A Corpus-Based Analysis of the Language of *Satyagraha* in Selected Speeches by Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King[(*)]

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Abstract

More than six decades after Gandhi's assassination, his philosophy of nonviolence, encapsulated in the concept of Satyagraha, continues to resonate globally. Gandhi, credited with coining the term Satyagraha, based his philosophy on the ancient Sanskrit concept of ahimsa, integrating truth, nonviolence, and suffering as its core elements. King, profoundly inspired by Gandhi, adopted Satyagraha as a foundation for the Civil Rights Movement. This paper explores the lexical choices and semantic links in three selected speeches by each of Gandhi and King, employing a corpus-based analysis. The study employs the K-words corpus software tool, contrasting the speeches against the COCA corpus, to identify and categorize frequent words. The analysis focuses on the three main elements of Satyagraha: Truth, Nonviolence, and Suffering. Research questions addressed include identifying keywords in each speaker's speeches and determining the most frequent lexical choices in their discourse. In an era where nonviolence needs reframing to align with contemporary challenges, this study aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of how language, specifically in the speeches of Gandhi and King, played a pivotal role in advocating for justice, equality, and peaceful resistance. The analysis aimed to demonstrate how Gandhi and King incorporated Satyagraha in their speeches to advocate for their respective causes, revealing nuanced differences in their religious and cultural orientations. Results showed Gandhi's emphasis on universal

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religious terms and general expressions of suffering which suggests a global perspective on his cause, appealing to a broader audience. On the other hand, King's focus on specific details in suffering aligns with his advocacy for racial equality within the context of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States. These findings underscore the adaptability of Satyagraha to diverse contexts, reflecting the leaders' strategic choices in language to advance their distinct social and political agendas.

Keywords: Satyagraha, Ahimsa, Nonviolence, Corpus-based

الملخص:

بعد أكثر من ستة عقود على اغتيال غاندي، تظل فلسفته لعدم العنف، المجسدة في مفهوم ساتياجراها، تصدو في العالم أجمع. غاندي، مبتكر مصطلح ساتياجراها، قام بناء فلسفته على مفهوم الأهيمسا القديم السانسكريتي، مدمجًا إياه في دعوته للحرية من الاحتلال البريطاني. بينما قام القائد مارتن لوثر كينغ باعتماد فلسفة غاندي كأساس لحركة حقوق الإنسان المدنية التي دعا لها ضد العنصرية. في عصر يتطلب إعادة صياغة اللاعنف لمواكبة التحديات المعاصرة، هدفت هذه الدراسة إلى المساهمة في فهم أعمق لدور اللغة في الدعوة للعدالة والمساواة والمقاومة السلمية. يهدف التحليل بهذا البحث إلى إظهار كيف اعتمد غاندي وكينج الساتياجراها في خطبهما للدعوى لقضاياهما الخاصة، مما كشف عن اختلافات دقيقة في توجيهاتهما الدينية والثقافية. أظهرت النتائج تركيز غاندي على مصطلحات دينية عالمية وتعبيرات عامة عن المعاناة؛ مما يشير إلى رؤية عالمية لقضيته، تستهدف جمهورًا أوسع. من ناحية أخرى، يتمحور تركيز كينج على تفاصيل محددة عن المعاناة مع دعمه للمساواة العنصرية في سياق حركة حقوق الإنسان في الولايات المتحدة. تؤكد هذه النتائج على قابلية الساتياجراها للتكيف مع سياقات متنوعة، معبرة عن اختيارات القادة الاستراتيجية في اللغة لتقديم أجنداتهم الاجتماعية والسياسية المتميزة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: ساتياغراها، أهيمسا، عدم العنف، التحليل الكمي القائم على النصوص.

1. Introduction

More than 60 years from Gandhi's assassination, he continues to inspire those concerned with peaceful political change. His life and teachings go beyond national boundaries to the realm of global discourse. Yet, since it came into being, "nonviolence" has had numerous incarnations and several interpretations. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the first time that "nonviolence" materialized in print was on March 11, 1914, appearing in an article written by Gandhi (1914), as the most famous practitioner of nonviolence in history so far. Gandhi did not claim coining a new term; it had been there in the books of ancient religions. He explained that the word nonviolence was an English translation of the ancient Sanskrit term *ahimsa*, an idea founded in the Buddhist, Hindu, and Jain traditions (Tapper, 2013). It is upon this concept of *ahimsa* that Gandhi based his philosophy of *Satyagraha*. He conceived non-violence as a power that could resolve issues of injustice and oppression. Thus, nonviolence has been, by instinct, part of humanity since ancient religions and cultures, and has been handed down to the present day through Gandhi, who was responsible for its coinage as a social and political principle. Being greatly influenced by Gandhi, King remarked that if humanity is to progress, Gandhi is inescapable (Banerjee, 2018). Both Gandhi and King had a philosophical commitment to nonviolence.

Gandhi coined the term *Satyagraha*, literally meaning holding onto truth, to represent his philosophy of nonviolence, and deployed it in his movement for Indian independence from British rule and also during his earlier struggles in South Africa for Indian rights. This philosophy was adopted by King as well, as one of the foundations for his peaceful Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s. Thus, *Satyagraha* is common ground between Gandhi and King. They were both men of action who wished to agitate for change without harming others. For them, nonviolence was not about passive resistance to evil, rather, it

was resistance that is active, creative and dynamic, but also not violent in its implementation. Both Gandhi and King used power not to defeat opponents but to win their hearts and minds through a loving, albeit forceful, process of nonviolent conversion. Gandhi called this process *Satyagraha* or "truth-force" and King called it "soul-force" and referred to it 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, from Sanskrit *Satya* "truth" and *agraha* "holding firmly to", thus meaning "holding onto the truth" which is a form of civil resistance.

