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**Martin Luther King's I Have A Dream Speech: A
Rhetorical Dicourse Analysis**

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment
of the Requirements for a **Master's degree in Linguistics**

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Dedication

During the realisation of this modest work, we are sincerely thankful to many persons to whom we owe a great debt of gratitude and respect. Indeed, there are no words that can be remotely close enough to describe our immense thankfulness and appreciation. With special feelings of gratitude, we dedicate our humble work to:

Our loving fathers whose love, encouragements and prayers motivated ust to be able to achieve such success and honor.

Our brothers and sister whom encouraged and aided us during the realision of the work.

Our teachers for teaching us to believe in ourselves.

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Abstract

The present study is a rhetorical analysis of Martin Luther King's I Have A Dream speech which was delivered in 1963. The main interest of this analysis is to identify the rhetorical strategies used by the Baptist president in his speech. Moreover, our first interest is to demonstrate the various rhetorical manoeuvres that surrounds the I Have Dream's speech as well as the persuasive appeals implemented in it. Thus, in our field of investigation two major models are applied in this speech; the five Aristotelian rhetorical appeals (ie, logos, ethos, pathos, kairos, telos) and the Bitzer's rhetorical situation theory (1968). The present analytical study follows a descriptive design which is based in mixed-methods, including both qualitative and quantitative analysis. The first method is mainly used for the description of the rhetorical devices which encompasses both figures of speech and lexical semantic relations. In the other hand, the second one is mainly used for the representation of some frequencies with using tabulations. Furthermore, the integrating of the two models; the five Aristotelian appeals and Bitzer's rhetorical situation, played a crucial role in giving persuasiveness to the speech and to support all the arguments used in it. After a long analysis, we realized that Martin Luther King relied more on pathos as a tool to touch and attract the audience's emotion as well as the use of logos and ethos to hone his arguments with logic and give evident proofs to make the listener know the real situation that is discussed in the text. In addition to this, the Baptist president's I Have A Dream speech is considered as one of the most persuasive and colorful speech in the history of America, since it is rich of the following rhetorical devices: figures of speech (Alliteration, Anaphora, Hyperbole, Metaphor, Simile, Personification, Parallelism, Allusion, Rhetorical question) that made the speech more colorful and lexical semantic relations (Synonymy, Antonymy, Metonymy) which made the text well-structured and persuasive.

Key Words: I Have A Dream Speech, Discourse Analysis, Rhetorical Strategies, Arstotelian Rhetorical Appeals, Ethos, Pathos, Logos, Kairos, Telos, Bitzer's Rhetorical Situation Theory, Exigence, Audience, Constraints.

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List of Abbreviations

CA:Conversation Analysis

CDA:Critical Discourse Analysis

DC:Discourse Analysis

Dr:Doctor

EFL:English a eu Foreign Language

IS:Interactional Sociolinguistics

Ma:Multimodel Analysis

MLK:Martin Luther King

PDA:Political Discourse Analysis

PR:Political Rhetoric

RA:Rhetorical Analysis

UK:United Kingdom

USA:United States of Americ

US:United States

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Definition of terms

Discourse analysis: According to Brian Paltridge (2012) “*Discourse analysis examines patterns of language across texts and considers the relationship between language and the social and cultural contexts in which it is used. Discourse analysis also considers the ways that the use of language presents different views of the world and different understandings. It examines how the use of language is influenced by relationships between participants as well as the effects the use of language has upon social identities and relations. It also considers how views of the world, and identities, are constructed through the use of discourse*”. (p 02). That said, DA regards language as a tool to represent social issues within a society, discourse analysis is not static as it has several domains to deal with.

Rhetoric: According to James Martin (2014) “*It refers simultaneously to instruction in the practice and to a persuasive qualities of a discourse itself*”. (p02). In other terms, rhetoric is the art of persuasion through using language effectively.

Rhetorical analysis: Reisiigl (2008) claims that *since Rhetoric is the science and art of persuasive language use then: " [RA] Can be to analyze the employment and effects of linguistic (including non-verbal) and other semiotic means of persuasion in rhetorical terms.*" (pp.96-97). That is to say, rhetorical analysis is the study that examines the persuasive strategies and techniques used in the text.

Ethos: Aristotle (2015) states that “*Persuasion is achieved by the speaker’s personal character when the speech is so spoken as to make us think him credible*” (p.8). In other words, Ethos is used as a means of convincing the audience via the authority and credibility of the orator.

Pathos: Aristotle (2007) asserted that, “*there is persuasion through the hearers when they are led to feel emotion [pathos] by the speech*” p.39. That is, Pathos, it is the use of emotional appeal to evoke the feelings of the audience and persuade them.

Logos: According to Aristotle (1990) logos is a rational mode of persuasion in which the speaker persuade the audience by giving logical proofs and facts. (p81-82).

Kairos:Aristotle (2013) defines kairos as the “*right timing and proper means*” (p.29). In fact, it is the appropriate setting, either time and place, and context that surrounds the speech.

Telos: Aristotle (2020) by referring to telos, denotes the goal or final end i.e. Telos is used as way to persuade the audience by showing them the purpose of the speech.

Exigence:Bitzer (1968) explains that Exigence is the problem that motivated the orator to deliver his speech in order to solve it. (p6)

Audience:Bitzer 1968 defines the audience as those people who are able to be influenced and accept modification for the sake of fixing the exigence. (p6).

Constraints:according to Bitzer (1968) constraints is all factors, persons, events, objects and relations, that have power to constraint the audience’s decision and action to solve the exigence. (p8).

General Introduction

General Introduction

Martin Luther King's speech « I Have A Dream » was delivered on March 1963 at the Lincoln Memorial on Washington D.C. This sociopolitical speech is considered as the most influential historical speech which deals with racial segregation and discrimination in the United State of America. Doctor Martin Luther King Jr as ancient human rights activist influenced by his christian beliefs as well as the non-violence activism of Mahatma Gandhi who was known as a symbol of pacifism.

Rhetoric is the art of persuasion and it is the core of any either social or political speech. As Wodak (2009) explains, politics as: "*necessarily includes persuasion, rhetoric, deceptive devices, and so forth*". (pp. 775-794) In this regard, our research study seeks to analyze Martin Luther King « i have a dream » speech from a rhetorical discourse analysis perspective which highlights how successful politicians have always relied on powerful rhetorical strategies to promote their policies. Accordingly, Charteris-Black (2011) claims that: "*Audience are only persuaded when the speaker's rhetoric is successful.*" (p. 7).

As one of the most influential Afro-American orators, Martin Luther King Junior enjoys his use of language with extended power to convey his message by means of persuading the audience, and to do so, he bases on the rhetorical strategies employed in his famous speech 'I Have A Dream'. In this respect, this study analyses Martin Luther King's speech from a rhetorical discourse analysis perspective with a view to identify the Rhetorical strategies employed by this latter to build a persuasive speech. Indeed, this rhetorical study is an attempt to examine the rhetorical situation of the 'I Have A Dream' speech with an emphasis on the three components that constitute Bitzer's Rhetorical Situation Theory: the exigence, the audience and the constraints of the speech. Also, this analytical research seeks to identify Martin Luther King's rhetorical strategies with particular attention to the five Aristotelian Rhetorical Appeals: logos, ethos, pathos, kairos and telos.

1.Statement of the problem

Martin Luther King's speech is considered as a message of hope, peace and emancipation to the nation of America and around the world. The present research pays attention to Martin Luther King's speech 'I Have A Dream'. In fact, this famous speech carries many rhetorical strategies that are used to convey a message. Also, to convince and to influence the audience. To do so, we have decided to undertake an analytical research in order

to explore the rhetorical manoeuvres that characterise the speech of Martin Luther King as a means of persuasion.

2. Questions of the study

The present study is a discourse analytical study of Martin Luther King's I Have A Dream from a Rhetorical perspective. The objective of our analytical study is to explore the rhetorical manoeuvres adopted by Martin Luther King to show the dominance and the persuasiveness that surrounds his speech.

The present study aims to answer the following research questions:

- 1) What is the rhetorical situation that surrounds the I Have A Dream speech?
- 2) What are the rhetorical strategies employed by Martin Luther King in his I Have A Dream speech?
- 2) Does Martin Luther king make use of the Five Rhetorical Appeals Logos, Ethos, Pathos, Kairos, Tellos in his speech?

3. The purpose of the study

The research goals of our analytical study are numerous, but we selected the most appropriate ones. Thus, we have defined the purpose and the selected goals that will allow us to achieve our research throughout the analysis of Martin Luther King's I Have A Dream speech (1963), which are as follows:

- Identifying the different rhetorical devices used by the American activist, Martin Luther King, in his speech.
- Highlighting the different semantic relations used in Martin Luther King's I Have A Dream.
- Analysing and applying the five Aristotelian appeals logos, ethos, pathos, kairos and tellos.
- Examining the Bitzer's rhetorical situation that surrounds the I Have A Dream speech.
- Contributing with modesty to the field of rhetorical discourse analysis.

4. the significance of the study

The present study draws its significance and importance from the following:

- The originality and significance of our research work, since there is no previous research that examined the Martin Luther King's I Have A Dream speech from a rhetorical discourse analysis perspective.
- The results of our analytical research will give us the path to discover the rhetorical preferences of the Baptist Minister.
- It is an original topic of research, mainly in our Department of English at the University of Bejaia. In fact, it is a new and a significant Master Thesis in our Department.

6. The Organization of the Work

The present work is divided into three chapters in addition to the general introduction which contains the statement of the problem, the research questions; in addition to, the purpose of the study, and the significance of the study.

Chapter one is named: Theoretical Background and is divided into three main sections. The first section is an introduction to discourse analysis introduces Discourse Analysis. It presents the main notions found in discourse analysis; it contains significant and pertinent points that explain deeply the field of discourse analysis. The second section is about Rhetoric, Rhetorical Discourse Analysis, political rhetoric, rhetoric and proofs/argumentation, and the theoretical pillars of rhetoric and rhetorical analysis models, the Aristotelian rhetorical appeals, and the Bitzer's rhetorical situation model. The third section of this chapter is related to the previous studies related to our research work. Chapter two, named: Research Methods and Study Design, is devoted to the research methods and the design adopted in this study. Finally, the chapter three, entitled: Results and Discussions; it reports the results, analysis and discussions of the rhetorical analysis of I Have A Dream speech (2017). The last part discusses the limitations of our study and presents the conclusions drawn from this study.

Chapter one
Theoretical background

Chapter one: Theoretical background

Our present paper is a rhetorical discourse analysis of the I have a dream speech delivered by the Dr. Martin Luther King Jr who happens to be the most prolific Civil Rights activist in the sixties. This first chapter is concerned with the theoretical background of the present study. That said, we have divided this chapter into three main sections: The first section is devoted to the field of discourse analysis. The second section is an introduction to rhetoric, rhetorical analysis, and explores the two main models of rhetorical analysis adopted in this study. Finally, the third section reviews selected previous studies undertaken in the field of rhetorical discourse analysis.

Section one: Introduction to discourse analysis

This section introduces Discourse Analysis. It presents the main notions found in discourse analysis.

1. What is Discourse

Etymologically, the word 'discourse' dates back to the 14th century. It is taken from the Latin word 'discuss' which means a 'conversation' (McArthur, 1996). In its current usage, this term conveys a number of significations for a variety of purposes, but in all cases it relates to language, it describes it in some way, and it has become a well-known developed industry in linguistics. Hence, Fasold (1990) claims that: *"the study of discourse is the study of language use."* (As cited in D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen & H. E. Hamilton, 2015, p. 1). According to Brian Paltridge (2012): *"Discourse analysis, then, considers the relationship between language and the social and cultural contexts in which it is used. It considers what people mean by what they say, how they work out what people mean and the way language presents different views of the world and different understandings. This includes an examination of how discourse is shaped by relationships between participants, and the effects discourse has upon social identities and relations"*. (Brian, P, 2012, p. 12). Thus, Discourse includes different definitions from a wide range of sources. Jaworski and Coupland (1999) assert that: *"They all, however, fall into the three main categories noted above: (1) anything beyond the sentence, (2) language use, and (3) a broader range of social practice that includes non-linguistic and non-specific instances of language."* (As cited in Schiffrin, Tannen & E. Hamilton, 2015, p.01). In other words, language is the mirror of the social order which leads us to a better understanding of social and professional concerns, that

is to say, in order to understand how the way, we communicate both influence and are influenced by the structures and the forces of contemporary social institutions. Fairclough (1992) asserted in his book entitled *Critical language awareness: 'language use - 'discourse' – shapes and it is shaped by society.'* (p.08). As he also argued that: *'discourse is shaped by relations of power, and invested with ideologies.'* (p.08). Hyland and Paltridge (2011) claim that: *"because language is connected to almost everything that goes in the world, 'discourse' is something of an overloaded term, covering a range of meanings"* (p. 01).

2.What is Discourse Analysis (DA)

The term DA is composed of two separate terms 'Discourse' and 'Analysis'. Therefore, it is crucial to define each term apart. Many researchers have given different definitions to the latter. To start with, discourse is literally defined as: *"a serious speech or piece of writing on a particular subject"* (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, 2001, p. 388). Schiffrin, Tannen and Hamilton (2001) explained the term discourse and they asserted: *"It is no surprise that the terms "discourse" and "discourse analysis" have different meanings to scholars in different fields. For many researchers, particularly linguists, "discourse" has generally been defined as anything beyond the sentence. For others, (for example Fasold 1990), "the study of discourse is the study of language use"* (p.01). In other terms, In the study of language, discourse often refers to the speech patterns and usage of language. Therefore, discourse looks beyond the study of language in texts and conversations (coherence, cohesion, interpreting discourse, cooperative principles, hedges, implicature, turn taking, and conversation analysis). Indeed, the citation above claims that discourse is all about the rules and principles of how to use the language.

Analysis is the process of evaluating the things by breaking them down into pieces. Johnstone (2008) explained this idea and said: *"The most familiar use of the word "Analysis" is of processes, mental or mechanical, for taking things apart."* (p. 04). The term discourse analysis was first introduced by Zellig Harris (1952) as a way of analysing connected speech and writing. Harris had two main interests: the examination of language beyond the level of the sentence and the relationship between linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour. He examined the first of these in more detail, aiming to provide a way of describing how language features are distributed within texts and the ways in which they are combined in particular kinds and styles of texts. An early, and important observation he made was that:

''connected discourse occurs within a particular situation – whether of a person speaking, or of a conversation, or of someone sitting down occasionally over the period of months to write a particular kind of book in a particular literary or scientific tradition''. (As cited in Brian, P, 2012. P.02). Thus, there are typical ways of using language in particular situations. These discourses, he argued, not only share particular meanings, they also have characteristic linguistic features associated with them. What these meanings are and how they are realized in language is of central interest in the area of discourse analysis.

