

English Siamese Twins and Their Cohorts Exemplified In Selective Speeches of the Twentieth Century

Elham H. Ammari

Associate Professor of Linguistics

Department of Basic Sciences, English Language and Literature

Albalqa' Applied University

Amman (Jordan)

Abstract

Siamese twins and trinomials are a sub-category of the aggregate umbrella term idiomatic language and expressions. They are quite observed in various languages of the world. (Malkiel 1959; Müller 2009). They are predominantly used in literature, the movie industry, and the advertising industry and in everyday speech for the sake of attracting attention amongst others. (Schlegel et al. 2014) The peculiarity of such pairs of words stems from the fact that their internal structure might or might not allow reversal of their kernels the matter which calls for extensive study and exploration to gain some insights into their nature. This is a synchronic, sociolinguistic study that will investigate the role of gender in the use of Siamese twins both reversible and irreversible, the role of the native language in the employment of certain types, and their frequency and structure. Research dealing with certain kinds of idiomatic language as idioms, proverbs, collocations and others, has been on the splurge but sparse studies have been exclusively devoted to investigating Siamese twins as an integral part of the rich vocabulary of the English language particularly in the speeches of political leaders and renowned figures worldwide in certain areas of expertise. (khatibzadeh & Sameri, 2013) This analytical study will provide insights into their internal structure, frequency, and incorporation into learning at large. Based on a corpus of fifty two international speeches taken from American rhetoric and the British library archives, amongst others, by means of which 26 men's speeches native and non-native and 26 women's speeches native and non-native speakers of English, during a time span extending from 1900-2000, the selected speeches address a wide spectrum of topics encompassing inaugural, social, political educational and scientific amongst others. (www.parliament.uk; www.bbc.co.uk; www.theguardian.com, www.americanrhetoric.com; www.history.com) Flamboyance and versatility are purposeful to extract as many binomials as possible for the sake of analysis. Results have yielded (88) instances of binomial occurrences (40) by males and (44) by females revealing that both parameters gender and being a native or non- native speaker scantily impact the use of binomials due to the overall number that shows no grave differences in the identified occurrences. Seen in this light, the findings of this study are unlikely to be in line with any other similar studies. Further conclusions provide some insights into opening new avenues of future research for ardent scholars. Such inadequately touched areas of expertise need exhaustive investigation to manifest these findings or otherwise.

Keywords: English language, universality of binomials, trinomials, speeches, eras, gender, impact, lexical frequency, native, non native speakers.

Introduction

Catalysed academic concerns have been observed so far to tackle the issue of idiomaticity in the English language on the whole. Research has shown conceptual diversity and overlapping boundaries as far as Siamese twins are concerned. At times, they are aligned under idioms, at others under Siamese twins so that general consensus on a specific label is still missing and a lack of a delineated clear –cut definition is also missing. The vast majority of research has been devoted to exploring their structure rather than usage, or reasons. The label Siamese twins originated with the well-reported case of the conjoined twins from Siam, Chang & Eng Bunker. With regard to language, the lexicographer H.W. Fowler was the first to come up with this label. www.wikipedia.com.

Other labels include irreversible binomials, a term coined by Malkiel (1959; Bolinger 1962; Gustafsson 1984; Kadi1988; Saied 2010), freezes, (Cooper & Ross 1975; Oden & Lopes 1981; Gill 1988), doublets; conjoined lexical pairs, twins, expressions, Bakir (1999) cited in (Gorgis & Al-Tamimi 2005), also trinomials are labelled as triplets and in some instances quartets. However, in this research the term binomials will be used for the sake of precision and accuracy. Unlike idioms, multi word phrases, proverbs and collocations that have undergone extensive investigation, binomials, trinomials and their cohorts in the English language have received less focus. (Malkiel 1959). Binomials are defined by the Oxford online dictionary as: a noun phrase with two heads joined by a conjunction, in which the order is relatively fixed as in knife and fork. Malkiel (1959 p. 113) defines binomials as: the sequence of two words pertaining to the same form-class, placed on an identical level of syntactic hierarchy, and ordinarily connected by some kind of lexical link. Another definition is provided by Gustafsson (1975:9) in which she states : a sequence of two words pertaining to the same form- class, placed on an identical level of syntactic hierarchy and ordinarily connected by some kind of lexical link. Such pair of words is conventionally linked by a syntactic device; as conjunction and, a preposition or, that either allows exchange of order or is totally irreversible. In accordance with the Encyclopaedia Britannica their number amounts to 1300 instances. As an etymological root, their origin dates back to the mid 16th century showing French etymological roots binome or modern Latin binomium from bi- having two + Greek nomos meaning part, portion. (Ibid). The British National Corpus (BNS) has provided comprehensive lists of binomials and their structure. Research has also dealt with a host of disparate types of binomials some of which are reversible while others are not. Now why there is reversibility or irreversibility or formulaic or conventional lexical pairs remain an intriguing matter that has to do with various factors which are beyond the scope of this study.