Satyagraha had three main elements: truth, nonviolence, and suffering, which came together to explain its technique. Seeking truth is the focal point of *Satyagraha*, where according to Gandhi, truth meant God and referred to being truthful in one's thoughts, speech, and action (Encyclopedia of the Hindu World, 1992).Yet, the discovery of its path leads to differences of opinion, for truth is relative and depends on each human's needs. Consequently, conflicts arise, but, according to *Satyagraha*, they can be resolved using nonviolent action (*ahimsa*). Nonviolence is based on the concept of causing no harm to others but undergoing self-suffering to morally persuade the opponent to allow justice to be done. Thus, it follows that *ahimsa* (non-violence) includes the concept of love and leads in turn to self-suffering, demonstrating patience, sacrifice and preparation to peacefully overcome conflict with opponents (Akella, 2009). Accordingly, *Satyagraha* had two steps that Gandhi undertook in his campaigns. The first step for Gandhi was to carefully ascertain the facts, the issues of truth and justice for the emancipators. The next step was to talk with the opponent, try moral persuasion, and make every attempt to negotiate. The basic principles of *Satyagraha* included nonviolence, truth force, no stealing, non-possession, body labor, chastity, fearlessness, equal respect for all religions, control of the palate, and freedom from caste discrimination.

Gandhi and King's non-violent philosophy had a lot to teach humanity. It taught victims of oppression to uphold their integrity as they face oppressive structures and domination. Gandhi and King insisted that the oppressed should not allow the pain and suffering from oppression to define and shape their reactions. Their desire was to extend human dignity, freedom, love, care and justice to all those exploited. Their ideas may not have addressed every situation, but at least they taught humanity that there was always an alternative to violent resistance (Adjei, 2013). Their *Satyagraha* had a humanist vision for society and was based on love, even of the opponent. It included for example negotiation, arbitration, agitation and demonstration, economic boycott, civil disobedience, direct action, and nonpayment of taxes. Far from being passive, it was peacefully active with a great deal of patience and tolerance (Gogoi, 2015). Such philosophy pervaded Gandhi's and King's speeches, despite the difference in causes, audiences, and events.

Gandhi's nonviolence proved to be an unstoppable force that led to political transformation around the globe. It is true that Gandhi designed this concept of nonviolence in a particular sociopolitical milieu which no longer prevails. However, being a universal concept of major impact in soothing aggravated social and political issues, what is needed today is to reframe nonviolence so that it reflects the spirit of the time. Thus, a rereading of Gandhi's speeches is of necessity, especially that most of the studies conducted are thematically based, rather than linguistic (Banerjee, 2018). Moreover, given King's prominence as a speaker and his leadership role in the Civil Rights Movement, it is ironic that his legacy has been relatively unexamined by linguists. Most studies focused on his "I Have a Dream," ignoring other speeches of great value in overcoming racism and in restoring peace (Wolfram et al., 2016). Most studies focused on either the linguistic features alone or on the thematic representations in their speeches. The present study analyzes selected speeches by Gandhi and King using corpus-based analysis to reveal how language

was employed to present the philosophy of *Satyagraha* in advocating two different causes. The analysis tracks the lexical frequency and semantic links in the speeches, using K-words corpus tool, setting the data under analysis against the COCA corpus. The resulting frequent words are categorized into the three main *Satyagraha* elements, namely Truth, Nonviolence, and Suffering, depending on an examination of semantic links for categorization. The paper will answer the research questions: *1) What are the keywords in the selected speeches of each speaker? 2) What are the most frequent lexical choices in the selected speeches of each speaker?*

1. Literature Review

2.1 Corpus Studies on Political Speeches

The use of methods associated with Corpus Linguistics (CL) in linguistically and thematically analyzing political speeches is not new, based on the realization that linguistic and thematic "qualitative" findings can be quantified and objectified, and that CL "quantitative" findings need to be interpreted in light of existing theoretical details for support, adaptation or formulation of new results. Despite the significance of the findings based on joint thorough qualitative and quantitative analysis, the number of studies combining both approaches is relatively small in proportion to the number of studies exclusively utilizing CL or thematic analysis of politically related speeches in particular.

A study conducted by Baker et al. (2008) on British political news articles about refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants (RASIM) discussed the extent to which methods normally associated with CL can be effectively used in association with linguistic leading to more profound results. The research was based on the analysis of a 140-million-word corpus of British news articles on RASIM taken from twelve national and three regional newspapers, as well as their Sunday editions, between 1996 and 2005. At one level, CL provided strong indicators of the frequency of specific phenomena recognized

in linguistic analysis (e.g., topoi, topics, metaphors), by examining lexical patterns, thus adding a quantitative objective dimension to the study. For example, the corpus-based approach uncovered a small number of articles where positive topoi of RASIM were employed in the corpus. This was different from the results of the linguistic analysis alone, which, focusing on a smaller number of articles, concluded that positive topoi were non-existent. At another level, the corpus-based analysis alone focused on what was explicitly written, rather than what could have been implied, inferred, or insinuated, that which gives weight to the role of thematic categorization in constituting the present research. Thematic categorization allowed the analysts to step outside the corpus in order to consult other types of information, such as definitions, policy documents or government correspondence to newspapers. For example, the corpus analysis was able to identify which newspapers used a nonsensical term like bogus asylum seeker, but a fuller understanding of the term's significance was only provided by considering sources outside the corpus that gave examples of other possible ways of expressing the same concept, such as failed asylum seeker. Thus, it can be concluded that CL, in general, and concordance analysis, in particular, can be positively influenced by exposure to and familiarity with linguistically based techniques, for their theoretical notions and categories can inform the quantitative CL analysis. Linguistic and thematic analysis, in turn, can benefit from incorporating more objective, quantitative CL approaches, as quantification can reveal the degree of generality of or confidence in the study findings and conclusions, thus guarding against over- or under-interpretation (O'Halloran & Coffin, 2004; as cited in Baker et al., 2008).