3. The main Approaches to discourse studies

1.3.1 Critical discourse analysis (CDA):

One of the most acknowledged approach to discourse studies is critical discourse analysis commonly referred to as CDA. The concept of CDA belongs to the realm of Critical Linguistics which concerns itself with the connection between language, dominance and the ways in which elite groups use language to exercise power in society. (VanDijk, 1998, p.367). Whereas, from other disciplines such as psycholinguistics, social sciences and psychology that CDA has grasped its fundamental notions (As cited in Chikhouné, 2018, p. 14). Thus, CDA looks to establish connections between properties of texts, features of discourse practice (text production, consumption and distribution), and wider sociocultural practice (Fairclough, 1995, p.81). He suggested the 3D model of critical discourse analysis which involves: 1-Text production (the objects of linguistic analysis). 2- Discursive practices (production, distribution and consumption of texts). 3- Social practices (the power relations, ideologies and hegemonic struggles that discourses reproduce, challenge, or restructure). (Fairclough, 1992, p.10). That said, the citation above claims that the CDA was created to analyse how power is displayed through language and it views language as a form of social practice. Therefore, according to Van Dijk (2001), the central insight of CDA is to relate the micro levels of the society (which involve language, discourse and communication), with its macro levels (which involve these notions of power, ideological dominance and so on) (As cited in Chikhouné, 2018, p.14). We quote one definition which has become very popular among CDA researchers, according to Shiffrin, Tannen, and Hamilton (2015):

''Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social-power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take an explicit position and thus want to understand, expose, and

ultimately challenge social inequality. This is also why CDA maybe characterized as a social movement of politically committed discourse analysts.’’ (p. 466).

In fact, CDA understands discourses as relatively stable uses of language serving the organization and the structure of social life, as well as it studies the political and social issues in a society such as injustice and dominance.

In a nutshell, Fairclough and Wodak (1997) summarized the main concerns of CDA as follows:

- CDA addresses social problems.
- Power relations are discursive.
- Discourse constitutes society and culture.
- Discourse does ideological work.
- Discourse is historical.
- The link between text and society is mediated.
- Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory.
- Discourse is a form of social action. (as cited in Schiffrin, Tannen &

Hamilton, p.467)

1.3.2. Conversation Analysis

Another crucial approach to discourse analysis is called Conversation analysis which was developed by the sociologist Harvey Sacks and his collaborators, Emanuel Schegloff and Gall Jefferson in the early 1960s. Besides, CA takes its roots from the field of sociology (As cited in Chikhoun, 2018, p.10). *“Indeed, it is now an interdisciplinary field – spanning, in particular, sociology, psychology, linguistics and communication studies.”* (Ken Hyland and Brian Partridge, 2011, p.22). In other terms, CA concerns the study of social interaction and talking for the sake of understanding social life, and amongst its goals, we site: describing and explaining the competences that people use and rely on what they interact.

“This is the approach of conversation analysis (CA), based on the work of Harvey Sacks (Jefferson,1992). It is sometimes referred to as a form of discourse analysis and sometimes as a separate field, also known as the study of ‘talk in interaction’. Conversation analysts are interested in talk as a social practice and in the meanings which are established within the immediate conversational context. The data they analyse are usually ordinary conversational interactions (often referred to as ‘mundane’), such as phone conversations or

talk at the 12 What is discourse analysis? dinner table''.(Taylor, 2013, pp. 11-12). That is to say, Discourse Analysis and conversation analysis are interrelated in the sense that both are analysing spoken language and interaction. However, there are some differences between them. DA tends to adopt a deductive methodology which means a conversation arises from General to specific, focusing on rules for producing well-formed units language larger than a sentence. Whereas, CA follows an inductive methodology, that said, a conversation arises from specific to general being interested in the sequential organisation of talk-in conversation. Indeed, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) got interested in how people get to take turns in conversation and ended up with rules for “*TurnTaking*” (As cited in Fairclough, 1992, p. 17). Fairclough also asserts that CA gave rise to rules for the sequencing of actions in interaction, “*conversational openings and closings.*” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 17). In few words, the main goal of CA is neither concerned with ideologies, nor with social structures, yet it is based on conversations and interactions.

1.3.3. Multimodel Analysis

Multimodel Analysis is one of the modern approaches to discourse analysis as it seeks to show that a text is a means of communication and conversation which is very important for rising the degree of interpretation in a given society. Besides, this approach and its analysts have been inspired by the conversation analysis. Accordingly, Brian Paltridge (2012) claims that: “*Multimodal discourse analysis considers how texts draw on modes of communication such as pictures, film, video, images and sound in combination with words to make meaning. It has examined print genres as well as genres such as web pages, film and television programmes. It considers how multimodal texts are designed and how semiotic tools such as colour, framing, focus and positioning of elements contribute to the making of meaning in these texts*” (p. 170). In other words, the main insights of MA are to describe the socially situated semiotic resources that we draw on for communication.

This modern approach does not consider the analysis of a discourse at the level of text. Yet, the multimodel analysts take into consideration the semiotics modes such as visual images, postures, gestures, document layout, music and architectural design (Bhatia, Flowerdew, Jones, 2008). Many of those analysts are influenced by Halliday’s (2009a) approach. Indeed, He describes three types of social meanings that are drawn simultaneously in the use of language: “1- *Ideational (what the text is about).* 2- *Interpersonal*

(relationships between participants). 3- Textual meaning (how the message is organized).''(As cited in Brian, 2012, p. 170).

1.3.4. Interactional Sociolinguistics

Interactional Sociolinguistics is an approach to Discourse Analysis that studies and analysis how people use language in everyday communications within interaction. Indeed, according to Jasper (2012), IS takes its origins from different disciplines such as conversation analysis, Dialectology, Pragmatics, Ethnomethodology, Linguistics Anthropology and sociology. (As cited in Chikhouné, 2018, p.21). Therefore, the term sociolinguistics that is the study of language in relation to society, also defined as the study of language use in social context, IS is concerned with the social constructionist standpoint, it is closely related to DA from a '*Macro-social viewpoint*' (Jasper, 2012 as cited in Chikhouné, 2018). In other words, the crucial insights of IS is such an examination of the everyday interaction of people when using language.

According to IS describes how social context or what Jasper (2012) calls '*extra communicative knowledge*.'''(As cited in Chikhouné, 2018, p.13), is important in avoiding miscommunication and misunderstanding when conversing. According to Jasper (2012) contextualization of the conversation will avoid vagueness, misinterpretation and misunderstanding in conversations. (p.136). That said, the word contextualization brings lucidness to a conversation, and make it in equal with context in which the interactants are involved by adding extra communicative knowledge. Jasper asserts that: "*finding out what unstated extracommunication knowledge contributes to or disambiguates the meaning of what is said..., or (re) negotiating the relevant context.*" (Jasper, 2012, p.136).

IS deals with the issue of socialization, when conversing there are some words which have indexical meanings in specific context. That is, '*IS can contribute to our understanding of larger social evolutions.*'''(Jasper, 2012, p. 144). Moreover, when two persons are sharing the same speech community, the talk between them will not be ambiguous because they are both belonging to the same social environment, also called the two persons are mutually intelligible. However, two persons from different speech community will face difficulties and misunderstanding of some words because they are not mutually intelligible and they do not share the same culture. Besides, this is what Jasper (2012) calls '*Stereotypification*' (As cited in Chikhouné, 2018, p.21), words have different meanings from one society to another. Besides, Jasper claims that: "*In order to describe and explain meaningful communication, we*

need to look at what indexical meanings are implied by the words in a particular context rather than only at the words themselves.” (p.136).

4.The insights of Political discourse:

Our field of investigation is mainly concerned with the realm of politics, as it seeks the basic techniques used by the orator in his speech in order to maintain his influence and dominance regarding the problems of liberty, democracy and justice that surrounds the society. Besides, Hague and Miller (1991) shed light on this point stating that:“*The political process typically involves persuasion and the bargaining.*” (As cited in Chilton, 2004, p. 04). That is to say, language can produce the effects of authority, legitimacy, consensus, and so forth that are recognised as being intrinsic to politics. These reflections are credited to be the starting point of the idea that language and politics have a potential relationship. Accordingly, Hague (1998) asserts that: “ *Politics involves reconciling differences through discussion and persuasion. Communication is therefore central to politics.* ” (As cited in Chilton, 2004, p04). Also, Chilton (2004) asserts that politics doesn't exist without language they are closely interrelated (As cited in Chikhoun, 2018, p.19). In more details, he claims that: “ *the traditional study of politics and in discourse studies of politics, there are two broad strands. On the one hand, politics is viewed as a struggle for power, between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it. Some states are conspicuously based on struggles for power; whether democracies are essentially so constituted is disputable. On the other hand, politics is viewed as cooperation, as the practices and institutions that a society has for resolving clashes of interest over money, influence, liberty, and the like. Again, whether democracies are intrinsically so constituted is disputed. Cross-cutting these two orientations is another distinction, this time between ‘micro’ and ‘macro’. At the micro level there are conflicts of interest, struggles for dominance and efforts at co-operation between individuals, between genders, and between social groups of various kinds. As Jones et al. (1994: 5) put it, [a]t the micro level we use a variety of techniques to get our own way: persuasion, rational argument, irrational strategies, threats, entreaties, bribes, manipulation – anything we think will work.*”(P.03). In other words, the paradox of political discourse is that to control power, knowledge and dominance over the audience with using an emotional and attractive language which reflect the fact that politics is discursive.

Another crucial point to mention is that Political discourse analysis and Critical discourse analysis can not be in isolation. Thus, Van Dijk (1997) asserts that:“*PDA is both*

about political discourse and also a critical enterprise. In the spirit of contemporary approach in critical discourse analysis, this would mean that critical discourse analysis deals with the reproduction of political discourse, including the various forms of resistance or counter-power against such forms of discursive dominance.'' (p.11). In few words, when the orator delivers a political speech, there should be the aspects of power abuse and the domination.

5. The Role of Context in Discourse Analysis

Context, discourse analysis, and social environment are intertwined in that the three terms can not be in isolation. First and foremost, context has several definitions, depending on what field a linguist or a given researcher seeks in order to support his or her ideas and theories; However, in the area of discourse studies, context indicates how a discourse or a speech takes place in the environment, in other words, a word may have several meanings which depends on its context of use (As cited in Chikhoun, 2018, p.21). Thus, Malinowski (1923) asserts that: *''the meaning of a single word is to a very high degree dependent on its context.*'' (As cited in Widdowson, 2004, p. 37). Therefore, another crucial point regarding the importance of context in discourse analysis is physical context, also known as the place and time, when and where, the discourse occurred and produced, this term shows that context is closely associated with physical situation, in other words, there should be a link between the language spoken and the physical situation in which people are involved including the shared knowledge between them. Furthermore, according to Widdowson (2007), *''context is not what is perceived in a particular situation, but what is conceived as relevant, and situational factors may have no relevance at all''*. (p.21). In few words, context involves environment, the shared knowledge in a given discourse patterns, and the physical situation.

Our field of investigation is mainly concerned with this particular subject as it plays an important role in discourse studies. The primary role of context in discourse analysis is that a given word or sentence is determined by the context, that said, context gives to a word or a sentence his clarity and obviousness. According to Song (2010), the primary role of context is the elimination of ambiguity in words and sentences that helps to indicate its meanings (As cited in Chikhoun, 2018, p.22). For instance, this sentence *''John is praying''* might have two different interpretations :1)- *''John is praying in the direction of Mecca''*.2)- *''John is making his pray to thank and ask god for his help''*. Indeed, one sentence can have an alternative

meaning which depends on its context of use, that said, the context gives lucidness to a sentence and avoid the ambiguity of its meaning such as the example we have cited above.

Another important role of context is the indication of the referents. Thus, context facilitates the understanding of what words refer to in a discourse. (Song, 2010 as cited in Chikhoun, 2018). For example, “*take the wheels of the bicycle and fix it*”. The personal pronoun it has an alternative reference. It is crucial to take into consideration the contextualization of the discourse in order to interpret the exact meaning of the sentence.

Discourse analysis and Context are closely intertwined, one term complete the author one. According to Song (2010), “*In a word, context plays a very important role in Discourse Analysis. A discourse and its context are in close relationship: the discourse elaborates its context and the context helps interpret the meaning of utterances in the discourse.*” (p. 877). In few words, the knowledge of context is a premise of the analysis of discourse.

Section Two: Rhetoric and Rhetorical Discourse Analysis

The following section seeks to provide the theoretical pillars of rhetoric and rhetorical analysis which happens to be the approach we have taken in the present research. Since the subsequent research is a rhetorical discourse study of the "I have a dream" speech delivered by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr amidst the sprout of the Civil Rights movement, we find it of utter prominence to give insights on what rhetoric refers to before engaging in elucidating what is meant by rhetorical analysis. By the same token, all over this research, we have adopted Aristotle's perception of rhetoric as an art of persuasion as our primary focal point. Nonetheless, we provide the aforementioned study with two another insightful model of analysis - namely the Bitzer's model of analysis.

1. Defining Rhetoric

Generally, one word can mean a lot of different things. Rhetoric is one of those words. Rhetoric, in the most general sense, is the art of using language either in speech or in writing.

In this regard, Gerrard (2002) claims that: “*Rhetoric, as an area of study, is concerned with how humans use symbols, especially language, to reach agreement that permits coordinated effort of some sort. In its most basic form, rhetorical communication occurs*

whenever one person engages another in an exchange of symbols to accomplish some goal.” (pp. 2-3). In other words, rhetoric encompasses the study of language as a whole: its system, codes, and to some extent social convention through speaking or writing to reach a particular agreement.

Thus, Kennedy (2007) said that: “*rhetoric, in the most general sense, can be regarded as a form of mental or emotional energy imparted to a communication to affect situation in the interest of the speaker.*” (p. 7). That is to say, rhetoric is the use of persuasive language by employing reasons and emotional appeals to appeal the audience’s logic and evoking their emotions to modify something for the benefit of the speaker.