Language users have to abide by the rules and regulations that govern any language, therefore, reversing the order would result in highly marked binomials that fail to conform to the customary pattern. Put simply, reversal is not in accordance with the whims of the language users. Nonetheless, here are some examples to illustrate the various types of binomials for the sake of clarification: a binomial joined by a conjunction- and, as in airs and graces (nouns); Ps and Qs (nouns), whinge and whine (verbs), meet and greet (verbs) by and large (adverbs) black and white (adjectives); linked by –or, nor as in the chicken or the egg (nouns); better or worse (adjectives), rain or shine (verbs); neither fish nor fowl (nouns), neither love nor money (nouns); sooner or later (adverbs), all or nothing (determiners), with opposites and antonyms as in war and peace, victory and defeat, in sickness and in health; with related words and synonyms as in by hook or by crook, heart and soul, leaps and bounds; with alliteration as in bag and baggage, fur and feathers, kith and kin; with numbers as in 9/11, four score and seven; with rhymes and similar –sounding words as in chalk and talk, fender bender, hocus pocus; with repetition as in an eye for an eye, hand in hand, again and again; with rhyming slang as in apples and pears, bottle and glass, Brahms and Liszt; other particles as in rags to riches; tit for tat, and variants as in trinomials, in blood, sweat and tears; big, fat and ugly; life, liberty and property; sugar and spice and everything nice. A reversible binomial on the other hand, alternates its kernels as in friends and allies, allies and friends where both binomials are used. Other relating terms as fossils contain obsolete words that allow no recyclability apart from the contexts in which they occur as in much ado about nothing, let bygones be bygones, and lastly, by dint of, which serve as illustrative examples. www.wikipedia.org. (Biber et al. 1999)

Figurative, idiomatic language merits investigation as it constitutes an integral part of any language that is supposed to add much glamour to its ubiquitous nuances. The universality of binomials and trinomials is evident in many other languages as German, Arabic, Kurdish and others as well. (Schlegel, Egger & Braun 2014; Doblin 1981; Gorgis & Al-Tamimi 2005; Jasim 2009). As for statement of research problem, it is twofold: firstly, to find out the role of gender in employing binomials regardless of their (ir)reversibility, and secondly, to investigate the role of the native language in using binomials by analysing fifty two selected speeches from different eras in the twentieth century.

The purpose and significance of this research is that it capitalizes on the role of gender in the usage of binomials evident in international speeches in a certain century as the twentieth, and whether being a native speaker of English is a source of empowerment or has a minor role. Research carried out so far has focused on other areas of interest leaving a lacuna in this field. To fill this gap, the present study aims at exploring selective speeches of renowned intellectuals, politicians and reformers whose native language is English as a first language or second or eventually target language. It is hoped that this research paper would provide some insights into the minutiae of the concepts thus opening new avenues of future research for fervent scholars.

Review of Related Literature

Affluent research has profoundly dealt with the aggregate umbrella term of language idiomaticity. In a meticulous study on the issue of binomials, Abraham, (1950) has conducted a study on comparative lexicography. The issue of freezes/ fixedness has been tackled. Binomials or coordinates as he labels them, which do not allow reversal of kernels, are called freezes. Examples have been cited as dead or alive, sooner or later. Other binomials are subject to reversing the order as in cat and dog; ham and eggs as he points out. Also reference is made to what he labels triplets i.e. consisting of three words as in Jesus, Mary and Joseph; red, white and blue; men, women and children; and a quite few quadruplets or quadrinomials i.e. consisting of four words as in blood, toil, tears, and sweat; which has been abbreviated into blood, sweat and tears.