Moving from newspaper articles to political speeches, another study integrating CL in linguistic analysis, Carreon and Svetanant (2017) aimed to critically investigate the major elements of the speeches of the Thai Prime Minister Gen Prayuth Chan-o-cha (2010-2014). Adopting van Dijk's (1997) model, the corpus of the study was

composed of the former Prime Minister's speeches in the TV program Returning Happiness to the People collected from 30th of May 2014 to 30th of May 2015. The translated English corpus employed in the quantitative analysis consisted of 10,672 word types (abstract concepts) and 325,398 word tokens (particular objects), and was examined for keywords related to the addressor, the addressee, and the political speech itself. The words with the highest relative frequencies were categorized into themes and a dialogic investigation was conducted on a sample of the original Thai version. The findings revealed that the most frequent two categories were keywords relating to information conveyed by the addressor, with a total of more than 60%, followed by keywords relating to functions of language. The high frequency of the information conveyed by the addressor justified the political, economic and social agenda adopted by the government. Corpus-based quantitative analysis combined with linguistic and thematic qualitative analysis also indicated that the English and Thai speeches targeted different audiences. This discrepancy implicitly reflected the ideology behind the speeches where the military government attempted to present a good image to the international community meanwhile imposing strict military governance in the country.

With closer connection to the focus of the current study on the adoption of peace and nonviolence in the political arena, Mushtaq (2021) employed a linguistic approach, specifically Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (SFL) as a theoretical framework, scrutinized using UAM software as a corpus-based tool to analyze the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Imran Khan's speech at the United Nations General Assembly, delivered on 27 September 2019. The purpose of delivering that speech was to promote world peace and to convince the United Nations to take constructive action towards universal issues in general, and Kashmir's issue that brought two nations on the verge of war in particular. Transitivity was examined to identify the main processes used in the speech, while the quantitative

corpus-based analysis was intended to unveil deeper levels of transitivity, highlighting major themes and their frequency. Resulting from the in-depth mixed design investigation, major findings showed that the material process of transitivity was the most frequently used by the speaker to represent actions and happenings in the physical world at two levels: the issues rising at that time as well as the Prime Minister's ideology and views on the actions that should be taken to make peace.

It can be, therefore, concluded that combining both CL and linguistic analysis with thematic categorization strengthens the findings of ideology studies. Corpus-based analysis can benefit positively by subjecting its findings to linguistic analytical techniques, providing supporting details and interpretations. Linguistic and thematic analyses, in turn, can benefit from employing more systematic and more objective quantitative CL analysis, as quantification can reveal the degree of generality of the findings and can raise the level of accuracy of qualitative based interpretations.

2.2 Linguistic Studies on Gandhi and King

Gandhi explicitly referred to nonviolence and religion in his speeches. For instance, Matos (2014) conducted a CDA study on his "Quit India" speech (1942) that addressed all social groups in India in general and the Muslims and Hindus in particular, due to the rising tensions between the two religious groups for their widely different beliefs and ideas at that time. In the speech, Gandhi encouraged his people to encompass a peaceful non-violent stance in their fight for freedom and equality through the use of religious allusions and repetition. For instance at the beginning of his speech he made a reference to God, in "God has vouchsafed to me a priceless gift in the weapon of Ahimsa….God will not forgive me and I shall be judged unworthy of the great gift." Furthermore, he combined the religious allusion with his call for nonviolence, by stating that in failing to bestow *ahimsa* (nonviolence) he will have failed God. Thus, he instilled a common feeling of guilt and/or remorse in his audience,

causing many to endorse or at least contemplate a state of nonviolence. Thus, a closer look at the language of Gandhi's speech shed light on his ideological stand.

In another study on "Quit India," Thompson (2014) concluded that Gandhi employed ethos and anaphora as linguistic devices to emphasize his religious path to freedom and to assert his influence on the audience. He used religious metaphor as a form of ethos to build trust with his audience. Religion was an important aspect in Indian culture at that time, thus the religious metaphor produced a sense of respect towards Gandhi. For example, he referred to *ahimsa* as "a priceless gift" that God granted him to practice and spread among his people. To enhance the technique of ethos, Gandhi used anaphora, repeating his references in consecutive sentences, making his ideas and statements memorable and firm. In order to involve the audience Gandhi begins with, "Let me place before you one or two things, I want you to understand two things very clearly." The anaphora, employed by the repetition of "two things," evoked a sense of authority and assertiveness that what he was about to state is important to be heard and understood clearly, alerting the audience. In fact, although "Quit India" focused mostly on the Indian audience, it also appealed to a broader universal audience, as many people globally sympathized with Gandhi's strive for political freedom and human rights, as depicted in his speech (Matos, 2014). It set forth countless movements towards political, religious, and personal freedom. The speech was used as a basis by various freedom rights leaders, such as Martin Luther King, in the fight for equal rights for whites and blacks in America.

King attempted to create a social reality through language. A CDA study based the examination of some extracts from his speeches on the theoretical principles of systemic functional linguistics, examining three postposition phenomena in King's speeches, i.e., existential sentences, extrapositions and passive use (Lirola, 2006). It was concluded in Lirola's study that King mainly depended on the use of

existential sentences, extraposition and passives as syntactic structures which broke the normal SVO (subject, verb, object) order of English. This marked use of syntactic structure was significant from the functional point of view, because of the contrast these structures made with the basic word order. The researcher explained that King intended to create a social consciousness that opposed the dominant ideology against minorities in the United States, reinforcing diversity of identity at that historical moment. These syntactic structures were an important part of his rhetorical strategy, employed to highlight particular information and to appeal to feelings and emotions. Marked syntax in this case was connected with a marked social reality and aspects of racial segregation.