Hence, Aristotle claims: “*that rhetoric was a productive art; It was a mode of thinking that produced something concrete*”. (As cited in Gerard, 2002, P.18). That end, rhetoric deals with the production of a speech through using reason and logical proofs.

Many of the greatest minds had had different things to say about this concept. Some of them have thought about Rhetoric primarily in terms of persuasion, as Aristotle stated: “*Rhetoric is the ability in a particular case to identify the available means of persuasion*”. (As cited in Kennedy, 2007, p. 37). By the same token, Rhetoric is the orator’s competence in perceiving and using effective means and strategies employed within a specific circumstances which are reliable tools set to convince the audiences and the general public to think or act in a particular way.

In fact, sometimes, rhetoric can be a sort of manipulation speakers or writers exert on people, because what the rhetor says is not necessarily what he believes in, in order to serve their own own interests. As Richards (2008) affirmed that: “*phrases that sound good but express little of speaker’s or writer’s real beliefs account as rhetoric*” (p 3). According to this statement, we understand that for Richards rhetors are ready to say any statement, in a persuasive way, even if they do not believe in it to be true merely impel people from their perspectives to the stance that best serves the aforesaid best interests.

2. The Concept of Rhetorical discourse analysis:

The present research is concerned with rhetorical discourse analysis. Through the aforementioned definitions of Rhetoric, it is easy to understand that rhetoric means the art of using language to persuade the audience; therefore, one can assume that Rhetorical analysis (RA) studies and describes the persuasive linguistic techniques used by the rhetor to win the

audience. In that account, Reisiql (2008) claims that: *“since Rhetoric is the science and art of persuasive language use then: ” [RA] Can be to analyze the employment and effects of linguistic (including non-verbal) and other semiotic means of persuasion in rhetorical terms.”*(pp. 96-97).

As Jim A. Kuypers (2009) has observed:*“when we critique instances of rhetoric, often called rhetorical artifacts, we are allowing ourselves to take a closer, critical, look at how rhetoric operates to persuade and influence us.”* (P. 13). In a nutshell, we may conclude that rhetorical analysis or rhetorical criticism is the mode of analysis that primarily deals with the means of persuasion used by the rhetor to make his speech or text successful and persuasive.

Albeit it's provenance, Selzer (2003) qualified RA as drafted paper destined to comprehend and elucidate the use of language in the scope of a particular social context in order to sway the public (p.281).

3. What is Political rhetoric:

Since the scope of the present research is a political speech which gives a special attention to analyzing the persuasive textual techniques and rhetorical devices used in the speech, we may consider that we are concerned with political rhetoric (PR);therefore, it is quiet important to explain first the aforesaid notion and, subsequently, it is noteworthy to make the connection between rhetoric and politics.

In ancient Greece, the power was placed in the hands of its citizens. So, the meeting of the assembly, in which they discussed political, social, and economic matters, was ruled by the Demos (people). In this respect, Yunis (1996) cited:*“the term rhetor, which literally means “speaker”, was used to designate any citizen who volunteered to adress the assembly either to move a proposal or just to contribute to the ddebate. Thus such citizens were in effect attempting to act as leaders.”* (p. 9) i.e. Athenians considered rhetors as political experts. In other words, there were no political figures, a volunteer citizens initiate, propose, and defend policy in open debate before the mass of voting audience.(Yunis, 1996, pp. 8-9). That is, in those assemblies, rhetors influence and give counsel to their audience before they make any political or social decision, that would eventually benefit them the most.

Yunis (1996) asserted that: *“Beynod a taste for competition, beyond reputation and status, and beyond useful knowledge and experience, to exert leadership in democratic Athens required skill at public speaking. Even in the best of circumstances it is not possible for every*

person to address a huge crowd outdoors (without microphone, of course) and make himself heard and intelligible.” (PP. 11-12). That is to say, a rhetor in democratic Athens requires skills in public speaking in order to persuade the audience by delivering a public speech that could effectively persuade and lead a mass audience toward the fulfillment of such interests.

To sum up, rhetoric and politics are interrelated in the fact that rhetoric emerged within the political assemblies of Athens; and rhetoric is also used and emerged as an art to persuade citizens within political assemblies of democratic Athens.

Furthermore, according to Rotry (1996), Aristotle distinguished, on the one hand, deliberative rhetoric from judicial oratory which includes discourse or written word that considers whether or not something was just, legal, or ethical. In the other, epideictic rhetoric which also includes discourse or written word that praises or blames a person for their actions or accomplishments (pp. 3-4). What's more, Aristotle, argues that Political oratory and debate fall under the category of deliberative rhetoric (As cited in Roberts, W. R, 2015, p. 15). As Richard Nordquist (2018) had explained: deliberative rhetoric also known as legislative rhetoric or deliberative discourse, is a form of speech or writing that attempts to either persuade or dissuade an audience to take or not take some decisions. James Martin (2014) asserted: *“politics and the political, as I claimed in Chapter 1, are inextricably linked. It is practically mediating that link that rhetoric illuminates the character of politics today.”* (P. 88). In other words, politics and rhetorics are interrelated in the way that a politician attempts to persuade and influence the audience's decision by using rhetoric.

Hence, Yunis (1996) explained that, in a strict sense, deliberative rhetoric attempts to persuade and advice an audience to adopt or reject a course of action that is under consideration (p. 14). Political Rhetoric concerns itself with the strategies used by politicians to construct and elaborate persuasive arguments to promote their interests in any given particular political discourse. Accordingly, Reisigl (2008) claims that in order to define PR, we should first find rhetoric and politics (p. 96). In fact, he states that if rhetoric is defined as “the science and art of persuasive language use, and if the definition of political is all what politicians do; then, PR will be defined as: *“the rhetoric produced by politicians”* (Reisigl, 2008, p. 97). That is, PR is the set of rhetorical devices and means of persuasion used by a certain public speaker or politician to construct persuasive arguments that are developed in order to, on the one hand, defend a position: political, ideological and so forth, and persuade

the audience. To put it mildly, Political rhetoric is the rhetoric employed by politicians for particular purposes to serve their best interests.

4.Rhetoric and proofs / argumentation

Since our research seeks to analyse the rhetorical strategies of the King's.Jr speech, it is noteworthy to mention the link that exists between Rhetoric and the concept of proofs and argumentation. To best address such matter, Aristotle believed that rhetoric is an art of persuasion that oughts not neglecting the use of proofs or arguments. That said, he claims that :*“The audience is invited into the argumentation to become a part of it,where argumentation is an act of reciprocal involvement. This is a view of argumentation that sees it create anenvironment in which the "self-persuasion" of the audience, as it were, can take place. Rather than beingexploited, or aggressively persuaded, the audience is given the opportunity to complete the argumentation andevaluate arguments in terms of the reasoning involved.”*(As cited in Cristopher. Tindale, 1998, p. 8). That is to say, the audience gives its attention to the arguer's argument and he will get persuaded thanks to the high quality of the orator's proofs. Therefore, Cristopher states that when the audience is persuaded, it is because of its own reflection and its own reasoning, and all this is due to the arguer's speech. (p. 8).

Aristotle made a destinction between two types of proofs or arguments, he claims that:

“Of the pisteis, some are atechnic (“non-artistic”), some entech (“embodied in art, artistic”).³⁵ I call atechnic those that are not provided by “us” [i.e., the potential speaker] but are preexisting: for example, witnesses, testimony from torture,³⁶ contracts, and such like; and entechnic whatever can be prepared by method and by “us”; thus one must use the former and invent³⁷ the latter” (as cited in Kennedy, 2007, p. 38). In other terms, the artistic proofs are invented by the orator himself, while the non-artistic are those proofs that are not produced by the orator but rather used as a means of witness and laws. Thus, Kraus (2011) states that Aristotle considers that the orator must use his or her own proofs which is related to artistic proofs, while he considers the non-artistic proofs as an alternative or a second choice that the orator may use it when he needs to. (p .266). That said, in order to persuade the audience, the orator must use its own arguments or proofs that should be related to logic.

5.The Aristotelian Rhetorical Proofs:

The first and the primary theory adopted in this study is concerned with the rhetorical proofs - namely **ethos**, **pathos**, and **logos**. These three terms, along with **kairos** and **telos**, were used by Aristotle to help explain how rhetoric functions.

As it is mentioned in the previous section dedicated to Rhetoric: According to Aristotle (1356a) rhetoric is defined as an ability in each case to see the means of persuasion (Kennedy, 2007, p.37). That is to say, rhetoric has to do with the adequate strategies used to persuade the audience in a particular context. Therefore, through his beliefs and those of many other authors (that would later echo him) persuasion comes essentially in three different kinds of proofs, also known as persuasive appeals. These persuasive appeals are: **Ethos** which is concerned with the persuader's good character and credibility. **Pathos** which refers to the emotional appeal by exciting audience's feelings, and, last but not least, **Logos** which is the logical appeal includes the logical arguments. In that account, Kennedy (2007) states the following: "*Aristotle identified three artistic modes of persuasion, derived from presenting the character (ethos) of the speaker in a favourable light, awaking emotion (pathos) in the audience so as to induce them to make the judgment desired, and showing the probability of what is said by logical argument(logos).*" (p.111).

The first persuasive appeal is **Ethos**. According to Lanham and Rife (2010), Ethos is: "*establishing the persuader's good character and hence credibility.*" (as cited in Richard, Lanham, 1991, p.166). In other words, ethos is about whether or not we are appealing to listener's sense of trust and the effectiveness of the character and authority the author inspires. Moreover, Kennedy (2007) asserted that: "*There is persuasion through character whenever the speech is spoken in such a way as to make the speaker worthy of credence; for we believe fair-minded people to greater extent and more quickly than we do other, on all subjects in general and complemently so in cases where is not exact knowledge but room for doubt.*" (P. 38)

Also, Aristotle (2015) states that "*Persuasion is achieved by the speaker's personal character when the speech is so spoken as to make us think him credible*" (p. 8). In other terms, ethos focuses on the orator who, in his turn, should construct his credibility and good character in order to gain the trustworthiness of his audience. Besides, according to Aristotle

(1356a), the speaker should take into consideration character, virtue, and good will towards his audience in order to construct credibility (As cited in Kennedy, 2007, p.112). In other words, the speaker constructs his credibility toward his audience through good character by showing them that he is an honest, righteous, ethical, and truthful, and virtuous person. Virtue consists in providing and preserving good things. This point deals with the good actions that consolidate his good reputation, and good will is achieved when the speaker gives attention to the audience's feelings and concerns. Moreover, Varpio (2018) claims that the credibility of the speaker is also achieved when he shows the controlling and mastery of the subject discussed in his discourse (p.204). To put it differently, the orator should point out that he is more informed and experienced than his audience about what he is speaking about in his discourse, so that the audience trust and believe him. Varpio (2018) also asserts that the speaker credibility constructed towards his audience through using some rhetorical tools such as similitude and differences (p.208). According to her (2018), similitude can be achieved when the speaker identifies himself as sharing similarities with his audience by using inclusive pronouns like we and us (p.207). By the same token, she explains that differences are set when the speaker uses some phrases to show respect towards his audience. (p.208). That is to say, the speaker should respect his audience by using phrases such as "*in my opinion*", "*I think that*" and so hence and so for.

The second persuasive appeal suggested by Aristotle is **Pathos**. According to Varpio (2018): "*pathos refers to the emotions that are stirred in the reader while reading the manuscript.*" (p.209). Hence, Ethos is an appeal to the audience's emotion, pathos is when the speaker or the writer involves the audience's feelings through his discourse or text. In accordance, Aristotle asserted that: "*there is persuasion through the hearers when they are led to feel emotion [pathos] by the speech.*" (As cited in Kennedy, 2007, p.39). In other words, pathos is about communicating in a pertinent way that touches and evoke the listeners' or the readers' emotion. In fact, pathos has to do with the audiences' emotion rather than the speaker's emotion. Hence, according to Aristotle pathos is: "*Putting the audience in an appropriate mood, by playing on its feelings*". (as cited in Richard and Lanham, 1991, p.166). That is, pathos refers to the elements of a speech that appealed to any of an audience's sensibilities to get positive response from the audience. Moreover, Varpio (2018) mentioned that to achieve the connection between the audience and the author, the later can awaken the positive emotion in the audience by using the God-terms in his speech or writing. (p.209). Yet, God-terms are those terms, of positive signification, which involve human values as

equality, freedom, justice and so hence. The involvement of these words, in a speech or text, helps the speaker or writer to make an emotional connection with the audience.

The third rhetorical appeal suggested by Aristotle is **logos**. According to Andrew S et al, (2016), logos: “*can be defined as the deployment of argumentation, evidence, logic and reasoning in speeches, in order to persuade the audience of the validity and veracity of the speaker’s claims and the case they are making in support of a particular position or course of action*” (p.176) as he suggested that the proofs should be demonstrative (Kennedy , 2007, p.247). That is, logos, is when the speaker appeals the audience’s sense of rationale and logic to support his position. It is an appeal to people’s mind. Besides, logos refers to the speech or the text itself where the author makes audience connection by appealing to their rational mind through logic and reason. Hence, according to Varpio (2018) claims that in order to appeal audience’s rationale logic the arguments should be clear and well constructed so that the audience can follow the logic and the order of the arguments (p.208). He (2018) also added that using “*signposting*” is a way among ways that make the audience follow the advanced arguments easily (p.208). In other words, signposting signifies using words like now, first, second, and phrases such as to sum up, as I was saying, and as result, to indicate logical progress and help the audience to follow the order of the arguments at ease. In addition to the three most important means and modes of persuasion appeals, ethos, pathos, and logos, the present rhetorical discourse analysis also interested on **kairos** the fourth Aristotelian persuasive proof and **telos** the fifth rhetorical appeal suggested by Aristotle.

The fourth rhetorical appeal is **kairos**. It refers to the right opportunity and the right context to give the appropriate arguments in relation to a particular situation to persuade the audience and fix the exigence. Besides, according to Leston (2013), Aristotle defines kairos as: “*right timing and proper means*” (p.29). Hence, according to Phillip Sipiora, James S. Baumlin, (2013): “*kairos signals the need to bring universal ideas and principles to bear in historical time and situations and, thus, calls for decisions about values, means, and ends that cannot be a matter of law alone but require wisdom and critical judgment*” (p. 56). Thus, kairos is the ability of the rhetor to recognize the favourable setting, the right time and measure, to intervene by delivering a discours and persuade his audience to modify a given situation.

