

### Modality analysis of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's speech in UN Security Council

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#### ABSTRACT

*The current research article examines the use of modality in Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's political speech regarding the conflict in East Pakistan. The analysis applies the Simpson modal system to examine the use of modality in Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's political speech on the conflict in East Pakistan. The researcher identifies and categorizes the different modal expressions used by Bhutto based on their function and meaning. Using Simoson's theoretical framework, the researcher identifies and analyzes the different modal expressions used by Bhutto to convey his message to the international community. It is founded that Bhutto employs a range of deontic, epistemic, dynamic, and bulimic modalities to express a complex and nuanced argument for Pakistan's position, drawing on his strong sense of national pride and commitment to protecting the interests and values of his country. The analysis highlights the effectiveness of Bhutto's use of modality in shaping public opinion and influencing political outcomes in a complex and contested context and underscores the importance of linguistic and rhetorical strategies in political discourse. It is concluded by discussing the implications of analysis for understanding the role of modality in shaping public opinion and influencing political outcomes.*

Key Words:

Modality, Speech, Discourse,

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## INTRODUCTION

Modality analysis is a powerful tool for examining the speaker's attitude and point of view towards a particular subject in a speech. It involves the identification and analysis of modal verbs and other linguistic features that express the speaker's degree of certainty or uncertainty regarding their arguments and themes. Modality analysis has been used in a variety of fields, including linguistics, discourse analysis, and rhetorical studies, to gain a deeper understanding of the speaker's intention and perspective. In recent years, modality analysis has gained increasing attention in conversation analysis, a field that examines the structure and organization of talk in social interaction. Researchers have used modality analysis to investigate how speakers use modal verbs and other linguistic features to convey their stance and position in conversation. For instance, modality analysis has been applied to political speeches, media discourse, and courtroom testimony to examine how speakers use modality to construct their arguments and persuade their audience.

The current article aims to provide an overview of modality analysis and its use in political discourse. Specifically, the researcher examines the key concepts of modality analysis, including modal verbs, adjectives, and adverbs, and how they can be used to identify the speaker's attitude and point of view. Finally, the researcher provides a case study of modality analysis applied to Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's speech in the UN Security Council on December 1971 to demonstrate the practical application of modality analysis. Modality analysis is a crucial tool for researchers in various fields, including linguistics, discourse analysis, and rhetorical studies, to gain a deeper understanding of the speaker's intention and perspective. It can be used to examine how speakers use language to convey their stance and position on a particular subject, and how they persuade their audience.

A research article on modality analysis and its use in conversation analysis can provide scholars with a comprehensive overview of this tool and its application. Such an article can help researchers understand the key concepts of modality analysis, including modal verbs, adjectives, and adverbs, and how they relate to the speaker's attitude and point of view. Moreover, a research article on modality analysis can demonstrate the practical application of this tool in discourse analysis. By providing a case study of modality analysis applied to a specific speech, scholars can gain insights into the speaker's intention and stance on a particular subject, and how they use language to persuade their audience. This can be especially helpful for researchers in fields such as political

science, media studies, and legal studies. Overall, a research article on modality analysis can contribute to the advancement of our understanding of language and communication, and how it shapes our perception of the world around us. The research objective of conducting modality analysis on Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's political speech in the UN Security Council in December 1971 is to gain a deeper understanding of the Zulfiqar Ali's particular attitude and point of view towards the subject. Specifically, the objective is to identify and analyze the use of modal verbs, adjectives, and adverbs in speech, in order to determine the degree of certainty or uncertainty expressed by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto regarding the arguments and themes.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Modality analysis is a linguistic tool that involves the identification and analysis of modal verbs, adjectives, and adverbs, to determine the speaker's degree of certainty or uncertainty regarding their arguments and themes. Modality analysis has been applied in various fields, including linguistics, discourse analysis, and rhetorical studies, to gain a deeper understanding of the speaker's intention and perspective. One of the earliest studies that applied modality analysis to political speeches was conducted by *Thompson and Mulac (1991)*. In their study, Thompson and Mulac analyzed the use of modal verbs in **Ronald Reagan's speeches** and argued that modal verbs were used to create a sense of authority and certainty. They also noted that Reagan's use of modal verbs varied depending on the context and audience.

