

Translating Martin Luther King

A Thesis on the Translation of Rhetorical Texts



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Introduction

Martin Luther King, Jr. is arguably the most famous person of the African-American Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and 1960s and is recognised worldwide as one of the greatest speakers in all of history. In the Netherlands, King has been a well-known figure since his days as a Civil Rights Movement leader, and his “I Have a Dream” speech, being his best known speech, has often been translated into Dutch.

However, little attention has been paid so far to the translation problems that arise when King’s speeches are translated into Dutch. In addition, apart from the “I Have a Dream” speech, not many of his speeches have been translated into Dutch.

In this thesis, I will translate two of King’s political speeches into Dutch and analyse the translation problems and their solutions from a theoretical as well as a practical perspective. I will translate the “I Have a Dream” speech and one other speech, namely “Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall”, which has not been translated to Dutch so far. This enables me to compare my translation of “I Have a Dream” to earlier translations, but also to add something new to the Dutch field of translations. King’s “Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall” is often said to be the predecessor of his “I Have a Dream” speech, and contains parts which are similar or even the same. This makes it interesting to translate these two speeches together. Another reason that these two speeches are relevant for a thesis on translation, is that they offer many different translation challenges. In his speeches, King uses rhetorical strategies such as repetition, metaphors and intertextual references, which all form a problem for the translator.

According to Hans Vermeer, a translator always needs an instruction specifying what he or she needs to translate, with which goal and under which conditions (199). The translator can be

given this instruction by someone else, but it is also possible that he or she formulates this for him- or herself (Vermeer 199). This instruction can be used to determine how to translate the source text (idem 199-200). The translations in the present thesis should be suitable for a Dutch anthology of the most famous speeches by King. To date, such an anthology does not exist yet; some of King's speeches have been translated, but these were published, for instance, in anthologies of great speeches of various people throughout history. The target audience of my translations are Dutch people who are interested in King and his speeches, and therefore, already have some knowledge of the subject. The Dutch translations can help them gain a better insight into the history of civil rights in America and Martin Luther King himself. Moreover, I want my translations of King's speeches to show modern Dutch readers what made and still makes King's speeches so convincing. My intention, therefore, is not to convince the target audience of Martin Luther King's ideas per se and my translations thereby have a different function than the source texts. Neither will I try to emphasize the universal truth of King's speeches. I do, however, want my translation to show the Dutch readers that King was indeed a great speaker. In order to do this, I will focus on maintaining the rhetorical elements in my translation. This self-formulated assignment is used as the basis for my translation strategy.

As the main purpose of this thesis is to analyse the problems that arise in the translation of Martin Luther King's speeches into Dutch and their solutions, the research question is formulated as follows: "Which problems arise in the translation of Martin Luther King's speeches into Dutch, which solutions are possible and which solutions are desirable?" In order to answer this question, I will follow several steps. Firstly, I will carry out background research on Martin Luther King as a political speaker, thereby answering the question: "Who was Martin Luther King, in which historical context did he write and recite his speeches, what ideas did he express in them and what did he wish to accomplish by giving them?"

Subsequently, I will analyse the rhetorical strategies used in King's speeches "Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall" and "I Have a Dream", because an important part of the translation assignment is to maintain the rhetorical strength of Kings' speeches and because King's rhetorical strategies cause the most problems in the translation process. For this purpose, I will answer the question "What rhetorical strategies does Martin Luther King use in his speeches 'Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall' and 'I Have a Dream'?"

Next, I will translate the two speeches into Dutch. Using theoretical articles and personal reflection, I will analyse the translation problems as well as the solutions to these problems. Hereby I will answer the question: "Which problems occur in the translation of King's speeches 'Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall' and 'I Have a Dream' into Dutch, which solutions are possible and which solutions are desirable?", further subdivided into the questions "Which translation problems are caused by the rhetorical strategies used in 'Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall' and 'I Have a Dream', which solutions are possible and which solutions are desirable?" and "What other problems occur in the translation of these speeches, which solutions are possible and which solutions are desirable?". The analysis of the translation problems caused by King's rhetorical strategies can be found in the chapter "Translating King's Rhetoric". Following this chapter are my translations, which include footnotes that discuss other translation problems and motivate the chosen solutions. A conclusion following these two chapters summarizes the different translation problems and their solutions.

After presenting my own translation of "I Have a Dream", I will compare this translation with two earlier translations, namely the one by Rudi de Graaf in the anthology *Schokkende Redovoeringen* and the one by Jacques Meerman in the anthology *Toespraken die de wereld veranderden*. Hereby, I will analyse how two other translators deal with the translation problems caused by the rhetorical strategies in this speech, as specified in the chapter "Translating King's Rhetoric". In

order to do this, I will first analyse the background of these earlier translations as well as the translators themselves, using the question: “In which context were the Dutch translations of ‘I Have a Dream’ by Rudi de Graaf en Jacques Meerman made and what information can be found about these translators?”. Subsequently, I will compare my own translation with the translations by De Graaf en Meerman, answering the question: “How did the Dutch translations of ‘I Have a Dream’ by Rudi de Graaf en Jacques Meerman deal with rhetorical strategies in this speech, how do these solutions differ from the ones in my translation and from each other and what explanations can be given for these different approaches?” The answer to both questions can be found in the chapter “Comparing Dreams: Different Solutions to the Translation Problems of King’s Rhetoric”. In the conclusion, I will link the answers to the sub questions to each other in order to answer the research question and summarize the thesis. In the conclusion I will also discuss my research findings and the limitations of this research.

Martin Luther King and his Speeches

Before translating “Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall” and “I Have a Dream”, it is important to know more about the man who wrote and recited them as well as the speeches themselves. In this chapter, I will answer the question “Who was Martin Luther King, in which historical context did he write and recite his speeches, what ideas did he express in them and what did he wish to accomplish by giving them?”, paying special attention to “Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall” and “I Have a Dream”.

King’s debut speech

Martin Luther King, Jr., born in 1929, was a Baptist minister, like his father Martin Luther King before him (Lewis 11; Hodgson 2). He is well-known as the leader of the African-American Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and 1960s, in which he fought for equal rights and treatment for African-American people.¹ His speeches, especially “I Have a Dream”, are known worldwide and praised for their content as well as rhetorical strength.

The story of King as a political speaker is often said to begin in 1955, when Rosa Parks, a black woman in Montgomery, was arrested for refusing to give up her seat to a white person, which resulted in the Montgomery Bus Boycott (Lewis 3; Hodgson 3). King was appointed as the leader of the committee that organized the boycott, the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) (Lewis 56; Parks 2; Hodgson 3). There were several reasons why King was chosen as the leader of the MIA. On the one hand, the organisation needed an intelligent, charismatic speaker and, having given sermons as a minister in Montgomery, Martin Luther King was known as such (Lewis 56; Parks 2).

¹ In this thesis, I use the description “African-American” when possible. Sometimes I will quote King who uses “Negroes” himself. In other instances, I will use “black people”, whenever it is relevant to contrast with “white people”.

On the other hand, there were also more practical reasons. The leader had to be someone relatively new to the community, because it could not be someone with many enemies, and the person had to be able to move to a different town and get a job there in case the movement would fail, which was considered highly likely (Lewis 56; Parks 2).

As King was born in January 1929, he was only 26 at the time he was appointed leader of the MIA. Throughout his life, King had experienced segregation first-handed, for instance when he could not attend the same school as his white neighbourhood friend (Hodgson 22, 25). In addition, his family history was that of slavery (idem 22). His parents, however, had always taught him to see himself as equal to white people (Lewis 6, 11; Hodgson 25). When King found out his friends' parents no longer allowed them to play with him and his brother because they were black, his mother told him: "Don't let this thing impress you. Don't let it make you feel you're not as good as white people. You're as good as anyone else, and don't you forget it" (qtd in Lewis 11). King strongly opposed the unequal treatment of African-American people and really wanted to make a difference. Unlike his father, who argued that it was important to have patience and wait for change to come gradually, King wanted to make change happen himself, to force change to happen (McLean 3-4).

When the MIA held a meeting explaining to everyone who wanted to join the boycott what their plan was and why, King gave a speech. This is considered his first political speech and was received very positively by the people that attended the meeting. Rosa Parks, who was present at the meeting, argues that when King spoke, he spoke in "the rich, baritone and learned eloquence that distinguished even this debut speech of his career as a civil rights leader" (3).

However, it was not just the eloquence which was equal to his later speeches; much of the content of what he said that day equalled his later speeches too. As one of his biographers, Godfrey Hodgson, puts it: "In it [the speech] he managed to touch most of the themes of his future leadership" (46). King illustrated the problem of unequal treatment of blacks and whites in America,

focusing more specifically on the segregation of city buses in Montgomery (King “Montgomery Improvement Association” 7-9). In addition, he argued against the idea that it would be better to wait and let change run its course gradually (*idem* 9). Furthermore, he emphasized that the black community’s wish for equal rights and treatment, as well as this specific bus boycott, was in keeping with the American democratic tradition (*idem* 9-10). Moreover, he advocated love and nonviolent protest in a Christian context (*idem* 11). These themes all return in his later speeches.

The bus boycott lasted for months, but eventually it was a success. The demands of the MIA were initially very small; they wanted African-American people to be threatened less rudely by the white bus drivers and to be seated on a first-come-first-served basis (Hodgson 47). In addition, they wanted black drivers to be hired as well (*ibidem*). However, as they were still willing to accept that black people would sit in the back and white people in the front, fearing that asking for more would turn the country against them, they did not demand a complete end to segregation on buses (*idem* 47-48). It was only later that the MIA’s lawyer filed a lawsuit in an attempt to declare the segregation on Montgomery’s buses to be unconstitutional (*idem* 48). On November 13, the United States Supreme Court agreed to this (*idem* 50). The success of the bus boycott illustrated that nonviolent protest could be a success, and helped the doctrine of nonviolence to gain more ground (Lewis 81).

Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall

More speeches followed and King became well-known as the leader of the African-American Civil Rights Movement. On the 23th of June, 1963, a mass march on Detroit was organised in order to raise more consciousness about the Civil Rights Movement (Franklin and Franklin 57). King was asked to lead this march and give a speech at a rally in Detroit (*ibidem*). In this speech at Cobo Hall, he used themes similar to the ones used at the MIA meeting, but as this speech is longer, he

addressed these themes more extensively.

He started with saying he was “thrilled” to join what he called “the largest and greatest demonstration for freedom ever held in the United States” (King “Freedom Rally” 61). Then he said that he was happy the demonstration had so far been peaceful and that this showed their “commitment to nonviolence” (*ibidem*).

Subsequently, he began to talk about the Emancipation Proclamation, which was intended “to free the Negro” (King “Freedom Rally” 62). He argued, however, that so far, this had not been the case (*ibidem*). Hereby, King put the wishes of the African-American community into the perspective of American history. He argued that the time for change had come: “For the hour is late, and the clock of destiny is ticking out, and we must act now before it is too late” (*ibidem*).

He emphasized how wrong segregation was and painted the history of the African-American people from slavery till that day. Then he returned to his argument that it was time for change by saying that this protest showed the “urgency of the moment” (*idem* 64). He thereby argued against those who claim that they were going too fast and that change should come gradually. Then he returned to the subject of nonviolence, emphasizing that this was a very effective method, as it was due to nonviolence that segregation in public transportation was almost completely done away with (*idem* 66-67).

Relating to this, he called upon his listeners to engage in “love” and explained that by this he did not mean affective love, but “a sort of understanding, creative, redemptive good will for all men” (*idem* 67). He related the doctrine of love and nonviolence to the Christian faith: “Jesus told us this long time ago (...) ‘Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you’” (*idem* 67). He went on to say that he understood the feeling of black supremacy but argued that this is “as dangerous as white supremacy” (*idem* 69).

Then he mentioned some things his listeners could do, like supporting a civil rights bill put

forward by President Eisenhower (idem 70). Lastly, he painted a picture of an unsegregated America where black and white people were free and equal, repeating the phrase “I have a dream” several times (idem 71-72). In this part of his speech, King also refers to the Declaration of Independence. Throughout his speech, King used biblical allusions, thereby putting the entire speech in a Christian context.

This speech is very similar to his later “I Have a Dream” speech. As Aretha and Erma Franklin point out: “The history books say that Dr. King’s speech on that day set the stage for his ‘I Have a Dream’ speech at the great March on Washington later that summer. And indeed, Dr. King did explore some of the themes and language he would use at the Lincoln Memorial” (58). A transcript of this speech can be found under the appendices in the back of this thesis. In the next chapter, I will analyse the rhetorical strategies that King used in this speech.

I Have a Dream

King’s most famous speech was delivered on August 28, 1963. This speech, which has gone down in history as King’s “I Have a Dream” speech, was delivered from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial during the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

Similar to the speech in Cobo Hall, King started by stating how happy he was to be a part of “what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation” (King “Dream” 81). He mentioned the Emancipation Proclamation, also like his speech in Cobo Hall, and added to this the Declaration of Independence, quoting that every person would be granted “unalienable Rights of Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness” (idem 82). Hereby, King again put the wishes of the African-American community in the context of American history.

Subsequently, he argued that it was the right time for change, repeating “now is the time”

(ibidem). He argued against gradualism by calling it a “tranquilizing drug” (ibidem). Then he emphasized that hate and violence are not the right means to achieve the desired change (idem 83). Repeating “we can never be satisfied as long as”, he went on to illustrate the wrongs of American society in relation to its African-American community (idem 84).

Lastly, he painted a picture of an ideal future America, similar to his speech in Cobo Hall, repeating the phrase “I have a dream” several times (idem 85-87). Throughout his speech, he used biblical references to put his ideas in a Christian context. A transcript of this speech can be found under the appendices in the back of this thesis. In the next chapter, I will analyse the rhetorical strategies that King used in this speech.

There are important differences between the written version of King’s “I Have a Dream” and the actual, spoken version. King started his speech by reading the passages that he had written in advance, but at one point he decided to depart from this and instead, to use the imagery from his earlier speech at Cobo Hall to describe ‘the dream’ again (Hodgson 5). In other words, the part of this speech which has become so well-known and which has given it its name, was not planned but improvised. I will get back to this when I discuss the source texts used to make my translations in the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric”.

After this speech, King gave more speeches in which he expressed the same ideas, but “I Have a Dream” is undoubtedly the most famous one. Hodgson argues that this speech has become “the best known political speech of the twentieth century, in America and around the world” (6). In his later speeches, King also expressed the possibility of him dying in the near future, as he was often threatened with his life. These threats became reality, as King was assassinated on April 4, 1968, in Memphis, Tennessee, having reached the age of 39 (Hodgson 8).