An extensive treatment of binomials has been given by Cooper and Ross (1975). Their main concern was to investigate why certain binomials have fixed order and what types of linguistic environment call for their usage as phonological, semantic or otherwise. They have suggested that semantic constraints outrank phonological ones.

In Benor & Levy's study (2006) the chicken or the egg; they tackle the issue of ordering preferences in English binomials and the degree of fixedness. Data was elicited from online corpora encompassing (692) binomial tokens. Binomials exhibit semantic, metrical and frequency constraints. In their study, three frame works have been implemented for analysis: traditional optimality theory, stochastic optimality theory and logistic regression.

Another study that focuses on binomials in the realm of translation has been done by Hejazi & Dastjerdi (2015). They have sought to test the naturalness of translated binomials in hard news along with the most frequently used translation strategies. To achieve their goal, they have resorted to Vinay & Darbelnet's categorization of strategies as their model of study. Results have underscored the most frequently used strategies in order as literal translation, modulation, transposition, loan translation and calque. Gender has also played a role as males showed preference to literal translation more than modulation on the grounds that males show a keener interest in hard news while females used modulation more than literal translation probably due to their psychological and emotional attitudes towards hard news.

A similar study conducted in the realm of translation has been carried out by Carvalho (2008).The researcher maintains that Brazilian translators show a tendency to literally translate binomials which eventually leads to failing to achieve accuracy in a certain discourse. A deep knowledge of the target language is deemed highly necessary in the attempt of translating binomials.

Another study that deals with the translation of binomials in political speeches has been conducted by Khatibzadeh & Sameri (2013). Their study aimed at evaluating the naturalness of translated binomials in political speeches and the strategies that were used to achieve this purpose. Ten speeches delivered by Iranian political leaders during the years 2005- 2012 served as the source of data elicitation. Results have yielded a number of 147 binomial expressions. Most of them were pertinent to the noun-phrase category (75.2%), then adjectival phrases (16.8%), verb phrases (6.4%) and adverbial phrases (1.6%). Their findings were in line with Carvalho's study (2006), and Gorgis & Al-Tamimi's study (2005) showing similar percentages of certain categories. Various strategies were implemented in the task of translation as literal translation, equivalence, modulation, adaptation, transposition, loan translation and calque. They conclude that it is if a prime concern to adhere to the conventions of the target language to achieve accuracy and proper conveyance of the intended meaning so as not to be lost in translation. They further emphasize the point that binomials should be appropriately introduced to the translators upon embarking on the translation task as well as they should be incorporated as an integral part of the learning process comprising an essential part of the vocabulary and idiomatic repertoire of the learners.

A study focusing on binomials in both Jordanian and Iraqi Arabic was the major area of interest by Gorgis & Al-Tamimi (2005). Their main goal was to find bases of compare and contrast between Iraqi and Jordanian binomials on the one hand, and English on the other in terms of the prevalent order of binomials. Their results showed that due to the fact that both Jordanian and Iraqi Arabic stem from the same source Arabic language, hence having in common some cultural and harmonious backgrounds, the order of conjuncts was the same. Another finding was that constraints on the order in English are not in line with constraints on Arabic thus excluding the likelihood of universality of the English constraints.

Testing the awareness of the presence of binomials is the focal point of Alotaibi & Alotaibi (2015). Subjects were 50 EFL Kuwaiti learners by means of which they were given a questionnaire to fill in certain requirements regarding the proper use of binomials.

Results revealed that advanced learners' performance was better than intermediate ones. Moreover, Kuwaiti EFL learners show little awareness of English binomials. This lack of awareness was mostly bound to the fact of L1 negative transfer, lack of exposure and the existence of culture-specific items. Revisiting binomial order in English was the main focus of Mollin's study (2012). She sought to test seventeen different potential ordering constraints semantically, phonologically and word frequency. Based on large online corpora chosen from the British National Corpus (BNC) consisting of 500 high frequency binomials, the reversibility status of binomials served as the focal point. Results indicated that the vast majority of English binomials are reversible though to a smaller rather than larger degree. Moreover, the impact of certain factors contributing to the irreversibility status is investigated for the first time in her study.