Another study that applied modality analysis to political speeches was conducted by *Van Leeuwen (2011)*. In his study, Van Leeuwen analyzed the use of modality in **Barack Obama's** speeches and argued that Obama used modality to construct his arguments and persuade his audience. He also noted that Obama's use of modality was influenced by his cultural and political background. More recently, modality analysis has been applied in conversation analysis to examine how speakers use modality in social interaction. For example, *Stokoe and Weatherall (2017)* analyzed the use of modality in police interrogations and argued that modality was used to manage the interaction and establish authority. They also noted that the use of modality varied depending on the gender and ethnicity of the speaker.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's speech in the UN Security Council in December 1971 is a seminal moment in Pakistani history, as it marked the end of the country's war with India and the creation of

Bangladesh. The speech is widely regarded as a masterpiece of oratory, and has been analyzed by scholars in various fields, including political science, history, and communication studies. Overall, these studies demonstrate the usefulness of modality analysis in gaining a deeper understanding of language and communication, and how it shapes our perception of the world around us. By analyzing the use of modal verbs and other linguistic features, scholars can identify specific points of view expressed by the speaker, and gain insights into their attitude and intention towards the subject.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's political speech in the UN Security Council in December 1971 was a seminal moment in Pakistani history, as it marked the end of the country's war with India and the creation of Bangladesh. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's political speech in the UN Security Council in December 1971 was a response to the ongoing conflict between India and Pakistan over East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). In the speech, Bhutto argued that India had violated international law by using force against Pakistan and called for the intervention of the international community to resolve the conflict. He accused India of trying to annex East Pakistan and argued that Pakistan was fighting for its survival. Bhutto also emphasized the importance of the principle of self-determination and argued that the people of East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) had the right to determine their own political future. Overall, Bhutto's speech was a powerful statement of Pakistan's position in the conflict and helped to shape the international response to the crisis.

Bhutto's speech was a powerful statement of Pakistan's position in the conflict and helped to shape the international response to the crisis. The speech was widely reported in the media, and Bhutto was praised for his eloquence and conviction. However, the conflict continued for several more weeks, and Pakistan eventually surrendered to India on December 16, 1971. The conflict had a profound impact on the region and led to the creation of Bangladesh as an independent country.

## **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The research methodology for conducting modality analysis on Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's political speech in the UN Security Council on December 1971 involves the quantitative research method. In which the Data for modality analysis is collected from the video recording of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's speech in UN security council on Dec,1971. The researcher has analyzed the data using statistical and quantitative methods to determine the degree of certainty or uncertainty expressed

by Bhutto. The researcher presents the findings of the analysis in a research article, including a discussion of the specific points of view expressed by the speaker and the implications of these findings for understanding the speech and its impact on the international response to the conflict between India and Pakistan. Overall, the research methodology for conducting modality analysis on the speech involves quantitative methods to identify and analyze the use of modal verbs, adjectives, and adverbs in the speech and gain insights into the speaker's attitude and intention towards the subject.

The unit of analysis for conducting modality analysis on Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's political speech in the UN Security Council in December 1971 is the linguistic features used by the Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto to express his attitude and point of view towards the subject. Specifically, the unit of analysis are the modal verbs, adjectives, and adverbs used by Bhutto in the speech. By focusing on these linguistic features, the researcher gains insights into the specific points of view expressed by the speaker and understand their attitude and intention towards the subject.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND DATA ANALYSIS**