The fifth rhetorical appeal is called **telos**. It is considered as an appeal of purpose. What a message aims to achieve. Moreover, according to Jeremy Engel (2020), Aristotle, by

referring to telos, denotes the goal or final end. That is, telos will help the audience or the readers make sense of what follows, when the rhetor declare the purpose of his discourse. Moreover, George in his book entitled Politics and Rhetoric coming term with terms (2009) claims: *“Note the question that we often put to artists: “What is the meaning of your work?” And importantly, note that a comparable question is asked of rhetoricians, especially of rhetors about whose work we would like to know what affects they intend to achieve.*

We ask of rhetors, “What is your rhetorical aim and purpose?” Artists and rhetors are asked about their motives and their intentions. They are asked about the artistic means they are using in creating the meaningful artifacts that they produce in both the visual and plastic arts. They are asked about their stylistic efforts to create meaning in compositions of speeches and texts.” (P. 56). That to say, the rhetor argument is often conducted through his goal and objective and this can be influenced by the the purpose of the audience. Each one affects the other.

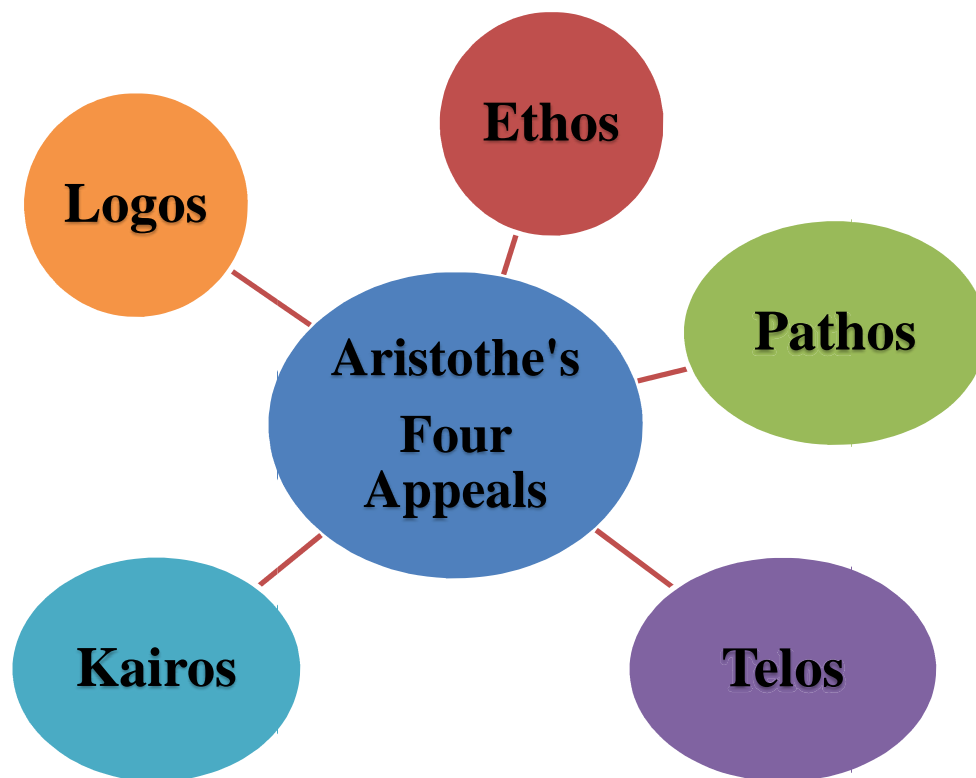


Figure 01: Aristhoe’s Five Rhetorical Appeals (1356a)

6. Bitzer's rhetorical situation (1968)

This section attempts to examine the three constituents of rhetorical situation as identified by Bitzer (1999) - namely exigence (need and demand), audience (reader, listener or viewer), and constraints (outside influence). Bitzer (As cited in Rhetorical criticism book, Jim A. Kuypers, 2009) defines rhetorical situation: "*as a complex of persons events, objects, and relations presenting an actual or potential exigence which can be completely or partially removed if discourse introduced into the situation can so constrain human decision or action as to bring about the significant modification of the exigence.* ", (p. 33). That is to say, any rhetorical discourse is delivered and conditioned within the scope of a particular rhetorical situation.

In this respect Bitzer (1968) writes: "*There are three constituents of any rhetorical situation: the first is exigence; the second and the third are elements of the complex, namely the audience to be constrained in the decision and action, and the constraints which influence the rhetor and can be brought to bear upon the audience.*" (p.6). In fact, the first concept of Bitzer's rhetorical situation is the **exigence** constituent which happens to be a problem of high priority and one that can be solved while the rhetor, speaker or writer, use rhetoric to persuade the audience in order to solve it or make a change in a given situation. Likewise, Bitzer (1968) points out that not all exigencies are part of a rhetorical situation. Only those that can be modified through discourse may be considered an element of a rhetorical situation. (p.07). In other terms, an insolvable problem is not considered as rhetorical situation, so to consider the exigence supposed by the rhetor as a rhetorical situation, it should accept modification and it must be solved through a rhetorical discourse. Moreover, the **audience** is the second constituent of rhetorical situation.

The audience is rhetorical when the audience, listener or reader, can be influenced, capable of reaction, and accept modification. In accordance, Bitzer (1968) goes on to clarify that: "*probably speaking, a rhetorical audience consists of only those persons who are capable of being influenced by discourse and of being mediators of change*" (p. 8). That is to say, the audience are simply those persons who function as mediators of change. Otherwise, the audience which is not able to make an action and modify the exigence is not considered as an audience. Hence, an audience is not a mere hearer or reader it participates actively in the discourse process. Bearing in mind the aforesaid, The **Constraint** constituent is the final constituent of rhetorical situation.

Bitzer (1968) defines rhetorical situation constraints as: "*a set of constraints made up of persons, events, objects, and relations which are parts of the situation because they have the power to constrain decision and action needed to modify the exigence.*" (p.08).

In basic terms, rhetorical constraint can be any person, any circumstance, any object, or anything else connected to the situation that may have the power to constrain the audience's decisions and actions needed for the sake of modifying the exigence.

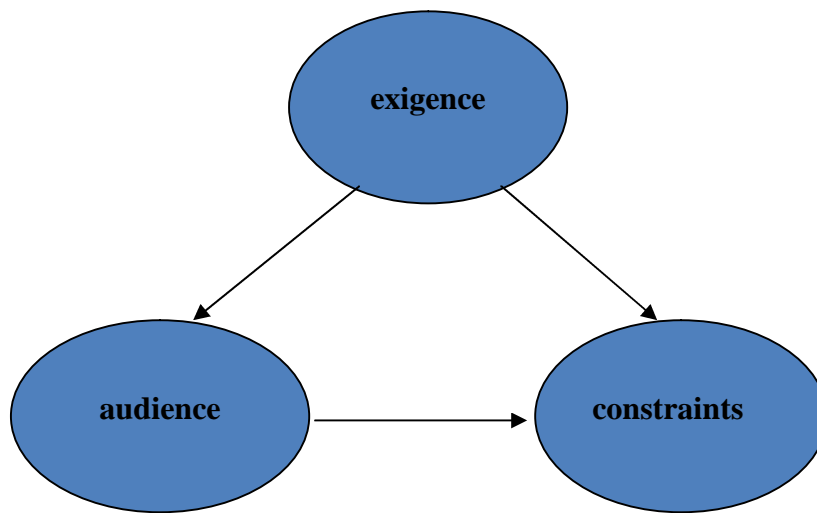


Figure 02: Bitzer's Rhetorical Situation Model of Analysis (1968)

Section three:Previous studies

Rhetorical discourse analysis is a vast field that has inspired many scholars. Therefore, our research is about this growing field, more precisely, it is about the analysis of rhetorical strategies of Martin Luther King's "I Have A Dream" speech. This section is dedicated to the review of the previous studies that are related to our field of investigation. In what follows, we have selected the main previous studies that are relevant to our research.

In her dissertation entitled "David Cameron Bloomberg Speech: A Rhetorical Discourse Analysis" Miss.ChabhaChikhoun (2019) is interested in analysing how David Cameron rhetorically managed to convince and to persuade the British nation that an immediate Brexit referendum would be a precipitous decision. The analytical study shows the impressive and various rhetorical strategies to convey a vibrant message. The attention is oriented towards the rhetorical situation that surrounds the Bloomberg speech, and to the

persuasive appeals implemented in it. Therefore, two models of rhetorical analysis are integrated in this speech. The first one is Bitzer's Rhetorical Situation Theory (1968). To put it mildly, any rhetorical discourse is delivered within a rhetorical situation. So, Rhetorical situation is the context in which orators or writers construct a rhetorical discourse (Bitzer, 1968, p.1). In other words, it refers to the situation in which the discourse is delivered and the circumstances that surround this discourse such as the events and the persons involved in this discourse. In fact, Bitzer (1968) proposes three constituents for the rhetorical situation which are exigence, audience, and constraints. The second model is the four Aristotelian Rhetorical Appeals (i.e., logos, ethos, pathos and kairos). Therefore, the two appeals logos and ethos are dominant in this speech, that is to say, the speech of David Cameron relied much more on logos and ethos in order to persuade his audience. Also, the dissertation demonstrated that the Conservative leader made a powerful combination of eight different figures of speech mainly metaphors and tricolon in order to enhance the orator ideas and make his speech both attractive and rhythmic. In closing, in her dissertation, Chikhouné concluded that, in her analysis of Bloomberg speech, David Cameron employed thirteen rhetorical strategies (Metaphors, similes, idiomatic expressions, personification, tricolon, anaphora, parallelism, and rhetorical questions) in order to increase the persuasive effect of his words.

In the journal entitled "A Genre Analysis of Martin Luther King's I Have a Dream and Its Use in the Asian EFL Classroom", Frederick Shannon (2007) examines the particular discourse features of Dr. Martin Luther King's historic speech. First, the author begins with a brief description of the context, including the location, temporal setting, and the social and cultural circumstances in which the speech was delivered. Second, he provides a discourse analysis of the specific rhetorical unique to Dr. King's speech, which include the genre, linguistic structure, and cohesion within the text which appears in his speech by the use of parallelism, anaphora and lexical repetition. In his journal Frederick Shannon analyses the genre of Dr. King's speech which falls under a persuasive or argumentative style. In fact, King's style of speaking adds a pastoral element to the delivery of the address together with a rhythm and rhyme and an abundance of imagery, figurative speech and other literary techniques which effectively evoke the listeners' emotions. The main themes contained within king's address are justice, injustice, discrimination, segregation, inequality, poverty and non-violence. Finally, in his journal paper the author examines the implications of using this speech with English as foreign language (EFL) learners to teach literary devices such as metaphor, simile, figurative language, rhyme and parallelism.

Another crucial review related to our research is the dissertation of Miss. Manelle Admam, Miss. Sabrina Allou, intitled “Obama’s Farewell Address (2017): A Linguistic Analysis”. In their dissertation the general theme is about the analysis of Obama’s speech at the level of linguistic devices as a means of persuasiveness and the support of his speech. First, they started to figure out the different figures of speech that surround Obama’s style such as alliteration, anaphora, hyperbole, metaphors, simile, oxymoron, personification and parallelism. In fact, the use of these figures of speech made the orator more attractive, dominant and persuasive towards his audience. Second, they have shown us the lexical semantic relations that characterize the Obama’s speech like synonym, antonymy, repetition, metonymy and hyponymy, in other terms, this show the capacity of the orator to maintain and store his beliefs and ideas in the audience’s minds. Finally, they adopted the Leech’s Model of Linguistic Deviations (1969) in the analysis of their speech. As they have shown in their dissertation Leech’s Model contains eight deviations which are as follows: phonological, lexical, grammatical, graphological, semantic, dialectal, register and historical period deviations. In a nutshell, these linguistic elements are one of our interest in our field of investigation, that said, they are so important in our analysis as our goal is to show how these elements are crucial especially in attracting and persuading the audience, and change the view point and behaviours in a given society through delivering a political discourse.

In the article intitled “*Critical Discourse Analysis of Martin Luther King’s Speech in Socio-Political Perspective.*” Written by Muhammad Aslam who is an assistant professor at the university of King Abdulaziz, PO Box 80283, Jeddah 21589 Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Athar Rashid who is an assistant professor at the National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad, Pakistan. The main theme of this article is the presentation of the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of the first part of King Martin Luther’s speech “When I Have a Dream” in socio-political context. Moreover, they adopted Fairclough’s version of CDA and his 3D model to analyse the Dr. King’s speech. Therefore, they demonstrated the implicit exposition of power, dominance that the orator attached to, so that, to convince and persuade the audience. Another important point that is mentioned by the two assistant professors is that the choice of different figures of speech that exist in the Martin Luther King’s “I Have a Dream” such as parallelism, repetition, synonym, antonymy, metaphors. Also, they argued that intertextuality is one of the crucial features found in the speech. As they have asserted (2013): “*It refers to the text taken from some other source in order to validate one’s perspective. It can be explicit as well as implicit in its nature. The reference given by Martin*

Luther; “Five score years ago...” [Paragraph 2] refers to Lincoln’s famous Gettysburg Address which began “Four score and seven years ago...” This refers to the point that King was speaking in front of the Lincoln Memorial. Analyzing.’’ (p. 31). Finally, this article aims to show how the speech of Martin Luther King has influenced the nation of America regarding the issues of segregation, injustice, social inequalities and racial discrimination that USA suffered from.

Chapter Two

Research Methods and Study Design

Chapter Two: Research Methods and Study Design

The following chapter presents three basic components that are crucial for the analysis of our research work. First, it presents the description and the explanation of the methodological approach, research methods and study design, that are applied in this study. Second, it provides a description of the corpus used in this study. Finally, this chapter ends with a brief explanation of the data analysis procedures and the rhetorical theories applied in our textual analysis.