One of the extensively studied speeches by King is his masterpiece "I have a dream". Making use of Halliday's SFL, a study by Lirola (2008) intended to explain how this speech created meaning with different linguistic resources, focusing on different rhetorical devices (deixis, repetitions, exclamation, enumerations, etc.). It is believed that these resources allowed the author to imbue his speech with vividness and to create the social reality of the historical moment that he witnessed: the historical period of the exploitation of the black population in the United States. King established a rhetoric of engagement through the use of the deictic pronouns *we*, *I* and *you*, creating a dialogic relationship with his hearers to highlight that he understood the feelings of the black population. As regards other rhetorical devices, the use of repetitions, exclamations, and enumerations in the speech was of unquestionable significance. Repetition involved restating the key word "Negro," and the circumstantial of time "now is the time," emphasizing the importance of that point in time to change the negative social predicament of the black population during that historical period. The repetition of "no" highlighted the judgment of the situation made by King. He made clear that if things continued in the same way, black people won't be satisfied in the future. The last paragraph of the speech was full of

enumerations and finished with two exclamations, which were common devices of emphasizing emotions. Exclamations were also a method of interpersonally interacting with the audience to realize the importance of freedom for a change in society, in ideology, and also for a change of heart. Thus, rhetorical devices, that are not randomly chosen, pointed out that King was sharing his feelings throughout the whole speech, with a tint of sentimentality, establishing a relationship between the linguistic patterns and the reality that he was describing.

Similarly, critically analyzing King's "I have a dream" applying Fairclough's Model, Sipra and Rashid (2013) supported the results of the above study, revealing how language was used to raise voice against the hegemonic attitude of the whites. Repetition was found to be the main tool by which King attempted to promote his ideology in the minds of the socio-politically oppressed blacks. For instance, the phrase "one hundred years later" was repeated four times, emphasizing the fact that these African-Americans had long been aspiring for freedom and equal rights. Pronouns like "we', 'ours' and 'you" were used 30, 17 and 8 times respectively, that which indicated the intimacy between the speaker and the audience. The noun freedom was used 20 times and other lexemes, such as "nation, America and justice" were also used several times. King's speech focused on conveying the message of justice, equality and unity as one nation, fulfilling the main objective of acquiring freedom. Textual devices, especially repetition, were exponential in propagating King's ideology and emphasizing the main theme of inequality in socio-cultural rights.

2. 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 is collected from Gandhi's and King's official websites, constituting around 12 thousand words each.

3. Method of Analysis

The present study adopts a corpus-based quantitative analysis to investigate the linguistic choices employed in Gandhi's and King's selected speeches and to show how such choices reflect their adoption of the philosophy of *Satyagraha*. K-words corpus software program is used for the analysis. The focus is on the frequency of content words to pinpoint the distinctive terms they used in expressing their philosophy. The resulting frequent words will be categorized into the three main *Satyagraha* elements, namely Truth, Nonviolence, and Suffering. On K-words corpus tool, semantic immediate links will also be examined for the resulting frequent words for matters of accuracy of categorization of words under the three previously mentioned categories.

The corpus of this study including Gandhi's and King's speeches together consists of 23315 words, divided into 12935 and 10380 words respectively. This corpus is set against the large COCA corpus (Corpus of Contemporary American English) that compiles a one billion word collection of samples of written and spoken language from a wide range of sources designed from the late twentieth century (Farhan, 2017). The written part (90%) consists of, but is not limited to, extracts from specialist periodicals and journals for all ages and interests, regional and national newspapers, academic books and popular fiction, school and university essays, published and

unpublished letters and memoranda, etc. The spoken part, which consists of orthographic transcriptions of unscripted informal conversations and spoken language collected in different contexts, from nearly 150 television and radio shows, forms 10% (Carreon & Svetanant, 2017). Hence, due to the diversity in the data included in the COCA corpus, it is believed to provide a suitable base to be set against the political speech genre which constitutes the data for this study. It can be concluded that a corpus analysis would complement the findings of the study.

4. Analysis and Discussion

5.1 Gandhi's Speeches

5.1.1 The Element of Truth

In the first category of *Satyagraha* concerning the element of Truth, resulting frequent words in Gandhi's three speeches compiled together reflected a religious and cultural orientation of unity, embracing Hinduism and Islam. Hindu-Muslim mutual respect and cooperation were rooted in Gandhi's childhood experiences. The most frequent words employed in his speeches referred to both Hinduism and Islam, creating some sort of relation between both beliefs under the umbrella of *Satyagraha* (See Table 1). Despite being a Hindu, Gandhi embraced another religion, Islam, in his spiritual quest for freedom. His view of truth as God is reflected in around seven spiritual references, such as "true, God, heart, truth, hearts, secret, and spirit." Direct Islamic references are more prevalent than Hindus ones in the speeches under analysis, with eight terms, including "Mussalmans, Islam, Muslim, Maulana, Mussulman, Muslims, Khilafat, and Saheb," with 30, 14, 10, and 7 occurrences, respectively; 6 for the fifth and sixth terms; and 5 for the last two terms. Finally, two terms of Hinduism have been found among the most frequent, with 13 "Hindus" and 6 "cow" occurrences, where the latter is known to be the main embodiment of worship for the Hindus.

Table1: Frequency of Words on the Element Related to Truth in Gandhi's Speeches

Truth: Religious and Cultural Representation

Mussalmans	30
True	17
God	16
Islam	14
Heart	13
Hindus	13
Truth	10
Muslim	10
Jinnah	8
Maulana	7
Hearts	7
Trust	7
Secret	7
Untruth	7
Mussalman	6
Cow	6
Muslims	6
Spirit	6
Khilafat	5
Sahib	5

5.1.2 The Element of Nonviolence

The second category relates to the adoption of nonviolence, also known as *ahimsa*, in Gandhi's call for freedom. Resulting frequent words reflect *Satyagraha's* two steps; first ascertaining facts, and second negotiating with the opponent. Ascertaining facts on Gandhi's cause to overcome British occupation and his approach of nonviolence to support it can be found in words like "freedom, violence, statement, ahimsa, expression, democracy" with a frequency of 41, 23, 10, 8, 6, and 6, respectively. He further asserts that this nonviolent freedom cannot be reached but through "sacrifice, unity, courage, and bondage," with five occurrences of each in his speeches. Verbs like "say, ask, demand, consider, accept, declare, achieve, and seek" within the list of frequency (See Table 2) highlight the second step of *Satyagraha* that is concerned with addressing the opponent for negotiation, since they all connote nonviolent communication and are closely related to *Satyagraha* in action and application to achieve freedom. On the contrary, Gandhi refers to the oppression he and his people are under through the frequent use of "evil" and "crime" appearing ten and eight times, respectively. Generally speaking, it can be seen how in this category there is variation between the use of proper nouns and verbs, since this element of call for freedom embraces both the assertion of facts on Gandhi's cause as well as the actions to be taken to overcome oppression.