Simpson's modal system(1993) is a linguistic framework that is used to analyze the use of modal verbs and other linguistic features in discourse. The system was developed by Paul Simpson, a linguist and discourse analyst, and is based on the idea that modal verbs and other linguistic features can be used to express the speaker's attitude and point of view towards a particular subject. Simpson's modal system involves the identification and analysis of four categories of modality: epistemic, deontic, Boulomaic modality and Perception. Epistemic modality refers to the speaker's degree of certainty or uncertainty regarding their arguments and themes, while deontic modality refers to the speaker's obligation or permission to perform a certain action. The system also involves the identification and analysis of other linguistic features, such as adverbs and adjectives, that can be used to express modality. For example, the use of adverbs such as "perhaps" or "maybe" can indicate uncertainty, while the use of adjectives such as "important" or "essential" can indicate the speaker's degree of conviction.

Simpson's modal system is widely used in discourse analysis and has been applied to a variety of domains, including political speeches, media discourse, and legal texts. It provides a useful

framework for analyzing the use of modality in discourse and gaining insights into the speaker's attitude and intention towards the subject.

**Table:1. Model on Modality**

<b>1.Deontic Modality</b>	<b>Positive Shades</b>	Permission	
		Obligation	
		Requirement	
		BE+Participle+that	
		BE+Participle+to	
		BE+Adjective + that	
		BE+Adjective +to	
<b>2.Boulomic Modality</b>	<b>Modal lexical verbs</b>	wishes	
		desires	
		hopes	
	BE+Participle+that		
	BE+Participle+to		
	BE+Adjective + that		
	BE+Adjective +to		
	Modal adverbs		
<b>3. Perception Modality</b>	<b>Negative Shades</b>	<b>BE+Adjective +that.....</b>	It is obvious that you are right
			You are clearly right.
			It is apparent that you are right
<b>4.Epistemic Modality.</b>	Possibility		
	Probability		
	Factive		
	Contra-factive		
	Think,believe,may , might,possible,must		
	Can,could		

		Should, ought to
		Will, would
		Arguably, may be, perhaps, certainly, supposedly, allegedly

#### **4.1. Four Types Of Modal System:**

There are generally four types of modal systems that are commonly used in linguistics and discourse analysis:

This type of modal system is concerned with the expression of obligation, permission, and prohibition. It refers to the speaker's authority or permission to perform a certain action, such as "You must/should/ought to do this" or "You are allowed/permitted to do this."

This type of modal system is concerned with the expression of desire, preference, and value. It refers to the speaker's desire or preference for a certain outcome, such as "I would like/prefer that this happens" or "This is good/bad/important."

This type of modal system is concerned with the expression of probability, possibility, and certainty. It refers to the speaker's degree of certainty or uncertainty regarding their arguments and themes, such as "It may/might/could be true" or "I am certain/sure that this is true."

This type of modal system is concerned with the expression of ability, willingness, and intention. It refers to the speaker's ability or willingness to perform a certain action, such as "I can/could swim" or "I will/would help you."

Overall, these modal systems provide a useful framework for analyzing the use of modality in discourse and gaining insights into the speaker's attitude and intention towards the subject.

#### **Modality Analysis Of Speech:**

The Simpson modal system is a framework for analyzing modality in discourse that was developed by Paul Simpson. The system involves identifying and categorizing different modal expressions based on their function and meaning. Here is an example of how the Simpson modal system could be applied to the analysis of modality in Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's political speech:

##### **1. Deontic modality:**

- "We must" (expressing obligation)
- "We cannot" (expressing prohibition)
- "We are prepared to" (expressing willingness)

## 2. Epistemic modality:

- "It is possible" (expressing possibility)
- "It is necessary" (expressing necessity)
- "It is clear" (expressing certainty)

## 3. Dynamic modality:

- "We can still live as good neighbours, as friends" (expressing ability and possibility)
- "Do what you like" (expressing permission)

## 4. Boulomaic modality:

- "We want" (expressing desire)
- "We do not say" (expressing preference)
- "We would like" (expressing preference)