Ideas

In my analysis of three of King's speeches, "Address to the First Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) Mass Meeting", "Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall" and "I Have a Dream", the most important ideas expressed in King's speeches have already been mentioned. These are equality of black and white people, the idea that equality and the fight for equality are in keeping with the American democratic tradition, the need for active change instead of passively waiting for change to come gradually, and love and nonviolence as the means for change to happen. King wrote and recited these speeches to convince people of these ideas as well as to make people act, for instance by boycotting the city buses in Montgomery or supporting a civil rights bill (Young, Andrew vii).

The idea of nonviolence was both a practical technique and a philosophical, theological doctrine (Lewis 86-87). Nonviolent protests were more practical, because the black minority could not win by fighting on a grand scale (*ibidem*). However, King's ultimate reason for advocating nonviolence came from his Christian belief, which convinced him that evil could only be fought with love and not with more evil (*ibidem*).

Other ideas about the methods for black emancipation, such as the ideas advocated by Malcolm X, included violence towards or complete separation from the white race (*ibidem*). Others, like King's father, were convinced that change had to come gradually (McLean 3). In his speeches, King therefore also opposed these standpoints, trying to convince all people, both black and white, of his ideas.

King's political, philosophical and theoretical ideas are said to have stemmed from many different sources. Ghandi's spiritual philosophy and pacifist techniques are one important, and often mentioned, source of King's ideas (Hodgson 35). As the leader of the nationalist movement in India,

Ghandi fought the British, but he did this using tactics of nonviolent disobedience. After having attended a lecture on Ghandi, King called his message “profound and electrifying” (qtd in Lewis 34). Thoreau’s essay “Civil Disobedience” was another inspiration for King, as it led him to believe that passively accepting evil is equal to committing evil deeds yourself and that therefore, civil disobedience is a morally rightful tactic (Hodgson 52; Lewis 57). King’s most important source of inspiration, however, was probably his Christian faith, which convinced him that change should come through love and not through violence (Lewis 86-87).

King's Rhetorical Strategies

According to Andrew Young, King's speeches were "the communication of intellectual ideas and spiritual vision" (vii). Moreover, Young argues that they were persuasive texts that tried to convince people to act in certain ways, for instances to perform acts of civil disobedience (Young, Andrew vii). He regards the speeches as both "spiritual" and "powerfully political" (idem x). King attempted to change the attitude of his listeners and thereby influence their behaviour. Consequently, King used strong rhetorical language in his speeches. Because I want to translate "Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall" and "I Have a Dream" in such a way that the target texts show the rhetorical strength of King's speeches and because this feature will pose many translation problems, it is relevant to analyse the rhetorical strategies used in these two speeches. In this chapter, I will therefore answer the question: "What rhetorical strategies does Martin Luther King use in his speeches 'Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall' and 'I Have a Dream'?"

The most important rhetorical strategies employed by King are intertextual references, repetition, metaphorical language, oppositions, humour and rhythm. Below, I will discuss these strategies thematically.

Intertextual references

Mark Vail argues that King uses what he calls "voice merging" as a rhetorical strategy in "I Have a Dream" (53-54). This means that King uses the voice of others by citing them. By using these references to and citations of other sources, King manages to employ different voices, which enables him to address many different audiences in one speech (Vail 53-54). This is important because it

helps him convince a large group of people. This is also pointed out by Hodgson in his biography.

Hodgson argues that King addresses many different people at once:

He was talking to several audiences at once. He was directly addressing the thousands who were there in front him in Washington's Mall. Over their heads he was reaching out to southern blacks and northern whites, to the tens of millions of undecided white Americans, willing to be persuaded that the time was ripe to end the embarrassing southern folkways of segregation, yet reluctant to be carried away on radical paths. He was reaching out to the powerless in southern plantations and the angry in northern ghettos, and most of all to the powerful, only just beyond the reach of his voice a mile or so up the Mall on Capitol Hill. (Hodgson 5)

In order to do this, Hodgson argues, King borrows from different sources:

So he wove together different languages for different listeners. He borrowed the emotional power of the Old Testament with an echo of stately music of Handel's Messiah. He also appealed to the sacred texts of the American secular religion, echoing the grand simplicities of Jefferson's Declaration of Independence and Lincoln's Gettysburg address. (*ibidem*)

In short, King uses these different references, both biblical and secular, as a way to speak "different languages" to "different listeners". Although both Vail and Hodgson only discuss "I Have a Dream", the same can be said about "Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall". In fact, in these two speeches, King refers to many of the same sources.

Examples of secular sources King refers to in both speeches are the Emancipation Proclamation and the Declaration of Independence. The Emancipation Proclamation is an executive order signed by President Abraham Lincoln in order to free African-American people of slavery. The Declaration of Independence says that "all men are created equal" and that all men have the God-given rights of "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness" ("Declaration"). By using these references, King puts the wishes of the African-American community in the context of American democracy.

An example of a biblical reference used in both speeches is Amos 5:24² (Miller 409). In "Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall" King says: "Yes, I have a dream this afternoon that one day in this land the words of Amos will become real and justice will run down like waters, and

² King James Version: "But let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream."

righteousness like a mighty stream”³ (King “Freedom Rally” 72). In “I Have a Dream”, King uses the same reference but earlier in the speech, and this time, he does not explicate that this is a citation from Amos: “No, no, we are not satisfied and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream” (King “Dream” 84). Another biblical reference used in both speeches is that of Isaiah 40:4-5⁴ (Miller 412). In both speeches, King uses this source in the same way: “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” (King “Freedom Rally” 72; “Dream” 85-86). As Keith Miller puts it, these biblical quotations offer King “simple, beautiful metaphors for the arrival of justice” (409). Moreover, Miller argues that since a great part of his audience has enough knowledge of the Bible to recognise these quotes, King hereby manages to put the African-American quest for freedom and equality in a biblical context, comparing it with, among others, the Jewish people’s journey from slavery in Egypt to Freedom in the Promised Land (410-413). When using these bible quotations, King does not seem to cite literally from one English Bible translation. Instead, he uses the most suitable translation for his speech and often makes small alterations to fit the quotations in the structure of his speech.

³ In this analysis of King’s rhetorical strategies as well as in the translation analysis and translation comparison, the transcript elements given in the source texts, that specify the reaction of the audience, are left out. I have done this because they do not matter to these analyses and this way, the quotes can be kept shorter and clearer.

⁴ King James version: “Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain. And the glory of the LORD shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see *it* together: for the mouth of the LORD hath spoken *it*.”

Repetition

Repetition is probably the most obvious, and therefore also the best known, rhetorical strategy that King uses in his speeches. One of the ways in which he uses this is in the form of words or key themes that he keeps coming back to. However, the most notable form of repetition that King uses is parallelism; by constantly starting his sentence with the phrase “I have a dream that one day”, for instance:

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. [etcetera] (King “Dream” 85, emphasis mine)

The citation given above is from “I Have a Dream”, but as I have mentioned before, the repetition of the phrase “I have a dream” also occurs in “Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall”. Another example of repetition as it occurs in “Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall”, is the repetition of the phrase “now is the time”:

Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. *Now is the time* to transform this pending national elegy into a creative psalm of brotherhood. *Now is the time* to lift our nation, *now is the time* to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of racial justice. *Now is the time* to get rid of segregation and discrimination. *Now is the time*. (King “Freedom Rally” 65, emphasis mine)

Repetition can have many functions in a text. Firstly, repetition can be used to emphasize a point (Abdulla 290-91; Neale 2). Secondly, repetition can create a certain effect, which, according to Adnan Abdulla, “depends on an individual poet’s use or intention of repetition” (Abdulla 291). An example Abdulla gives is that repetition can be used to create an ironic effect (*ibidem*). In addition, according to J.P. Guépin, repetition is a rhetorical device which can have many different effects; it can add to the emotional tone of the speech, it can make a speech more stately, it can send listeners

into ecstasy, it can create humour, et cetera (“De Stijl” 37). Repetition is also often used in the Bible and in religious discourse (Abdulla 290; Guépin “De Stijl” 58).

Considering King’s speeches, repetition indeed emphasizes his points and adds to the emotional tone of King’s speeches. Furthermore, the repetition that King uses evokes the biblical intertextual context of his speeches, which in turn strengthens his rhetoric, as the Christian context is important to his speeches and gives them an extra form of authority for a part of his listeners.

Metaphorical language

King also uses metaphorical language as a rhetorical device. As Guépin argues, painting vivid images can be a very persuasive device, because it enables the orator to give his or her audience emotive arguments in addition to the rational ones, thereby appealing to the listeners’ feelings as well as their rationale (Guépin “De Stijl” 35). King uses metaphorical language as a way to paint these pictures (*ibidem*). An example from “Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall” is: “Figuratively speaking, every man from a bass black to a treble white is significant on God’s keyboard” (King “Freedom Rally” 64). Here, King compares men with keys on a keyboard; some are black and some are white, but, he argues, all are important in God’s eyes. In this example, King explicates that he is not talking in a literal sense by using the phrase “figuratively speaking”, but in other instances, he also gives a metaphor without this ‘warning’, for instance in: “For the shape of the world today does not afford us the luxury of an anemic democracy” (*idem* 62). Here, King uses a medical term to describe what he considers a failing political system. An example from “I Have a Dream” shows that the metaphors that King uses can also become extended metaphors. King mentions the Declaration of Independence, which granted everyone “unalienable Rights of Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness”, and argues:

It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honouring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, a check 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. 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. (King “Dream” 82)

In this passage, the Declaration of Independence is described as a promise, and this promise has so far not been upheld for African-American people. Subsequently, King describes this in extended metaphors of money and debts.

Oppositions

In his speeches, King speaks in terms of binary oppositions between such terms as justice and injustice, morality and immorality, freedom and slavery/segregation. That which he opposes – injustice, immorality, slavery, segregation – is always portrayed in negative terms, with images such as “darkness” and “cancer”, while the concepts he favours – justice, morality, freedom – are described in positive images, like “light” and “health”. These oppositions are a specific form of metaphorical language. An example from “Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall” is: “Segregation is a cancer in the body politic, which must be removed before our democratic health can be realized” (King “Freedom Rally” 62-63). Here segregation is attributed the image of “cancer”, while a democratic nation without segregation is given the opposed image, namely, “health”. Another example is: “And I believe that (...) we will be able to go on in the days ahead and transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood” (idem 69). Here, the wrongs of American society are compared to “jangling discords”. The opposing image, “a beautiful symphony”, is reserved for a future America in which black and white people can live together as brothers (idem 69). An example from “I Have a Dream” is: “[The Emancipation Proclamation] came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their [slaves] captivity” (King

“Dream” 81). In this sentence, slavery is described as a “night”, while the Emancipation Proclamation, which freed the African-American people of slavery, is described as a “daybreak”; the Emancipation Proclamation thereby is depicted as the beginning of a new, happier period. Similarly, in the sentence: “Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice” (idem 82), that which King favours is described in terms of light while that which he opposes is described in terms of darkness.

Humour

Another strategy that King uses is humour. He uses wordplay to ridicule the ideas he opposes in “Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall”:

We still here these cries. They are telling us over and over again that you’re pushing things too fast, and so they’re saying, “Cool off.” Well, the only answer that we can give to that is that we’ve cooled off all too long, and there is the danger, there’s always the danger if you cool off too much that you will end up in a deep freeze. (King “Freedom Rally” 65)

Here, King opposes those who say that change should come more slowly. He does that by first attributing a phrase to them and then attacking this phrase by wordplay. Although in “I Have a Dream”, King does not make such an explicit joke, the transcript does show that the audience laughs about the metaphor of bankruptcy that is analysed above. What these two examples have in common, is that in both cases, King uses humour to ridicule opposing arguments; in the first example, he uses wordplay and in the latter, he uses metaphors to this effect.

Rhythm

Lastly, King uses rhythm as a persuasive device as well. Of course, in every form of spoken language and in texts, a rhythm can be sensed, meaning a pattern of stressed and unstressed words (Abrams

and Harpham 194). However, in his speeches, King uses rhythm in the sense of repetitive patterns resulting in a cadence, which makes his speech pleasant to listen to. This is what is often meant when people say a speech is ‘rhythmical’ and this is what is meant in this thesis by ‘rhythm’ as a rhetorical strategy.

Thomas Neale points out that “the use of cadence and balance in the spoken word” is an important rhetorical device (3). According to Neale rhythm is often achieved in a speech through such rhetorical devices as rhythmic triads, parallelism and alliteration (3). Rhythm, therefore, should be seen as a rhetorical device in itself, but can at the same time be constructed by other rhetorical devices.

Renlun Ding points out that in speaking, rhythm is often achieved by a more or less regular succession of weak and strong stresses (80). She also argues that rhythm can help the listener understand the speaker (Ding 80).

In his speeches, King achieves rhythm by two means: verbal repetition and repeating patterns of emphasis. Under the header “repetition”, verbal repetition is already discussed as a rhetorical device, but no particular attention was given to its rhythmic effects. Through the use of repetition, a text automatically becomes rhythmical, because the regular recurrence of sounds and stress patterns creates a cadence. Especially when King uses parallelism, for instance in the recurrence of the phrase “I have a dream that one day”, a clear rhythm can be noticed, because the same sounds and stress patterns keep recurring at a fixed place, namely the beginning of a new sentence.

The second means, repeating patterns of emphasis, is a part of the actual performance of the speech rather than the written words; by stressing certain words and syllables and keeping other words unstressed in a more or less regular pattern, King creates a cadence that moves his speech forward. In order to achieve this, important words, usually content words, have to be placed in the

right location so that they can be stressed, while less important words, such as function words, are placed in between the stressed ones, so that they can be unstressed. The pattern that King uses is loosely based on the dactyl pentameter, meaning *stressed – unstressed – unstressed*. He does not use this very strictly, however. In his performance, King manages to create a strong cadence by his way of speaking. In the transcripts of the speeches, this cadence is less clear, but still discernible. Therefore, although it can be said that the actual performance is more rhythmical than the written text, at the same time the written text does alternate between stressed and unstressed patterns in a more or less regular way. Consequently, the text itself also reads rhythmically. This is most obvious in the parts where King uses parallelism and it is in these passages that I will focus on this persuasive device the most. Consider for instance the following passage from “I Have a 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 the table of brotherhood. (King “Dream” 85, emphasis mine)

In this passage, the words and syllables that would logically be stressed are underlined. This shows that the stress pattern is based on the dactyl pentameter, but not too strictly. In his performance of this passage, King uses this stress pattern, but he emphasizes the cadence even more by such tactics as lingering on the important words and weaving together the unstressed words.