1.Methods and study design

Since our present study seeks to analyse the Dr. King's "I Have A Dream" speech from a rhetorical concept, it is noteworthy to discover the rhetorical devices employed by Martin Luther King when delivering his famous speech at the Lincoln Memorial in 1963. Therefore, the suitable design for our research is a descriptive one. That is to say, this design guarantees our research objectives in the sense that it provides a valid description of the rhetorical strategies and situation that surround the orator's speech. Besides, we are concerned with the textual analysis of the "I have a dream" speech; we are concerned in analysing the language use. Additionally, we have opted to use both quantitative and qualitative methods also called 'mixed method'. In one hand, we used quantitative method as it allows us to identify the different rhetorical elements; in addition to support our findings with statistical analysis by presenting the frequencies and tables in order to count the number of repeated words, and figures of speech used by the orator. In the other hand, we have opted for the integration of the qualitative method to describe the different rhetorical devices that are employed in our selected speech.

2.Corpus

The corpus of the present study is the I Have A Dream speech delivered by Martin Luther King at the Lincoln Memorial on Washington D.C on March, 1963. The aim behind selecting this famous speech is to show how it is attractive and persuasive. Thus, it attracted the whole world since it encompasses the phenomenon of racism. In fact, King's objective behind delivering this speech is to persuade the nation of America that freedom, justice and peace are neglected in U.S.A. Instead, segregation, racial discrimination and racism still exist in their society, especially the negroes (African American) who are still not free. As a matter of fact, He wanted to defend their rights and bring them freedom in which they can live in equal

and in hegemony with the white people. And to do so, this speech is a reaction towards the problem of segregation that America suffered from. Therefore, all this persuasiveness comes from his rhetorical technique

by using different rhetorical devices and theories which bring clarity and obviousness to his speech which made it persuasive, convincing and attractive. Besides, we believe that this speech is full of rhetorical devices and persuasive language, and it would be ideal for us to analyse it, since it deals with the rhetorical study we wanted to undertake.

3.Data Analysis procedures

Rhetorical Discourse Analysis is a domain of research that allows us to show the source of data for the present study which is Martin Luther King's 'I Have A Dream' speech. Thus, we opted for this interesting field in order to provide our readers with an explanation of the data analysis procedures in our field of investigation.

As our study is oriented towards the rhetorical analysis of Dr. King's 'I Have A Dream' speech, we divided the latter into three main parts. First, the different figures of speech and the lexical semantics relation applied in text. Second, our aim is to investigate and apply the five Aristotelian rhetorical appeals (1356a) (logos, ethos, pathos, kairos and) and discover which one of these persuasive appeals are dominant and comes up often in our corpus. Finally, we have opted for Bitzer's rhetorical situation theory (1968) as a tool to support the persuasiveness of the orator's speech which involves three components exigence, audience and constraints. In fact, we believe that these crucial theories are helpful to attain our objectives. To sum up, we believe that it is noteworthy to mention the relationship between the two fields - namely discourse analysis and the study of rhetoric.

The following fugue aims to summarize the methodological approach and study design of the current research:

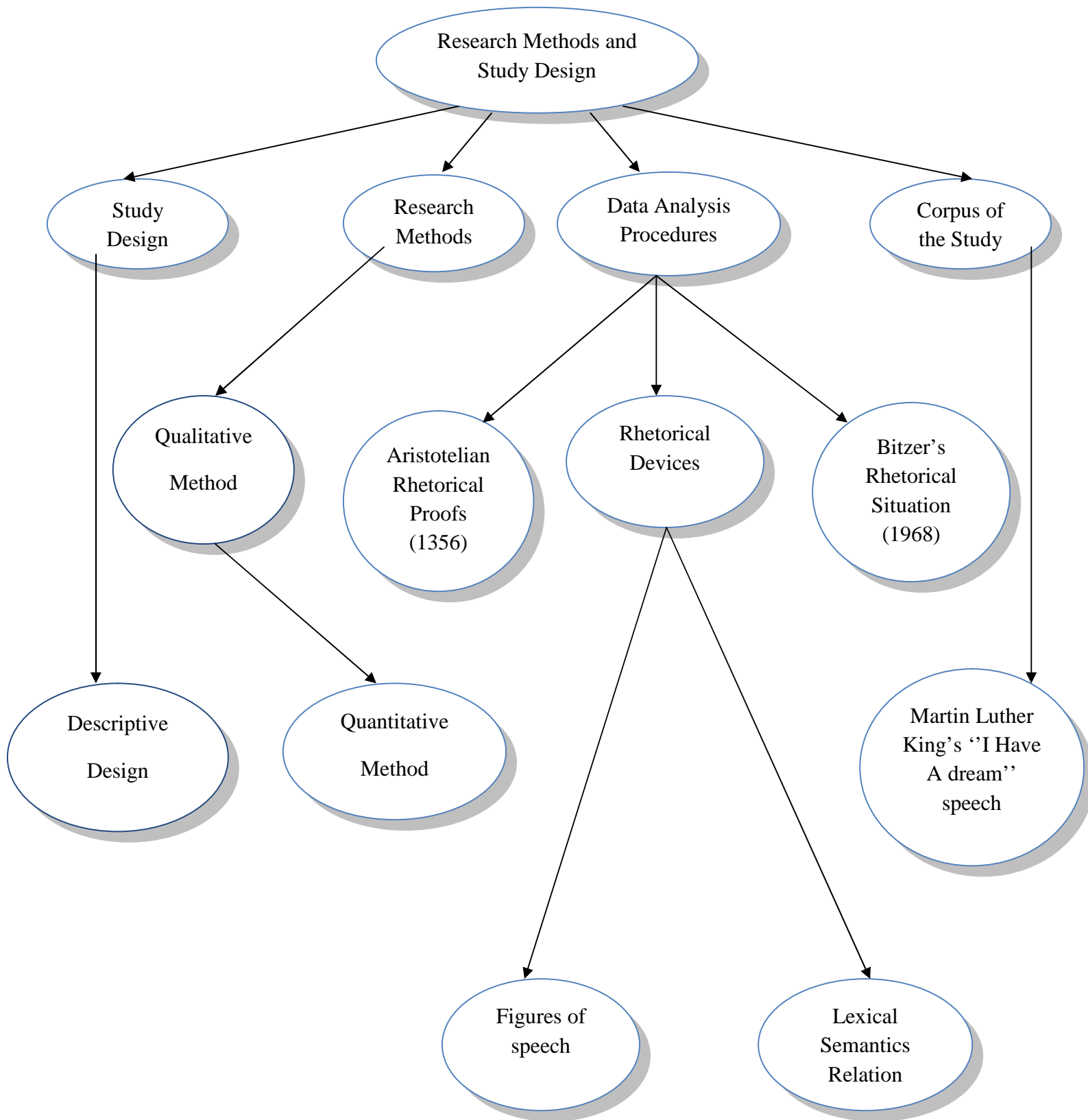


Figure 03 : Research Methodology

Chapter Three
Results & Discussions

Chapter Three: Results & Discussions

This chapter is mainly oriented to the rhetorical analysis of the Martin Luther King's I Have A Dream speech (1963). In fact, we have divided it into two main sections; first is about describing different figures of speech, lexical semantic relation and the two integrating models which are the five Aristotelian persuasive appeals and Bitzer's rhetorical situation. Second, is about reporting some conclusions of the study, the division of the text into paragraphs and exposing some limitations that we have faced during the research work.

Section one: Analysis & Discussion

The present section deals with the analysis of the rhetorical devices; figures of speech and lexical semantic relations, and the two Aristotelian and Bitzer's integrating models. In fact, we want to explore how does Martin Luther King uses these two models and what one of them is dominant in his speech. So that, our future readers will discover how this speech is colorful, persuasive and has a powerful style thanks to the elements mentioned above.

1. Figures of speech

1.1. Alliteration:

It is the repetition of the initial consonant sounds in two or more neighboring words or syllables. The text we are going to analyse is full of examples of alliteration. This device plays a crucial role in Dr. King's speech who used it, repeatedly, for the sake of attracting the audience's emotions and attention.

Examples of alliteration in the text:

‘I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation’.

‘One hundred years later the negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity’.

‘But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt’.

‘Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice’.

“Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup bitterness and hatred”.

“And as we walk we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead”.

The shown table represents the repeated alliteration (repeated consonants) and demonstrates the frequency of each consonant in the examples above:

Sentence number	The Alliteration	Frequency of Alliteration
1	W & F	3 & 2
2	L & P	3 & 2
3	B	4
4	T & D	2 & 2
5	S & F	2 & 3
6	W & M	4 & 3

Table 1: Examples of Alliteration in the text.

1.2. Anaphora:

It is a technique where several phrases or verses begin with the same word or words within a paragraph. Martin Luther king employed many Anaphoras which made the text pleasant to the ear. The following sentences represent some examples of anaphora in the text.

Example 1: *“But **100 years later** the Negro still is not free. **One hundred years later** the life of **the Negro** is still badly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. **One hundred years later** the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. **One hundred years later** the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself in exile in his own land”.*

The above example shows how the African American suffered from segregation and that it was time to stop this abomination - it was time to speak up.

Example 2: *“**Now is the time** to make real the promises of democracy. **Now is the time** to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial*

justice. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood''.

In the second example, the orator insists when saying "Now is the time to" to store in their minds the following: it is not late to be free and live in harmony in America.

Example 3: *'We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We mustnot allow our creative protests to degenerate into physical violence. Again and againwe must rise to the majesty heights of meeting physical force with soul force. The marvelous new militaney which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to distrust all white people, for mamy of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny''.*

The above example demonstrates how Dr. King urges his audience to accept the idea that whether the colour of your skin is white or black you should share the same destiny.

Example 4: *'Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive. Go back to Mississipi, go back to Alabama, go back to South Carolina, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our Northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed''.*

In the fourth example, the orator repeated the same phrase "go back to" in order to convince the audience, specifically those who have suffered from segregation and racial injustice. De facto, he believes that suffering, pain, and misery will be redeemed, that said the situation of African-Americans will be improved, for the better, andtheir rights will be regained one day or another.

Example (5):The first paragraph: *'I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave-owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood. I have a dream that one day, even the state of Mississipi, a statesweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.*

The second paragraph *'I have a dream thatmy four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream ... I have a dream that one day in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of*

*interposition and nullification, **one day** right there in Alabama little **black** boys and **black** girls will be able to join hands with little **white boys** **white** girls as sisters and brothers.*

The example above is full of anaphora which happens to make the speech extremely colorful and persuasive. The aim behind using such tools is to convince the audience that black and white people will live in America equally with the same rights, and he defended the fact freedom and justice will be guaranteed for all people living in America.

Example (6):

First paragraph: *’... Mountain side, **let freedom ring.**’... So **let freedom ring from ... Hampshire. Let freedom ring from ... York. Let freedom ring from ... Pennsylvania. Let freedom ring from ... Colorado. Let freedom ring from ... California.***

Second paragraph: *’But not only that. **Let freedom ring from ... Georgia. Let freedom ring from ... Tennessee. Let freedom ring from ... mountain side. Let freedom ring from ...**’*

In the example above, Dr. Martin Luther King used one of the famous refrain song which is a remixed song as a tool to deliberate and inspire the people who live in misery and pain and give them hope that America from his mountains to the south will find its liberation and freedom rather than living in segregation and slavery.

Example (7): *’**Free at last, Free at last, Great God a-mighty, we are free at last.**’*

The sentence above is The best example of anaphora in this speech. In the said sentence, that Dr. Martin Luther King talk to the audience and confess to them that they are finally free when he refers to the religious term *’Great God a-mighty’*.

The following table represents the frequencies of the anaphora used in the text.

Example number	The repeated word, phrase, and sentence	Frequency of Anaphora
1	<i>One hundred years later the Negro</i>	4
2	<i>Now is the time to</i>	3
3	<i>Destiny</i>	2
4	<i>Go back to</i>	6
5	<i>I have a dream</i>	3
6	<i>Let freedom ring</i>	10
7	<i>Free at last</i>	3

Table 2:Examples of Alliteration in the text.

1.3. Hyperbole:

Another figure of speech occurred in 'I Have A Dream' speech is Hyperbole, which is the use of exaggeration for emphasis or effect to describe something.

Example (1): “*I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, and every hill and mountain shall be made low*”.

In the example (1), the use of hyperbole by Dr. Martin Luther king in words such as “*exalted*” and “*made low*”. As a matter of fact, mountains can never become flat, valley can never be elevated. Dr. King’s sentence is an exaggerated, dreamy wish – hence the use hyperbole. (see Dr. King’s quoted line).

Example (2): “*when we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every city*”.

In the previous example, we notice the use of exaggeration when he stated in the text *“when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every city”*. The example above shows us that Martin Luther King puts an emphasis on the word *“ring”*. Thus, he insisted on the point that freedom must cover all the territories of America and overcome the problem of injustice in the country.

Example (3): *“we will be able to speed up that day when all of God’s children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual”*.

Another example of a hyperbole occurrence is the example above, in which Martin Luther King made an exaggeration when he compared the situation of the black men and white men to numbers of religious cult. However, we think that MLK employed this hyperbolic sentence to make the African Americans more hopeful to gain freedom, even if he used a comparison which will never happen, that said Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics will never join one another.

1.4. Metaphor:

Is an expression that describes a person or an object by referring to something that is considered possess similar characteristics (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020).

Example (1): *“It comes as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity”*.

In example (1), a metaphorical expression *“ joyous daybreak”* used by the orator to highlight the appearance of light after a long suffering from darkness, In fact, it is a metaphor about Light in darkness, that said light is shining in darkness. Ego, Martin Luther King employed this metaphor to convince the audience that behind every long night there is a bright day, and to make them dream about freedom and justice.

Example (2): *“Now is time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice”*.

In example (2), Martin Luther King employed a metaphorical expression when he stated *“to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation”*. to highlight darkness as segregation and the separation of people. However, he stated the phrase *“to the sunlit path of racial justice”*. to highlight light as racial justice and freedom. All he wanted to mean by this

metaphor is that whatever happens justice will overcome segregation in America as soon as possible.

Example (3): ‘‘ *I must say to my people who stand on the worn threshold which leads into the palace of justice*’.’.

In Example (3), Martin Luther King employed this metaphorical expression to show how being strong and resisting to discrimination and segregation, that would really lead to justice and peace. In fact, it is a metaphor of destination when he used the expression ‘‘*palace of justice*’’ which means inside the building and he made reference to justice.

Example (4): ‘‘*we must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline*’.’.

We notice in the example above a metaphor that used by the orator in the text, while reading this sentence we believe that Martin Luther King did not mean that the struggle will be conducted planely. But rather, he wanted to convey that if you want freedom and justice you must rip them by struggling not with violence, but with peace and discipline. In other words, King compares facing the struggle for equality with dignity and discipline to entrenching oneself on the ‘‘*high plane*’’ and the meeting of physical force with ‘‘soul force’’ to rising to ‘‘*majestic heights*’’.