The researcher has applied four modal systems on Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's speech in the UN security council in December 1971. So for this sake, the researcher has analyzed the use of modal verbs and other linguistic features in the speech

### 1. Deontic Modal System: (related to duty or obligation)

In the speech, Bhutto used several deontic modal verbs to express obligation and permission. For example, he argued that the international community had a duty to intervene to resolve the conflict, stating "*the United Nations must act*" and "*the world community must uphold principles of justice and fair play.*" He also asserted Pakistan's right to self-defense and argued that it had the authority to take necessary action to protect its sovereignty. Deontic modality is evident in expressions of duty and obligation, as Bhutto felt compelled to represent his country and seek justice.

- "*I felt that it was imperative for me to come here and seek justice from the Security Council.*"
- "*I must say, whether the members like it or not, that the Security Council has denied my country that justice.*" Modal Verb: "must," indicating a strong sense of obligation. Modal Shading: Bhutto's use of "I must say" emphasizes a strong sense of duty to express his viewpoint, adding a tone of personal commitment and obligation.



- Bhutto uses deontic modal verbs to express obligation and permission, such as "*the United Nations must act*," "*the world community must uphold principles of justice and fair play*," and "*Pakistan is entitled to take all necessary measures*." These modal verbs express the sense of obligation and authority that Bhutto feels regarding Pakistan's position in the conflict.
- Modal Verbs: "would," "shall," "have to," "was," "felt," "must," "have been," "was.," "were," Analysis: Expressions like "shall have to" and "must" convey a sense of duty and obligation, highlighting the speaker's responsibility to speak the truth and seek justice.
- Modal Verbs: "will be," "should," "would be ready," "should meet." Analysis: The use of "should" and "will be" conveys a sense of duty or obligation, indicating expectations or recommendations. Instances like "should" and "required" express a sense of duty or necessity, indicating expectations or obligations.
- Modal Expressions: "had waited," "should," "requested," "am thankful," "can facilitate," "will not take back," "will not be." These expressions convey a sense of duty, obligation, request, and refusal, emphasizing the speaker's stance and actions.
- Modal Expressions: "requested," "am thankful," "must know," "have not come," "will not take back," "will not be." These expressions convey a sense of duty, obligation, or refusal to comply with certain actions.
- Modal Expressions: "requested": Bhutto expresses a formal request for the convening of a meeting.
- ✓ "am thankful": Reflects a sense of gratitude for the meeting being convened.
- ✓ "must know": Implies an obligation for the world and his people to be informed.
- ✓ "have not come": Denotes a refusal or assertion of purpose, emphasizing he did not come for a specific reason.
- ✓ "will not take back": Asserts a refusal to accept or bring back a specific document.

- ✓ "will not be": Indicates a firm refusal or determination not to be a party to the legalization of aggression. These expressions convey a sense of duty, obligation, refusal, and determination regarding the speaker's actions and stance.
- Bhutto uses deontic modal expressions to convey obligation, permission, and prohibition. For instance, he uses expressions such as "we must", "we are prepared to", and "we cannot" to convey a sense of duty and responsibility, and to argue for the right to self-determination for the people of East Pakistan.

## 2. **Epistemic Modal System:** (related to knowledge or certainty)

Bhutto used several epistemic modal verbs and other linguistic features to express his degree of certainty and uncertainty regarding his arguments. For example, he expressed doubt and uncertainty regarding India's actions, stating "*We do not know what kind of madness has come over India*" and "*We have no knowledge of what is happening there. It may/might/could be true.*" These modal verbs express Bhutto's uncertainty and doubt regarding India's actions and the international response to the conflict.