Translating King's Rhetoric

In the previous chapter, I have analysed the rhetorical strategies that King uses in “Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall” and “I Have a Dream”. In this chapter, I will analyse the difficulties that these rhetorical elements cause for a translation into Dutch. Thereby, this chapter will answer the question: “Which translation problems are caused by the rhetorical strategies used in ‘Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall’ and ‘I Have a Dream’, which solutions are possible and which solutions are desirable?”

Before discussing the translation problems and giving my own translations, it must be clarified which source texts are used. As is discussed in the chapter “Martin Luther King and his Speeches”, the written versions of King’s speeches are not equal to the actual performance. Especially in his “I Have a Dream” speech, King departed greatly from his original notes. As it are the actual speeches that have become famous, I wanted to translate these and not the written versions. I have therefore used transcripts of the speeches as they are given in the anthology *A Call to Conscience: The Landmark Speeches of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.* These source texts can be found under the appendices in the back of this thesis.

Intertextual references, repetition, metaphorical language, oppositions, humour and rhythm are all source text features that the translator will have to deal with. Therefore, these features can be seen as posing problems for the translator. The translation problems discussed in this chapter can best be understood as what Christiane Nord calls “text-specific translation problems”, because they are problems caused by the specific rhetorical style of Martin Luther King in these specific speeches, and solutions to these problems will most likely not be applicable to the translation of other texts (145). However, some of the solutions could perhaps be relevant to the translation of other speeches by King. Problems also often arose because something could not be said in the same way in Dutch.

These are problems that, as Christiane Nord puts it, “arise out of the differences in structure between the source language and the target language” (147).

Intertextual references

In the previous chapter, it is argued that King uses intertextual references as a rhetorical strategy. Because I want my translations to be strong rhetorical texts too, I believe it is important that this is maintained in my translation. The problem that an intertextual reference can cause for a translator, is that the reference does not exist, is not as well-known or has different connotative meanings in the target culture. Ritva Leppihalme sums up potential strategies that a translator can use when another source is cited in the source text. These can be listed as follows:

1. Using an existing translation
2. Making a literal translation
3. Adding in-text information to help the reader
4. Adding extratextual information, for instance via footnotes or endnotes
5. Introducing textual features, like marked wording or syntax, to indicate the presence of borrowed words
6. Replacing the source text allusion with a target text allusion;
7. Rephrasing the allusion in such a way that the intended meaning becomes overt but the allusion itself is omitted
8. Re-creating the allusion by creatively constructing a passage that reproduces its effects
9. Omitting the allusion. (Leppihalme 94-101)

Although all viable options in some translation contexts, some of these options are, in my opinion, unfit for my translation of King's speeches. I have not used the strategy of adding in-text information to help the reader, because this would make the text longer, and moreover, it would suggest that King is explaining these quotations to his audience, which he did not do. Introducing textual features, like marked wording or syntax, is another strategy I haven't used, because creating marked formulations in the text could weaken its rhetorical power. Replacing the source text allusion with a target text allusion would be undesirable, because this would bring the speech to a Dutch

context, whereas the sources often serve to put the speech into the context of American Democracy. Moreover, it would wrongfully suggest that King referred to Dutch sources. Lastly, omitting the allusions or rephrasing them in such a way that the intended meaning becomes overt but the allusions themselves are omitted could be possible solutions, but it would still be regrettable that the allusions could not be maintained in some form or other, as the allusions add to the text's rhetorical strength. In other words, these two strategies may be necessary to use, but they are not the most desirable options.

Some of these options I did consider suitable for the purpose of my translations. The use of an existing translation seemed to me a logical choice in most cases, as this enables the Dutch audience to recognise that King refers to another source. For instance, when the Bible is cited in the source text, a Dutch translation of the same Bible passage can be used in the target text. This way, Dutch readers with knowledge of the Bible will be able to recognise the quotation.

There are, however, different Dutch Bible translations and therefore different options to choose from. Not taking Bible translations written in regional accents or translations made for children into account, there are still many translations left. For my comparison, I have used the following Bible translations, because these can all be found on Biblia.net, a website that enables you to compare different Bible translations: the 21st century translation *De Nieuwe Bijbelvertaling*, the *Groot Nieuws Bijbel* of 1996, the translation of the *Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap* of 1951, the Catholic *Willibrordvertaling* of 1995 and the *Statenvertaling* as well as three revised editions of this last one.

In order to choose which translation or translations to use, I have made tables of all the Bible quotations in both “Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall” and “I Have a Dream” and the different existing Dutch translations. These tables can be found under the appendices. After comparing the different options, I have come to the conclusion that the *Herziene Statenvertaling* is most fitting for my translation of King’s speeches.

There are several reasons why I considered the *Herziene Statenvertaling* the best option for the purpose of my translations. Firstly, in King's speeches, there is not a strong difference between the language King uses in general and the language that King uses when he cites the Bible; in both cases, the text is written in modern, and not outdated, English. Therefore, I did not want to create a contrast between modern day Dutch and outdated 'biblical' language in my translation either and have consequently not used Bible translations written in outdated Dutch. The *Herziene Statenvertaling* is one of the translations written in contemporary Dutch. Secondly, I considered the *Herziene Statenvertaling* to be a more stately translation, at least in the passages that I compared, than the other Bible translations written in contemporary Dutch. This stately tone, in my opinion, fits King's speeches. Consider for example the following passage from King's speech and the corresponding Bible citation in English and in Dutch:

King's speech	And there is still a voice saying to every potential Peter, "Put up your sword".
King James Version	Then Jesus said to him, 'Put your sword back into its place (...)
Nieuwe Bijbelvertaling	Daarop zei Jezus tegen hem: 'Steek je zwaard terug op zijn plaats (...)
Groot Nieuws Bijbel	Maar Jezus zei: 'Steek je zwaard weer bij je (...)
Herziene Statenvertaling	Toen zei Jezus tegen hem: 'Doe uw zwaard terug op zijn plaats (...)
NBG-vertaling	Toen zeide Jezus tot hem: 'Keer uw zwaard weder in zijn plaats (...)
Statenvertaling	Toen zeide Jezus tot hem: 'Keer uw zwaard weder in zijn plaats (...)
Willibrordvertaling	Toen zei Jezus tegen hem: 'Steek je zwaard weer op zijn plaats (...)
Statenvertaling 1997	Toen zeide Jezus tot hem: 'Keer uw zwaard weer in zijn plaats (...)
Lutherse vertaling 1648	Doe sprack Iesus tot hem: 'Steeckt uw sweet in sijne plaatse (...)

Statenvertaling 1637	Doe seyde Iesus tot hem, Keert uw' sweerdt weder in sijne plaatse (...)
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Table 1: Matthew 26:52 in translation

Although “put up your sword” is slightly more marked than, for instance, “put away your sword”, there is no great difference between the language that King uses to introduce this passage and the passage itself. If I used a translation such as the *Lutherse Vertaling*, “Steeckt uw' sweert in sijne plaatse”, which is in Medieval Dutch, this would seem strange and the citation will be unclear for many people. But even the *NBG-Vertaling* sounds outdated: “Breng uw zwaard weder op zijn plaats”, although not many people will have problems understanding it. However, the latest bible translation *De Nieuwe Bijbelvertaling* as well as the *Groot Nieuws Bijbel* use the informal “je” instead of the more formal “uw”. For the purpose of my translation, I think this is too colloquial. The *Herziene Statenvertaling*, however, is written in Modern-Dutch and still manages to maintain a stately tone: “Doe uw zwaard terug op zijn plaats”. Therefore, I consider the *Herziene Statenvertaling* a good source for the translations of King’s Bible citations.

As King does not use one specific English Bible translation for all his quotations, but instead, chooses the formulation that is best suitable for his speech, it could be argued that I, too, could choose different Dutch Bible translations in my translation of King’s speeches. However, I have chosen to use only the *Herziene Statenvertaling* because I considered this version to have the right tone and because I feared that otherwise, the differences in register would be apparent in my translation. In the source texts, King’s use of different Bible versions does not result in register shifts.

When using these quotations, King also makes small alterations to fit the quotations in the structure of his sentences. This is also what I have done. Consider, for instance, my translation of King’s reference to Amos 5:24:

King's speech	Yes, I have a dream this afternoon that one day in this land the words of Amos will become real and justice will roll down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream.
King James Version	But let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream.
Herziene Statenvertaling	Laat het recht stromen als water, de gerechtigheid als een altijd stromende beek.
My translation	Ja, ik heb deze middag een droom dat op een dag in dit land de woorden van Amos werkelijkheid zullen worden en dat het recht zal stromen als water en de gerechtigheid als een altijd stromende beek

Table 2: Amos 5:24 in translation

As this table shows, I have used the *Herziene Statenvertaling*, but I have altered the quotation to make it fit in the structure of my translation.

Another example of where I used an existing translation, is in King's reference to the Declaration of Independence. In both "Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall" and "I Have a Dream", King refers to the following passage of the Declaration of Independence, which is probably the best known passage:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. ("Declaration")

For my translation, I have used an existing translation of this passage of the Declaration of Independence. This translation comes from the book *Geschiedenis van de Verenigde Staten van Amerika 2* and is made by H. F. Nuitjen:

Wij beschouwen deze waarheden als vanzelfsprekend: dat alle mensen als gelijken worden geschapen, dat zij door hun Schepper met zekere onvervreemdbare Rechten zijn begiftigd,

dat zich daaronder bevinden het Leven, de Vrijheid en het nastreven van Geluk. (Nuiten 565)

I have used this translation as the basis for all King's references to the Declaration of Independence.

For example, in "Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall", King says:

I have a dream this evening that one day we will recognize the words of Jefferson that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." (King "Freedom Rally" 72)

I have translated this with:

Ik heb deze avond een droom dat we op een dag de woorden van Jefferson zullen erkennen, dat "alle mensen als gelijken worden geschapen, dat zij door hun Schepper met zekere onvervleemdbare Rechten zijn begiftigd, dat zich daaronder bevinden het Leven, de Vrijheid en het nastreven van Geluk."

This illustrates that to translate the passages in which King cites from the Declaration of Independence, I have used the relevant passages from an existing translation.

The second strategy that Leppihalme mentions, a literal translation of a citation, is also one of the strategies I used. In "Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall", King argues:

We are coming to see now, the psychiatrists are saying to us, that many of the strange things that happen in the subconscious (sic), many of the inner conflicts, are rooted in hate. And so they are saying, "Love or perish." (King "Freedom Rally" 67)

Here, King refers to the book *Love or Perish* by Smiley Blanton, in which it is argued that mental illnesses are the result of a person's inability to love (Losher and Newton 118). There is no Dutch translation of this book. Therefore, I had to make my own translation. I have used a rather literal translation of the title, namely "Heb lief of sterf", because I think that this translation will give an impression of what is meant, similar to the English source text.

However, there have also been instances where I have decided to translate a reference more freely because I felt this had to be done to create a similar effect. This can be

seen as re-creating the allusion by creatively constructing a passage that reproduces its effects. Consider for example: “we are simply saying that we will no longer sell our birthright of freedom for a mess of segregated pottage” (King “Freedom Rally” 63). Here, King uses an alternation of the English expression “to sell one's birthright for a mess of pottage”. This expression refers to Genesis 25:29-33, which tells of how Esau sold his rights as the first born child to his younger brother in exchange for food. The effect of this is that his audience recognises this play on a common expression and can relate this remark to the biblical context. In Dutch, there also exists an expression referring to this bible passage: “zijn eerstgeboorterecht voor een schotel linzen verkopen”. Therefore, to create a similar effect, my translation is an alternation of this expression: “zeggen we simpelweg dat we onze vrijheid, een geboorterecht, niet langer zullen verkopen voor een schotel segregatie”.

Similarly, when King cited poems and songs, I had to translate creatively in order to create a similar effect. Consider for example the passage in “Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall” where King says that the African-American people “can now unconsciously cry out with the eloquent poet”:

Fleecy locks and black complexion
Cannot forfeit nature's claim.
Skin may differ, but affection
Dwells in black and white the same.
Were I so tall as to reach the pole
Or to grasp at the ocean at a span,
It must be measured by my soul
The mind is the standard of the man. (King “Freedom Rally” 64)

Although King seems to suggest that he refers to one poem, this passage is actually a combination of two sources. The first four lines are of a poem by William Cowper, “The Negro's Complaint”. A Dutch translation of the poem has been made, namely “Des Negers Klacht”, by J. ten Kate. These specific lines are translated rather freely by Ten Kate:

Heeft mij als u geen moeder
Gedragen onder 't hart?
En vraagt misschien de Liefde
Als gjí naar wit of zwart? (Kate)

This is the only translation that I have found of this poem. I think, however, that this translation is not well suited for the purpose of King's speech. Firstly, the translation is written in outdated Dutch, which makes the poem rather marked while this is not the case in the source text. Secondly, King cites this part of the poem as an illustration of the fact that black people have become more sure of themselves and now dare to see themselves as equal to white people. Moreover, the use of the word affection here and the fact that it is said that this is something that dwells both in black and in white people, is important as this fits King's ideas about love and nonviolence. These elements do not come back in the translation made by Ten Kate. I have therefore decided to make my own translation of these lines of poetry that focus on this interpretation.

In the second part of this passage, King cites Isaac Watts' "False Greatness" (Watts 193-94). There is no Dutch translation of this poem. I have therefore translated these lines of poetry myself, too. The most important message in these lines is that men should not be judged by how they look, but by their 'soul'. This is what I have maintained in my translation of the second part of this passage. Taken together, my translation of this passage is as follows:

Kroezig haar en een huid pikzwart
Maken mij niet minder waard
Zwart of blank bepaalt uiteraard
Niet de liefde in ons hart.
Zelfs als ik de wolken rijken kan
Dan nog moet je mij meten
Op basis van mijn geweten
Dat is de maat van elke man.

This passage illustrates that in my translation of King's poetry citations, I have wanted to maintain both the meaning, focusing on King's interpretation of these lines as they come forward in the context of his speech, as well as the poetic aspect. The latter is achieved by rhyme as well as lines with more or less equal amounts of syllables. I have, however, not tried to maintain the exact same rhyme scheme, amount of syllables or stress pattern as the original, because I did not consider this to be an important aspect for the purpose of my translation. Instead, I thought it was most important that the reader understands that King refers to lines of poetry and how these lines of poetry are connected to his ideas.

