

A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Language of *Satyagraha* in Selected Speeches by Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King

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Abstract

In the contemporary world, marked by global transformations and challenges, humanity grapples with persistent issues of terrorism, violence, and discrimination. This study explored the linguistic features employed by Gandhi and King in expressing the philosophy of *Satyagraha*, as a form of nonviolent resistance. Despite their shared commitment to nonviolence, they represented an East-West cultural dichotomy, with distinct cultural backgrounds influencing their perspectives. The research delved into the speeches of Gandhi, advocating for Indian independence in an Eastern context, and King, championing Black American Civil Rights in a Western context. Through the lens of Critical Discourse Analysis, the study aimed to uncover the linguistic features that mark cultural differences in expressing *Satyagraha*. It was found that linguistic choices underscored the cultural variance between Gandhi and King, representing the East and West, respectively. Also, Gandhi's universal approach contrasted with King's more culturally specific adaptation, illustrating the dynamic interplay between language, culture, and pursuit of justice.

Keywords

Satyagraha, Critical Discourse Analysis , East-West Dichotomy , Nonviolence

المخلص

في العالم المعاصر الذي يتسم بالتحولات والتحديات العالمية، يتصارع الإنسان مع قضايا الإرهاب والعنف والتمييز. تستكشف هذه الدراسة السمات اللغوية التي استخدمها غاندي وكينج في التعبير عن فلسفة "ساتياجراها" كنوع من المقاومة التي تتبع سياسة عدم العنف. على الرغم من إعتادهما المشترك على عدم العنف، إلا أنهما رمزان لتناقض الثقافات بين الشرق والغرب، حيث تؤثر خلفياتهما الثقافية المتباينة من

توجهاتهما. من خلال اعتماد تحليل الخطاب النقدي (CDA)، تهدف الدراسة إلى الكشف عن السمات اللغوية التي تميز الاختلافات الثقافية في التعبير عن "ساتياجراها". تشير النتائج إلى أن اختيارات اللغة تسلط الضوء على التباين الثقافي بين غاندي وكينج، حيث خلصت النتائج إلى إشارات غاندي إلى البريطانيين كـ "المحتلين الأجانب" وبناء علاقة وثيقة بين المجتمعات الهندية والمسلمة، مما يبرز رؤيته كشخصية شرقية تتحدى القمع الغربي. بينما يعالج كينج، كـ ممثل للثقافة الغربية، قضايا اجتماعية ذات صلة بالكنيسة ويستشهد بمؤرخين وشعراء غربيين، معدداً خطابه ليتناسب مع جمهوره المستهدف. علاوة على ذلك، تناقض النهج العام لغاندي مع التكيف الثقافي الأكثر تحديداً لكينج، مما يوضح التفاعل الدينامي بين اللغة والثقافة والسعي للعدالة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: ساتياجراها، تحليل الخطاب النقدي، تناقض الثقافات بين الشرق والغرب ، عدم العنف

1. Introduction

Despite the tremendous change in different fields of human life, humanity has reached a critical juncture today. Earlier, the twentieth century had witnessed more human-perpetrated deaths, destruction, and violence, that which gave rise to advancements in the field of nonviolence. Some communities that once thrived on war and violence began to realize the futility of hatred and to look for alternative paths. One of the most prominent figures in the quest for nonviolence was Mahatma Gandhi, who was regarded by many as a savior. His philosophical theory of nonviolence was founded upon an approach of civil disobedience (Banerjee, 2018).

Gandhi's nonviolence was coined under the philosophy of *Satyagraha*, meaning "truth-force" or "soul-force" and was referred to as the new militancy (Nojeim, 2005). It is this power, or force, that could peacefully transform a conflict, leading to a truly just resolution. In simple terms, *Satyagraha* stood for nonviolent resistance or nonviolent campaigning and was common ground between Gandhi and King. They were both men of action who wished to agitate for change without harming others. Gandhi and King were driven the most by their strong faiths, which informed their philosophical commitment to nonviolence and also compelled them to social activism. Thus, it is evident that both politicians followed similar ideologies of nonviolence and adopted the same philosophy of *Satyagraha*. However, they came from two different worlds, representing an East-West dichotomy. The East-West dichotomy here is thus the perceived difference between the Eastern and the Western worlds defined by cultural and religious variation rather than by geographical divisions.

Most studies focused on either the linguistic features alone or on the thematic representations in their speeches. Moreover, there are many ways in which power and domination can be reproduced in text and speech; this has been critically analyzed. Yet, several methodological and theoretical gaps remain. The interface

between discourse structures and the global social context is seldom made explicit. Thus, despite a large number of empirical studies on discourse and power, the details of the multidisciplinary theory of CDA that relate discourse to cognition and global issues are still on the agenda (van Dijk as cited in Schiffrin, Tannen, & Hamilton, 2001). It is true that several CDA studies have been conducted on speeches by Gandhi and King, to provide insights into the ideologies adopted by the orators, however, no one has tackled the East-West cultural dichotomy they represented.

Thus, this study not only deals with the linguistic features through which the philosophy of *Satyagraha* is depicted in the selected speeches, but also focuses on the cultural identity represented by each politician. The paper will answer the research questions: 1) *What are the most frequent experiential features used to link the speeches with reality?* 2) *How is intertextuality used in the speeches to reflect the speakers' backgrounds?*

2. Literature Review

2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Since the late 1980s, critical discourse analysis (CDA) has become a well-established field in the social sciences (Wodak, 2014). Much of the success of CDA goes back to the pioneering works of analysts such as Teun van Dijk, Ruth Wodak and Norman Fairclough (Billig, 2000 as cited in Weiss and Wodak, 2007).

According to Fairclough (2013), CDA has general characteristics; it is not just a tool for analyzing discourse, it is part of some form of transdisciplinary analysis of relations between discourse and other elements of the social process. Fairclough (1989) described his approach in the perspective of the analysis of text as critical language study. His main focus was to unfold how language is employed in articulating discrimination of social relations and discursive practices. CDA for Fairclough is concerned with the investigation of the relation between two assumptions about language use: that language use is both socially shaped and socially shaping. Fairclough and Wodak (1997, as cited in Schiffrin, Tannen, and Hamilton, 2001) summarize the main tenets of CDA, some of which are that CDA addresses social problems, that power relations are discursive, and that discourse constitutes society and culture.