Wright et al. (2005) carried out a study to examine gender bias manifested in the precedence of male names over female names as in Romeo and Juliet, Antony and Cleopatra in Shakespearean plays to cite some examples. Precedence has to do with constraints on gender, phonology and frequency. They observed that such preference is extended to be manifested in cartoons, comics, movies, TV shows and even since antiquity as Adam and Eve, Samson and Delilah amongst many others. Based on a rich corpus of popular American names comprising 100 pairs of written names, these were presented to 46 university undergraduates along with experimental data. Analysis demonstrated that preferences have to do with different phonological properties as male names have less syllables, more initial and front consonants, exhibit more obstruent final segment and display the likelihood of with a voiced obstruent and a plosive. Female names on the other hand show a tendency of having vowels that are high and front. They concluded that gender, phonology and frequency play a vital role in the ordering process. Hence, such bias as male names coming first exhibit first position phonology whereas female names show second position phonology.

Fenk-Oczion (1989) conducted a study on German-English binomials. A compare and contrast base served as the source of data elicitation. She states that the more frequent item takes the driver's seat followed by the less frequent one taking the back seat. She analyzed 400 frozen binomials in both English and German. A study conducted by Jasim (2009) aimed at investigating the advanced Iraqi EFL learners' mastery of using English irreversible binomials. Another aim was to prove the existence of this language phenomenon in English, German, Kurdish and Arabic. A further goal was to test students' proficiency in the mastery of using binomials. Data was gathered from fourth year students studying English language and translation at the University of Mosul/ Iraq during the academic year 2006-2007. Upon completing the required test for data extraction, results showed that students do face a difficulty in knowing irreversible binomials semantically and how to use them adequately in discourse. The researcher recommends their incorporation as an integral part of lexicology as such endeavour might facilitate achieving native-like fluency.

Methodology, Procedures and Data Elicitation

The corpus for this current research paper has been selected from online American library, American rhetoric, BNC and other online sites. Fifty two speeches (26 men's, both native and non native), and (26 women's both native and non native), have been chosen through a time span extending from 1900 to 2000 ranging from political leaders to writers, social reformers, journalists and scientists in order to get flamboyance and versatility. No specific criterion has been adhered to in the process of selection. Choice has been made in accordance with the available varied topics, eras, outstanding achievements and renowned figures. The selected speeches were printed out, meticulously read and scrutinized, and instances of binomial and trinomial occurrences identified, counted and categorized.

(See appendix III. for details)

Data Analysis

Speeches delivered by male participants showed an instance of (40) binomials exhibiting a rather modest number of binomials. On the other hand, female participants showed somewhat richer instances of binomial occurrences amounting to (44).

Table 1: Distribution of variables by male speeches

Gender	Native	Non- native	Number of binomials by natives	Number of binomials by non- natives	Total number of occurrences
Male participants	13	13	17	23	40

Table 2: Distribution of variables by female speeches

Gender	Natives	Non- natives	Number of binomials by natives	Number of binomials by non- natives	Total number of occurrences
Female participants	13	13	27	17	44

Results

Results have revealed that being a native speaker contributes rather poorly to the frequency of occurrences as the number of the used binomials by males is (17) natives while it is (27) by females. Moreover, gender scantily impacts the use of binomials as the number of binomial occurrences is (40) by males and (44) by females. The total number of used binomials by both categories gender and native speakers reached (84). It could be argued that both variables gender and native-speakers or non- native speakers, hardly show grave differences so as to come up with genuine outcomes. As for the types that have been identified, they are in accordance binomial categorization by Biber et al. (1999: 1030-36):

Table 3: The four major groups and the number of occurrences by both gender and native/ non- native participants

Gender	V+V	N+N	Adj. +Adj.	Adv.+Adv.	Quantifiers	Trinomial	Total number
Male natives	0	7	3	5	1	1	17
Male NNs	0	12	5	6	0	0	23
Female natives	1	17	4	3	1	1	27
Female NNs	1	12	2	2	0	0	17

Discussion and Recommendation

With regard to the revealed results, neither gender nor being a native or non- native speaker has affected the frequency of occurrences as the number of used binomials has shown almost no apparent differences. Hence, and contrary to expectations, one could argue that native speakers are likely to use binomials more than non- native speakers as their overall knowledge, exposure, authenticity and mastery are supposed to exceed non –natives. However, other variables not tested in this study, are likely to impact the frequency of usage. Factors as educational and cultural backgrounds, exposure and profession, realm of expertise, other parameters that are in line with the overall setting and background of the speaker could eventually play a role in the employment of binomials. Results have also concluded that these findings are not consistent with any other studies tackled so far. Accordingly, much fervent research is highly needed in these areas of interest thus opening new avenues for zealous scholars.