I have translated King's reference to a song in the same way. In "I Have a Dream", King refers to "My Country 'Tis of Thee", a patriotic song written in 1831, which served as the de facto national anthem for a time before the official anthem was adopted ("My Country"):

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! (King "Dream" 86)

There is no Dutch translation of this song and therefore I have made my own translation. I considered it important to maintain the part about freedom, as freedom is a significant theme in King's speeches. Moreover, King uses the phrase "From every mountainside, let freedom ring" after this citation to say "Let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire. Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York [etcetera]" (King "Dream" 86). It is therefore not possible to translate this imagery more freely; the translation has to be about mountainsides and freedom as well. Taking these aspects into consideration, this is my translation:

Mijn land, het is over gjij, land o zo mooi en vrij,
Over gjij dat ik zing,

Land van mijn voorvaderen, trots van alle pelgrims
laat de vrijheid opklinken, van elke berghelling!

Similar to my translation of King's poetry citations, in this translation I have wanted to maintain the meaning of the song and show to the readers that this is a song. The latter I have tried to achieve by rhyme, although the rhyme scheme is different from the original.

I have also used the strategy of omitting a source text allusion. In "I Have a Dream", King points out: "Fivescore years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation" (81). King here uses the formulation "Fivescore years ago" to refer to Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address (Hodgson 5), which Lincoln begins with the words "Fourscore and seven years ago" (Lincoln). In this speech Lincoln looks back on the Civil War and says he hopes the people fighting for the abolition of slavery will not have died in vain (Lincoln). This speech is encrypted in the Lincoln Monument in Washington, from which King gave his speech. A "score" is twenty years. Because King uses this formulation, many of his listeners will understand the reference to Abraham Lincoln. In the anthology *Toespraken die de wereld veranderden*, the Dutch version of the English anthology *Speeches that Changed the World*, a translation of Lincoln's speech has been made. However, in this Dutch translation, Lincoln's speech begins with "Zevenentachtig jaar geleden" (Meerman "Gettysburg" 43), which is not marked and therefore, does not help to create a translation that will remind the audience of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. In *Schokkende Redovoeringen*, another Dutch anthology with translations of famous speeches, "four score and seven years ago" is translated with "vier maal twintig en zeven jaar terug" (Graaf "Gettysburg" 563). This suggests that the phrase in King's speech could be translated as "vijf maal twintig jaar geleden". However, this is a very marked formulation. I have therefore decided to omit this reference by simply translating this with "Meer dan een eeuw geleden".

In combination with one of the strategies described above, I have sometimes used the strategy of providing additional information via endnotes. By means of endnotes, I have explained certain elements of King's speeches, among which are explanations of King's references. At the end of my translation of "My County 'Tis of Thee", for instance, I have added an endnote explaining that King refers to this song. This way, the problem that the intertextual references in King's speech pose, namely that the reference is not available in Dutch or that the Dutch target audience will not understand the reference, can be partly solved.

Repetition

In the previous chapter, it is explained that King uses repetition, most notably parallelism, as a rhetorical strategy. Repetition can form a problem for the translator, for instance when repetition is more common in the source language than it is in the target language or when the differences between the source language and the target language make it difficult to maintain the repetition.

Abdulla argues that when it comes to repetition in the source text, the translator theoretically has three options: to translate repetition in the source text with repetition in the target text, to translate repetition in the source text with variation in the target text or just to ignore this as a characteristic of the source text (291). In addition, he argues that in principle, when repetition is motivated, it should be translated with repetition to create the same function in the target text, even if this makes the target text sound monotonous or strange (Abdulla 300).

Basil Hatim and Ian Mason regard "recurrence", such as parallelism, as an example

of marked language (32). According to Hatim and Mason, the translator must be aware of this feature in the source text or he or she might neutralise it unconsciously (31). To clarify, Hatim and Mason are not saying they are in favour or against the neutralizing of source text repetition. They argue that it should be determined on the basis of the translation assignment whether this neutralising is favourable or not (161). However, they do point out that neutralising repetition can often result in a toning down of a text's rhetorical power (Hatim and Mason 33).

Hatim and Mason also give an example of a translation in which the source text recurrence is maintained, but in a slightly more variant form (34). In their example, the repetition of a verb is maintained, but different forms of the root are used (Hatim and Mason 34). They call this a “compromise (...) between source text rhetorical meaning and target text rhetorical conventions” (*ibidem*).

Therefore, it can be said that there are four possible strategies to deal with repetition in the source text:

1. Translate ST repetition with equivalent TT repetition⁵
2. Translate ST repetition with TT variation
3. Translate ST repetition with TT repetition, but in a modified way
4. Ignore repetition as a characteristic of ST (Abdulla 291; Hatim and Mason 34)

In theory, a fifth strategy could be added:

5. Translate ST variation with TT repetition, as a compensation strategy

⁵ In these lists of translation strategies, I have used the common abbreviations “ST” for “source text” and “TT” for “target text”.

The repetition in Martin Luther King's speeches is, as is argued in the previous chapter, motivated. They help strengthen the rhetoric of his speeches. In addition, there is no great difference between how common repetition is in English and how common it is in Dutch. Therefore, ignoring repetition, by which I think Abdulla means omitting the element when its repeated, is not a desirable option, and neither is translating the repetition with variation, as both of these options will tone down the text's rhetorical strength. It is, however, important to consider the aspect of strangeness or monotonousness in this respect. The speeches of Martin Luther King did not sound strange, even though he used rhetorical repetition, and as marked formulations would also weaken the text's rhetorical strength, I considered this undesirable. Therefore, translating repetition with equivalent repetition will sometimes cause problems. The strategy put forward by Hatim and Mason, to maintain repetition but in a modified form, could then be a good solution. Translating source text variation with repetition as a means of compensation could also help create texts that are both repetitive and idiomatic. However, the problem with this solution is that the repetition in King's speeches are always at specific places in the text, in order to emphasize his most important points and to work towards a climax; using this option would distort that.

Taking these different arguments into consideration, in my translation of "Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall" and "I Have a Dream", I have mostly used the first strategy, namely to translate the source text repetition with equivalent target text repetition. Consider the following passage from "Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall", for instance:

Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. *Now is the time* to transform this pending national elegy into a creative psalm of brotherhood. *Now is the time to lift our nation, now is the time to lift our nation* from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of racial justice. *Now is the time* to get rid of segregation and discrimination. *Now is the time.* (King "Freedom Rally" 65, emphasis mine)

In this passage, King repeats the words "now is the time". In addition, he repeats "now is the time to lift our nation". In my translation, I have maintained this repetition:

Nu is de tijd gekomen om de democratische beloften waar te maken. *Nu is de tijd gekomen* om deze nationale klaagzang te veranderen in een creatieve psalm over broederschap. *Nu is de tijd gekomen om ons land te verheffen*, [Applaus] *nu is de tijd gekomen om ons land te verheffen* uit het drijfzand van ongelijkheid en haar neer te zetten op de stevige rots van rechtvaardigheid. *Nu is de tijd gekomen* om segregatie en discriminatie af te schaffen. *Nu is de tijd gekomen*.

This passage illustrates that the repetition need not always be difficult to translate. In this instance, it was relatively simple to create equivalent repetition in the source text. An example from “I have a Dream” is:

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 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 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. (King “Dream” 84, emphasis mine)

In my translation, I have maintained this repetition:

We kunnen nooit tevreden zijn zolang de neger het slachtoffer is van de onbeschrijflijke gruweldaden van politiebrutaliteit. We kunnen nooit tevreden zijn zolang onze lichamen, vermoed van het reizen, geen onderdak kunnen vinden in de motels langs de snelweg en de hotels in de steden. We kunnen niet tevreden zijn zolang de mobiliteit van de neger inhoudt dat hij van een kleinere ghetto naar een grotere verhuist. We kunnen nooit tevreden zijn zolang onze kinderen ontdaan worden van hun persoonlijkheid en bestolen van hun waardigheid door borden met de tekst “Alleen voor blanken.” [Applaus] We kunnen niet tevreden zijn zolang negers in Mississippi niet kunnen stemmen en negers in New York het gevoel hebben dat ze niets hebben om voor te stemmen. (Ja) Nee, nee, we zijn niet tevreden en we zullen ook niet tevreden zijn totdat het recht stroomt als water en de gerechtigheid als een altijd stromende beek.

One of the strategies that I used as a solution to the problem of repetition, therefore, is to translate this with equivalent repetition. In most cases, this strategy did not create a target text that sounded more monotonous or strange than the target text.

There were some instances, however, where translating the source text repetition with equivalent target text repetition would have made the target text stranger than the source text. In these instances, I have used the third strategy, namely to translate the source text repetition with

repetition in the target text, but in a modified way. Consider the following passage from “Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall”:

And even if he tries to kill you, you develop the inner conviction that there are some things so dear, some things so precious, some things so eternally true, that they are worth dying for.
(King “Freedom Rally” 66)

In this passage, King repeats the words “some things so”, followed by an adjective. In my opinion, consistently translating this with “sommige dingen zo”, followed by an adjective, would make the text sound stranger and more monotonous than the source text. I have therefore opted for a different formulation in which there is still a form of repetition, but only a smaller part is repeated:

En zelfs als hij je probeert te vermoorden, dan ontwikkel je de innerlijke overtuiging dat sommige dingen zo dierbaar zijn, zo waardevol, zo eeuwig waar, dat ze het waard zijn om voor te sterven.

As this translation shows, I have repeated the word “zo” followed by an adjective. This way, I think the repetition can still serve its rhetorical function, even though only a smaller part is repeated.

Metaphorical language and oppositions

As is argued in the previous chapter, King uses metaphorical language and oppositions as rhetorical strategies. In this translation analysis, I discuss metaphorical language and oppositions together, because the latter is a specific form of metaphorical language and the possible translation strategies are the same. Metaphorical language can cause a problem for the translator, because metaphors can have different connotative meanings in the target text. Problems can also arise when the metaphor is dependent upon the source text language and therefore does not work in the target language.

Andrew Chesterman argues that there are four strategies for the translation of metaphorical language (165-66):

1. Translating ST metaphor with same TT metaphor

2. Translating ST metaphor with different TT metaphor
3. Omitting ST metaphor
4. Adding a new metaphor to the TT (Chesterman 165-66)

As the metaphorical language is important for the rhetorical strength of King's speeches, I wanted to maintain the metaphors as much as possible. Consequently, I did not consider omitting the source text metaphor a desirable option. Since most of King's metaphors do not depend upon the language they are written in and since the connotative meanings of the metaphors did not seem to pose a problem, most source text metaphors could be translated with the same metaphors. Consider the following sentence from "Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall": "One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity" (King "Dream" 81). I have translated this sentence into "Meer dan een eeuw later leeft de neger op een eenzaam eiland van armoede midden in een uitgestrekte oceaan van materiële welvaart." This illustrates that the metaphor also works in Dutch without alterations.

In many cases, however, although the metaphor could be maintained in the translation, slight alterations had to be made due to the differences between English and Dutch. Consider for example the phrase "and that figuratively speaking, every man from a bass black to a treble white is significant on God's keyboard" (King "Freedom Rally" 64). The problem with translating this metaphor was that whereas in English, both keys on a keyboard and people can be referred to as being "black" and "white", the Dutch language uses different words for this. Although black keys and black people can both be called "zwart", white keys would be called "wit" whereas white people would be called "blank". It is not common to refer to the skin colour of a white man with the Dutch word "wit". However, it is possible to refer to someone as "spierwit" which means he is extremely white. Together with the word "pikzwart", which means extremely black, this creates a clear contrast like the one King makes in "from a bass black to a treble white" and it can refer to both people and

keys on a keyboard. The reference to keys is clearer in King's description, however, as "bass" and "treble" clearly refer to the sound black and white keys make. I have compensated this by using "een belangrijke toets", literally "an important key", as the translation for "significant". Therefore, I have translated this metaphor as follows: "en dat in figuurlijke zin, elke man, of hij nu pikzwart of spierwit is, een belangrijke toets is op Gods piano".

The previous example shows that sometimes, I had to make alterations to the metaphor due to the differences between the English and the Dutch language. This can be seen as the second strategy, translating a source text metaphor with a different metaphor. Another example is my translation of: "With this faith, I will go out with you and transform dark yesterdays into bright tomorrows" (King "Freedom Rally" 72), with "Met dit vertrouwen zal ik samen met u het donkere verleden veranderen in een zonnige toekomst". Here, the metaphorical opposition had to be changed slightly because the Dutch language does not have a plural for yesterday. Since King here means that he wants to change a negative past for a more positive future, I have chosen to translate "yesterdays" and "tomorrows" with "het verleden" and "een toekomst". Thereby, I have made the metaphor more explicit. However, this can still be considered a metaphor because the past and the future are still attributed the metaphorical images of darkness and light. Another example where I had to weaken the metaphor is in my translation of: "Segregation is a cancer in the body politic, which must be removed before our democratic health can be realized" (King "Freedom Rally" 62-63). The problem with translating this metaphor is that "body politic" is an idiomatic expression in English but at the same time serves to strengthen the metaphor of sickness and health. In Dutch, "body politic" would normally be translated with "politiek stelsel", and not with something relating to the body. Therefore, I had to choose between maintaining the exact same metaphor by translating this with the unidiomatic "politiek lichaam" or slightly altering the metaphor by using the common expression. I have decided to do the latter, because I did not want to create a marked translation and

because I think the metaphor still works this way. Therefore, I have translated this sentence with “Segregatie is een gezwel in ons politiek stelsel dat verwijderd moet worden voordat onze democratie weer gezond kan zijn.”

Humour

King uses humour as a rhetorical strategy, namely to ridicule his opponents. Humour can pose a problem for the translator, for instance when the source text joke is not understood or not considered funny in the target culture or when the source language itself is the logical mechanism behind the joke (Young, Trajan 982-88).

In the article “Humour and Translation – and Interdiscipline”, Patrick Zabalbeascoa sums up different strategies to deal with jokes in a source text (Zabalbeascoa 200):

1. Translate ST joke with same joke
2. Translate ST joke with different joke of same type
3. Translate ST joke with different joke of different type
4. Omit ST joke

Theoretically, a fifth strategy could be added:

5. Insert joke in TT, as a compensation strategy

Zabalbeascoa does not give any preference to one of these strategies; the decision depends, he argues, on certain considerations of the translator (187-202). To decide which strategy can best be used, the translator must think about what the function of the joke is, whether this function can also be accomplished without a joke, what the intention of the author was and whether it is important for the target text to maintain the content of the source text joke, the funniness, or both

(Zabalbeascoa 187-202).