Table2: Frequency of Words on the Element Related to Nonviolence in Gandhi's Speeches

Nonviolence: Call for Freedom

Say	44
Freedom	41
Violence	23
Ask	23
Country	17
Evil	10
Duty	10
Statement	10
Demand	9
Ahimsa	8
Crime	8
Consider	8
Accept	7
Declare	6
Expression	6
Democracy	6
United	6
Sacrifice	5
Unity	5
Courage	5
Bondage	5
Achieve	5
Seek	5

5.1.3 The Element of Suffering

Despite the peaceful nature of *Satyagraha's* journey to overcome conflict, its proponents admit the existence of two kinds of suffering: self-suffering and authority-suffering. The Indian National Congress, referred to by Gandhi as "Congress," became the principal leader of

the Indian independence movement under Gandhi's leadership after 1920. In alliance with this, "congress" is the most frequent word under the category of suffering with 43 occurrences (See Table 3), for it was the main entity, led by Gandhi, to face all hardships of standing against the occupier. "Struggle" comes in second place with 23 occurrences, followed by the sorts of suffering Gandhi and his people faced during their pursuit of freedom, including for instance, "disaffection" and "hatred." He also refers to the social category they were put under being treated as "servants" by the British. The element of suffering thus adds to the first step of *Satyagraha*, which is ascertaining facts on the suffering of Gandhi and his people.

Table 3: Frequency of Words on the Element Related to Suffering in Gandhi's Speeches

Suffering: Authority

Congress	43
Struggle	23
Disaffection	7
Englishmen	7
Servants	7
Hatred	5
Congressman	5

5.2 King's Speeches

5.2.1 The Element of Truth

Being a dedicated Christian, in his religious and cultural representations of the element of truth, King mainly employed Christian as well as universal religious symbols. In fact, there was a mixture between direct references and clear symbols. The direct Christian references found were "Jesus, John, and Joshua," each with 7 occurrences; while symbolism could be attributed to terms like "lord, faith, glory, heaven, soul, and parable" (See Table 4). "God" is

the term with highest frequency with 53 occurrences, which is believed to be a reflection of both King's religious upbringing and strong belief and *Satyagraha's* association of truth and God. Moreover, the action-related words, "marching" and "asking", are categorized under the element of truth for being semantically linked with "God, mighty, and truth," adding to the religious symbolism in King's speeches.

Table 4: Frequency of Words on the Element Related to Truth in King's Speeches

Truth: Religious and Cultural Representation	
God	53
Lord	13
Truth	10
Marching	8
Jesus	7
John	7
Joshua	7
Faith	7
Glory	6
Heaven	6
Soul	6
Willing	6
Asking	6
Parable	5
Preach	5
Mighty	5

5.2.2 The Element of Nonviolence

Under this category, King not only follows the steps of *Satyagraha* in his call for freedom, but he also adds an element of affirmation in communicating his cause to the audience. This element of affirmation can be pinpointed by the two most frequent words in this list, "yes" and "right," with 145 and 75 occurrences, respectively. Despite not being content words, both of them are believed to be of powerful effect, especially in political speeches, for asserting that what he is saying is true and for searing audience agreement with him. *Satyagraha* tenets of nonviolent resistance against oppression can be traced through the most frequently used verbs, such as "get, say, speak, march, accept, question, tell, and rise, etc.," all of which indicate action and communication without violence (See Table 5). In his pursuit of overcoming discrimination, King clearly states his goals including "love, normalcy, freedom, justice, peace, and dignity," occurring 17, 16, 13, 10, 9, and 7 times, respectively. He also highlights the method of reaching such goals of spearing love, freedom, justice, and peace, adopting the path of *Satyagraha*, through the use of words like "movement, brotherhood, civil, masses, and nonviolence," all of which underlie the concept of civil disobedience. Although "Negro" and "Negroes," denoting to the discrimination King and his followers were suffering from, they are categorized under the element of freedom rather than suffering, as in their 17 and 11 occurrences, respectively, he highlights the heroic nonviolent struggle for freedom undertaken.

Table 5: Frequency of Words on the Element Related to Nonviolence in King's Speeches

Nonviolence: Call for Freedom	
Yes	145
Right	75
Get	33
Say	27
Speak	24
March	23
Accept	19
Negro	17
Love	17
Normalcy	16
Question	16
Tell	16
Freedom	12
Live	12
Negroes	11
Nation	11
Justice	10
Movement	10
Brotherhood	9
Peace	9
Civil	8
Masses	7
Dignity	7
Rise	7
Nonviolence	6
Humanity	6
Refuse	5
Honor	5

5.2.3 The Element of Suffering

Under the element of suffering, it was found that King frequently names his oppressors as "white" and "whites" occupying 19 and 5

occurrences, respectively. He also highlights the different sources of suffering for him and his minority group through terms like "segregated, pollard, struggle, segregation, and poverty" (See Table 6). Thus, frequent words under this category ascertain facts about the state of struggle King and his fellows witnessed.