- ◆ "*I know the United Nations; I know the Security Council.*" Bhutto expresses a high level of certainty about his knowledge of the United Nations and the Security Council, reflecting epistemic modality.
- ◆ "*I have not come here to accept abject surrender*" carries a tone of certainty, highlighting Bhutto's unwavering stance and confidence in his purpose. "Modal Verb: "have," conveying a statement of certainty or knowledge.
- ◆ He also used adjectives such as "*barbaric*" and "*brutal*" to express his strong condemnation of India's actions.
- ◆ Modal Verbs: "know," "was," "felt," "was," "have been." "must." Analysis: The use of "know" and "must" and "have been" implies a degree of certainty, indicating the speaker's confidence in his knowledge, the persistence of certain conditions and the imperative nature of his actions.
- ◆ Modal Verbs: "will be," "should," "would be ready." Analysis: The use of "will be" and "would be ready" suggests a degree of certainty, indicating the speaker's confidence in future events.

- ◆ Modal Expressions: "think": Introduces the speaker's perspective or belief. "will be": Indicates a future certainty or prediction. "must know": Suggests a strong belief in the necessity of knowledge. "have not come": Implies a certain purpose or motivation for coming to the Security Council. These expressions indicate the speaker's thoughts, beliefs, or level of certainty regarding certain situations.
- ◆ Modal Expressions: "I know," "It was quite clear to me," "I am thankful," "I think," "I can facilitate." Analysis: These expressions convey the speaker's knowledge, certainty, thankfulness, and opinions regarding the situation.
- ◆ Bhutto uses epistemic modality to express uncertainty, probability, and necessity. For example, he uses expressions such as "it is possible", "it is necessary", and "it is clear" to convey his position and arguments regarding the conflict in East Pakistan, and to criticize India's use of propaganda and military power to influence public opinion and gain international support.

### 3. Boulomaic Modality (Desire/Preference)

Bhutto uses linguistic features to express his desires and preferences regarding the outcome of the conflict, such as "*The people of East Pakistan have the right to determine their own political future,*" "*We do not want war, we want peace,*" and "*We will build a new Pakistan. We will build a better Pakistan. We will build a greater Pakistan.*" These linguistic features express Bhutto's desire for a peaceful resolution to the conflict and his vision for a better future for Pakistan.

- Modal Shading: Phrases like "*You decide what you like*" add a shading of assertion, indicating a desire for the listener to make a decision while underscoring a level of indifference to the outcome.
- "*You want us to be silenced by guns. Why should we say that we shall agree to anything?*" Boulomaic modality is present when Bhutto questions the desire for silence by force and rejects the idea of agreeing to anything under such circumstances.
- "*Now you decide what you like. Your decision will not be binding on us.*" Modal Verb: "decide," expressing a call for the listener to exercise their preference.

- Modal Verbs: "would," "like," "was," "want," "felt." Analysis: Phrases such as "whether members of the Council like it or not" and "felt that it was imperative", "would like it or not" and "want us to be silenced" involve expressions of desire, preference, or the speaker's assessment of others' wishes .
- Modal Verbs: "will be," "would be ready," "should meet." Analysis: Expressions like "would be ready" and "should meet" involve desire, preference, or conditions related to the speaker's expectations.
- Modal Expressions: "please bear with me": Requests patience, expressing a desire for understanding.
- "do not want": Represents a strong expression of desire or preference against a specific outcome.
- "will not be": Reiterates a refusal or preference against being a party to the legalization of aggression. These expressions involve desires, preferences, or the speaker's intention to resist certain outcomes.
- Modal Expressions: "would request," "were hoping," "felt that it was imperative," "I have some home truths to tell," "We will build," These expressions indicate desires, hopes, intentions, and determinations, reflecting the speaker's preferences and positive outlook for the future.
- Bhutto uses boulomaic modality to express desire, intention, and preference. For example, he uses expressions such as "we want", "we do not say", and "we would like" to convey his position and arguments regarding the conflict in East Pakistan, and to emphasize the importance of peaceful negotiations and respect for international law.