As is argued in the previous chapter, King uses humour deliberately as a rhetorical strategy. The function of the jokes is to ridicule his opponents and thereby make his own arguments more convincing. It will be difficult to accomplish this effect without a joke and therefore, omitting the joke is an undesirable option. Both the content of the jokes as well as their funniness are important, because it is important that King attacks certain arguments by his opponents, as well as the fact that he does this by using comedy. Therefore, I consider it best to use the first strategy, to translate the source text joke with the same joke in the target text. As most of King's use of humour is independent of the language they are written in, this is relatively easy. However, in the following passage, this is more complicated:

I know we have heard a lot of cries saying “Slow up” and “Cool off.” We still hear these cries. They are telling us over and over again that you’re pushing things too fast, and so they’re saying, “Cool off.” Well, the only answer that we can give to that is that we’ve cooled off all too long, and there is the danger, there’s always the danger if you cool off too much that you will end up in a deep freeze. (King “Freedom Rally” 65)

This joke depends on the double meaning of the expression “cool off”. At first, King uses the expression “cool off” in the sense of “calm down”. But then this phrase is attacked by taking it literally, to mean “drop in temperature”. The problem with translating this joke, therefore, is that the logical mechanism of the joke depends on wordplay. In order to keep both the content and the funniness of the joke, it is therefore important to translate “Cool off” with a Dutch expression that has the same ambiguity. Luckily, the Dutch expression “even afkoelen” can be used:

Ik weet dat we vaak kreten gehoord hebben als “Kalm aan” en “Even afkoelen.” We horen deze kreten nog steeds. Ze vertellen ons steeds weer dat we te veel proberen af te dwingen en dus zeggen ze, “Even afkoelen.” Het enige antwoord dat we daarop kunnen geven is dat we veel te lang afgekoeld hebben en dat er het gevaar is, dat er altijd het gevaar is dat als je te veel afkoelt, je uiteindelijk bevriest.

When King says “gradualism is little more than escapism and do-nothingism, which ends up in stand-stillism” (King “Freedom Rally” 65), he also makes a joke that depends on wordplay. King here uses the suffix *-ism*, first in a conventional sense but then he uses it to create a neologism. I have turned this in a Dutch joke by using the suffix –heid in a similar way: “geleidelijkheid is niets meer dan laksheid en luiheid, wat eindigt in stil-staanheid”. The first three words, “geleidelijkheid”, “laksheid” and “luiheid”, are normal Dutch words, whereas the last one, “stil-staanheid” is a neologism. This illustrates that in order to maintain King’s joke, I had to depart from a literal translation of the words “escapism” and “do-nothingism”, in terms of referential equivalence.

Rhythm

King uses rhythm as a rhetorical device. Chesterman mentions four strategies that a translator can use for the translation of schemes, under which he also classifies rhythm. Therefore, four strategies for the translation of rhythm can be listed:

1. ST rhythm is translated with (more or less) equivalent TT rhythm
2. ST rhythm is translated with another scheme with a similar function
3. ST rhythm is omitted
4. TT rhythm is inserted where there is no rhythm in the ST, as a compensation strategy (Chesterman 160-1)

In King's actual performance of the speeches, rhythm is very important, as it makes his speeches pleasant to listen to and emphasizes his usage of parallelism. This translation was not for performance but for reading, however, which could arguably mean that maintaining the rhythm is less important. Nevertheless, when attention is given to the rhythm, this will also be recognizable by the reader in the written text. This means that the text will probably be more pleasant to read and the Dutch reader will have a better understanding of what it was that made King's speeches so convincing for a great amount of people in the past. I therefore did not want to omit the rhythm entirely. In addition, the rhythm is employed at specific locations in the speeches to lay emphasis on specific parts; therefore, I did not consider the compensation strategy a desirable option either. This does not have to mean that the rhythm has to be completely equivalent to the source text, however. Similar to the source text, the target text should have a nice cadence. This strategy lies somewhere between the first and the second; rhythm is still translated with rhythm, but not with exactly the same kind. I have used the strategy of reading different translation options aloud to see which

options fit the cadence of the target text the best, paying attention to the patterns of stressed and unstressed words. I have focussed mainly on the rhythm in the parts where King uses parallelism, as in the source text, these are the passages in which the rhythm is the most obvious. One example is my translation of the repeated phrase “I have a dream that one day” in both speeches. I have translated this with “Ik heb een droom dat op een dag”.

Because I considered rhythm to be an important rhetorical device, I have even given maintaining this stylistic feature preference over a more ‘literal’ translation, in terms of referential equivalence. This is most clear in my translation of the following passage from “I Have a Dream”, where King repeats the phrase “one hundred years later”:

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. (King “Dream” 81, emphasis mine)

Before this passage, King mentions the Emancipation Proclamation, which was intended to free the African-American people. Then he says that “one hundred years later”, this is still not the case. However, in fact more than a hundred years have passed, as the Emancipation Proclamation was signed on September the twenty-second, 1862 and this speech was given on August 28, 1963. I think King uses “one hundred years later” for two reasons. Firstly, it does not matter for his argument exactly how much time has passed. Secondly, the phrase “one hundred years later” has a nice stress pattern that can help King to emphasize that a long time has passed. Therefore, I considered it more important to create a translation with a similar stress pattern, than to translate “one hundred” literally with “honderd”. Therefore, I have decided to translate this phrase with “meer dan een eeuw later”:

Maar *meer dan een eeuw later* is de neger nog steeds niet vrij. *Meer dan een eeuw later* wordt de neger nog steeds op schandelijke wijze verlamd door de handboeien van segregatie en de ketenen van discriminatie. *Meer dan een eeuw later* leeft de neger op een eenzaam eiland van armoede midden in een uitgestrekte oceaan van materiële welvaart. *Meer dan een eeuw later* kwijnt de neger nog steeds weg in een hoekje van de Amerikaanse samenleving en leeft hij als banneling in zijn eigen land.

For the same reasons, I have used “*Meer dan een eeuw*”, to translate “one hundred and one years” and “one hundred years” in “Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall”.

Translations

Toespraak op de vrijheidsbijeenkomst in Cobo Hall

Mijn goede vriend, eerwaarde C.L. Franklin en alle voorzitters en leden van de mensenrechtenraad van Detroit⁶, hoogeëerd publiek, dames en heren: ik kan niet verwoorden hoe blij ik ben, ik kan de vreugde in mijn hart niet verwoorden, nu ik samen met u deelneem aan wat volgens mij de grootste en geweldigste⁷ demonstratie voor vrijheid is die ooit in de Verenigde Staten werd gehouden.

[Applaus] En ik kan u verzekeren dat wat hier vandaag is gedaan een inspiratie zal zijn⁸ voor iedereen in dit land⁹ die van vrijheid houdt. [Publiek:] (Oké¹⁰) [Applaus]

⁶ In the source text, King refers to the “Detroit Council of Human Rights”, which is a proper name. This is a culturally specific element that does not exist in Dutch. I have used a neutral translation that explains the function of this council, as I considered it most important that the Dutch reader understands this. Therefore, I have translated this with “de mensenrechtenraad van Detroit” (literally “the human rights council of Detroit”).

⁷ “Greatest” can mean both “most fantastic” or “biggest/largest”. Here, I think King uses the word in the first sense, because he also uses the word “largest”. Therefore, I have translated “greatest” with “geweldigste”, which corresponds to the meaning of “most fantastic”. In the next speech, “I Have a Dream”, King refers to the protest with “the greatest” again. For reasons of consistency, I have therefore translated this with “geweldigste” too.

⁸ In my translation, I have often opted for a shorter formulation than the source when this was possible, as a way to compensate for other places where my translation became longer than the source text. It is very common that a Dutch translation increases in size, as the Dutch language is generally less compact than the English language. However, I wanted my translation to be about the same size as the source text, because I figured that long sentences and a longer text in total would weaken the rhetorical strength of the text. In this instance, I have translated “will serve as a source of inspiration”, not with a more ‘literal’ translation like “als een inspiratiebron zal dienen” but with a shorter formulation that expresses the same idea: “een inspiratie zal zijn” (literally “will be an inspiration”).

⁹ In the source text, King often refers to America with the words “this nation” or “our nation”. The word “nation” could be translated with the Dutch “natie”, but this has a slightly negative connotation. Therefore, I have translated all instances of “nation” with the more neutral term “land” (literally “country”). In addition, I considered “iedereen in dit land die van vrijheid houdt” a more rhythmical translation than a more literal translation such as “alle vrijheidsminnende mensen in dit land”. For more information on the translation of rhythm, see the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric”.

¹⁰ This is an example of a transcript element that specifies the reaction of the audience. These kinds of responses are conventional in the Baptist tradition (Guépin “Martin” 581). In my translation, I wanted to maintain these transcript elements, as they illustrate to the reader that this was originally a speech performed on stage. The reactions of the audience are often common, colloquial expressions,

Ik vind dat er nog iets gezegd moet worden, want dit¹¹ is een prachtige demonstratie van onze discipline¹². Met de duizenden en honderdduizenden mensen die vandaag aan deze demonstratie deelnemen, is er nog¹³ geen enkel geweldsincident gemeld. Ik vind dit een prachtige demonstratie van onze toewijding aan geweldloosheid in deze strijd voor de vrijheid die overal in de Verenigde Staten plaatsvindt en ik wil de leiders van deze gemeenschap dan ook¹⁴ prijzen dat zij dit geweldige evenement mogelijk hebben gemaakt en dat zij dit geweldige evenement zo gedisciplineerd hebben laten verlopen. [*Applaus*]

Meer dan een eeuw geleden,¹⁵ op 22 september 1862 om precies te zijn, ondertekende een groot en nobel¹⁶ Amerikaan, Abraham Lincoln, een verordening¹⁷ die op 1 januari 1863 van kracht

such as “All right”. I have therefore translated these with Dutch expressions that are also common and colloquial, such as “Oké”

¹¹ In “because it is a magnificent demonstration”, “it” is an unclear reference. Leaving this reference unclear by using “het” in Dutch would make this sentence unnecessarily abstract. I therefore chose to translate “it” with “dit” (literally “this”).

¹² In the source text, King says “it is a magnificent demonstration of discipline”. However, in my translation, I have translated “of discipline” with “van onze discipline” (literally “of our discipline”). This way, the sentence runs more smoothly and the rhythm of the sentence is better. For more information on the translation of rhythm see the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric”.

¹³ Here, I inserted the Dutch pragmatic particle “nog” to create an idiomatic Dutch sentence. I have done this because I think King’s speeches are also in idiomatic English. It could even be argued that this adds to the rhetorical strength of the text. Therefore, I considered it important to create an idiomatic target text as well. Pragmatic particles can help in this respect, as pragmatic particles are common in Dutch texts.

¹⁴ The pragmatic particles “dan ook” are inserted to create an idiomatic translation; see footnote 13.

¹⁵ I have translated “One hundred and one years ago” with “Meer dan een eeuw geleden” (literally, more than a century ago), because this reads more rhythmically than a more literal translation such as “honderdeen jaar geleden” and it has the added benefit that it emphasizes the great amount of time that has passed since the end of slavery, which strengthens King’s implied argument that the African-American people have waited long enough to get what they deserve. For more information about the translation of rhythm, see “Translating King’s Rhetoric”.

¹⁶ In Dutch, “a great and noble American” could be translated both with “een grote en nobele Amerikaan” and “een groot en nobel Amerikaan”. However, “groot”, without the -e, means that the American is great in a moral sense whereas “grote” suggests he is great in size. I have therefore chosen to translate this with “een groot en nobel Amerikaan”.

¹⁷ King here uses the term “executive order”, which is a legal term. I have used a Dutch equivalent, “verordening”, which is a general term for a government decision.

zou worden. Deze verordening was de Emancipatieproclamatie en was bedoeld om de neger¹⁸ van slavernij te bevrijden¹⁹. Maar meer dan een eeuw later is de neger in Amerika nog steeds niet vrij.²⁰

[Applaus]

Maar nu meer dan ooit te voren wordt Amerika gedwongen om dit probleem aan te pakken, want door de vorm die de wereld tegenwoordig heeft²¹ kunnen we ons de luxe van een democratie met bloedarmoede niet langer veroorloven.²² En de prijs die dit land zal moeten betalen voor de voortdurende onderdrukking en uitbuiting van de neger of welke minderheidsgroep dan ook, is de prijs van haar eigen vernietiging. Want het is laat en de klok van ons lot is bijna uitgetikt en we

¹⁸ The term “negro” is difficult to translate in a modern Dutch text. English has the distinction between the insult “nigger” and the term “negro”. In King’s time, “negro” was not an insult, which is clear because he uses the term himself. In Dutch there only exists the term “neger”. The problem with “neger” is that it has a slightly negative, pejorative connotation in contemporary Dutch. Other options would be the more politically correct ‘zwarte man’ or ‘Afrikaans-Amerikaanse man’ or ‘negroïde man’. However, these options all sound anachronistic as these terms were not used in King’s time yet. They have too much the connotation of political correctness that the source text term does not have. In addition, using “man” would mean excluding women. I have chosen to translate “negro” with “neger”. I think that because this word will be read in the context of King’s speeches, it will be clear to the reader that it is not meant as an insult.

¹⁹ Here, “to free the Negro from the bondage of physical slavery” is translated with “om de neger van slavernij te bevrijden.” Hereby, the pleonastic “bondage of physical slavery” is somewhat flattened. I have done this because a more literal translation, e.g. “om de Neger te bevrijden van de gevangenschap van de fysieke slavernij”, would become rather wordy, whereas the chosen translation is shorter. This is another instance of where I have chosen to make my formulation shorter than the formulation in the source text to compensate for longer formulations at other places (see footnote 8). In addition, this translation, in my opinion, reads more rhythmically. For more information on the translation of rhythm, see the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric”.

²⁰ Here, “but one hundred years later” is translated with “maar meer dan een eeuw later”. This is done because this reads more rhythmically than a more literal translation such as “Maar honderd jaar later”. See footnote 15 and the discussion on rhythm in the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric”.

²¹ I have bended the personification “The shape of the world today does not afford us” into a Dutch sentence with a personal subject. This is because personifications are more common in English while they are less common, and sound more abstract, in Dutch. This, however, makes the sentence slightly longer than the original one. As I argue in footnote 8, sometimes my translations became longer, but I have compensated this with shorter formulations in other parts of my translation.

²² For a discussion of the translation of this metaphor as well as other metaphorical language, see the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric”.

moeten nu handelen voor het te laat is.²³ (Ja) [Applaus]

De gebeurtenissen in Birmingham in Alabama en het feit dat er sindsdien meer dan zestig gemeenschappen protestbewegingen zijn begonnen, tonen aan dat de neger nu vastberaden is om vrij te zijn. (Ja) [Applaus] Want Birmingham laat ons iets overduidelijk zien.²⁴ Het laat ons ten eerste zien dat de neger niet langer bereid is om rassensegregatie te accepteren, in welke vorm dan ook.