In a nutshell, based on such tenets, discourse is a form of social action embodied in language and unraveled through discourse analysis. Fairclough adopts a three-dimensional model consisting of text description, discourse practice, and social practice. He bases his text description on the multifunctional linguistic theory of Halliday's systemic functional linguistics to analyze the formal properties of the text. Discourse practice tackles intertextuality, while the final level of social practice is concerned with the three aspects of the sociocultural context of a communicative event, the economic, political, and cultural.

2.1.1CDA of Political Speeches

Halliday's SFL has been employed in several studies on political speeches for purposes of critical discourse analysis. Sharififar and Rahimi (2015) conducted a study analyzing speeches by Obama and Rouhani using Halliday's SFL, focusing mainly on transitivity and modality to represent how the two presidents' language incorporates both ideology and power in their political speeches. In other words, the study aimed to identify how they manifested their power, capabilities, and policies through language. Regarding transitivity analysis, it was found that both addressers heavily used the material processes of "doing" and "happening" more than the other processes, which was prevalent in Obama's speech at a wider scale than Rouhani's. Analyzing modality, both presidents' use of modal verbs showed their firm plan to fulfill their tasks as well as a desire to shorten the distance between the president and the audience. Moreover, to persuade the audience to have faith in the government's ability to overcome the difficulties that their country may confront in the future, the presidents employed modal verbs in their inaugural speeches, especially the frequent use of will and can. Thus, using Halliday's transitivity as a tool for critical discourse analysis provided insight on both presidents' presidential agendas.

Another study (Al-Majali, 2015) explored the salient linguistic features of the political speeches of the ousted Arab presidents during the Arab Spring Revolution from December 2010 to December 2012. The sample included three speeches delivered by the Tunisian president, Zain Al-Abdeen Bin Ali; three speeches by the Egyptian president, Hosni Mubarak; and one speech by the Libyan president, Muammer Al-Gaddafi. The analysis was conducted using Halliday and Hasan's (1976) framework of lexical cohesion to investigate the three categories repetition, synonymy, and collocation. The study revealed that two forms of repetition, word strings and parallel structures, were employed in these speeches to reinforce different political strategies and ideologies such as the strategy of threatening the civil protesters. In terms of the second type of lexical cohesion, synonymy, the study demonstrated that most of the synonymous terms used in these speeches reflected a sense of peace and liberty and the meaning of growth and safety, portraying a positive picture of the presidents' ego that contradicted the reality of their homelands. Concerning the final category, it was evident that collocation was idiosyncratic and could not be predicted easily in terms of the meaning of the associated words. Overall, the results revealed that the political speeches which were delivered during the Arab Spring Revolution had distinctive features which were different from those features of the usual speeches of the same presidents during normal circumstances.

One of the reasons for investigating political speeches is helping to understand the covert ideology of politicians and their techniques of influencing the public on diverse causes through their speeches. Depending on Fairclough's critical discourse

analysis (CDA) and Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (SFL), Al-Mudhafar (2019) investigated Barack Obama's implicit meanings and linguistic elements used to persuade the audience with his policies, analyzing five of his selected speeches on the representation of Iraq's war against Daesh (Isis). In his speeches, Obama emphasized two adverse views: the brutality of Isis versus the power of America to fight terrorism in an attempt to convince the public of the necessity of taking ground in Iraq to fight terrorism. Specifically, the study focused on nominalization, transitivity, and passivization. Nominalization in political discourse, expressing actions as concepts, carries different ideological functions. With regards to Obama's selected speeches, most of Isis' brutal processes against Iraqi people were nominalized as entities, like "incursion", "threat", "killing", "kidnapping", and "disruption," explicitly foregrounding Isis as a terrorist organization causing all kinds of hardships. Despite this, America was perceived as the greatest power that can defeat such an enemy through the use of different material processes, such as "defeat, improved, engaged, support, expand, and shifted," emphasizing the American military power and ability of taking action and eradicating terrorism. In terms of passivization, Obama mostly used the active voice to draw a terrible picture of terrorism in the minds of the Americans and people in general, and to simultaneously emphasize America's military, political and economic power to fight terrorism and defeat it. In short, through language, Obama attempted to formulate ideologies and instill them in the audience's minds.

3. Data for the Study

The study focuses on three speeches given by Gandhi: "Statement in the Great Trial" (1922) during his historical trial before Mr. C. N. Broomfield, I. C. S. and District and Sessions Judge, Ahmedabad, "The Quit India Speeches" in 1942 in Bombay for all social groups in general and selectively addressing the Muslims and Hindus, and "Speech before Inter-Asian Relations Conference" (1947) in the closing session of the Conference to over 20,000 visitors and delegates. Also, three speeches by King are analyzed: "The Nobel Peace Prize Acceptance Speech" (1964) given in the auditorium of the University of Oslo, "Our God is Marching on" (1965) when he stood in front of the state capital of Alabama in downtown Montgomery before a crowd of 25,000 people after the civil rights protest known as the Selma March claiming voting rights, and "The Three Dimensions of a Complete Life" (1967) addressing every human on how to best live a complete life. Data was retrieved from Gandhi's and King's official websites

(<https://www.mkgandhi.org/speeches/htm>,

<https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/>) constituting around 12 thousand words each.

These speeches were purposively selected for their historical significance, as they represented turning points in the struggle of both leaders and were among the most influential in their public interactions. In fact, some parts are still being quoted today on different occasions. Other reasons behind the selection of such speeches

were the compelling common aspects found between them. The first speech for each of them represented a personal turning point, namely Gandhi's great trial and King's Nobel prize. The second pair is based upon resemblance of form, where both take the form of a guide or manual, in which Gandhi's "The Quit India Speeches" enlists the steps to be taken to reach total Indian freedom, while in "The Three Dimensions of Life" King provides a guide for achieving a complete life, dividing their speeches into three sections addressing different steps. The final speeches were both presented to a large number, tackling public causes of universal interest and marked the end of major political transformations, for Gandhi's "Speech before Inter-Asian Relations Conference" and King's "Our God is Marching On" were given at the closing session of the Inter-Asian Relations Conference and the final day of the Selma March calling for voting rights, respectively. The speeches are also thought to be of relevance to current sociopolitical conflicts and so their analysis might serve as an inspiration or guide for resolving these rising issues, locally and universally.