#### 4. Perception Modality (related to sensory perception):

Perceptual modality is involved when Bhutto describes his observation of the Security Council's proceedings. "*With some cynicism, I watched yesterday a full hour of the Security Council's time wasted.*" Modal Verb: "*watched,*" indicating a firsthand perceptual observation. Bhutto's use

of "*With some cynicism*" introduces a perceptual shading, conveying his personal perspective and attitude towards the observed situation in the Security Council.

- **Modal Verbs:** "was," "have attended," "arrived," "have been." **Analysis:** Verbs like "have attended" and "arrived" contribute to the perceptual modality, emphasizing the speaker's personal experience and presence in specific situations. These additional modal verbs further illustrate the diverse ways Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto uses modalities to convey different shades of meaning in his speech at the United Nations.
- **Modal Expressions:** "telephoned": Describes an act of communication through telephone. "said": Represents reported speech, conveying a message from Bhutto's son. These expressions contribute to perceptual modality, reflecting direct communication and conveying information received.
- **Modal Expressions:** "have attended," "I watched," "you, Mr. President, to convene," "my eleven-year-old son telephoned me." These expressions involve direct or reported sensory perceptions, such as attending sessions, watching, and receiving a telephone call.

These examples further illustrate how modal verbs within the speech contribute to different modal systems, reflecting various shades of meaning related to duty, desire, certainty, and perception. Overall, Bhutto's use of modal verbs and other linguistic features in the speech reflects his strong sense of obligation and authority regarding Pakistan's position in the conflict, as well as his willingness and ability to take action to resolve the conflict. His use of adjectives and other linguistic features also reflects his strong emotions and desires, as well as his uncertainty and doubt regarding the actions of India. These modal expressions provide a nuanced understanding of Bhutto's speech, revealing his sense of duty, desire, certainty, and perceptions within the context of the geopolitical situation and his role in the Security Council.

**Table;2 .Modal System used in Bhutto’s Speech:**

<b>Names of modal system</b>	<b>Examples from speech</b>
<b>1. Deontic Modal System</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ "The United Nations must act."</li> <li>✓ "Pakistan is entitled to take all necessary measures."</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ "We will fight; we will go back and fight."</li> </ul>
<b>2. Epistemic modal system</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ "We do not know what kind of madness has come over India."</li> <li>✓ "We have no knowledge of what is happening there."</li> <li>✓ "It may/might/could be true."</li> </ul>
<b>3. Boulomaic Modal System</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ "The people of East Pakistan have the right to determine their own political future."</li> <li>✓ "We do not want war, we want peace."</li> <li>✓ "We can still live as good neighbours, as friends."</li> </ul>
<b>4. Perception Modality:</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ "With some cynicism, I watched yesterday a full hour of the Security Council's time wasted."</li> <li>✓ 'my eleven-year-old son telephoned me.'</li> </ul>

**Expression of Modality in Speech:**

Here are some examples of evaluative adjectives and adverbs found in Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's speech in the UN Security Council on December 1971:

- **Evaluative Adjectives:** These adjectives express Bhutto's evaluation or judgment of a situation or event. Examples include "barbaric," "brutal," "ugly," and "shameful." Bhutto uses these adjectives to condemn India's actions in East Pakistan and to express his emotional response to the conflict.

- **Evaluative Adverbs:** These adverbs express Bhutto's evaluation or judgment of a statement or proposition. Examples include "disgraceful," "shockingly," and "truly." Bhutto uses these adverbs to criticize the actions and decisions of the Security Council and to express his disappointment and frustration with the international response to the conflict.

Overall, Bhutto's use of evaluative adjectives and adverbs reflects his strong emotions and his critical evaluation of the situation in East Pakistan and the international response to the conflict.

- **Generic Sentences:** These sentences express general truths or principles that are not specific to a particular situation or event. Examples include "Cities and countries have fallen before," "Western Europe was under foreign occupation," and "Exploitation and domination cannot be lasting." Bhutto uses these sentences to provide context and historical perspective to the conflict in East Pakistan and to argue for broader principles of justice and fairness.