[Applaus] Want we zien nu in dat segregatie niet alleen sociaal gezien onhoudbaar is, niet alleen politiek gezien onjuist, maar ook immoreel en zondig. Segregatie is een gezwel in ons politiek stelsel dat verwijderd moet worden voordat onze democratie weer gezond kan zijn.²⁵ (Ja) [Applaus]

Segregatie is verkeerd omdat het niets anders is dan een nieuwe vorm van slavernij, verpakt in enkele subtile nuances. [Applaus] Segregatie is verkeerd omdat het een overspelig systeem is dat in stand wordt gehouden door onwettig geslachtsgemeenschap tussen onrecht en verdorvenheid. [Applaus] En in Birmingham in Alabama en overal in het Zuiden en overal in Amerika, zeggen we simpelweg dat we onze vrijheid, een geboorterecht, niet langer zullen verkopen voor een schotel segregatie.²⁶ (Oké) [Applaus] Wij zijn helemaal klaar met segregatie: voor nu, voor later en voor altijd.

Maar Birmingham en de vrijheidsstrijd laten ons nog iets zien. (*Zeg het!*) Ze tonen ons dat de neger een nieuw gevoel van waardigheid heeft en een nieuwe vorm van zelfrespect. (Ja) Jarenlang

²³ In my translation, I have maintained the metaphor used in “for the hour is late, and the clock of destiny is ticking out, and we must act now before it is too late”. However, instead of translating “the clock of destiny is ticking out” with “de klok van ons lot is aan het uittikken”, I have chosen to translate this part with “de klok van ons lot is bijna uitgetikt”. I think the English phrase echoes the expression “time is running out”, which adds to the image of urgency. By translating this phrase with “de klok (...) is bijna uitgetikt”, I hope to create a similar effect. For more information on the translation of metaphorical language, see the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric”.

²⁴ The English idiomatic expression “to say in glaring terms” is translated with the Dutch idiomatic expression “laat ons iets overduidelijk zien”.

²⁵ For a discussion of the translation of this metaphor as well as other metaphorical language, see the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric”.

²⁶ For a discussion of the translation of this intertextual reference as well as other intertextual references, see the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric”.

(*Dat klopt, we komen van ver*) [Applaus] –²⁷ Ik denk dat we het er allemaal over eens kunnen zijn dat het meest schadelijke effect van segregatie misschien wel is wat het gedaan heeft met de ziel van de gesegregeerde en dat van de segregator. [Applaus] Het heeft de segregator een onterecht superioriteitsgevoel gegeven en het heeft de gesegregeerde achtergelaten met een onterecht minderwaardigheidsgevoel. (*Oké*) [Applaus] En dus²⁸ hadden veel negers door de erven van slavernij en segregatie het vertrouwen in hunzelf verloren en velen hadden het gevoel dat ze minderwaardig waren.

Maar toen gebeurde er iets met de neger. Door allerlei omstandigheden werd het mogelijk en zelfs noodzakelijk voor hem om meer te reizen: de komst van de auto, de opschuddingen van twee wereldoorlogen, de Grote Depressie. En zo maakte zijn achtergrond op de plantages langzaam plaats voor een stedelijk, industrieel leven. En zelfs zijn economische leven groeide door de industriële groei, de invloed van vakbonden en uitgebreidere onderwijsmogelijkheden. En zelfs zijn culturele leven groeide door de geleidelijke afname van het verlammende analfabetisme. En al deze krachten kwamen samen en zorgden ervoor dat de neger een nieuwe kijk op zichzelf kreeg. Massa's negers [Applaus], massa's negers begonnen zichzelf te herwaarderen en de neger kreeg het gevoel dat hij er mocht zijn.²⁹ Zijn religie openbaarde hem [*Gelach, applaus*], zijn religie openbaarde hem dat

²⁷ Here, King starts a sentence with “For years”, but he does not finish this sentence. Instead, he starts with a new one: “I think we can all agree (...)” King here probably forgets to read a sentence and accidentally skips to the new one. I could correct this in my translation by deleting the sentence that King did not finish as well as the audience’s response. However, I have kept this in my translation, because it is not my intention to correct King and moreover, this illustrates to the Dutch reader that this was a speech performed on stage, which means it is possible that these kinds of mistakes are made.

²⁸ In the source text, King says “And so”. This colloquial phrase shows that this is a speech written to listen to, not a text written for the purpose of reading. I have maintained this in my translation by using “En dus”, which I think has the same effect in a Dutch text.

²⁹ The English idiomatic expression “came to feel that he was somebody” is translated with an equivalent Dutch idiomatic expression “kreeg het gevoel dat hij er mocht zijn”.

God van al Zijn kinderen houdt en dat alle mensen in Zijn evenbeeld zijn geschapen³⁰ en dat in figuurlijke zin, elke man, of hij nu pikzwart of spierwit is, een belangrijke toets is op Gods piano.³¹

[Applaus]

Dus kan de neger nu onbewust meepraten³² met de welbespraakte dichter:

Kroezig haar en een huid pikzwart

Maken mij niet minder waard

Zwart of blank bepaalt uiteraard

Niet de liefde in ons hart.

Zelfs als ik de wolken rijken kan

Dan nog moet je mij meten

Op basis van mijn geweten

Dat is de maat van elke man.³³ⁱ

Maar dat deze gebeurtenissen plaatsvinden in ons land laat ons nog iets anders zien.³⁴ Het laats ons zien dat de neger en zijn blanke medestanders³⁵ nu herkennen hoe dringend dit moment is.

³⁰ Here, I chose the formulation “in Zijn evenbeeld zijn geschapen” instead of “in Zijn beeld geschapen”, because I think the word “evenbeeld” is more often used in a biblical context.

³¹ For a discussion of the translation of this metaphor and other metaphorical language, see the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric”.

³² Here, I have translated “cry out with” with a more neutral term “meepraten” (literally “talking along”). Using “mee schreeuwen”, “mee roepen” or “mee huilen” would, in my opinion, sound unnecessarily marked. I think “cry out” is more commonly used in English than any of these options are in Dutch. The word “meepraten”, however, is just as conventional in Dutch.

³³ For a discussion of the translation of this poem and other intertextual references, see the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric”.

³⁴ The source text uses the personification “these events (...) tells us something”. As this is more common in English while it sounds more abstract in Dutch, I have translated this with “Dat deze evenementen plaatsvinden laat ons zien”. See footnote 21.

³⁵ I have translated “Allies in the white community” with ”blanke medestanders” instead of “medestanders in de blanke gemeenschap”. I have used this shorter formulation to compensate for other instances where my translation is longer than the source text. See footnote 8.

Ik weet dat we vaak kreten gehoord hebben als³⁶ “Kalm aan” en “Even afkoelen.” [Gelach]. We horen deze kreten nog steeds. Ze vertellen ons steeds weer dat we te veel proberen af te dwingen en dus zeggen ze, “Even afkoelen.” Het enige antwoord dat we daarop kunnen geven is dat we veel te lang afgekoeld hebben en dat er het gevaar is [*Applaus*], dat er altijd het gevaar is dat als je te veel afkoelt, je uiteindelijk bevriest.³⁷ [*Applaus*] “Nou,” zeggen ze, “jullie moeten afremmen.” Het enige antwoord dat we daarop kunnen geven is dat de motor nu al loopt en dat we over de snelweg van de vrijheid naar de stad van de gelijkheid rijden [*Applaus*] en dat we het ons niet kunnen veroorloven te stoppen, want ons land heeft een afspraak met het lot. We moeten blijven voortbewegen.

Dan is er nog zo’n kreet. Ze zeggen, “Waarom doe je het niet op een geleidelijke manier?” Nou, geleidelijkheid is niets meer dan laksheid en luiheid, wat eindigt in stil-staanheid.³⁸ [*Applaus*] We weten dat onze broers en zussen in Afrika en Azië nu zo snel als een haas op het doel van politieke onafhankelijkheid afgaan. En in sommige gemeenschappen gaan wij nog steeds met een slakkengangetje af op het krijgen van een hamburger of een kopje koffie in een eetcafé.³⁹ [*Applaus*]

En daarom moeten we zeggen: Nu is de tijd gekomen om de democratische beloften waar te maken. Nu is de tijd gekomen om deze nationale klaagzang te veranderen in een creatieve psalm over broederschap. Nu is de tijd gekomen om ons land te verheffen, [*Applaus*] nu is de tijd gekomen

³⁶ The source text says “I know we have heard a lot of cries saying”. In theory, the continuous “saying” could be translated with a Dutch continuous, “zeggende”, but the continuous is more common in English while it sounds outdated or translated in Dutch. In addition, the personification “cries saying” would sound abstract in Dutch. Therefore, I have decided to translate this with “Ik weet dat we vaak kreten gehoord hebben als” (Literally, I know we often heard cries like).

³⁷ For a discussion of the translation of this joke as well as other jokes, see the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric”.

³⁸ For a discussion of the translation of this joke as well as other jokes, see the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric”.

³⁹ In the source text, King uses the expressions “jetlike speed”, an English expression for extreme speed, and “horse-and-buggy”, an English expression for the time in history before the coming of automobiles, urbanization and industry. In my translation, I have used a common Dutch expression for speed “zo snel als een haas” and contrasted this with another common Dutch expression, “met een slakkengangetje”. This way, I could make an idiomatic Dutch translation and still create a stark contrast between the two different paces.

om ons land te verheffen uit het drijfzand van ongelijkheid en haar neer te zetten op de stevige rots van rechtvaardigheid. Nu is de tijd gekomen om segregatie en discriminatie af te schaffen. Nu is de tijd gekomen.⁴⁰ (Nu, nu) [*Applaus*]

En dus kan de sociale revolutie die nu plaatsvindt in drie korte woordjes samengevat worden. Het zijn geen grote woorden. Je hebt geen uitgebreide woordenschat nodig om ze te begrijpen. Het zijn de woorden “alles” “hier” en “nu”. We willen *alles* waar we recht op hebben, we willen het *hier* en we willen het *nu*.⁴¹ Dat is wat ze betekenen. [*Applaus*] [Opname onderbroken]

Het andere dat we moeten inzien over deze strijd is dat het grotendeels een geweldloze strijd is geweest. Laat niemand u wijsmaken dat degene die hebben deelgenomen aan of gaan deelnemen aan de demonstraties in gemeenschappen overal in het Zuiden hun toevlucht tot geweld nemen; dat zijn er maar enkelen. Want we zien nu de kracht van geweldloosheid in. We zien nu in dat deze methode geen zwakke methode is, want je moet sterk zijn om je te kunnen verweren tegen tegenstanders, om je te kunnen verweren wanneer je geweld wordt aangedaan, zonder dit met geweld te vergelden. (Ja) [*Applaus*]

Ziet u, deze methode weet de tegenstander te ontwapenen.⁴² Het legt zijn morele verdediging bloot. Het verzwakt zijn moreel en werkt tegelijkertijd in op zijn geweten en hij weet gewoon niet wat hij moet doen. Als hij u⁴³ niet slaat, mooi. Als hij u wel⁴⁴ slaat, ontwikkel dan⁴⁵ de stille moed om

⁴⁰ In this passage, King repeats the phrase “Now is the time”. For a discussion of the translation of this repetition and other forms of repetition, see the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric”.

⁴¹ Here, it is important for my translation to use Dutch equivalents of “all” “here” and “now”. They have to be three short words that fit in the next sentence. I have stayed rather close to the original words because I think this also works in Dutch. I have doubted between translating and “we want all of our rights” with “we willen al onze rechten” and the translation as it stands now. However, I think that in the sentence “Het zijn de woorden ‘al’ ‘hier’ en ‘nu’”, the word “al” would sound strange, as “al” is ambiguous. Apart from “everything”, it could also mean “already”.

⁴² The English idiomatic expression “has a way of” is translated with Dutch idiomatic expression “weet te”.

⁴³ In the source text, King addresses his audience with “you”, which in English can mean both the plural and the singular form. In addition, the English language does not have a distinction between a polite and an informal form. In my translation, I had to choose between “jij” (informal singular

de klappen op te vangen zonder terug te slaan. Als hij u niet in de gevangenis gooit, mooi. Niemand met enige vorm van verstand vindt het leuk om naar de gevangenis te gaan. Maar als hij u wel in de gevangenis gooit, ga dan naar die gevangenis en verander hem van een kerker van schaamte in een toevluchtsoord van vrijheid en menselijke waardigheid. [Applaus] En als hij u zelfs probeert te vermoorden (*Hij kan u niet vermoorden*), ontwikkel dan de innerlijke overtuiging dat sommige dingen zo dierbaar zijn, zo waardevol, zo eeuwig waar,⁴⁶ dat ze het waard zijn om voor te sterven. (*Ja*) [Applaus] En als een man niets vindt waarvoor hij sterven wil, dan is hij niet geschikt om te leven. [Applaus]

Deze methode heeft wonderen verricht. Als gevolg van de geweldloze *Freedom Ride*-beweging⁴⁷ is segregatie in het openbaar vervoer in het Zuiden nu bijna helemaal verdwenen en als gevolg van de sit-inbeweging⁴⁸ in eetcafés hebben nu meer dan 285 steden in het Zuiden hun eetcafés geïntegreerd.⁴⁹ Ik zeg u, dit is een krachtige methode. [Applaus]

En ik denk dat het aanhouden van deze methode ons ook zal helpen om het nieuwe

form), “jullie” (informal plural form) and “u” (formal singular or plural form). I wanted to use “u” because I think the polite form is more suitable in the context of a speech given for a large audience. In other instances, I have translated “you” with “jullie”. This is when King his ‘quotes’ his opponents, for instance when he says “They’re saying, ‘you need to put on brakes.’” This is done because it makes more sense that the people saying this would address the supporters of civil rights with the informal “jullie” rather than the polite “u”.

⁴⁴ I have clarified the contrast between “If he doesn’t beat you” and “If he beats you” in my translation with the Dutch contrastive conjunction “wel”.

⁴⁵ The pragmatic participle “dan” is used to create a more idiomatic Dutch sentence. See footnote 13.

⁴⁶ For a discussion of the translation of this repetition and other repetition, see the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric”.