4. Method of Analysis

Depending on CDA in the analysis unravels the impact of Gandhi's Eastern culture and King's Western culture on their expression of *Satyagraha* in their speeches, calling for the elimination of discrimination. One of the most important linguistic approaches that correlates with the critical discourse methodology is Halliday's Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL). It is regarded by some linguists as the optimal choice for text analysis, being described as having a significant role in critical interpretation of linguistic expression in various discourses for the purpose of revealing hidden ideologies (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999; Fairclough, 1992, 1995; & Kress, 1985). Thus, this study is concerned with analyzing three selected speeches for each of Gandhi and King. Using CDA at the macro-level and employing Halliday's SFL at the micro-level of analysis helps to highlight the major aspects in these speeches, revealing their hidden ideology and shedding light on Gandhi's influence on the King. It adopts a mixed method research design to investigate the linguistic devices employed in Gandhi's and King's selected speeches and to show how such devices are used to advocate nonviolence and the philosophy of *Satyagraha*. The qualitative CDA analysis provides an exploration of the ideologies expressed in the speeches, providing an in-depth exposition of nonviolence representation. The comparison of the orators is assisted by the quantitative aspect which calculates the frequency of use of metafunctions through descriptive statistics. This is followed by tracing elements of intertextuality, with special focus on religious allusions, and is further assisted by pinpointing the discursual aspects and social practice elements in each speech.

5. Analysis and Discussion

5.1 CDA of Gandhi's Speeches

5.1.1 Textual Context

5.1.1.1 Text Description

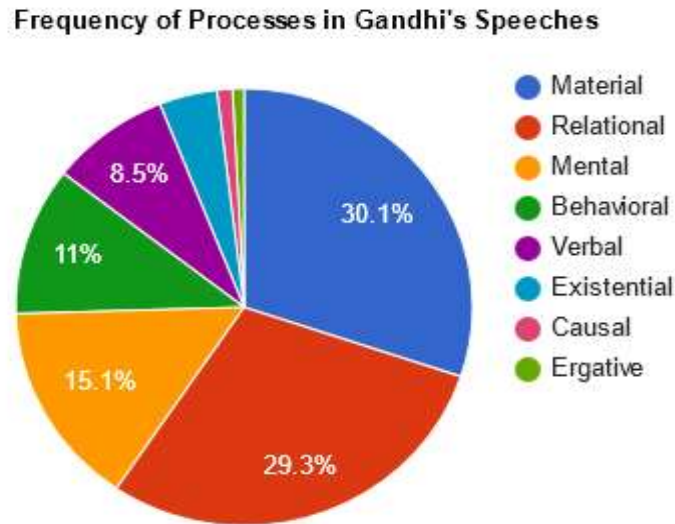
Having conducted Halliday's transitivity analysis on the speeches under study, it was found how Gandhi's *Satyagraha* is omnipresent in his linguistic choices. In its core meaning, *Satyagraha* refers to nonviolence and passive resistance, yet this does not mean inaction. In alignment with this definition, the three most frequently found processes in his speeches are the material, relational, and mental with 30%, 29%, and 15%, respectively (See Fig. 1). With regard to material processes, the main actors are "I, the Prophet, God, Islam, we, and you" reflecting self-empowerment, communion with Muslims, and audience involvement in action. Self-empowerment is seen in extracts like "I fought for cooperation," "I will go ahead not for India's sake alone, but for the sake of the world," "I will have to resist the might of that Empire with the might of the dumb millions with no limit but of nonviolence as policy confined to this struggle," "It is to join a struggle for such democracy that I invite you today," "In India too I continued my efforts and left no stone unturned to achieve that unity," and "At a time when I may have to launch the biggest struggle of my life, I may not harbor hatred against anybody." Extracts show how Gandhi was willing to save no effort to claim freedom, yet asserting nonviolence. Communion with Muslims is established through "How did the Prophet work among the Arabs and the Mussalmans," "God has vouchsafed to me a priceless gift in the weapon of Ahimsa," "Islam enjoins you not to revile even an enemy," to mention but a few. Audience participation and responsibility in the pursuit of freedom can be traced in "I know the British Government will not be able to withhold freedom from us, when we have made enough self-sacrifice," "You should now wind up your standing committee, and you may declare that you will give up the pen only when India has won her freedom," "You shall not limit my concept of freedom," "We have thus to deal with an empire whose ways are crooked," "However gigantic the preparations that the empire has made, we must get out of its clutches," "You may take it from me that one day you will regret the fact that you distrusted and killed one who was a true and devoted friend of yours," and "But in the present struggle, we have to work openly and to receive bullets on our chest, without taking to heels." Finally, Indian empowerment is represented in "I know the British Government will not be able to withhold freedom from us, when we have made enough self-sacrifice," "India will wrench with non-violence her liberty from unwilling hands," and "But I trust the whole of India today to launch upon a non-violent struggle", showing how despite the power of the British, with Indian unity and sacrifice, freedom will be attained.

Relational processes appear in second place with almost 30% as well (See Fig. 1), divided evenly between identifying and attributive. Such processes could be

distributed among three main classifications; Gandhi's spiritual beliefs, India's role in Muslims' life and their obligation towards its struggle, and the essence of *Satyagraha*. In "I believe the cow and myself to be the creation of the same God, and I am prepared to sacrifice my life in order to save the cow," and "I am a worshipper of the cow," Gandhi clearly declares his Hinduism. Gandhi's view of India's role in Muslims' life shows a sense of pride as shown in "India belonged as much to the Mussalmans as to the Hindus," "Hindu-Muslim unity is not a new thing," "Millions of Mussalmans in this country come from Hindu stock," "India is without doubt the homeland of all the Mussalmans inhabiting this country," and "Time was when every Mussalman claimed the whole of India as his motherland," resulting in Muslims' obligation to participate in the Indian struggle to pay back for 'their homeland'. One of *Satyagraha*'s main tenets is nonviolence and accordingly Gandhi asserts this in "By that time India will be free, the world will be free," "Non-violence is the first article of my faith," "Non-violence implies voluntary submission to the penalty for non-co-operation with evil," "It believes that true democracy can only be the outcome of non-violence," "We are pledged to non-violence," and "I know how imperfect our Ahimsa is and how far away we are still from the ideal, but in Ahimsa there is no final failure or defeat." Also, referring to the whole world and collocating nonviolence with spiritual aspects provides his philosophy a touch of universality.