Here are the generic sentences that bhutto used in his speech:

- "Exploitation and domination cannot be lasting. What we want is a lasting, a permanent solution."
- "Such relations cannot be lasting. They will be based on temporary expediency or temporary interests."
- "We are not puppets. We are not going to be dictated by anyone."
- "We are not interested in territorial expansion. We are not interested in aggression. We are not interested in domination."
- "The people of East Pakistan are a proud people. They do not want to be subjugated. They do not want to be dominated. They want their rights."
- "The people of East Pakistan have the right to determine their own political future."
- "We want to see a world free of aggression. We want to see a world free of domination."
- "Justice and fair play must be upheld. Principles must be upheld. Commitments must be honored."
- "We want a lasting, a permanent solution. We do not want a temporary solution."

Overall, Bhutto's use of generic sentences reflects his attempt to situate the conflict in East Pakistan within broader principles and values, such as the right to self-determination, the importance of justice and fairness, and the need for lasting solutions to conflicts

**Modal Expressions In The Speech:**

A table is drawn to show the modal expressions used in Butto’s speech. This table provides a detailed breakdown of modal expressions in the speech, categorized into the four modal systems.

**Table 3. Modal expressions:**

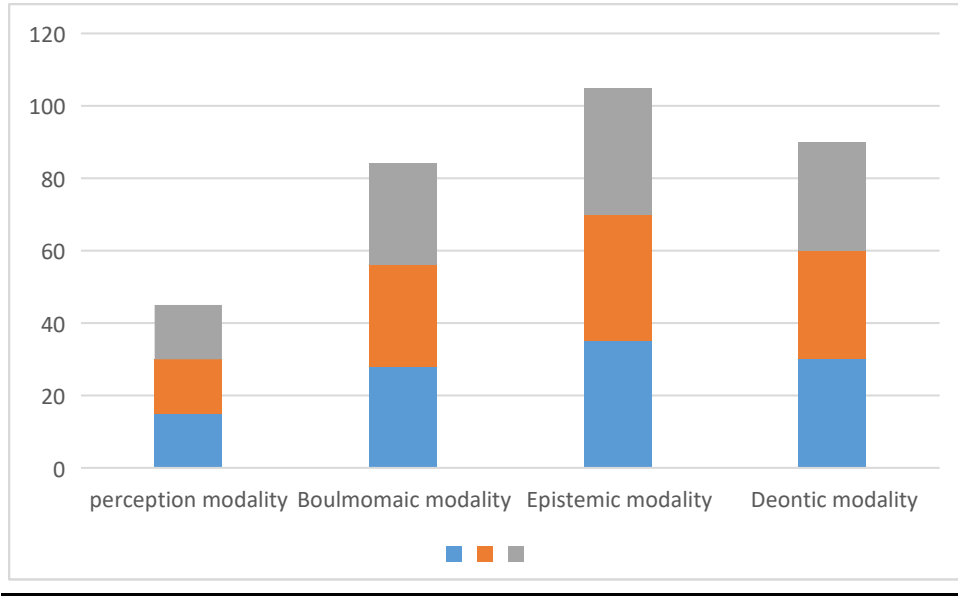
<b>Modal System:</b>	<b>Modal Expression:</b>
<b>1.Deontic Modality</b>	"requested","am thankful","must know", "have not come","will not be","had waited" , "should" ,"can facilitate","has failed" ,"should" ,"need"
<b>2.Boulomaic Modality</b>	‘please bear with me","do not want", "will not be" ,"should" ,"had waited" ,"want" ,"will not take back" were inspired" ,"have heard"
<b>3.Epistemic Modality</b>	"think" ,"will be" ,"must know","have not come","had waited","would have","must know","can","know","has done" ,"resembles",cannot remain hidden","do not need"
<b>4.Perception Modality</b>	"telephoned" ,"said" ,"come here and say" ,"have heard"

This table summarizes the different modal expressions used by Bhutto in his speech to convey his sense of obligation and authority, his degree of certainty and uncertainty, his willingness and ability to take action, and his desires and preferences regarding the outcome of the conflicts.