Example (5): ‘‘ *I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice*’.’.

In example (5), Martin Luther King employed a metaphor of pain, oppression and segregation. In fact, he did not mean that a state can be sweltered, but rather he used this metaphorical expression to show how Mississippi suffered from injustice and oppression, he refers to that state where some of the worst offenses against blacks had been carried out, and he is optimistic one day the state will find its freedom and justice. In other words, MLK compares injustice and oppression to sweltering heat and freedom and justice to an oasis.

Example (6): ‘‘*With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood*.’’

In example (6), MLK employed another metaphor in which he compares racial inequality to the ‘‘*jangling discords of our nation*’’ and the achievement of equality as

a “*beautiful symphony of brotherhood*”. That said, as MLK is a Baptist minister. He, therefore, understood the power of faith was influenced by the New Testament’s emphasis on love and brotherhood, a brotherhood that could only be realized when humans were afforded equal opportunity and standing under the law.

1.5. Simile:

Is the use of expression comparing one thing with another, always including the words ‘as’ or ‘like’ (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020).

Example (1): “*No, no, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until **Justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream***”.

In the above sentence, MLK employed two examples of simile. The first one is comparing justice to flowing waters by using the link word of simile “like”. In fact, he praised justice in a basic element of nature, that said he described justice as an essential element in life, especially in the life of the Negro, as water also do in the life of humans.

The second one is about a comparison of righteousness to a mighty stream by using the link word of simile “like”. In fact, MLK also praised righteousness in a crucial element of nature, that said he describes the situation of the African- Americans who have been crippled from their rights, one day they will find it as the case of the stream when it flows of water in winter.

Example (2): “*One day right there in Alabama little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and **white girls as sisters and brothers***”.

In example (2), MLK praised the blacks and the whites and explains that they must live together in a situation where there will not be difference and separation, that said he seeks freedom, justice, and brotherhood between all the members and the citizens of the society.

1.6. Personification:

Is the act of giving a human quality or characteristic to something which is not human (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020).

Example (1): “*One hundred years later the life of the Negrois still crippled by **the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination***”.

In example (1), MLK used a personification in which he attributes human character to a non-human, when he asserted “*manacles of segregation*”, he described segregation as if it wears handcuffs like a human. He contributed the human characteristic which is the manacles or handcuffs to non-living objects which is segregation. In the same sentence, MLK employed another personification in which he attributes human character “chains” to a non-human one that is “discrimination”. He attributes to discrimination which a non-living object a human character which is chains.

Example (2): *"I have a dream that one day **this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed.**"*

In example (2), MLK personified the nation which is the United State of America by giving it human qualities. In other words, he gave non human-character which is nation to human character when he asserted “live out the true meaning of its creed”, that said The United States is simply a plot of land; it can not physically or mentally rise up, but instead he wanted to mean the country as whole, meaning the people who live in it.

Example (3): *"**America has given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked 'insufficient funds'**".*

In the above sentence, we notice the use of personification by the orator. MLK attributes a non-human character “America” to a human character which is the action of giving a bad check. In fact, America can not physically give a bad check, whether he is saying it metaphorically or not.

1.7. Parallelism:

The use of matching sentence structure, phrases, or longer parts so as to balance ideas of equal importance (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020).

Example (1): *"**I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal. I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood. I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice"**".*

Example (2): ‘ *I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream today . . . I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of "interposition" and "nullification" — one day right there in Alabama little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.*’

Example (3): ‘ *With this faith, we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith, we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith, we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day*’.

In the above examples, MLK used numerous famous parallel structures which made his speech more stylistic. This excerpt demonstrates King's strategic use of organisation and language for rhetorical effect. He uses balanced structures which are played side by side; these sentences carry nearly the same meaning.

1.8. Allusion :

It is considered as one of the figurative language used by MLK in his speech, which means a direct or indirect reference to something historical, literary, religious, or mythical.

Example: ‘Five scores years ago’.

‘Free at last, free at last’.

In The above examples, MLK begins his speech with ‘*Five scores years ago*’, as a reference to the Gettysburg Address and ends with ‘*Free at last, free at last*’, as a reference to the old Negro spiritual. In fact, the aim behind using such allusion to help the audience see the connection between the classic Abraham Lincoln’s speech and the famous African-American spiritual as a bookend to the speech, he is demonstrating the equivalent worth of both cultures. In other words, MLK exposes two interwind issues, slavery and racism at the presidential period of Abraham Lincoln with injustice and racial discrimination at the period when delivering his speech in order to hone his argument that Americans share a collective national ancestry.

1.9. Rhetorical Question:

Is a question that requires no reply, either because the answer is obvious or because the asker already knows the answer. MLK used this rhetorical technique to persuade the audience and attract their attention to the obvious.

Example: ‘‘When will you be satisfied?’’.

2. Lexical semantic relations of the text:

When speaking about Lexical semantic relations, it is important to mention cohesion. In I Have Dream’s speech Martin Luther King employed these devices to support his own rhetoric and to make his message simple, clear and comprehensible that everyone can understand his ideas. In fact, the orator used these elements to highlight on some points and show their importance, those elements are as follows: Synonymy, Antonymy, Metonymy and Hyponymy.

2.1. Synonymy:

The speech of Martin Luther King is considered one of the famous rhetorical speech. So that, it is crucial to notice his use of synonyms in the text as a mean of persuasiveness, to attract the audience’s attention, to make the speech more comprehensible, and helping them to follow easily without getting bored. Thus, the table bellow demonstrates extracted examples of synonymy used in the text.

The word	The synonym
<i>Segregation</i>	Discrimination
<i>Freedom</i>	<i>Liberty</i>
<i>Rest</i>	<i>Tranquility</i>
<i>Bitterness</i>	<i>Hatred</i>
<i>Slums</i>	<i>Ghettos</i>
<i>Injustice</i>	<i>Opression</i>

Table 3: Examples of Synonymy used in Martin Luther King’s speech.

2.2. Antonymy:

Another element of cohesion occurred in the text which is Antonymy. Indeed, this element made the text successful in the sense that it helped to expose the problem that the Negro suffered from, antonymy gave to the speech an advantage to stop racism, injustice, slavery and rise up the notion of freedom, liberty and justice. Thus, the table below demonstrates extracted examples of Antonymy in the text.

The word	The Antonym
<i>Emancipation</i>	<i>Segregation</i>
<i>Dark</i>	<i>Sunlit</i>
<i>Tranquility</i>	<i>Revolt</i>
<i>End</i>	<i>Beginning</i>
<i>Black</i>	<i>White</i>
<i>Injustice</i>	<i>Justice</i>

Table 4 :Examples of antonymy in the text.

2.3. Metonymy:

Is one of the cohesion element used in our textual analysis, that means the use of a single name, feature or character as a tool to refer to the whole object or thing. The following sentences represent examples of Metonymy employed in the text.

Example (1): ‘... *the old Negro spiritual*’.

In example 1, Martin Luther King employed the word ‘*Negro*’ to refer to all the African-American people. In fact, he wanted to store in the mind of his audience that the Negro are not separated from the rest of Americans. Thus, he is given a single word to refer to the whole citizens whether they are African-American or pure Americans, so that blacks are not judged by their color but by their spirit and soul.

Example (2): ‘... *all flesh shall see it together*’.

In example 2, the Baptist president referred to by using ‘*all flesh*’ to everyone, all people. In other words, Americans should live in harmony and togetherness, white and black people, both are part of America.

Example (3): ‘‘let freedom ring from *Stone Mountain of Georgia*’’.

In example 3, Martin Luther king employed the phrase ‘‘stone Mountain’’ in order to refer to the racist people in the South of America or the secret United State’s organization of white hugtprotestant Americans, who oppose people of other races or religions.

Observation:in the analysis above, we noticed the exaggeration use of lexical semantic relations in Martin Luther King’s I Have A Dream speech, which in fact made his style so colorful and attractive.

3. Identifying the fifth Aristotelian rhetorical appeals in Martin Luther king speech:

In the present section of our analysis, we attempt to identify and analyse the use of the fifth Aristotelian appeals or proofs by Martin Luther king and how he used them all over his speech to influence his target audience. Generally, in a rhetorical discourse analysis, we begin by **ethos**, the first rhetorical appeal in which the orator tries to gain the trustworthiness of his audience, then the **emotional appeal** come as a second rhetorical proof in order to get the attention of the audience and touch their feelings, and in the end of the speech we move to analyse **logos**, so reason and logic come to influence the audience and achieve the purpose behind the given speech.

3.1. Ethos:

It is clear that Martin Luther king first aimed to establish credibility and trustworthiness to convince the audience by constructing a credible character. In what follows, we have identified, illustrated and discussed the examples of Ethos that Martin Luther King appeals for in his speech.

Example (1): ‘‘*I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation.*’’

MLK’s initial words are a call for unity of all the Americans of different skin colours, and to take a united stand against what was going on in the US from racial segregation and discrimination, at the time. In this first sentence, we notice that MLK showed a good character toward his audience as well as his nation when he called them for unity and with his vision that includes freedom, peace, and non-discrimination.

Example (2): “*Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation.*” In this given example, MLK referred to Abraham Lincoln, the 16th president of the United States, who was powerful and great president, who preserved the union, abolished slavery, strengthened the federal government, and modernized the economy through civil war. MLK wanted to call back the American nation that for 100 years the great president signed the emancipation proclamation to free the slaves and make the USA a nation of peace and equal rights. MLK analogized Lincoln in his speech to invoke his authority and his view on civil rights, and this helped him to establish credibility with his audience. Besides, his reference to the emancipation proclamation and its promises also adds ethical appeal to the speech and provides strong ethos.

Example (3): “*This note was a promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the unalienable Rights of Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.*”

His use of this quote is to use supreme authority as being in his side. He is setting up his own credibility by tapping into authority of the American constitution.

Example (4): “*Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children.*”

Example (5): “*And when this happens, when we allow freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual*”.

He mentioned "God's children" on multiple occasions (example 4 and 5), and expressed his hope that "the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together." However, he also shared his fervent desire that people of many backgrounds could band together in pursuing his dream: "Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics will be able to join hands and sing."

Example (6): “*have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal."*

Example (7): “*I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, and every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight; and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together.*”

From the examples above (4), (5), (6), and (7), we assert that the speech is infused with the language of the Bible since MLK was inspired and guided by the Christian faith, and his faith supplied an inner urge to serve humanity. So he used his theological knowledge and wisdom as not only a "force for ideas," but also as the spark behind social protest. This created a great positive relationship with his audience and strengthened his credibility.

Example (8): *"But there is something that I must say to my people, who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice: In the process of gaining our rightful place, we **must not be guilty of wrongful deeds.**"*

Example (9): *"Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline."*

Example (10): *"The marvellous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community **must not lead us to a distrust of all white people**, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny."*

As MLK was inspired by the non violence activism of Mahatma Gandhi, he called the African-Americans, in these examples 8, 9, and 10, for non violence and to manifest their freedom and justice with pacifism. In fact, He was against the idea of Malcom X, other great African-American minister and human activist who called the *Negros* to the violence and fight for their liberty by any means necessary, and that was before his pilgrimage, after that he changed his mind, indeed. MLK showed his goodwill towards his nation through his attitude of non violence and pacifism which adds an enormous ethical appeal to the speech and he gained through it the trustworthiness of both white and black Americans.

Example (11): *"I have a dream that **my four little children** will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character."*

MLK connected with his audience members of his family, his children, in whom he hopes to inherit a better world as a parent. Here he showed goodwill because he wanted a better life for his children that he is responsible for being the father of the family. This gave him an ethical and good character.

As described in our theoretical part, the orator's credibility can also be established through the usage of inclusive pronouns "we", "us", and "our" as a strategy to establish a credible character. As the below tables (1) and (2) show, MLK's use of inclusive pronouns is superior to his use of the pronouns that express uniqueness. The use of words "we", "us",

ourselves”, and” our” created a sense of togetherness and evoked a sense of commonality and rapport between MLK and his audience. Thus, the following examples of MLK’s use of inclusive pronouns are briefly analysed:

Example (12): *“I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of **our** nation.”*

Example (13): *“In a sense **we**’ve come to **our** nation’s capital to cash a check.”*

MLK employed the inclusive pronoun “our” to evoke the sense of unity between him and his audience i.e. all the Americans, blacks and whites, and to appeal to a collective action by saying “our nation” so this creates the sensation that racism, socio-political problem, is something that affects everyone.

Example (14): *“And so, **we**’ve come to cash this check, a check that will give **us** upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.”*

Example (15): *“With this faith, **we** will be able to transform the jangling discords of **our** nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood.”*

MLK employed the inclusive pronouns “we”, “our”, and “us” in these examples (13) and (14) to identify himself as a member of his audience and to show the shared interests and responsibility over their nation. The use of these inclusive pronouns adds a strong appeal to the speech and raises the trustworthiness of the audience towards the speaker.

Inclusive Pronouns	Frequency in the Speech
We	33
Us	4
Our	17

Table 5. The Frequency of Occurrence of Inclusive Pronouns in the Speech (by Martin Luther King).

Pronounsthat express Uniqueness	Frequency of Use in the Speech
I	15
My	5

Table 6. The Frequency of Occurrence of Pronouns of Uniqueness in the Speech (by Martin Luther King).

To add credibility to his words, MLK made a considerable use of modal verbs to his speech. As it can be observed in Table (4) below, MLK significantly employed the modal verb will (26 times), would (twice), and shall (5times) so as to show his determination and willingness to stop racism and to transform the hate and racial segregation to a brotherhood and peace. Furthermore, to portray himself as a spiritual leader who envisages the demonstration of freedom in order to achieve what is best for the American nation and humanity. He also used the modal verb can (10 times) as the second most modal verb used in the speech and mostly to show the ability that the blacks and the whites can live and rise up together as brothers and sisters and for the benefit of the American nation. Besides, the modal verb must is repeatedly used in MLK’s speech 7 times to give recommendation as a leader for the good of the blacks as well as the whites people. The following examples of MLK’s usage of modal verbs in the I have a dream speech are discussed.

Example (16): *“I have a dream that my four little children **will** one day live in a nation where they **will not** be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.”*

MLK showed his willingness to see one day his four little children judged by their content of their character and not by the colour of their skins.