Gandhi plays on the minds and hearts of his audience, which is reflected in an almost equal use of mental processes of cognition and emotion, with 20 and 18 occurrences, respectively, followed by desideration appearing 13 times. The main sensors found are 'I', 'God', and 'Hindus and Mussalmans' with the different subtypes. 'I' occurs in instances when Gandhi instills his beliefs and how his pursuit for freedom is marked by spirituality and tolerance even towards the occupier as in "I visualize God in the assemblage of people," "I, therefore, want freedom immediately, this very night, before dawn, if it can be had," "It is for the same reason that I do not believe in the possibility of establishing world peace through violence as the English and American statesmen propose to do," "I have noticed that there is hatred towards the British among the people," and "Speaking for myself, I can say that I have never felt any hatred." He further highlights the element of spirituality showing that his beliefs and actions are all under God's guidance "God will not forgive me," "God dislikes pride and keeps away from it," "God would not tolerate a forcible imposition of an untruth," and "God has now inspired me with an urge for freedom." Finally, in "we Hindus and Mussalmans mean to achieve a heart unity" and "Millions of Hindus and Mussalmans have sought after it" reflect the recurrent bonding between Hindus and Mussalmans gaining wider support for his cause.

Fig. 1: Frequency of Processes in Gandhi’s Speeches



5.1.1.2 Discourse Practice

In terms of the discursual devices found in Gandhi’s first speech, and due to the occasion where it was said, namely his trial, most of them reflect an element of self-responsibility. Modals range between self-obligation in “I should explain why from a staunch loyalist and co-operator, I have become an uncompromising disaffectionist and non-cooperator” and “I should say why I plead guilty to the charge of promoting disaffection towards the Government established by law in India,” and external power in “But I had to make my choice” and “I had either to submit to a system which I considered had done an irreparable harm to my country, or incur the risk of the mad fury of my people bursting forth when they understood the truth from my lips.” The two pronouns mainly used are ‘I’ and ‘they’, yet, ‘I’ is the most prevalent indicating Gandhi’s commitment to the cause of pursuing India’s freedom and his confession of being responsible for the actions that led to his imprisonment. Religious intertextuality is marked in describing what took place in Chauri Chaura as ‘diabolical crimes’, considering acceptance of the British rule and noncooperation in his nonviolent resistance as a ‘sin’ and ‘evil’, and finally referring to the Muslim body ‘Khilafat’. Repetition aligns with the same concepts of self-obligation, religious involvement, and external control over him in, to mention but a few; “my painful duty,” “to preach disaffection,” and “I had no rights,” respectively (See Table 1).

Table 1:

The Distribution of Discoursal Devices in Gandhi’s Statement in the Great Trial

Intertextuality	Modals	Repetition	Pronouns
diabolical crimes	Self-obligation	to preach disaffection	I
a sin	External power	commenced much earlier	they
evil		my painful duty	
Khilafat		the highest penalty	
		I had no rights	
		I raised a volunteer	
		little do know	
		the foreign exploiter	
		noncooperation	

Modals in The Quit India Speeches embody strong necessity in “I must bow my head low” and “I must not suppress the voice of conscience – promoting of my inner basic nature today” reflecting that action needs to be immediately taken for freeing India, followed by a declaration of willingness to take such action in “the Congress will do or die.” Again, Gandhi asserts his commitment to the cause with a prevailing use of the pronoun ‘I’, along with recurrent use of ‘they’ referring to the British and Americans, creating a sense of exclusion and minimizing their authority through extracts like “They are free after their own fashion,” “If they will know the real freedom they should come to India,” and “They have to come not with pride or arrogances but in the spite of real earnest seekers of truth.” Intertextuality is represented in Christian terms as the use of ‘humble servant’ in “I appear before you not as your commander but as a humble servant” and “I have been a humble servant of humanity”, as well as ‘I confess’ in “The burden, I confess, would be almost unbearable” and “I confess there are many black sheep amongst us Congressmen.” The term ‘humble servant’ is in fact repeated a couple of times, along with the declaration of strong belief in his people through “But I trust the whole of India today to launch upon a non-violent struggle” and “I trust because of my nature to rely upon the innate goodness of human nature which perceives the truth and prevails during the crisis as if by instinct.”

Table 2:

The Distribution of Discoursal Devices in Gandhi's The Quit India Speeches

Intertextuality	Modals	Repetition	Pronouns
humble servant	Strong necessity	humble servant	I
confess	Willingness	I trust	they

Modality rarely appears in this speech with the sole use of the prediction ‘will’ towards the end of the speech in “You will complete the conquest of the West, not through vengeance, because you have been exploited, but with real understanding,” “if all of you put your hearts together—not merely heads—to understand the secret of the message these wise men of the East have left to us, and us if we really become worthy of that great message, the conquest of the West will be completed” and “This conquest will be loved by the West itself” instilling his nonviolent quest for freedom. Responsibility here is divided between Gandhi himself and the audience as reflected in the use of the pronouns ‘I’ and ‘you’. He pronounces his personal voice in the frequent use of ‘I’ describing his journey and thoughts, while in the closing of his speech he turns to public involvement in action as in “you will complete the conquest” and “you put your hearts together.” Due to the wide range of audience, Gandhi makes diverse religious references in an attempt to touch their hearts not only their minds (See Table 3). Gandhi repetitively refers to how he was viewed in South Africa as part of ‘the minorities’ described as “not only in a hopeless minority, but in a despised minority.” Also, in describing the ‘real’ Indian villages, he uses “dung heap” to highlight how despite the difficult circumstances that Indians live in, they are full of wisdom. Finally, in an act of courage, he bluntly criticizes the West and degrades it, as in “Christianity became disfigured, when it went to the West” and “The West is today pinning for wisdom.”