Table 6: Frequency of Words on the Element Related to Suffering in King's Speeches

Suffering: Authority

White	19
Segregated	10
Tired	7
Struggle	7
Segregation	7
Poverty	6
Whites	5

5. Results and Conclusion

Upon examining the data on K-words corpus tool, keywords results were classified into categories, each reflecting one of the three main elements: truth, nonviolence, and suffering. Keywords were classified based on the semantic associations extracted, and the frequency of such keywords was examined in the speeches under analysis. This corpus-based analysis showed how Gandhi and King adopted *Satyagraha* in supporting their causes, with slight differences in religious and cultural orientation.

In terms of the element of truth, which attributes to religious and cultural representation, it was found that Gandhi depended on universal religious keywords more than King. Gandhi created a link between Hinduism and Islam, taking pride in his Hindus religious

background but also linking it to Islam, using direct references like "Hindus, cow, Mussalmans, and Islam" (See Table 1). This not only reflected his fundamental values of Hindu-Muslim mutual respect and cooperation that were rooted in his childhood, but also indicated his genuine religious tolerance and respect for different mankind's faiths. However, what seemed interesting is that Islamic references prevailed more than Hindus ones. This could be attributed to the fact that he was attempting to mobilize a wider audience to join him on his cause and due to the injustice practiced at that time against Muslims in his country. On the other hand, King's upbringing as a faithful Christian was evident in his lexical choices of Christian direct, like "Jesus, John, and Joshua" in addition to some universal spiritual symbols, such as "lord, heaven, soul, and faith" (See Table 4). In fact, despite his political movements and struggle for equality, it was King's faith that drove him to action; since it commanded speaking for the oppressed and preached that all men are created equal. A point of link between Gandhi and King though was that both admitted that, in their struggle for freedom and equality, respectively, they were following the path of God.

In the second element of *Satyagraha*, namely nonviolence, Gandhi and King instilled the tenets of their adopted philosophy, ascertaining facts on the state of struggle they were suffering, followed by a negotiation with the oppressor. Under this element, the keywords found in their speeches were mostly verbs relating to speech (See Tables 2 & 4). Although the philosophy they adopted called for nonviolence, it did not mean inaction. Gandhi frequently used verbs that related to speech, such as "say, ask, demand, and declare," for *Satyagraha* was founded upon negotiating with the oppressor rather than resorting to violence. He also highlighted the actions needed to achieve freedom, as seen in frequently mentioning "sacrifice, unity, courage, bondage, and freedom." That is, Gandhi did pursue a path of nonviolence, yet, his philosophy was far from calling for lack of action. On the contrary, his *Satyagraha* meant uniting with his people

and sacrificing oneself with complete courage for the sake of freedom. On the same line, King frequently used verbs that relate to negotiating with the oppressor, such as "say, speak, and declare." Thus, like Gandhi, he took the path of nonviolence, but the difference lied in the fact that King required audience affirmation as evident in using "yes" and "right" in his speeches. Unlike Gandhi who referred to the actions needed to achieve freedom, King referred to the goals that he and his people are after, like "love, freedom, justice, peace, and dignity." Thus, while one was action-oriented in his expression of nonviolence, the other was goal-oriented.

In the final element of *Satyagraha* examined through corpus analysis, it was found that Gandhi used more general terms in his expression of suffering than King. That is, in referring to what Gandhi and his people suffered, he frequently used "disaffection" and "hatred" without getting into the details of what such hatred led to. In such reference, Gandhi was appealing to the feeling of the audience, for not only were they suffering of British occupation of their land and life, but also had to bear the hatred of their oppressor without even being given the right to express their disaffection for their occupier. Gandhi also related to social status, pointing out how they were treated as belonging to a lower social class as "servants." On the other hand, King was more detailed and specific in referring to the forms of suffering he and his community were living under, such as "segregated, struggle, segregation, and poverty." He focused more on social aspects of being treated differently than the whites due to color, despite social status. In a nutshell, while Gandhi focused on social status and emotional suffering, King stressed social practices against his people. This could be because Gandhi believed he was addressing a cause of global interest, thus made it more general, while King was after a cause affecting a minority group within the same country.

6. Limitations and Suggestions

This study has been confined to the analysis of six speeches by Gandhi and King, three each, which may not be fully representative of their method of expression of *Satyagraha*. Some cultural indicators, other than the ones pinpointed in this study, may be found. Also, methodologically speaking, depending solely on the quantitative based corpus analysis may lead to loss of some details concerning the linguistic choices by Gandhi and King. Moreover, 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 the area of nonviolence to reveal how it is linguistically expressed by different orators of various backgrounds. This is believed to be of global interest in a cause like the current Palestinian war, providing insights on the speeches calling for a nonviolent solution to such heartbreaking cause with the hope of implementing what is said in such speeches in reality. Also, the blend between corpus-based analysis and linguistic analysis may provide reliable as well as in-depth insights on philosophical adoptions and cultural orientations. Thus, merged together, they may be used as the base for analysis in other studies focusing on philosophy and culture in different political contexts. Gandhi's and King's remarkable speeches are uncountable. 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. Finally, their impact as founders of nonviolence in major political causes of oppression transcends historical boundaries. Thus, an examination of the influence of their beliefs on current political figures, especially those advocating nonviolence, would be of benefit.