Example (18): *“Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to South Carolina, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation **can** and will be changed.”*

MLK showed the ability and possibility that the present situation is able to be fixed and modified.

Example (19): *“We **must** not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence.”*

MLK recommends to the African-Americans that it is obligatory and necessary for them to protest peacefully.

Modal Verbs Frequency in the Speech	Frequency in the Speech
Will	26
Can	10

Must	7
Shall	5
Would	2

Table 7. The Frequency of Occurrence of Modal Verbs in the Speech (by Martin Luther King)

In addition of showing a goodwill, showing respect towards white Americans, using biblical language, using theological competences to serve the nation, calling for unity, evoking sense of togetherness, the use of inclusivity, modality, and identifying himself as a part of audience connecting members of his family, the formality of the speech helped MLK to establish credibility. Indeed, all over our analysis, we have observed that MLK’s speech is free of any joke and inappropriate comments. It was presented like a sermon, and the use of religious and political lexical choices was for the sake of stressing the want of a free world. In fact, this proves that MLK was aware of the seriousness and sensitiveness of the issues that are facing him when delivering this speech. That is to say, we believe that the use of a formal language helped MLK depict himself as a serious leader who doesn’t take things lightly and who is aware of the solemnity of the situation. All these discussed points have considerably helped MLK to assert his credibility.

3.2. Pathos :

The “I have a dream speech” is full of emotional appeal in which MLK tried to touch the audience’s feelings for the sole purpose of influencing and persuading them. In what follows, we have identified, illustrated and discussed examples of emotions that MLK appeals for in his speech.

Example (1): *“I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation.”*

MLK begins his speech by making a connection between himself and his audience to evoke the audience’s emotions in terms of sentiment of unity and togetherness. This creates a great emotional appeal of the audience and also allows the emergence of a sensual connection between MLK and his black and white audience.

Example (2): *“Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity.”*

MLK touches the emotion of the African-Americans by evoking the hope once had—that hope which entailed that freedom would come with the end of slavery once Abraham Lincoln signed the emancipation proclamation in 1863, and he also states, “*Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice.*” To give the audience, notably the whites American, thoughts of how wrongly the African-Americans were treated, so this quote has an emotional impact for the listener or the reader.

Example (3): “*But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land.*”

MLK tried to make the frustration of black Americans, who were promised in Gettysburg address freedom, visible and that have been 100 years of the unkept promise and that they are still not free. This adds a strong emotional appeal to the speech.

Example (4): “*This note was a promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the "unalienable Rights" of "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."* “*It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note, insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked "insufficient funds."*”

We can notice from this example that the emotional appeal grows stronger when MLK asserted that the freedom and rights the African-Americans have been denied is a debt on the nation, and this debt has kept growing larger and larger.

Example (5): “*Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children.*”

MLK’s use of imagery allows the audience to visualize there is an end to this socio-political problem. He conveys pathos because the audience feels empowered to take action because, “*Now is the time*”.

Example (6): “*But there is something that I must say to my people, who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice: In the process of gaining our rightful*

place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline.”

Example (7): *“The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny. And they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom.”*

As shows these examples (6) and (7) MLK affects positively the emotions of the Americans especially the white people when he called the African-Americans for non violence and to react pacifically against racial discrimination and segregation. MLK did this for emphasis to make the audience feel gratitude toward all of the people by their side.

Example (8): *“I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, and every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight; **and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together.**”*

His use of pathos is incredible as he strikes emotional values of both black and white people. His use of the bible causes an emotional response, *“And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together.”* (Isaiah) He is using the bible to provide a theological backing to what he is saying and confirm its truthful thereby and states that all people will stand together.

Example (9): *“And so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, i still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.”*

This example contributes a marvellous emotional appeal in which MLK uses the American dream to appeal to all Americans. In fact, he is saying that his dream is part of the American dream that all Americans, without exception, have the right to demand.

In the ninth paragraph, MLK seeks to sensitise the whites by showing them that the actual situation of the African-Americans is unbearable and show that they are fed up of being persecuted and oppressed by the whites.

But after his expression of anger, MLK tried in the following example (10) to appeal emotionally the blacks that there is a hope to end racism in which they should believe in it. This helped MLK to evoke positively the feeling of blacks to not give up until the end of racism and injustice.

Example (10): “. *Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to South Carolina, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our northern cities, **knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed.***”

MLK creates a strong emotional appeal of hope and the desire for his audience, to transform the situation.

Example (11): “*I have a dream that **my four little children** will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.*”

MLK uses the appeal that he is a father and he wants a better life of his children. This is allowing the listener to relate him as a father and the aspirations he holds of his children. It provides a human appeal and evokes the emotions of all the audience.

Example (12): “*I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of "interposition" and "nullification" -- one day right there in Alabama little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.*”

MLK while speaking about his dream he does not neglect the whites so that to evoke their emotion in a sense of brotherhood, as he seeks to bring together the black and white communities and help them live as equal. In fact, the use of pathos is omnipresent in the “I have a dream speech” as MLK succeeded to strike the emotional value of the white and black communities altogether.

3.3. Logos:

As it is cited in the theoretical part, is when the speaker appeals to the audience’s sense of reasoning and logic through the use of logical proofs and facts in his speech to support his position. So, MLK employed Logos to appeal the rational mind through logic and reason. This part of our analysis identifies and analyses examples of Cameron’s usage of Logos.

Example (1): “*Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice.*”

According to the second paragraph of “I have a dream speech”, we note that MLK appealed for Logos through historical facts to support his logic. Defacto, the relevance of history is irrefutable; henceforth, MLK refers in his speech to a historical fact that Abraham

Lincoln signed the Proclamation Emancipation in which he promised the slaves to free them in 1863, during the American civil war. And, by extension, make the audience remember that the African-Americans were promised freedom.

Example (2): *“But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land.”*

In the example above, we heed MLK’s appeal to rational mind through the deployment of evidence and logical proofs in which he describes the painful and miserable situation of the African-Americans.

Example (3): *When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the "unalienable Rights" of "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."*

It is noteworthy in this example that MLK appeals to Logos through another historical fact to support his claim of what had not actually taken effect to every African-American person or coloured person in the United States.

Example (4): *“Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked "insufficient funds.”* (Paragraph 4).

Furthermore, MLK uses Logos as a form of reasoning in his analogies. He reasons that everybody understands money and that the listener is able to relate to being handed a bad check while the white people are being handed good checks.

Example (5): *“And there will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights.”*

This example is an instance of a logical argument put forward by MLK to put an emphasis and confirm that *“there will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights”*.

Example (6): *“But there is something that I must say to my people, who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice: In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom*

by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again, we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force." (Paragraph 8). In this paragraph, MLK appeals the blacks' sense of reasoning in order to control their feelings and protest peacefully.

Example (7): "*There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "When will you be satisfied?" We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality. We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as the negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their self-hood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating: "For Whites Only".*" (Paragraph 9). MLK further appealed to Logos of the whites and asserted that the blacks can never be satisfied since they are still segregated and oppressed by the white race.

Example (8): "*I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal."*"

The above example (8) extracted from the twelfth paragraph, MLK uses Logos to inform the audience that they have not been given equal rights and the respect that the whites have been getting, even though, at its core, they were entailed by their birth right by the founding fathers "*that all men are created equal*".

Example (9): "*With this faith, we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith, we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood.*"

MLK appeals Logos in this chunk, to Logos in this example through the logical arguments that It is possible "*to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood*" by giving equal rights to all the Americans. To go even further, Logos is established in this speech by the clearness, the well constructiveness, and the orderliness of the arguments used.

3.4. Kairos:

Is when the orator delivers the appropriate speech in the favourable place, right time and context and this make the speech more effective and influential asserted explained

Aristotle. The “I have a dream” speech was delivered by the orator who was a spiritual leader, an American Baptist minister and an activist. MLK was a leader in the African-American civil rights movement, he was best known in the advancement of civil rights using non violent civil disobedience based on the teachings and principles of his Christian beliefs. The speech was delivered in the adequate place which is on Washington and more exactly at the Lincoln Memorial, as a homage of Abraham Lincoln address, for the sake of reminding the American nation that 100 years were passed of the Emancipation Proclamation and the negro is still not free. There were more than 250 000 people in the steps of the Lincoln Memorial where was the speech delivered. MLK chose the opportune moment to deliver his speech. It was during the march for jobs and freedom on august 28th, 1963, and this historical year, reminds the Americans the unforgettable address of Abraham Lincoln that was delivered in 1863 to end slavery and racism in the USA. The march on Washington for jobs and freedom gave the advantage to MLK to gather a large number of participants. In addition, the speech was delivered during the presidential term of the 36th American president John F. Kennedy who had instilled a new hope for American citizens and had given way to age of acceptance and change. Therefore, the implementation of television and radio which was just becoming a common commodity in most homes all over the country played a huge role in the success of the speech through spreading it in every spot of the United States. The audience was from sundry ethnic groups, colour, ideological and theological beliefs, which came to protest for the freedom peacefully. The MLK’s speech created an impeccable atmosphere of hope and willingness to transform the racial segregation into brotherhood and all these conditions helped MLK to persuade the audience. To sum up, the context and setting of the speech made the MLK’s speech as the greatest speech of all time.

3.5. Telos:

Is what the given speech aims to achieve. It refers to the purpose of the MLK’s speech in which is obvious in the following examples.

Example (1): *“Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children.”*

MLK was transparent while delivering his speech, his aim behind the latter was to make justice for “*all of Gods children*” by giving the blacks and the whites the equal rights.

Example (2): *“With this faith, we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith, we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith, we will be able to work together, to*

pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.”

MLK attracts his audience for he desired through his speech to transform racial segregation, discrimination, and racism which was preponderant in the US at that time into a utopian society governed by peace and brotherhood. MLK succeeded to attract the attention of his audience and keep them focus while delivering the speech by showing them the objective of his speech. The goal of the MLK’s speech persuaded all the audience, because its vision benefits everyone, indeed.

4. Analyzing the Rhetorical Situation of the I Have A Dream Speech:

The second part of our analysis relies on Bitzer’s Rhetorical Situation theory (1968) in order to explore the rhetorical context in which MLK has delivered his speech. For this purpose, the three components: exigence, audience, and constraints are identified and analysed.

4.1. Exigence:

Based on the Bitzer’s definition, the Exigence of the “I Have A Dream” speech is the problem that caused MLK to recognize the need of delivering this speech. When MLK made this speech there were a horrible racial discrimination and segregation in the USA. In this regard we assume that the Exigence that caused MLK to make a speech on 28th august, 1963 is the miserable situation of the African-Americans, the racial discrimination and racial segregation which were preponderant at that time in the United States even though Abraham Lincoln promised the black Americans the freedom in his Gettysburg address in 1863. These following examples shows the problems that motivated MLK to Deliver his speech:

Example (1): *“But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. And so we’ve come here today to dramatize a shameful condition.”*

In this paragraph, MLK describes how the African-Americans were living after the emancipation proclamation signed by Abraham Lincoln. Their painful conditions of life and the broken promises motivated MLK to intervene and deliver his antiracist speech.

Example (2): "*It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note, insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked "insufficient funds".*"

In other terms, Not Giving the black Americans the equal rights as whites is an Exigence that motivated MLK to deliver his speech to solve it.

Example (3): "*And there will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights.*"

This example shows the complicated situation of America that time, and shows that the blacks had not given their rights as a citizenship. This was another example which called MLK to deliver his speech to fix the exigence.

Example (4): "*There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "When will you be satisfied?" We can never be satisfied as long as **the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality**. We can never be satisfied as long as **our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities**. We cannot be satisfied as long as **the negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one**. We can never be satisfied as long as **our children are stripped of their self-hood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating: "For Whites Only."** We cannot be satisfied as long as **a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote**. No, no, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until "justice rolls down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream."*"

In fact, the black Americans were racially segregated and discriminated as it was described in the above example (3) as they "*are victims of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality*", "*their children are stripped of their self-hood and robbed of their dignity*", and preventing them to vote. That was considered by MLK as a huge problem that he wanted to transform it in into justice, brotherhood and peace between the two races by delivering his urgent speech.

4.2. Audience:

The rhetorical situation always requires an audience as conceived by Bizer. Hence, in this part, we attempt to identify the audience MLK urges to reach through this discourse. MLK tried to reach while delivering his speech, notably, the audience that can be influenced to modify the exigence. So, It is noteworthy to note that MLK's conception of audience does not denote those mere listeners who listen to "I Have A Dream" speech, but rather denotes those people who have the power to move from spectators to mediators off change and respond to the MLK's call. In this regard, MLK's speech seeks first to influence the black Americans who accept influence to protest for freedom peacefully and the white Americans who were present in the "I Have A Dream" speech to modify the exigence. MLK's speech also seeks to influence the federal government to realize racial equality. MLK claimed in his speech: *"But there is something that I must say to my people, who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice: In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds"*

In this example (1) saying *"I must say to my people"* MLK referred to the black Americans participants, who must not respond with violence against the whites.

Example (2): *"The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny. And they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom."*

MLK reached his speech also to the white American participants who *"have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny. And they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to"* the freedom of African-Americans.

Example (3): *"In a sense we've come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir."*

Example (4): *There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "When will you be satisfied?" We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality. We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as the negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their self-hood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating: "For Whites Only." We cannot*

be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, no, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until "justice rolls down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream."

We can conclude in the two above example that MLK was addressing a message for the federal government as the representative of the USA to influence them to react in order to make an end to justice.

Therefore, we believe that MLK directed his speech to the right audience, the audience who accepted the modification of the exigence.

4.3. Constraints:

Is the third component that constitutes the rhetorical situation. It deals with all the factors that have power to constrain the decision or action of MLK's audience. Through the speech, we can notice that MLK's speech has many constraints that made the speech successful. The credible character of the orator played an important role to influence the audience, the way MLK described the black frustration by evoking the audience's emotions, the logical proofs used in the speech, the right setting of the speech, addressing to the right audience, the use of persuasive language by using different rhetorical devices and figures of speech as well as the use of Biblical language, the transparency of the purpose of the speech. Moreover, MLK's dream to see the God's children as equal, his willingness and determination to change the exigence peacefully. Besides, the context and the atmosphere that surrounds the speech. In addition to that, MLK was aware of what can limit the constraints of the speech as neglecting the whites American, calling to struggle without pacifism and non violence. To sum up, all these cited factors are considered as constraints and influenced the decision and action of the audience to solve the problem.