Table 3:

The Distribution of Discoursal Devices in Gandhi's Speech before Inter-Asian Relations Conference

Intertextuality	Modals	Repetition	Pronouns
Buddha	Prediction	minority	I
Jesus		dung heaps	you
Moses		the West	
Muhammad			
Christianity			
the prophecy of the Bible			

5.1.2 Social Practice

In his landmark speeches that brought India to the threshold of its Independence, Gandhi talks about non-violence and encourages people to unite against the British force and fight for their freedom using non-violent means. He wanted everyone hailing from varied social backgrounds to join him and commit to the idea of independence. Gandhi fashioned a series of nationwide campaigns that decisively transformed the face of Indian politics as seen in his speeches that show a prevalence of spirituality, unity, nonviolence, resistance and persistence. In his *Statement in the Great Trial* for instance, in an effort towards building a Hindu-Muslim unity, Gandhi made common cause with the ill-fated Khilafat campaign that sought to restore the Caliphate in Turkey; in “I fought for co-operation and working of the Montagu-Chemlmsford reforms, hoping that the Prime Minister would redeem his promise to the Indian Mussalmans.” Resistance is seen in consenting to the highest penalty he was to serve for raising disaffection towards the oppressor in “I have no desire whatsoever to conceal from this court the fact that to preach disaffection towards the existing system of Government has become almost a passion with me” and “it is impossible for me to dissociate myself from the diabolical crimes of Chauri Chaura or the mad outrages of Bombay.” He also admits that he had “been playing with fire” showing further resistance. Then, he went on to famously declaim: “I wanted to avoid violence. I want to avoid violence. Non-violence is the first article of my faith. It is also the last article of my creed. But I had to make a choice” instilling his nonviolence. However, the oppressive conditions in India were intolerable and needed a response.

Further, Gandhi made it clear throughout the *Quit India* speech that he was answering what he saw as a divine calling, both in working toward India’s political independence and in how he chose to do so. He spoke repeatedly of *Ahimsa*, showing compassion to others and from which he got his firm belief in nonviolence. He does not only enforce his nonviolence through Ahimsa, but also provides the latter a divine spiritual essence in “God has vouchsafed to me a priceless gift in the weapon of Ahimsa.” Hindu-Muslim unity is also established through “Hindu-Muslim unity is not a new thing” and “It was my life-long aspiration for it that made me offer my fullest co-operation to the Mussalmans in the Khilafat movement.” Addressing a wide scale of audience in this speech, Gandhi takes his cause to universality in “By that time India will be free, the world will be free.” And in fact for his part, he did remain nonviolent and encouraged others to do so, even as he put forward a sort of ultimatum that he and his allies would either make India free or die trying; “Do or Die: we shall free India or die in the attempt”, which became the slogan resistance in the Quit India Movement.

Being attended by over 20,000 visitors and delegates, Gandhi’s speech before Inter-Asian Relations Conference takes a shift in tone towards describing the hardships India was experiencing due to the ‘West’ occupation. This could be in

attempt to touch the audience's hearts and involve them in his cause, which can be attributed to his confession: "I do not want merely to appeal to your head. I want to capture your heart." He further reaches the public's hearts through the diversity in spiritual references to Islam, Christianity, Buddhism ...etc. His tone is one of appealing as well as of persistence to continue the quest for freedom till it is achieved for all, renouncing all forms of violence.

5.2 CDA of King's Speeches

5.2.1 Textual Context

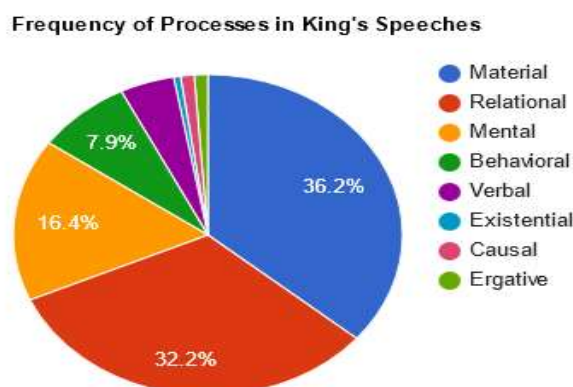
5.2.1.1 Text Description

Adopting Gandhi's *Satyagraha* in thought and action, it was found that King employs the same three most frequent processes in his speeches under study; the material, relational, and mental with 36.2%, 32.2%, and 16.4%, respectively (See Fig. 2). In material processes, King avoids self-representation but rather embraces the minority group to which he belongs as a whole of action and highlights how their call for equality is a God-given cause, for the three main actors are 'we' and 'Negro', as well as 'God'. He empowers the masses by highlighting their unstoppable courage in "Let us march on ballot boxes (Let us march) until we send to our city councils (Yes, sir), state legislatures, (Yes, sir) and the United States Congress, (Yes, sir) men who will not fear to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God," "we continue our forward stride toward the city of freedom," "We are moving to the land of freedom," and "we are exposing the very origin, the root cause, of racial segregation in the Southland." He further asserts this idea of courage in referring to Negroes through "Montgomery was the first city in the South in which the entire Negro community united and squarely faced its age-old oppressors" and "Negroes took it and carried it across the South in epic battles (Yes, sir. Speak) that electrified the nation (Well) and the world," showing how they confronted oppressor with no fear. King solidifies his cause by reference to action taken by the Negroes and Whites together in "That's what happened when the Negro and white masses of the South threatened to unite and build a great society: a society of justice where none would pray upon the weakness of others; a society of plenty where greed and poverty would be done away; a society of brotherhood where every man would respect the dignity and worth of human personality" and "as Negro and white men in increasing numbers create alliances to overcome their common problems," as if they are after one cause together. God is on their side in each step supporting King and his community as clearly stated in "Let us march on ballot boxes (Yes) until all over Alabama God's children will be able to walk the earth in decency and honor," "God gave all of us something significant," "God has structured the universe that way," "God's going to take care of you," "God will fight your battle," and "His (God's) truth is marching on," encouraging them to pursue their action.