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Appendix

Gandhi's Semantic Links
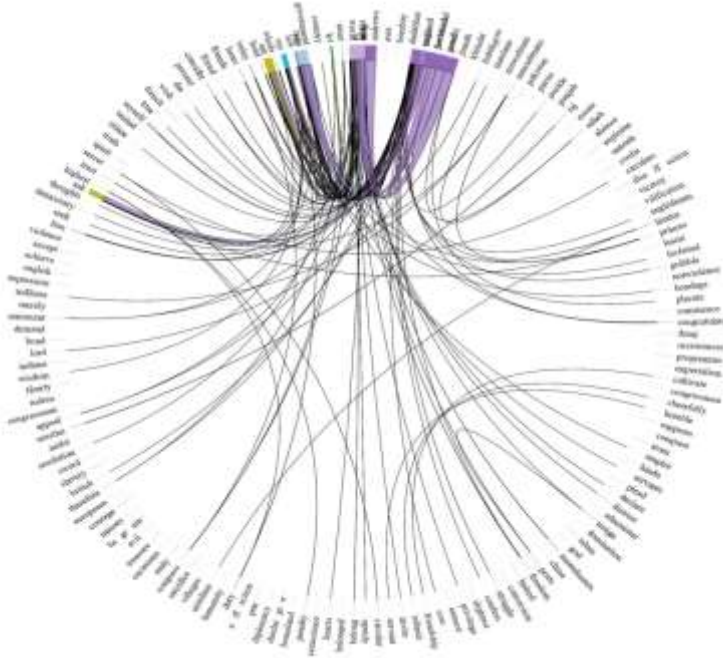
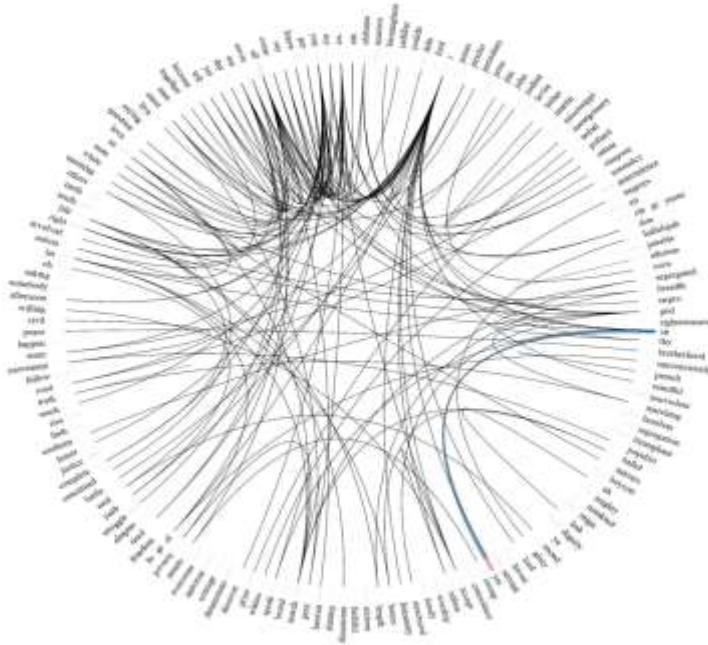| Keyword	Links
Africa	congress (1), friend (1), must (1), their (1), to (4), true (1), truth (1)
india	i (3), merely (1), my (1), to (7), today (1), united (1), you (2)
jesus	i (13), it (1), me (2), mussalmans (3), princes (3), to (6), you (5)
khilafat	i (1), my (1), spirit (1)
linlithgow	british (2), even (2), heart (1), i (2), it (1), jesus (1), me (1), my (1), to (2), you (5)
maulana	if (1), to (7), you (3)
mussalman	india (1), to (4)
mussalmans	occurrences (1)

parsis	country (1), hold (2), slavery (1), you (1)
puckle	before (2), diplomacy (1), government (1), i (1), imperialism (1), india (2), law (1), towards (2)
punjab	invite (1), submit (2), to (2)
raj	freedom (1), i (1), russia (1), to (3)
ahimsa	my (1), today (1)
exploiter	i (2), let (1), me (1), to (1), you (1)
untruth	i (5), you (2)
disaffection	must (1), sacrifice (1)
nonviolence	against (1), hearts (1), humanity (1), i (2), india (1), punjab (1), their (1)
bondage	courage (1), friendship (2), to (3)
imperialism	i (1), my (1), to (2), towards (3)
cultivate	duty (1), my (1), their (1), to (2)
congressmen	congress (1), if (1), to (2), you (3)
cheerfully	hindus (1), i (1), muslim (1), to (1)
empire	india (1), to (1)
hindu	i (1)
servants	europeans (1), i (2), indian (1), their (1), you (1)
plead	against (1), englishmen (1), if (1)
declare	before (2), courage (1), hatred (1), heart (1), i (2), if (10), it (6), me (3), my (2), pen (1), their (2), to (2), wisdom (1), world (1), you (2)
domination	empire (1), i (1), may (1), my (2), trust (1)
god	declare (1), hold (1), i (3), india (4), me (1), myself (1), struggle (1), their (1), to (6), you (2)
amendments	china (1), i (3), if (1), it (1), jinnah (1), let (1), may (1), me (1), must (1), struggle (1), their (1), till (1), to (3), today (1), you (4)
freedom	i (1), me (1), must (1), my (1), to (1), you (1)
hatred	cultivate (2), hindus (1), i (1), muslims (1), my (1), privilege (1), seek (1), their (1), therefore (1), to (1)

struggle	i (1), it (1), may (1), to (1), today (1)
confess	british (1), if (2), let (1), me (1), my (2), say (1), servants (2), to (6), towards (2)
privilege	against (1), even (1), towards (1)
invite	domination (1), friendship (1), i (1), if (2), india (1), millions (1), muslims (2), mussalmans (4), to (1)
servant	bondage (2), demand (1), empire (1), free (1), i (5), if (1), it (1), my (1), to (7), wisdom (1)
hearts	government (2), hindus (2), hold (1), i (10), india (4), it (6), law (1), me (2), millions (1), muslim (1), my (1), pakistan (1), penalty (2), princes (2), raj (1), russia (1), therefore (1), to (1), today (4), unity (2), violence (1), whole (1), you (18)
conscience	british (1), i (1), it (1), their (1)
penalty	belonged (1), british (2), congress (1), conquest (1), consider (1), country (1), crime (1), declare (1), die (1), england (1), free (4), hindus (1), i (3), if (4), law (1), masses (1), me (2), mussalmans (1), must (1), my (2), present (1), struggle (1), to (15), today (1), truth (1), villages (1), whole (4), you (1)
homeland	englishmen (1), i (1), mussalmans (1), their (1), to (2), villages (1)
affection	mussalmans (1), must (1), my (4), privilege (2), puckle (1), say (3), servant (1), struggle (1), therefore (1), to (33), today (4), true (1), truth (1), unity (1), wisdom (1), you (6)
muslims	freedom (1), placate (2), saheb (3), say (1), to (3)
unity	confess (1), courage (1), freedom (1), government (1), hearts (1), it (2), me (8), resolution (2), say (2), slavery (1)
occasions	suppress (1), to (1)
treasure	against (1), it (1), lord (3)
evil	against (1), linlithgow (3), today (1)
slavery	friendship (1), hindus (2)
muslim	ahimsa (1), appeal (1), bargain (1), before (1),