Section Two: Conclusions and Research Limitations

This section discusses the conclusions of our study after the analysis of the three major points of our research work which are : the identification of the rhetorical devices (figures of speech and lexical semantic relations), the five Aristotelian rhetorical appeals as well as the Bitzer's rhetorical situation model. Besides, it is devoted to the limitations we faced while conducting our research.

1. Major Findings

This present study is about the analysis of the I Have A Dream speech which encompasses the main notions that are closely related to the realm of Rhetoric and Linguistics. In fact, we riched throughout the analysis of the text, the rhetorical devices which are the use of the variety of figures of speech and we conclude that Dr. King uses some element of semantic relations. In a nutshell, we confirm the richness of all these devices in the text which shaped his rhetorical techniques. In other words, we noticed that the orator shed lights on the rhetorical elements that brought colorfulness, persuasiveness and made his style successful. Moreover, after the application of the two appropriate models which are : the five Aristotelian rhetorical appeals, logos, ethos, pathos, kairos and telos, in addition to the Bitzer's rhetorical situation which consists of three basic elements audience, exigence and constraints. In fact, we noticed that MLK uses the five Aristotelian rhetorical appeals for the sake of persuading his audience in his speech, by establishing a credible character, appealing to the audience's emotion and logic in the right setting and context. Furthermore, we also analyzed MLK's speech referring to the Bitzer's rhetorical constituents situation. First, exigence is riched in the sense that he exposes a problem in his Address which is segregation and injustice in America, and he attempts throughout his persuasive rhetorical techniques to solve the situation. Second, audience in which MLK's succeeded to reach his, the audience that can be influenced and accept the modification of the exigence. Finally, the last rhetorical situation is constraints which deals with all the factors and means that helped MLK to influence the audience's decision and action and change the audience beliefs towards the situation.

To sum up, the main notions discussed in our study bring clarity, lucidness and persuasiveness to the speech

2.Limitations of the study

In the present research, we faced three major obstacles when conducting our research work. To start with, the pandemy (covid 19) is a big obstacle that slowed us up in our research, since we did not have access to the university library. Thus, our university is totally closed, that said we did not have enough sessions of framing with our supervisor. Moreover, the lack of sources in the field of Rhetoric- especially the rhetorical works, books and articles in our libraries which are not available. The last obstacle is about the lack of time when conducting our research, especially for some elements such as the lexical semantic relations we didnot have enough time for seeking for others like Meronymy, also the figures of speech like

apostrophe and understatement, because we gave so much time to other elements which are so important to our research work instead the others metionned above. However, albeit this obstacles which take us so much time, we have managed the situation by seeking for other sources which helped us to attain our research objectives.

General Conclusion

General Conclusion

This present study is a rhetorical discourse analysis which aims at identifying the rhetorical techniques that Martin Luther King employed in his I Have A Dream speech. The speech of MLK was selected as a corpus for this study with a focus on his usage of the five Aristotelian persuasive rhetorical appeals (1356a) ethos, pathos, logos, kairos, telos and the integration of Bitzer's rhetorical situation theory (1968) as a support to attain our research objectives. In addition, this analysis attempted to elucidate the different figures of speech and the lexical semantic relations used by the orator to make his speech more persuasive. Furthermore, our study follows a descriptive design which consists on mixing both quantitative and qualitative methods. In one hand, we used quantitative method as it allows us to identify the different rhetorical elements ; in addition to support our findings with statistical analysis by presenting the frequencies and tables in order to count the number of repeated words , and figures of speech used by the orator, also gave us the path to analyze the two applied rhetorical models and represent them with tabulations as well as frequencies.

In the other hand, we have opted for the integration of the qualitative method to describe the different rhetorical devices that are employed in our selected speech. After a long analysis of our study, we conclude that MLK's speech is full of rhetorical devices in which the figures of speech are the most dominant in the text. Moreover, we confirm that the two selected rhetorical models applied in our study are suitable for a rhetorical discourse analysis. Moreover, we confirm that the two applied models of our study are the most adequate since we noticed through analysing the speech the presence of : ethos in which MLK tried to establish his credibility, logos because the speech appealed to logical facts, pathos in when the orator evoked the feelings of his audience, kairos in the sense that the speech was delivered in the opportune time, right place and context, and telos in which MLK made the purpose of the speech clear. To go even further, we supported our analysis with following the Bitzer's rhetorical situation theory. The exigence is the first component that constitutes the rhetorical situation which deals with racial segregation and discrimination problem, the audience is the second rhetorical constituent situation which refers to the right audience who can be influenced and the constraints which is the final constituents that deals with all strategies used in order to constraint audience's decision and action. To conclude, Martin Luther King's I Have A Dream which was delivered in 1963 is a good referential corpus for the researchers willing to work on the rhetorical analysis.

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Abstract in French (Résumé)

La présente étude est une analyse rhétorique du discours I Have A Dream de Martin Luther King prononcé en 1963. L'intérêt principal de cette analyse est d'identifier les stratégies rhétoriques utilisées par le président baptiste dans son discours. De plus, notre premier intérêt est de démontrer les différentes manœuvres rhétoriques qui entourent le discours de I Have Dream ainsi que les appels persuasifs qui y sont implémentés. Ainsi, dans notre champ d'investigation, deux modèles majeurs sont appliqués dans ce discours ; les cinq appels rhétoriques aristotéliens (à savoir, logos, ethos, pathos, kairos, tellos) et la théorie rhétorique de la situation de Bitzer (1968). La présente étude analytique suit une conception descriptive basée sur des méthodes mixtes, comprenant à la fois une analyse qualitative et quantitative. La première méthode est principalement utilisée pour la description des dispositifs rhétoriques qui englobe à la fois les figures de style et les relations sémantiques lexicales. En revanche, le second est principalement utilisé pour la représentation de certaines fréquences en utilisant des tabulations. De plus, l'intégration des deux modèles; les cinq appels aristotéliens et la situation rhétorique de Bitzer ont joué un rôle crucial en donnant un caractère persuasif au discours et en étayant tous les arguments utilisés. Après une longue analyse, nous nous sommes rendu compte que Martin Luther King s'appuyait davantage sur le pathétique comme outil pour toucher et attirer l'émotion du public ainsi que sur l'utilisation de logos et d'éthos pour affiner ses arguments avec logique et donner des preuves évidentes pour faire connaître à l'auditeur la situation réelle discutée dans le texte. En plus de cela, le discours I Have A Dream du président baptiste est considéré comme l'un des discours les plus persuasifs et les plus colorés de l'histoire de l'Amérique, car il est riche des dispositifs rhétoriques suivants: figures de style (Allitération, Anaphora, Hyperbole, Métaphore, comparaison, personnification, parallélisme, allusion, question rhétorique) qui ont rendu le discours plus coloré et des relations sémantiques lexicales (synonymie, antonymie, métonymie) qui ont rendu le texte bien structuré et persuasif.

Appendices

Appendix 1: the I Have A Dream speech Transcript [USA, StanfordUniversityTranscription]

I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation. [applause]

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves [Audience:] (*Yeah*) who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity. (*Hmm*)

But one hundred years later (*All right*), the Negro still is not free. (*My Lord, Yeah*) One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. (*Hmm*) One hundred years later (*All right*), the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later (*My Lord*) [applause], the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself in exile in his own land. (*Yes, yes*) And so we've come here today to dramatize a shameful condition.

In a sense we've come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence (*Yeah*), they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men (*My Lord*), would be guaranteed the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. (*My Lord*) Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked insufficient funds. [enthusiastic applause] (*My Lord, Lead on, Speech, speech*)

But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. (*My Lord*) [laughter] (*No, no*) We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. (*Sure enough*) And so we've come to cash this check (*Yes*), a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom (*Yes*) and the security of justice. (*Yes Lord*) [enthusiastic applause]

We have also come to this hallowed spot (*My Lord*) to remind America of the fierce urgency of now. (*Mhm*) This is no time (*My Lord*) to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. [applause] (*Yes, Speak on it!*) Now is the time (*Yes it is*) to make real the promises of democracy. (*My Lord*) Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time [applause] to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time (*Yes*) [applause] (*Now*) to make justice a reality for all of God's children.

It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent (*Yes*) will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. (*My Lord*) 1963 is not an end, but a beginning. (*Yes*) And those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual. [*enthusiastic applause*] There will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

But there is something that I must say to my people, who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice: in the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. (*My Lord, No, no, no, no*) [*applause*] We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. (*My Lord*) Again and again (*No, no*), we must rise to the majestic heights (*Yes*) of meeting physical force with soul force. (*My Lord*) The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people (*Hmm*), for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny [*sustained applause*], and they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom. We cannot walk alone.

And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead. We cannot turn back. There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "When will you be satisfied?" (*Never*) We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality. (*Yes*) We can never be satisfied [*applause*] as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. [*applause*] We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. (*Yes*) We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their selfhood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating for whites only. [*applause*] (*Yes, Hallelujah*) We cannot be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. (*Yeah, That's right, Let's go*) [*applause*] No, no, we are not satisfied and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters (*Yes*) and righteousness like a mighty stream. [*applause*] (*Let's go, Tell it*)

I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. (*My Lord*) Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. (*My Lord, That's right*) Some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution (*Yeah, Yes*) and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith (*Hmm*) that unearned suffering is redemptive. Go back to Mississippi (*Yeah*), go back to Alabama, go back to South Carolina, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our northern

cities (*Yes*), knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed. (*Yes*) Let us not wallow in the valley of despair. (*My Lord*)

I say to you today, my friends [*applause*], so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow (*Uh-huh*), I still have a dream. (*Yes*) It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream. (*Yes*)

I have a dream (*Mhm*) that one day (*Yes*) this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed (*Hah*): “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.” (*Yeah, Uh-huh, Hear hear*) [*applause*]

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia (*Yes, Talk*), the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream (*Yes*) [*applause*] that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice (*Yeah*), sweltering with the heat of oppression (*Mhm*), will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream (*Yeah*) [*applause*] that my four little children (*Well*) will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. (*My Lord*) I have a dream today. [*enthusiastic applause*]

I have a dream that one day down in Alabama, with its vicious racists (*Yes, Yeah*), with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of “interposition” and “nullification” (*Yes*), one day right there in Alabama little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers. I have a dream today. [*applause*] (*God help him, Preach*)

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted (*Yes*), every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain (*Yes*), and the crooked places will be made straight (*Yes*), and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed [*cheering*], and all flesh shall see it together. (*Yes Lord*)

This is our hope. (*Yes, Yes*) This is the faith that I go back to the South with. (*Yes*) With this faith (*My Lord*) we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. (*Yes, All right*) With this faith (*Yes*) we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation (*Yes*) into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. (*Talk about it*) With this faith (*Yes, My Lord*) we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together (*Yes*), to stand up for freedom together (*Yeah*), knowing that we will be free one day. [*sustained applause*]

This will be the day, this will be the day when all of God’s children (*Yes, Yeah*) will be able to sing with new meaning: “My country, ‘tis of thee (*Yeah, Yes*), sweet land of liberty, of thee I

sing. (*Oh yes*) Land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrim's pride (*Yeah*), from every mountainside, let freedom ring!" (*Yeah*)

And if America is to be a great nation (*Yes*), this must become true. So let freedom ring (*Yes, Amen*) from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire. (*Uh-huh*) Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York. Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania. (*Yes, all right*) Let freedom ring (*Yes*) from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado. (*Well*) Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California. (*Yes*) But not only that: (*No*) Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia. [*cheering*] (*Yeah, Oh yes, Lord*) Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee. (*Yes*) Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi. (*Yes*) From every mountainside (*Yeah*) [*sustained applause*], let freedom ring.

And when this happens [*applause*] (*Let it ring, Let it ring*), and when we allow freedom ring (*Let it ring*), when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city (*Yes Lord*), we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children (*Yeah*), black men (*Yeah*) and white men (*Yeah*), Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics (*Yes*), will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual: "Free at last! (*Yes*) Free at last! Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!" [*enthusiastic applause*]

Appendix 2 :The I Have A Dream speech Transcript [BBC Transcription]

I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation.

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of captivity.

But 100 years later, we must face the tragic fact that the **“America has given the Negro is still not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro people a bad cheque Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation which has come back marked and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, 'insufficient funds'”** the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languishing in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land.

And so we've come here today to dramatize an appalling condition. In a sense we've come to our nation's capital to cash a cheque. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men would be guaranteed the inalienable rights of "Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her citizens of colour are concerned. Instead of honouring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad cheque which has come back marked "insufficient funds." But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. So we've come to cash this cheque - a cheque that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

Sweltering summer... of discontent

We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children.

It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. 1963 is not an end, but a beginning. Those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual.

“The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges”

There will be neither rest nor tranquillity in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

But there is something that I must say to my people, who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice: in the process of gaining our rightful place we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.

The marvellous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny. They have come to realise that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom. We cannot walk alone. And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall march ahead. We cannot turn back.

Trials and tribulations

There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights: "When will you be satisfied?" We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality. We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their selfhood and robbed of their

dignity by signs stating "For Whites Only". We cannot be satisfied and we will not be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, no, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.

I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. Some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive.

“I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave-owners will be able to sit down together at a table of brotherhood”

Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed.

Let us not wallow in the valley of despair. I say to you today, my friends, that in spite of the difficulties and frustrations of the moment, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

The dream

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed - we hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal.

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave-owners will be able to sit down together at a table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a desert state, sweltering with the heat of injustice and oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the colour of their skin but by the content of their character.

I have a dream today!

I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification; one day right there in Alabama little black boys and little black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.

I have a dream today!

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.

This is our hope. This is the faith that I will go back to the South with. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope.

With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

This will be the day, this will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with a new meaning: "My country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrim's pride, from every mountainside, let freedom ring." And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true.

And so let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire.

Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York.

Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania!

Let freedom ring from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado.

Let freedom ring from the curvaceous peaks of California.

But not only that.

Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia.

Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee.

Let freedom ring from every hill and every molehill of Mississippi, from every mountainside, let freedom ring!

And when this happens, when we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual: "Free at last! Free at last! thank God Almighty, we are free at last!"