Relational processes occupying second most frequent occurrence with 32% range in half between identifying and attributive (See Fig. 2). Identifying processes mainly relate to *Satyagraha* concepts of attributing truth to God and also define the aim King is after. Extracts like “And one of the greatest glories of this new city of God that John saw was its completeness,” “And the height of life is the upward reach for God,” “And God is the only being in the universe that can say "I Am" and put a period behind it,” “This is the God of the universe,” and “You will smile when others around you are crying. This is the power of God” show how he embraces God’s power in all his steps. Several *Satyagraha* elements, such as truth, nonviolence, and love can be seen in “the blazing light of truth is focused on this marvellous age in which we live men and women will know and children will be taught that we have a finer land, a better people, a more noble civilization,” “I believe that unarmed truth and unconditional love will have the final word in reality,” “nonviolence is the answer to the crucial political and moral question of our time,” and “So the length of life means that you must love yourself.” Finally, King refers to his aim of transforming the idea of normalcy from discrimination against his people to: “The only normalcy that we will settle for (Yes, sir) is the normalcy that recognizes the dignity and worth of all of God’s children,” “The only normalcy that we will settle for is the normalcy that allows judgment to run down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream,” and “The only normalcy that we will settle for is the normalcy of brotherhood, the normalcy of true peace, the normalcy of justice.” On the other hand, relational attributive processes are all indicative of renouncing God’s path. For instance, on atheists, he says: “They just become so involved in other things. They become so involved in getting a beautiful car. They become so involved in thinking about man’s progress that they forget to think about the need for God’s power in history.” He further asserts this idea in “In other words, this new city of God, this new city of ideal humanity is not an unbalanced entity, (No) but is complete on all sides” and “We were made for God, and we will be restless until we find rest in Him,” showing how man is lost in an indefinite world until he finds his way to God.

Mental processes of cognition prevail in King’s speeches with 15 occurrences out of the total 29 mental ones. Again, he shows how God and his cause intertwine, emphasizing how joining him on his struggle for overcoming discrimination means taking God’s path, while doing otherwise denies God’s existence in their lives. This is shown in “And after we’ve discovered what God called us to do, after we’ve discovered our life’s work, we should set out to do that work so well that the living, the dead, or the unborn couldn’t do it any better,” “This is how God judges people in the final analysis,” “And you know there are a lot of people who affirm the existence of God with their lips, and they deny his existence with their lives, they unconsciously just forget about God,” and “they forget to think about the need for God’s power in history.” Mental processes of emotion appear seven times and mainly refer to Negroes self-love and appreciation.

Fig. 2: Frequency of Processes in King’s Speeches



5.2.1.2 Discourse Practice

In King’s first speech under analysis, he took advantage of the occasion of the Nobel Prize award and highlights the conditions under which the Negroes were suffering through the different discursual devices employed. The two modals found are of prediction and necessity in “Sooner or later all the people of the world will have to discover a way to live together in peace, and thereby transform this pending cosmic elegy into a creative psalm of brotherhood” and “man must evolve for all human conflict a method which rejects revenge, aggression and retaliation”, respectively, in which both relate to the futuristic view of life after Negroes claim their rights. King asserts his personal voice through the prevailing use of the pronoun ‘I’, expressing his views and principles, as well as showing authority and involvement in the cause. The single use of the pronoun ‘we’ comes in an affirmation that claiming Negro rights is inevitable in “I still believe We Shall overcome.” There is also one Christian reference in “Yet when years have rolled past and when the blazing light of truth is focused on this marvellous age in which we live – men and women will know and children will be taught that we have a finer land, a better people, a more noble civilization – because these humble children of God were willing to suffer for righteousness’ sake,” showing that the journey to freedom is a sacred one, thus only joined by the strong believers (See Table 4). As mentioned earlier, the prevailing ‘I’ provides King a strong voice in the speech, which is reflected in the repetition of “I accept,” “I am mindful,” “I refuse to accept,” and “I believe that.” He ‘accepts’ the Nobel Prize on behalf of his people, not as an individual award, for he is ‘mindful’ and conscious to all the sufferings they were undergoing in the different states, being shot to death, brutalized, burned, and chained by poverty. He then affirms his refusal to submit to a tragic fate of racism where there is no room for peace, for he believes that “unarmed truth and unconditional love will have the final word in reality,” “even amid today’s mortar bursts and whining bullets, there is still hope for a brighter tomorrow,” “wounded justice, lying prostrate on the blood-flowing streets of our nations, can be lifted from this dust of shame to reign supreme among the children

of men,” “peoples everywhere can have three meals a day for their bodies, education and culture for their minds, and dignity, equality and freedom for their spirits,” “what self-centered men have torn down men other-centered can build up,” and “one day mankind will bow before the altars of God and be crowned triumphant over war and bloodshed, and nonviolent redemptive good will proclaim the rule of the land,” showing his faith in claiming ‘normal’ life rights.

Table 4:

The Distribution of Discoursal Devices in King’s Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech

Intertextuality	Modals	Repetition	Pronouns
humble children of God	prediction	I accept	I
	necessity	I am mindful I refuse to accept I believe that	We

King’s *Our God is Marching On* begins as a normal speech stating facts then turns into a chant. Modality varies between ‘must’ for necessity and ‘can’ for ability. He asserts how it is necessary for his supporters to understand that the road to freedom is not smooth, yet to still embrace nonviolence in “On our part we must pay our profound respects to the white Americans who cherish their democratic traditions over the ugly customs and privileges of generations and come forth boldly to join hands with us,” “we must go on and be sure that they did not die in vain,” “I must admit to you that there are still some difficult days ahead,” “Our aim must never be to defeat or humiliate the white man,” and “We must come to see that the end we seek is a society at peace with itself.” The single use of the ability modal ‘can’ further stresses the element of nonviolence in “And we can answer with creative nonviolence the call to higher ground to which the new directions of our struggle summons us.” King aimed to create a unity among his people, thus used the pronoun ‘we’ throughout the speech. Various biblical direct references are made, making the speech seem like almost a chant, as for example in an extract like “The Bible tells us that the mighty men of Joshua merely walked about the walled city of Jericho, in referring to Biblical history, and in using Biblical terms (See Table 5). Several repetitions are employed throughout the speech foregrounding the state of discrimination the Negroes were suffering from in statements of ‘They segregated’. The affirmation “We are on the move now” recursively appears six times indicating direct action, while ‘Let us march’ is followed the all unjust practices they are aiming to overcome as the ‘segregated houses, segregated schools, poverty, and ballot boxes’ completed with definite targets to achieve equal rights for all. “The battle is in our hands” empowers the public and makes them trust their leader King,

while towards the end of the speech the repetition of “How long? Not long” gives hope that despite the hardships he listed, they are close to fulfilling their dream put in the form of a chant and ended in the religious hail “Glory, hallelujah” asserting that God is with them on their march.