⁴⁷ In the source text, King mentions the “Freedom Ride movement”. “Freedom Ride” is a proper name that does not exist in Dutch. In this case, I have decided to maintain the proper name Freedom Ride and italicize it so that it is clear that this is a foreign term. The word “movement” is translated with its Dutch equivalent “beweging”. In addition, I have added an endnote that explains to the target reader what this movement was, together with the sit-in movement that is referred to in the next source text sentence. I have used endnotes to explain some elements in King’s speeches, but I have tried to keep this to a minimum and whenever I have used an endnote, I have given only a very short explanation, because I did not want to strain the reader with too much information.

⁴⁸ The English term “sit-in” is also used in Dutch to refer to this form of nonviolent protest. I have added an endnote that explains to the target reader what this movement was. See footnote 47.

opkomende tijdperk met de juiste houding te betreden. Want geweldloosheid vraagt zijn aanhangers niet alleen om af te zien van extern, fysiek geweld, maar vraagt hen ook om af te zien van intern, geestelijk geweld. Het vraagt van hen om zich in te laten met iets wat liefde heet. En ik weet dat dit soms moeilijk is. Met “liefde” bedoel ik niet een gevoel van affectie. (Oké) Het is onzin om er bij mensen, onderdrukte mensen, op aan te dringen dat zij hun onderdrukkers moeten liefhebben in de affectieve zin. Ik heb het over iets veel diepers. Ik heb het over een soort van begripvolle, creatieve, verlossende welwillendheid jegens alle mensen. [*Applaus*]

We beginnen nu in te zien, vertellen de psychieters ons, dat veel van de vreemde dingen die gebeuren in het onderbewustzijn, veel van de innerlijke conflicten, geworteld zijn in haat. En dus zeggen ze, “Heb lief of sterf.”⁴⁹ⁱⁱⁱ Maar Jezus vertelde ons lang geleden ook al – en ik kan zijn stem nog steeds door de tijd heen horen roepen: “Heb uw vijanden lief, zegen hen die u vervloeken en bid voor hen die u beledigen.”⁵⁰ En er is nog steeds een stem die tegen elke potentiële Peter⁵¹ zegt, “Doe uw zwaard terug op zijn plaats.”⁵² De geschiedenis staat vol van de bleke botten van landen; de geschiedenis wordt bedolven onder de ravage van gemeenschappen die dit bevel niet konden opvolgen. En is het niet fantastisch om een strijdmethode te hebben die het mogelijk maakt om op te staan tegen een onrechtmatig systeem, het uit alle macht te bestrijden, het nooit te accepteren en toch niet aan geweld en haat over te geven? Dat is wat wij hebben. [*Applaus*]

Er is een prachtige nieuwe strijdlust ontstaan in de gemeenschap van negers in dit land. En ik juich deze fantastische ontwikkeling toe. De Amerikaanse neger zegt nu dat hij vastberaden is om

⁴⁹ For a discussion of the translation of this intertextual reference as well as other intertextual references, see the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric”. An endnote is added to explain this intertextual reference to the target audience. See footnote 47.

⁵⁰ For a discussion of the translation of this intertextual reference as well as other intertextual references, see the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric”.

⁵¹ I chose to translate “potential” with “potentiële”. This way, the alliteration in “potential Peter” can be maintained in the translation. Another option would have been ‘mogelijke’, but then the alliteration would be gone.

⁵² For a discussion of the translation of this intertextual reference as well as other intertextual references, see the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric”.

vrij te zijn en dat hij strijdvaardig genoeg is om op te staan. Maar deze nieuwe strijdlust moet ons niet in een positie brengen waar we elke blanke Amerikaan⁵³ wantrouwen. Er zijn een aantal blanke mensen in dit land die net zo vastberaden zijn om de neger vrij te zien, als wij zijn om vrij te zijn.

[Applaus] Deze nieuwe strijdlust moet binnen de perken van begrip worden gehouden.⁵⁴

Dan is er nog iets wat ik wel⁵⁵ begrijp. We zijn zo lang slecht behandeld, we zijn zo lang de slachtoffers van lynchpartijen^w geweest, we zijn zo lang de slachtoffers van economisch onrecht geweest – we worden nog steeds overal in dit land als laatste aangenomen en als eerste weer ontslagen. En ik ken de verleiding. Ik begrijp vanuit een psychologisch standpunt waarom sommigen die vastzitten in de klauwen van het onrecht bijna met bitterheid reageren en tot de conclusie komen dat het probleem niet van binnenuit kan worden opgelost en erover praten dat ze ervan willen ontsnappen, in termen van rassenseparatie. Maar hoewel ik het psychologisch gezien kan begrijpen, wil ik deze middag toch tegen u zeggen dat dit niet de juiste manier is. Zwarte superioriteit is een even gevaarlijk idee als blanke superioriteit. [Applaus] En ik wil graag zeggen dat God niet enkel geïnteresseerd is in de vrijheid van zwarte mensen en bruine mensen en gele mensen. God is geïnteresseerd in de vrijheid van de hele mensheid. En ik geloof dat met deze filosofie en deze vastberaden strijd, we in de toekomst verder kunnen gaan en de valse tonen van ons land kunnen veranderen in een prachtige symfonie over broederschap.

Terwijl ik naar mijn conclusie toewerk, vraagt u zich vast en zeker af, “Wat kunnen we hier in Detroit doen om te helpen met de strijd in het Zuiden?” Er zijn een aantal dingen die u kunt doen. Eén daarvan heeft u al gedaan en ik hoop dat u dat zelfs in nog grotere mate zult doen voordat we deze bijeenkomst verlaten. [Opname onderbroken]

⁵³Here, “every white person who lives in the United States” is translated with the shorter formulation “elke blanke Amerikaan”, as a way to compensate for other instances where my translation is longer than the source text. See footnote 8.

⁵⁴The English expression “keep within boundaries” is translated with the Dutch equivalent expression “binnen de perken houden”.

⁵⁵The pragmatic participle “wel” is used to create an idiomatic Dutch sentence. See footnote 13.

En het tweede dat u kunt doen om ons in Alabama en Mississippi en overal in het Zuiden te helpen, is vastberaden te werk gaan om elke vorm van segregatie en discriminatie in Detroit af te schaffen [*Applaus*], want⁵⁶ als er ergens onrecht bestaat is dat overal een bedreiging voor rechtvaardigheid. En we moeten echt gaan inzien dat het probleem van onrechtvaardigheid een nationaal probleem is. Er is geen gemeenschap in dit land die op kan scheppen over schone handen als het om broederschap gaat. In het Noorden is het⁵⁷ anders omdat er daar geen wettige maatregelen voor bestaan zoals in het Zuiden. Maar het bestaat – in subtile en verborgen vorm – op drie gebieden: op het gebied van discriminatie op de arbeidsmarkt, op het gebied van discriminatie op de huisvestingsmarkt en op het gebied van de feitelijke segregatie op openbare scholen. En we moeten gaan inzien dat de feitelijke segregatie in het Noorden net zo schadelijk is voor de, als de⁵⁸ werkelijke segregatie in het Zuiden. [*Applaus*] En dus als u ons wilt helpen in Alabama en Mississippi en het hele Zuiden, doe dan⁵⁹ alles wat u kunt om het probleem hier af te schaffen.

En we hebben ook uw steun nodig om te zorgen dat het wetsvoorstel over burgerrechten dat de president aangeboden heeft, wordt aangenomen. En dat is een realiteit, laten we onszelf niet voor de gek houden: dit wetvoorstel gaat niet worden aangenomen, tenzij wij er werk in steken en druk uitoefenen. En dat is waarom ik gezegd heb dat, om dit wetsvoorstel aangenomen te krijgen, we dit land wakker moeten schudden en we naar Washington moeten marcheren met meer dan

⁵⁶ King starts this clause with the continuous: “realizing that...”. As the continuous sounds marked in Dutch, I have decided to translate this with the conjunction “want”. See footnote 36.

⁵⁷ Here, King refers with “it” to “racial injustice”, but this is not entirely clear because there is a sentence in between the one about racial injustice and this one. As the sentence in between is about brotherhood, it would in theory be possible that “it” refers back to this noun. However, logically speaking, that does not make sense, considering the meaning of this sentence and the next. I have not clarified this because I think it will be clear from the context in both the English and the Dutch text.

⁵⁸ Here, King probably makes a slip. Either he forgets to read what comes after “just as injurious of the” or he accidentally says “of the” and then corrects himself with “as the”. I have not corrected this in my translation. See footnote 27.

⁵⁹ Here, the pragmatic particle “dan” is used to create an idiomatic Dutch sentence. See footnote 13.

honderdduizend mensen om te laten zien, [Applaus] om te laten zien dat we vastberaden zijn en om deel te nemen aan geweldloze protesten zodat deze kwestie in het bewustzijn van dit land blijft. En als we dat doen kunnen we de nieuwe dag van vrijheid laten aanbreken. Als we dat doen kunnen we de Amerikaanse droom verwezenlijken.

En ik wil u niet de indruk geven dat het makkelijk zal zijn. Er kan geen grote sociale winst geboekt worden zonder individuele pijn. En voordat de overwinning van de broederschap is behaald, zullen sommigen van u verwond raken. Voordat de overwinning is behaald, zullen er nog meer mensen in de gevangenis belanden. Voordat de overwinning is behaald, zullen sommigen misschien net als Medgar Evers een lichamelijke dood⁶⁰ moeten sterven.^v Maar als een lichamelijke dood de prijs is die sommigen moeten betalen om hun kinderen en hun blanke broeders te bevrijden van een eeuwige psychologische dood, dan kan er niets verlossender werken dan dat. Voordat de overwinning is behaald, zullen sommigen van u verkeerd begrepen en uitgescholden worden, maar we moeten doorgaan vol vastberadenheid en met het vertrouwen dat dit probleem kan worden opgelost. (Ja) [Applaus]

En dus ga ik terug naar het Zuiden zonder wanhoop. Ik ga terug naar het Zuiden zonder het gevoel te hebben dat we vastzitten in een donkere kelder waar we nooit uit zullen komen.⁶¹ Ik ga terug vol vertrouwen dat er een nieuwe dag zal aanbreken. En daarom heb ik deze middag een droom. (Ga verder) Het is een droom diepgeworteld in de Amerikaanse droom.

Ik heb een droom dat op een dag, hier in Georgia en Mississippi en Alabama, de zonen van voormalige slaven en de zonen van voormalige slavenhouders samen kunnen leven als broeders.

Ik heb deze middag een droom (*Ik heb een droom*) dat op een dag [Applaus], op een dag kleine

⁶⁰ Here, King makes an important distinction between “physical death”. and “psychological death”. To maintain this distinction, I have translated this with “een lichamelijke dood” and “een psychologische dood”.

⁶¹ Here, I wanted to avoid the personification in “caught in a dark dungeon that will never lead to a way out”. See footnote 21.

blanke kinderen en kleine zwarte kinderen de handen ineen kunnen slaan als broertjes en zusjes.

Ik heb deze middag een droom (*Ik heb een droom*) dat op een dag, op een dag mensen niet langer huizen en Gods kerk in brand zullen steken, simpelweg omdat anderen vrij willen zijn.

Ik heb deze middag een droom (*Ik heb een droom*) dat er een dag komt waarop we niet langer geconfronteerd hoeven te worden met de wreedheden waarmee Emmett Till en Medgar Evers^{vi} geconfronteerd werden en alle mensen in waardigheid kunnen leven.

Ik heb deze middag een droom (*Ja*) dat mijn vier kleine kinderen, dat mijn vier kleine kinderen niet zullen opgroeien in de wereld waarin ik opgroeide, maar dat ze zullen worden beoordeeld op basis van hun karakter en niet op basis van hun huidskleur. [*Applaus*]

Ik heb deze middag een droom dat op een dag, negers hier in Detroit een huis kunnen kopen of huren, daar waar ze dit kunnen betalen en dat ze werk kunnen krijgen. [*Applaus*] (*Inderdaad*)

Ja, ik heb deze middag een droom dat op een dag in dit land de woorden van Amos^{vii} werkelijkheid zullen worden, dat het recht zal stromen als water en de gerechtigheid als een altijd stromende beek⁶².

Ik heb deze avond een droom dat we op een dag de woorden van Jefferson zullen erkennen, dat “alle mensen als gelijken worden geschapen, dat zij door hun Schepper met zekere onvervreemdbare Rechten zijn begiftigd, dat zich daaronder bevinden het Leven, de Vrijheid en het nastreven van Geluk.”⁶³ Ik heb deze middag een droom. [*Applaus*]

Ik heb een droom dat op een dag, alle dalen verhoogd zullen worden, alle bergen en heuvels verlaagt zullen worden, wat krom is, recht zal worden en wat rotsachtig is, tot een vlakte zal worden

⁶² For a discussion of the translation of this intertextual reference as well as other intertextual references, see the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric”.

⁶³ For a discussion of the translation of this intertextual reference as well as other intertextual references, see the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric”.

en de heerlijkheid van de Heere geopenbaard zal worden en alle vlees tezamen het zal zien.⁶⁴

[Applaus]

Ik heb deze middag een droom dat het ideaal van broederschap in deze tijd werkelijkheid zal worden. En met dit vertrouwen zal ik een tunnel van hoop hakken dwars door de berg van wanhoop. Met dit vertrouwen zal ik samen met u het donkere verleden veranderen in een zonnige toekomst.⁶⁵ Met dit vertrouwen kunnen we de nieuwe dag bereiken waarop al Gods kinderen, zwarte en blanke mensen, Joden en niet-Joden, Protestanten en Katholieken, de handen ineen kunnen slaan en kunnen meezingen met de negrospiritual⁶⁶:

Eindelijk vrij! Eindelijk vrij!

Dank God Allemachtig, we zijn eindelijk vrij!^{67viii} [Applaus]

Toespraak gegeven in Detroit op 23 juni 1963

⁶⁴ For a discussion of the translation of this intertextual reference as well as other intertextual references, see the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric”.

⁶⁵ For a discussion of the translation of this metaphor as well as other metaphorical language, see the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric”.

⁶⁶ The word “spiritual” can be translated with the Dutch “negrospiritual”. However, I think many Dutch people will not know this word. After the citation, an endnote is added which explains to the Dutch audience that King here cites from a negro spiritual and what a negro spiritual is.

⁶⁷ Here, King recites a negro spiritual. There is no Dutch translation of this song and therefore I have made my own translation. For more information on the translation of intertextual references, see the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric”.

