have our work cut out for us. But to paraphrase a prior US president who pioneered the original New Deal, forged in a time of great economic desperation (quote) “we face the arduous days that lie before us in the warm courage of global unity with the clear consciousness of seeking old and precious moral

values”.

We do not distrust the future of essential democracy. The people have not failed. In their need, they have registered a mandate that they want direct, vigorous, action. They have asked for discipline and direction under leadership. They have made us the present instrument of their wishes and in the spirit of that gift we should take it. In this dedication of a world, we humbly ask for a blessing. May we be protected each and every one of us and may we be guided in the days to come. Thank you very much.

APPENDIX D: OCCURRENCES OF “WE” IN MALALA, GRETA AND ALEXANDRIA’S SPEECHES

	FUNCTION	EXAMPLES	ADDRESEE	OCURRENCES
Malala	Inclusive function	we are together fighting for an important cause	Sisters and brothers	10
		we see rapid progress and development		
		We still see conflicts		
		We see many people becoming refugees in Syria		
		we see families being killed		
		we still see girls who have no freedom to go to school		
		the last time we must fight for education		
		We have already taken many steps		
		We ask the world leaders		
		we have seen some progress		
	the last time that we see a child deprived of education	The entire world	7	
	countries which we call “strong”			
	We are living in the modern age			

		we believe that nothing is impossible		
		We have reached the moon 45 years ago		
		we will soon land on Mars		
		we must be able to give every child quality education		
		we must work... not wait		
		we all need to contribute		
		Me. You. We		
		Let this be the last time that we see a child out of school		
	Exclusive function	we strongly believe	Malala and her mother	1
		we can work together (x2)	Kailash Satyarthi and Malala	2
		we would paint our hands with mathematical formulas	Malala and her friends	9
		We had a thirst for education(x2)		
		We would sit and learn and read together		
		We loved to wear neat and tidy		

		school uniforms		
		we would sit there with big dreams in our eyes		
		We wanted to make our parents proud		
		we could also excel in our studies		
		We survived		
		We could not just stand by and see those injustices	Pakistani girls	2
		We decided to raise our voice		
		but we children don't	Children	1
Greta	Inclusive function	We are in the beginning of a mass extinction and all you can talk about is money and fairy tales of eternal economic growth.	World leaders	1
	Exclusive function	My message is that we 'll be watching you.	Greta's supporters	1
		So a 50% risk is simply not acceptable to us, we who have to live with the consequences.	Greta's generation	1
		We will never forgive you.	Young people	3
		We will not let you get away with this.		

		Right here, right now is where we draw the line.		
Alexandria	Inclusive function	It's no secret that we are meeting here today [...]	C40 members	8
		And every decision we make [...]		
		[...] whether we suffer greatly or build together.		
		We will either address the problem meaningfully [...]		
		[...] or we will not.		
		Even if we don't want to think about our children [...]		
		[...] we can think about ourselves.		
		We don't have to project one minute into our future to see that the climate crisis is already here.		
		We saw hurricane Dorian wreck similar ravaged in the Bahamas.	The entire world	3
		The climate crisis will require the largest economic mobilization we may have ever tried to pursue as a human species.		

		We face the arduous days that lie before us.		
		We have been entrusted by the public to pursue it.	Advancing societies	6
		We have two choices.		
		We have already invested virtually everywhere else.		
		We have mobilized on a massive scale for war		
		Our only test of leadership is if we have the political will to mobilize on that scale for anything else.		
		Now we must invest in the places left behind.		
	Exclusive function	And many of the decisions we make [...] will either contribute to destruction or preservation.		
		We have an obligation to tell the truth.		
		In many different junctures and moments we have not.		
Yet, we speak in broad terms.				

		[...] as though we do not know		
		[...] the things that we know.		
		We do not speak often enough about this crisis in real, human, understandable terms.		
		when we speak in what scientists, in the terms that scientists are urging us to [...]		
		[...] we can be easily labeled as alarmist or if you are not a man, hysterical.		
		Because it is unsustainable to organize our society as we have.		
		we must choose whether this moment will lead us to regression or evolution.		
		All of this means that rising to the challenge of the climate crisis demands not only that we act meaningfully,		
		[...] but also that we change society.		
		Changing society for the better is		

		the most sustainable thing we can do.		
		We must create the political will.		
		Nor because it is where we can find solutions.		
		We can.		
		And with that, I think we have our work cut out for us.		
		We do not distrust the future of essential democracy.		
		They have made us the present instrument of their wishes and in the spirit of that gift we should take it.		
		In this dedication of a world, we humbly ask for a blessing.		
		May we be protected each and every one of us		
		May we be guided in the days to come.		