Table 5:

The Distribution of Discoursal Devices in King’s Our God is Marching On:

Intertextuality	Modals	Repetition	Pronouns
the Bible	strong necessity	they segregated	We
biblical history	ability	We are on the move	
God’s children		Let us march	
Our God		the battle is in our hands	
Glory, hallelujah		The only normalcy	
		How long? Not long	

King’s final speech under analysis serves as a form of a manual for life, thus, provides real life experiences, religious morals, and pieces of advice. To reach a complete life, people need to take certain actions, specified through the modal ‘must’ in “we must pray,” “we must discover what we are called to do,” and “we must see the dignity of all labor,” “Now if life is to be complete, we must move beyond our self-interest. We must move beyond humanity and reach up, way up for the God of the universe, whose purpose changeth not.” The prediction ‘will’ is recursively used towards the end of the speech to highlight how life would transform upon embracing his guide to a complete life. As previously mentioned, the speech is more of a manual advising people how to reach a complete life, which explains the prevailing use of the pronoun ‘you’ from beginning to end. Intertextuality is the lead of the talk, for King makes several direct religious references from Christianity and Judaism. Christian references are seen in ‘the Book of Revelation, John, the parable of Jesus, the Old Testament, and the first commandment’, while Jewish references include ‘the Jewish Rabbi and Moses’, This is in addition to the uncountable allusions to God and the citation of His words from the Old Testament in the extract: “I want you to go out, Moses, and tell them ‘I Am’ sent you.” (That’s right) He said just to make it clear, let them know that "my last name is the same as my first, ‘I Am that I Am.’ Make that clear. I Am." And God is the only being in the universe that can say "I Am" and put a period behind it. Each of us sitting here has to say, "I am because of my parents; I am because of certain environmental conditions; I am because of certain hereditary circumstances; I am because of God." But God is the only being that can just say, "I Am" and stop right there. "I Am that I Am." King closes his speech with seven

repetitions of the affirmation “when you get all three of these” followed by the transformation his audience would sense upon the completeness of their lives. With this repetition, he uses the predictive modal ‘will’ to show the faith in what he says, as in “judgment will roll down like waters,” and “the lamb will lie down with the lion,” “you will recognize that out of one blood God made all men dwell upon the face of the earth,” depicting a picture of a peaceful community of solidarity.

Table 6:

The Distribution of Discoursal Devices in King’s The Three Dimensions of a Complete Life:

Intertextuality	Modals	Repetition	Pronouns
John	strong necessity	I am	You
the Book of Revelation	of prediction	when you get all three of these	
Jewish Rabbi			
Moses			
Jesus			
the Old Testament			

5.2.2 Social Practice

Though King did not personally commit himself to international conflicts, his own struggle was regarded as a clarion call to all who work for peace. He, following Gandhi’s steps, introduced the idea that a struggle can be waged without violence to the Western world. He is the first to make the message of brotherly love a reality in the course of his struggle, and he has brought this message to all men, nations and races. Commencing this nonviolent route, he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1964, giving a moving acceptance speech. He began by acknowledging the violence that was erupting at the time, and then started explaining the priorities of freedom that his side is fighting for, addressing three specific issues: racial injustice, poverty, and war. Believing in the power of nonviolence, he makes direct reference to the Indian experience led by Gandhi in “I conclude that this award which I receive on behalf of that movement is a profound recognition that nonviolence is the answer to the crucial political and moral question of our time – the need for man to overcome oppression and violence without resorting to violence and oppression” and “Negroes of the United States, following the people of India, have demonstrated that nonviolence is not sterile passivity, but a powerful moral force which makes for social transformation.” King brings attention to racial injustice, using a tone of challenge against racial injustice

to highlight that the oppressed will no longer accept oppression. He adopts Gandhi's *Satyagraha* in stating that people in favor of equality will take to the streets in nonviolent protests since nonviolence will be the only answer to racial injustice. King broadens the scope of struggle referring to the poverty problem that blankets the world, appealing to a wider audience for people from all corners suffered of hunger, even in the United States, at a time of prosperity for the nation. He does not directly demand people to join his struggle but speaks to their emotions intertwining facts with beliefs in "I believe that unarmed truth and unconditional love will have the final word in reality" and "I still believe that one day mankind will bow before the altars of God and be crowned triumphant over war and bloodshed, and nonviolent redemptive good will proclaim the rule of the land. "And the lion and the lamb shall lie down together and every man shall sit under his own vine and fig tree and none shall be afraid." King renounces violence and war till the end of his speech, acknowledging that, while there is quite a long way to go in the struggle for mankind's morality, there is hope. Peace will not come without a price and man will be the only one with the purse strings to his salvation.

Likewise in *Our God is Marching On*, King continues the idea of nonviolence despite the hardships they suffered at the time. A crowd of 25,000 embarked on a march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, in support of voting rights for African-Americans, at the conclusion of which, King delivered this speech, referencing the violence that beset the movement at the time. King's speech makes it clear that the movement cannot be dissuaded after coming so far, encouraging the people to keep up the struggle. He incorporates a number of references, many of which were familiar to his audience creating a sense of involvement and solidarity. For instance, despite the complex path of the Selma to Montgomery march, King references the freedom song "Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me Around." He also pointed to the noted historian Vann Woodward and his book *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, which argued that segregation was a tool designed by the white ruling class to perpetuate low labor costs. King acknowledged those who had already died in the nonviolent civil rights struggle: Medgar Evers, three civil rights workers in Mississippi last summer, William Moore, the Reverend James Reeb, Jimmy Lee Jackson, and four little girls in the church of God in Birmingham to show that their struggle is and will remain acknowledged. He quoted 19th century historian Thomas Carlyle, and recited Julia Ward Howe's 1862 *Battle Hymn of the Republic* in "Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord; He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored; He hath loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift sword; His truth is marching on" as an answer to the concluding series of questions on how long it would take to achieve justice: "How long? Not long." These multiple religious and cross-cultural references not only appealed to the audience but instilled the idea that it is a global struggle not only a local one.