	commence (1), country (2), disaffection (1), discharge (1), duty (4), earnest (1), empire (2), even (2), exploiter (1), forfeited (2), friends (1), friendship (1), government (2), heart (6), hold (1), humble (1), i (8), if (1), india (2), it (4), me (2), must (1), myself (1), pen (1), resolution (1), sacrifice (1), say (1), spite (1), statement (2), struggle (1), suppress (1), thoughts (2), to (26), trust (1), truth (1), upon (1), wisdom (2), you (4)
appeal	consider (1), cow (1), free (1), friend (1), i (7), my (1), to (6)
congressman	i (1), to (1)
indian	empire (1), i (1)
liberty	bombay (1)
towards	declare (1), may (1), say (1), to (3), you (2)
wisdom	demand (1), if (1)
indians	i (1)
lord	even (1), my (1), suppress (1)
bond	highest (3), i (1), if (2), to (2), you (1)
demand	jinnah (2), saheb (1), to (3)
democracy	against (1), french (1), i (1), let (2), my (1), present (1), you (1)
thoughts	china (1), if (1), to (2)
ask	congressmen (1), i (1), my (1), spirit (1), their (1), to (1)
highest	jinnah (3), maulana (2), placate (1), to (1)
trust	government (1), i (18), it (3), jinnah (1), let (2), maulana (1), may (4), me (2), my (1), openly (1), princes (1), their (3), to (24), wish (1), you (3)
secret	circular (3), circulars (2), to (1)
spirit	friendship (1), may (2), sword (1), to (6)
truth	humanity (1), humble (2), it (1)
crime	government (2), humble (1), to (3)
true	andrews (1), bargain (1), sacrifice (1), true (1)

King's Semantic Links

Keyword	Links
alabama	birmingham (1), i (1), mississippi (1), montgomery (5), selma (3), god (1), sir (1), yeah (1), let (1), saying (1), our (1), all (3), we (2)
america	conscience (1), faith (1), white (1)
birmingham	alabama (1), montgomery (1), selma (2), normalcy (1), god (1), yes (1)
i	ain (1), alabama (1), didn (2), i (4), john (2), levite (1), pollard (1), nonviolence (1), air (1), don (7), parable (1), god (3), sir (3), brotherhood (1), mindful (3), segregation (1), triumphant (1), mankind (1), lord (3), yes (5), accept (5), refuse (5), worship (1), humanity (2), march (1), forget (2), yeah (3), complete (1), justice (1), faith (1), road (1), movement (1), somebody (1), right (5), life (3), morning (2), man (1), question (2), live (2), must

	(3), men (1), tell (2), day (1), never (3), all (2), come (5), say (8), know (9), you (8), my (3)
jericho	jerusalem (1), yes (1), sixteen (1), battle (3), road (4)
jerusalem	jericho (1), you (2)
jesus	negro (1), road (1), saying (1), day (1), you (1)
john	i (2), god (1), saying (1)
montgomery	alabama (5), birmingham (1), struggle (1)
nobel	accept (1), prize (2), know (1)
selma	alabama (3), birmingham (2), speak (1), streets (1), yet (1)
normalcy	birmingham (1), brotherhood (1), justice (1), all (2), we (3)
nonviolence	i (1), faith (1), our (1)
negroes	whites (3)
hallelujah	glory (5)
segregated	negro (1), march (2), southern (4)
negro	jesus (1), segregated (1), struggle (1), justice (1), white (3)
god	alabama (1), birmingham (1), i (3), john (1), thy (2), marching (2), lord (1), structured (3), forget (1), yeah (1), reach (1), willing (1), asking (1), let (1), right (2), morning (1), us (1), our (2), all (4), say (1), know (1), we (1)
marching	god (2), mighty (1), justice (1), truth (2), men (1)
segregation	i (1), accept (1)
mankind	i (1), day (1)
glory	hallelujah (5), sir (1), yeah (1), right (1)
lord	i (3), god (1), thy (1), life (1), love (1), my (1)
servant	faithful (1), you (1)
faithful	servant (1), you (1)
heaven	earth (1), all (2)
pray	freedom (1), must (2), day (1), we (2)
march	i (1), segregated (2), sir (1), triumphant (1), ballot (7), uh (1), march (4), poverty (3), let (17), us (17), tell (1), our (1)

speak	selma (1), sir (13), speak (6), afternoon (1), our (1)
whites	negroes (3), live (1), come (1)
poverty	march (3), let (3), my (1)
freedom	reign (1), pray (1), movement (1), never (1)
struggle	montgomery (1), negro (1), us (1), our (2)
soul	thy (1), rested (2), all (1), my (4)
justice	i (1), normalcy (1), negro (1), marching (1)
faith	america (1), i (1), nonviolence (1)
truth	marching (2), truth (2)
peace	brotherhood (4), prize (1), love (1), together (1)
civil	movement (2)
earth	heaven (1), rise (1)
white	america (1), jim (1), clergymen (1), negro (3), masses (6), man (5), men (1)
man	i (1), jim (1), crow (1), conscience (1), overcome (1), white (5), man (2), must (1), day (1), never (2), know (1), you (1)
us	god (1), accept (1), march (17), courage (1), struggle (1), concerned (1), let (20), tell (1), all (3), we (3)
love	lord (1), peace (1), morning (1), must (1), men (1), you (4)