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- <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/top100speechesall.html>
- <http://www.winstonchurchill.org/resources/speeches/>
- <http://www.historyplace.com/speeches/previous.htm>
- <http://www.biographyonline.net/speeches.html>
- <http://www.abc.net.au/rn/features/speeches/>
- <http://www.history.com/speeches>
- <http://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/series/greatspeeches>
- <http://www.famous-speeches-and-speech-topics.info/famous-speeches/>
- http://www.emersonkent.com/famous_speeches_in_history.htm
- <http://www.mkgandhi.org/speeches/speechMain.htm>
- <http://www.parliament.uk/search/results/?q=queen+elizabeth+coronation+speech+>
- <http://www.bbc.co.uk/search?q=winston%20churchill%20speeches>

Appendices

Appendix A

A list of the selected speeches by males

- Nelson Mandela's Free at Last speech delivered at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg, South Africa - May 2, 1994.
 Mark Twain's Votes for Women speech, delivered at the Temple Emmanuel in New York, N.Y. - January 20, 1901
 Albert Einstein's Wonders of Science speech, delivered at Berlin, Germany - August 22, 1930.
 Adolf Hitler's Appeal to the Nation, translated from German to English, recorded on July 15, 1932.
 Winston Churchill's *Blood, Toil, Tears, and Sweat* speech, delivered before the House of Commons, London, UK - May 13, 1940.
 Charles de Gaulle's The Flame of French Resistance speech, delivered at London, UK - June 18, 1940.
 Jawaharlal Nehru's The Light Has Gone out of Our Lives radio address, national broadcast from All India Radio, New Delhi, India - January 30, 1948.
 Che Guevara's Homeland or Death speech, delivered before the United Nations General Assembly in New York City - December 11, 1964.
 Mikhail Gorbachev's Freedom of Choice speech, delivered at the 43rd U.N. General Assembly Session in New York, N.Y. - December 7, 1988.
 Harry Truman's Doctrine, delivered before a joint session of Congress in Washington D.C. - March 12, 1947.
 Franklin Delano Roosevelt's First Inaugural Address, also called The Only Thing We Have to Fear is Fear Itself speech, delivered on the East Portico of the U.S. Capitol at Washington D.C. - March 4, 1933.
 Ronald Reagan's Tear Down This Wall speech, delivered at the Brandenburg Gate, Berlin, Germany - June 12, 1987.
 Ronald Reagan's First Inaugural Address, delivered on the west front of the U.S. Capitol, Washington D.C. - January 20, 1981.
 John F. Kennedy's To the Moon speech, delivered at Rice University in Houston, Texas - September 12, 1962.
 Martin Luther King's I Have a Dream speech, delivered on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial at Washington D.C. August 28, 1963
 Joseph Stalin: Victory Speech Broadcast from Moscow on May 9, 1945
 Leader's speech, Brighton 1971 Edward Heath (Conservative)
 Leader's speech, Brighton 1995 Tony Blair (Labor)
 Leader's speech, Blackpool 1999 William Hague (Conservative)
 Earl Spencer theguardian.com
 John Kerry April 23, 1971 Vietnam Veterans Against the War Statement to the Senate Committee of Foreign Relations
 Martin Luther King, Jr. Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech, December 10, 1964, Jesse Jackson's *Address to the Democratic National Convention* delivered at San Francisco, CA - July 18, 1984.
 Barack Obama's New Hampshire Primary Speech, aka the *Yes, We Can* speech, delivered at the Nashua High School South, Nashua, New Hampshire,
 John F. Kennedy presidential inaugural address 1961
 The Perils of Indifference Elie Wiesel April 12, 1999 Washington, D.C.

Appendix B

A list of the selected speeches by females

- Anna Howard Shaw's *Eulogy to Susan B. Anthony* speech, delivered at Rochester, New York - March 15, 1906.
 E. Church Terrell's *What It Means to Be Colored in the Capital of the United States* speech, delivered at the United Women's Club in Washington D.C. - October 10, 1906.
 Emmeline Pankhurst's Freedom or Death speech, delivered at Hartford, Connecticut - November 13, 1913.
 Margaret Sanger's The Children's Era speech, delivered in New York, N.Y. - March 30, 1925.
 Eleanor Roosevelt's *Struggle for Human Rights* speech, delivered at the Sorbonne, Paris, France - September 28, 1948.
 Margaret Chase Smith's *Declaration of Conscience*, delivered at Washington D.C. - June 1, 1950.
 Queen Elizabeth II's speech, delivered on the evening of her coronation day at London, United Kingdom — June 2, 1953.
 Shirley Chisholm's Equal Rights for Women speech, delivered at Washington D.C. - May 21, 1969.
 Hillary Rodham's Wellesley Student Commencement Speech delivered at Wellesley, MA — May 31, 1969.