In King's last speech under analysis, a different tone is presented due to the occasion when it was said. Almost exactly a year before he was killed in 1968,

he delivered the stirring sermon at the New Covenant Baptist Church in Chicago *Three Dimensions of a Complete Life*. A complete life, King explained, requires attention to three levels; length for self-care, breadth for concern for others, and height for spirituality. At the time he delivered this sermon he was only thirty years old, yet he commanded the room with his intellect, his faith, and his force of character. He did not spare the occasion without referring also to the injustice he suffered. Additionally, he did not hesitate to call out the ugly truth of his nation when he said, “America cannot remain a first-class nation so long as she has second class citizens.” Despite being given in a church, King makes Jewish and Islamic references side by side with the Christian, addressing various spiritual minds. He does not only highlight African American struggle but also refers to Jerusalem as a spiritual and factual symbol of struggle and oppression. However, despite the struggle, King stresses God’s power and control above all, relating to the ‘height’ of life. He wraps his sermon speech stating that upon brining the three dimensions together moving from being self-centered to other-centered then to the peak of reaching out to God, people will recognize that “out of one blood God made all men to dwell upon the face of the earth” in peace.

6. Discussion of Findings and Conclusion

Descriptive statistics of the transitivity analysis of Gandhi’s and King’s speeches showed how they frequently used the same processes, with material, relational, and mental processes being the mostly employed by both (See Figs. 1 & 2). *Satyagraha* did depend on nonviolence, but it also called for taking action and making sacrifices. Such action was evident in Gandhi’s material processes, where he used verbs as “fought, resist, launch struggle, get out, and wrench,” to mention but a few. Similarly, King used verbs of action such as “march, move, face, fight, create alliance, and expose.” Thus, in terms of the most frequently used material processes, both orators emphasized self-empowerment and nonviolent resistance.

Relational processes came in second place of frequency for both Gandhi and King. In fact, they shared two main themes under in their use of relational processes, namely embracing God’s power in their struggles and their affirmation of *Satyagraha* tenets. Both Gandhi and King believed that their struggle for freedom was a God-given power, which was indicated through the identifying relational processes. Finally, in mental processes, Gandhi balanced between the cognitive and emotional sides, affecting a wider scale of audience by addressing their minds and feelings. Mental processes of cognition were mainly attributed to him being the senser, while those of emotion were led by the senser “God.” This further asserts the concept that Gandhi’s struggle is under God’s command and blessing. On the other hand, King followed a more rational path, as he mainly depended on mental processes of cognition. Yet, what he shared in common with Gandhi is that he employed mental processes in affirming God’s role in his struggle for overcoming

discrimination. King even declared that man would be judged by God on whether he decided to join or give up on the path for freedom.

Intertextuality was found to be indicative of each speaker's religious and cultural backgrounds. The focus was on identifying religious allusions and analysis showed how Gandhi adopted a more religiously universal orientation than King. Due to his upbringing with Muslims, Gandhi adopted several teachings of Islam and was immersed in an atmosphere of religious diversity tolerance. Accordingly, his speeches showed various religious direct references, embracing different faiths, such as Muslim, Buddhist, Hindus, and Christian. King adopted a narrower orientation in terms of intertextuality by restricting his religious references to Christian ones only.

Gandhi and King showed variance in their linguistic choices since each of them represented a different culture, for one represented the East, while the other represented the West, respectively. It is true that both orators related truth to God and created a connection between their causes and divine calling, yet they addressed a different culture. Gandhi referred to the British as "foreign exploiter," which is a reference mainly used by oppressed Eastern communities to describe Western oppressors. Another cultural element is the creation of a link between Hindu and Muslim communities in terms of the beliefs they followed and the struggle they witnessed. On the other hand, as a representative of the Western culture in general and the Black Christians in specific, King addressed the social issues that were the main focus of the church at that time. In his speeches, he mentioned the names and cases of those lost in civil rights struggles and, along with the several Christian references he made, he quoted famous Western historians and poets. Such references would not be understood nor would have affected but those who suffered and witnessed causes of a similar culture. In a nutshell, while King adopted Gandhi's philosophy of *Satyagraha*, King tailored it to meet his Western community and to impact his targeted audience to support his cause. At a deeper level, King's adaptation of *Satyagraha* was of dual benefit; in further instilling the tenets of the philosophy itself, and in better understanding the core of the Civil Rights Movement. The analysis in this study also provided insight on the temporal and spatial universality of such philosophy, being possibly applicable to present sociopolitical causes, as well as to different cultures.

7. Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research

Methodologically speaking, although Fairclough's model included Halliday's FG at the text description level, the analysis here depended only on Halliday's transitivity. This was purposively done due to the limitations of time and scope of the study. That is, having conducted a full analysis using Halliday's FG would not have made this study feasible due to the presence of two other levels in Fairclough's model, namely discourse practice and social practice. Also, the study primarily focused on the linguistic features in the speeches, while less attention was paid to the social impact of both orators' speeches. Thus, further research is recommended

to provide an in-depth presentation of the historical context and social impact of Gandhi's and King's speeches. Not much research has been conducted on the philosophy of *Satyagraha*, though it is thought to be part of the political speeches calling for nonviolence to date. Hence, it is recommended that further research is to be approached in this area to reveal how it is linguistically expressed by different orators of various cultural backgrounds. Also, Gandhi's and King's speeches in general have been mostly examined from a thematic or a linguistic perspective, without highlighting philosophical or cultural orientations. Thus, more research of their weighty speeches may be taken into consideration to trace the linguistic features they employ to express their distinguished philosophical and world views.

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