**Graphical Representation :**

Graphical representation of occurrences of all features of modality is presented below:





## FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

Here are some of the key findings from the analysis of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's speech in the UN Security Council in December 1971:

- Bhutto uses a variety of modality expressions to convey his position and arguments regarding the conflict in East Pakistan, including deontic, epistemic, dynamic, and boulomaic modal expressions.
- Bhutto also uses evaluative adjectives and adverbs to express his emotional response and critical evaluation of the situation in East Pakistan and the international response to the conflict.
- Bhutto employs generic sentences to provide historical and political context to the conflict and to argue for broader principles of justice and fairness.
- Bhutto emphasizes the importance of the right to self-determination for the people of East Pakistan and argues that India's actions constituted aggression and violated international law.

- Bhutto praises the United States for its support of Pakistan's national unity and integrity and criticizes India for its use of military power and propaganda to influence public opinion and gain international support.

Overall, the analysis of Bhutto's speech reveals a complex and nuanced argument for Pakistan's position in the conflict with India over East Pakistan, drawing on a range of linguistic and rhetorical strategies to convey his message to the international community.

Point of view refers to the perspective from which a story is told. It includes the narrator's position, attitude, and opinion towards the events and characters in the story. In analyzing modality, we can examine how the speaker's attitude towards the proposition being expressed influences the point of view in a text. For example, a speaker who expresses a high degree of certainty about a proposition may adopt a more authoritative or confident point of view towards the events or characters in a story, while a speaker who expresses doubt or uncertainty may adopt a more tentative or speculative point of view.

One particular point of view that emerges from the analysis of Bhutto's speech is his strong belief in the importance of national unity and integrity for Pakistan and his rejection of India's actions as an attack on these values. Bhutto argues that India's invasion of East Pakistan was a form of aggression that violated international law and threatened the stability and sovereignty of his country. He emphasizes the right to self-determination for the people of East Pakistan and argues that India's use of military power and propaganda to support its position was both short-sighted and unjust. Bhutto also praises the United States for its support of Pakistan's national unity and integrity, highlighting the importance of international solidarity and cooperation in resolving conflicts between nations. Overall, Bhutto's speech reflects a deeply held conviction in the need to protect Pakistan's territorial integrity and national sovereignty, and to promote justice and fairness in international relations.

- The specific point of view that the speech establishes is the belief in the importance of Pakistan's territorial integrity and national sovereignty, and the need to protect these values against India's aggression. Bhutto emphasizes the right to self-determination for the people of East Pakistan and argues that India's actions constituted a form of naked aggression that violated international law and threatened the stability and sovereignty of his country. He also stresses the importance of justice, equity, and fairness in international relations, and the need to settle conflicts through peaceful negotiations based on these principles. Bhutto criticizes

India's use of military power and propaganda to support its position, and praises the United States for its support of Pakistan's national unity and integrity. Overall, the speech reflects a strong sense of national pride and a deep commitment to protecting the interests and values of Pakistan in the face of external threats and challenges.

Based on the modality analysis of the speech, It can be concluded that Bhutto used a range of linguistic and rhetorical strategies to convey his message to the international community regarding the conflict in East Pakistan. He employed deontic, epistemic, dynamic, and boulomaic modalities to express a complex and nuanced argument for Pakistan's position, drawing on his strong sense of national pride and commitment to protecting the interests and values of his country in the face of external threats and challenges. Bhutto's speech reflects a deep belief in the importance of national unity and integrity, justice, equity, and fairness in international relations, and the need to settle conflicts through peaceful negotiations based on these principles. Overall, the analysis highlights the effectiveness of Bhutto's use of modality to convey his message and underscores the importance of linguistic and rhetorical strategies in shaping public opinion and influencing political outcomes in complex and contested contexts.

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