- Betty Friedan's testimony at the judiciary hearing considering George Harrold Carswell's Supreme Court nomination, U.S. Senate, Washington D.C. — January 27, 1970.
- Barbara C. Jordan's opening statement at the U.S. House Judiciary Committee Impeachment Hearings, her *The Constitutional Basis for Impeachment* speech, delivered at Washington D.C. - July 25, 1974.
- Margaret Thatcher's Britain Awake speech, delivered at Kensington Town Hall, Chelsea, London, UK - January 19, 1976.
- Mother Teresa's Love Begins at Home speech, delivered at Oslo, Norway - December 11, 1979.
- Aung San Suu Kyi's Opening Keynote Address at the NGO Forum on Women delivered via video at Huairou, China — August 31, 1995.
- Benazir Bhutto's Equality and Partnership speech, delivered at Beijing, China - September 4, 1995.
- Hillary Clinton's Women's Rights Are Human Rights speech, delivered at the Fourth U.N. World Conference on Women, Beijing, China - September 5, 1995
- Diana, Princess of Wales Responding To Landmines: A Modern Tragedy and Its Consequences.
- Rosalynn Carter .Remarks Of Rosalynn Carter, Honorary Chair of Last Acts
- Indira Gandhi at the Golden Jubilee Celebrations Of The Indraprastha College For Women New Delhi, India November 23, 1974 What Educated Women Can Do
- Margaret Chase Smith .Declaration of Conscience June 1, 1950
- Bella Abzug. Plenary Address, Fourth World Conference on Women September 12, 1995. Beijing, China
- Indira Gandhi at the Inauguration of the All-India Women's Conference Building Complex. True Liberation of Women New Delhi, India. March 26, 1980
- Emma Goldman. What Is Patriotism? 1908. San Francisco, California
- Anita Hill's Opening Statement of her Testimony, delivered at the Russell Senate Office Building before the Senate Judiciary Committee, Washington D.C. — October 11, 1991.
- Ida B. Wells. Lynch Law in America January 1900 Chicago
- Fannie Lou Hamer. Speech given at the Democratic National Convention

Appendix C

A list of used binomials

Male, natives (some binomials are used multiple times)

1. Ladies and gentlemen
2. By and by
3. Blood, toil, tears and sweat
4. Hearts and minds
5. Hand in hand
6. Old and young
7. Each and every
8. Time to time
9. In and out
10. Men and women
11. Good or ill
12. Internal and external
13. Time and place
14. Friend and foe
15. Year in and year out
16. Dusk and dawn
17. Light and darkness
18. Crime and punishment
19. Cruelty and compassion
20. Good and evil

Male, Non natives (some binomials are used many times)

21. Men and women
22. Body and soul
23. Day by day

24. Minute by minute
25. Oppressors and the oppressed
26. Day after day
27. Side by side
28. Again and again
29. Trials and tribulations
30. Sisters and brothers
31. Red, white and blue
32. Over and over again
33. Rich or poor
34. Black or white
35. Doctors and patients
36. Coast to coast
37. Husband and wife
38. White and black

Female, natives (some binomials are used many times)

39. Hand in hand
40. First and last
41. Life and death
42. Man and woman
43. Cat and mouse
44. Men and women
45. Ladies and gentlemen
46. Loudly and clearly
47. Liberty, equality, fraternity
48. Once and for all
49. Boy and girl
50. Large and small
51. Peace and security
52. Far and wide
53. Near or far
54. Old and new
55. Pass or fail
56. Time and time again
57. Doctors and nurses

Females non- natives (some binomials are used many times)

58. Sooner or later
59. Bang – bang
60. Sons and daughters
61. Boys and girls
62. Father and mother
63. Young and old
64. Male and female
65. Old and modern
66. Step by step
67. Women and men

(The researcher is a polyglot of Arabic, English and German.)