Ik heb een droom

Ik ben blij dat ik vandaag deelneem aan wat de geschiedenis in zal gaan als een van de geweldigste⁶⁸

demonstraties voor vrijheid in de geschiedenis van ons land. [*Applaus*]

Meer dan een eeuw geleden⁶⁹ ondertekende een groot Amerikaan, in wiens symbolische schaduw we vandaag staan, de Emancipatieproclamatie. Deze gewichtige verordening kwam als een groot lichtbaken van hoop voor de miljoenen negerslaven die verschroeid waren door de vlammen van verdorrende onrechtvaardigheid. *Zij* kwam als een vreugdevolle dageraad na een lange nacht van gevangenschap.

Maar meer dan een eeuw later is de neger nog steeds niet vrij. [*Publiek:*] (*O Heer*) Meer dan een eeuw later wordt de neger⁷⁰ nog altijd op schandelijke wijze verlamd door de handboeien van segregatie en de ketenen van discriminatie. Meer dan een eeuw later leeft de neger op een eenzaam eiland van armoede midden in een uitgestrekte oceaan van materiële welvaart.⁷¹ Meer dan een eeuw later (*O Heer*) [*Applaus*] kwijnt de neger nog steeds weg in een hoekje van de Amerikaanse samenleving en leeft hij als banneling in zijn eigen land. Dus zijn we hier vandaag gekomen om deze schandelijke omstandigheden onder de aandacht te brengen.

In zekere zin zijn we naar de hoofdstad van ons land gekomen om een cheque te innen.

⁶⁸ “Greatest” is here translated with “geweldigste” as this is also done in the previous speech, where King refers to the demonstration as the “largest and greatest”. See footnote 7. In my translation of “I Have a dream”, I have paid attention to the passages which were the same as King’s “Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall” and I have, whenever possible, translated the same words or phrases with the same Dutch translations.

⁶⁹ King here refers to Abraham Lincoln’s “Gettysburg Address”. I have not maintained this reference. For more information see the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric”. I have translated this with “meer dan een eeuw geleden” because of the rhythm. For more information about the translation of rhythm see the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric”.

⁷⁰ Here, I have decided to translate “the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled” with “wordt de neger nog steeds schadelijk verlamd”, to omit the personification and to shorten the formulation.

⁷¹ For a discussion of the translation of this metaphor as well as other metaphorical language, see the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric.”

Toen de architecten van onze republiek de prachtige woorden van de grondwet en de Onafhankelijkheidsverklaring schreven, ondertekenden ze daarmee een schuldbrief waarvan elke Amerikaan de erfgenaam zou worden. Deze brief beloofde dat alle mensen – ja, zwarte mensen net zo goed als⁷² blanke mensen – gegarandeerd de “onvervreemdbare Rechten” zouden krijgen van “het Leven, de Vrijheid en het nastreven van Geluk”^{ix}. Het is nu duidelijk dat Amerika deze belofte niet is nagekomen wat haar donkere burgers⁷³ betreft. In plaats van deze heilige plicht te eren, heeft Amerika de negers een ongedekte cheque gegeven, een cheque die terugkomt met de mededeling “onvoldoende saldo.” [*Aanhoudend applaus*]

Maar we weigeren te geloven dat de bank van rechtvaardigheid failliet is. (*O Heer*) [*Gelach*] (*Zeker weten*) We weigeren te geloven dat er onvoldoende saldo ligt opgeslagen in de grote kluizen vol mogelijkheden van dit land. En daarom komen we deze cheque innen (*Ja*), een cheque die ons de rijkdom van de vrijheid (*Ja*) en de veiligheid van rechtvaardigheid zal geven.⁷⁴ [*Applaus*]

We zijn ook naar deze heilige plaats gekomen om Amerika er aan te herinneren hoe dringend dit moment is. Er is geen tijd (*O Heer*) om nog af te koelen of om geleidelijkheid als een kalmerend middel in te nemen. [*Applaus*] Nu is de tijd gekomen om de democratische beloften waaraan te maken. Nu is de tijd gekomen om op te staan uit het verwaarloosde, donkere dal van segregatie en te lopen over het zonovergoten pad van rassenrechtvaardigheid. Nu is de tijd gekomen [*Applaus*] om ons land te verheffen uit het drijfzand van rassenonrecht en haar neer te zetten op de stevige rots van broederschap. Nu is de tijd gekomen om rechtvaardigheid voor al Gods kinderen te

⁷² In the source text, King says: “yes, black men as well as white men”. The words “as well as” could be translated with the neutral formulation “en”. However, I have chosen to translate them with “net zo goed als”, because this formulation lays more emphasis on King’s argument that the Declaration of Independence is as much about black men as it is about white men.

⁷³ In Dutch, “gekleurde burgers” has a bit of a sarcastic undertone. Therefore, I decided to translate coloured with “donkere”, which I think is a more neutral term.

⁷⁴ I have translated this extended metaphor with the same extended metaphor, because I think the metaphor will be understandable to a Dutch audience too. For more information on the translation of metaphorical language, see the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric”.

verwezenlijken.

Het zou rampzalig zijn als dit land niet in ziet hoe dringend dit moment is. Deze drukkend hete zomer van de terechte ontevredenheid van de neger zal niet voorbijgaan totdat er een verkwikkende herfst komt van vrijheid en gelijkheid. 1963 is geen einde, maar een begin. En degenen die hopen dat de neger alleen maar stoom moest afblazen en nu tevreden zal zijn, zullen bruut wakker geschud worden als dit land weer verder gaat zoals altijd.⁷⁵ [Applaus] Er zal rust noch kalmte in Amerika zijn totdat de neger zijn burgerrechten heeft verworven. Protesten zullen als wervelwinden de fundamenten van ons land aan het wankelen blijven brengen totdat de zonnige dag van rechtvaardigheid aanbreekt.

Maar er is iets dat ik tegen mijn mensen moet zeggen, die op de warme drempel staan van het paleis van rechtvaardigheid: terwijl we onze rechtmatige plaats opeisen, mogen we ons niet schuldig maken aan immorele daden.⁷⁶ Laten we onze dorst naar vrijheid niet proberen te lessen door te drinken uit de beker van verbittering en haat. (*O Heer*) [Applaus] We moeten onze strijd altijd blijven voeren op het hoge niveau van waardigheid en discipline. We mogen niet toestaan dat ons creatieve protest in fysiek geweld ontaard. Steeds opnieuw moeten we zo sterk zijn om fysieke kracht met de kracht van onze ziel te beantwoorden. Deze prachtige nieuwe strijdlust in de gemeenschap van negers mag er niet voor zorgen dat wij alle blanke mensen wantrouwen, want er zijn veel blanke broeders die, zoals ook blijkt uit hun aanwezigheid vandaag, zijn gaan inzien dat hun lot verbonden is aan ons lot. [Applaus] En zij zijn gaan inzien dat hun vrijheid onlosmakelijk is verbonden met onze vrijheid. We kunnen deze weg niet alleen bewandelen.

⁷⁵ The English idiomatic expression “return to business as usual” is translated with a Dutch equivalent expression “weer verder gaan zoals altijd”.

⁷⁶ With “wrongful deeds”, King must mean morally wrongful deeds and not legally wrongful deeds, as King does call upon his people to commit civil disobedience, which can sometimes be against the law. However, he does not want his people to stoop to violence, because he considers this morally wrong. As I could not translate this in a more ambiguous way, I had to translate this with this interpretation, and therefore I have translated this with “immorele daden” (literally ; immoral deeds).

En terwijl we deze weg bewandelen, moeten we beloven dat we altijd vooruit zullen lopen.

We kunnen niet omkeren. Er wordt weleens aan de voorstanders van de burgerrechten gevraagd,
“Wanneer zullen jullie nu eens⁷⁷ tevreden zijn?” (*Nooit*)

We kunnen nooit tevreden zijn zolang de neger het slachtoffer is van de onbeschrijfelijke
gruweldaden van politiebrutaliteit. We kunnen nooit tevreden zijn [*Applaus*] zolang onze lichamen,
vermoeid van het reizen, niet kunnen overnachten in de motels aan de snelwegen en de hotels in de
steden.⁷⁸ [*Applaus*] We kunnen niet tevreden zijn zolang negers alleen maar van kleinere naar grotere
getto's kunnen verhuizen. We kunnen nooit tevreden zijn zolang onze kinderen ontdaan worden van
hun persoonlijkheid en bestolen van hun waardigheid door borden met de tekst “Alleen voor
blanken.” [*Applaus*] We kunnen niet tevreden zijn zolang negers in Mississippi niet kunnen stemmen
en negers in New York geloven dat het geen zin heeft om te gaan stemmen. (*Ja*) Nee, nee, we zijn
niet tevreden en we zullen ook niet tevreden zijn totdat het recht stroomt als water en de
gerechtigheid als een altijd stromende beek.⁷⁹

Ik ben me er bewust van dat sommigen van u grote beproevingen en ellende hebben
ondergaan. (*O Heer*) Sommigen van u komen net uit krappe cellen. Sommigen van u komen uit
gebieden waar uw zoektocht naar vrijheid ervoor gezorgd heeft dat u gehavend bent door een storm
van vervolging (*Ja*) en verbijsterd door de rukwinden van politiebrutaliteit. U bent veteranen van het
creatief lijden. Blijf erop vertrouwen dat onverdiend lijden verlossend werkt. Ga terug naar
Mississippi, (*Ja*) ga terug naar Alabama, (*Ja*) ga terug naar South Carolina, ga terug naar Georgia, ga
terug naar Louisiana, ga terug naar de sloppenwijken en getto's van onze noordelijke steden en

⁷⁷ The Dutch pragmatic participles “nu” and “eens” are inserted to create an idiomatic Dutch sentence and to emphasize the complaining nature of this question.

⁷⁸ Here, I deliberately maintained the personification of “our bodies”, because I think that in this case, this adds to the image that King is trying to paint. In other instances, I have omitted the personification because I considered that maintaining every personification would make the Dutch text sound more abstract than the source text. See footnote 21.

⁷⁹ For a discussion of this intertextual reference as well as other intertextual references, see the chapter “Translating King's Rhetoric”.

weet⁸⁰ dat deze situatie op de een of andere manier kan en zal veranderen. Laten we niet zwelgen in het dal van wanhoop.

Vandaag zeg ik tegen u, mijn vrienden, [Applaus] ook al worden we geconfronteerd met de moeilijkheden van vandaag en morgen, ik heb nog steeds een droom. Het is een droom diepgeworteld in de Amerikaanse droom.

Ik heb een droom dat op een dag (*Ja*), dit land op zal staan om gestalte te geven aan de werkelijke betekenis van zijn credo: “Wij beschouwen deze waarheden als vanzelfsprekend: dat alle mensen als gelijken worden geschapen.”^{81x} (*Ja*) [Applaus]

Ik heb een droom dat op een dag in de gebergten van Georgia, de zonen van voormalige slaven en de zonen van voormalige slavenhouders samen kunnen zitten aan de tafel van broederschap.

Ik heb een droom dat op een dag zelfs de staat Mississippi, een staat waar de verschroeiende hitte van onrecht (*No*) en de verschroeiende hitte van onderdrukking heerst, verandert in een oase van vrijheid en rechtvaardigheid.

Ik heb een droom (*No*) [Applaus] dat mijn vier kleine kinderen op een dag in een land zullen opgroeien, waar ze niet zullen worden beoordeeld op basis van hun huidskleur maar op basis van hun karakter. (*O Heer*) Ik heb vandaag een droom. [Applaus]

Ik heb een droom dat op een dag in Alabama, met zijn wrede racisten, met de gouverneur die zijn mond vol heeft van woorden als “interventie” en “nietigverklaring”^{xi} (*Ja*), dat op een dag daar in Alabama, zwarte en blanke kinderen samen kunnen leven als broertjes en zusjes. Ik heb vandaag een droom. [Applaus]

Ik heb een droom dat op een dag, alle dalen verhoogd zullen worden, alle bergen en heuvels

⁸⁰ Here, I have translated the continuous “knowing” using a conjunction: “en weet”. See footnote 36.

⁸¹ For a discussion of the translation of this intertextual reference as well as other intertextual references, see the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric”.

verlaagd zullen worden, wat krom is, recht zal worden en wat rotsachtig is, tot een vlakte zal worden en de heerlijkheid van de Heere geopenbaard zal worden en alle vlees tezamen het zal zien.

Dit is onze hoop. Dit is het vertrouwen waarmee ik terug naar het Zuiden ga. (*Ja*) Met dit vertrouwen zullen we uit de berg van wanhoop een steen van hoop kunnen hakken. (*Ja*) Met dit vertrouwen kunnen we de valse tonen van ons land veranderen in een prachtige symfonie over broederschap. (*Vertel*) Met dit vertrouwen (*O Heer*) kunnen we samen werken, samen bidden, samen strijden, samen naar de gevangenis gaan en samen opstaan voor de vrijheid, omdat we weten dat we op een dag vrij zullen zijn.⁸² [*Applaus*] Dat zal de dag zijn, [*Applaus houdt aan*] dat zal de dag zijn waarop al Gods kinderen (*Ja*) samen met nieuwe betekenis kunnen zingen:

Mijn land, het is over gjij (*Ja*), land o zo mooi en vrij,

Over gjij dat ik zing,

Land van mijn voorvaderen, trots van alle pelgrims (*Ja*)

laat de vrijheid opklinken, van elke berghelling!^{83xii}

En als Amerika een geweldig land wil zijn, dan moet dit werkelijkheid worden. Dus laat de vrijheid opklinken (*Ja*) van de prachtige heuvels van New Hampshire.

Laat de vrijheid opklinken van de machtige bergen van New York.

Laat de vrijheid opklinken van het Alleghenygebergte in Pennsylvania. (*Ja, inderdaad*)

Laat de vrijheid opklinken van de met sneeuw bedekte *Rocky Mountains* in Colorado (*Ja*)

Laat de vrijheid opklinken van de gewelfde hellingen van Californië. (*Ja*)

Maar dat niet alleen: laat de vrijheid opklinken van de *Stone Mountain* in Georgia. (*Ja*)

⁸² Here, I translated the continuous “knowing” using a conjunction: “omdat we weten”. See footnote 29.

⁸³ For a discussion of the translation of this intertextual reference as well as other intertextual references, see the chapter “Translating King’s Rhetoric”.

Laat de vrijheid opklinken van de *Lookout Mountain* in Tennessee. (*Ja*)

Laat de vrijheid opklinken van elke heuvel en elke molshoop in Mississippi. (*Ja*)

Laat de vrijheid opklinken, van elke berghelling.⁸⁴ [*Applause*]

En wanneer dit gebeurt, [*Applaus houdt aan*], wanneer we de vrijheid laten opklinken, wanneer we de vrijheid laten opklinken van elk dorp en elk gehucht, van elke staat en elke stad (*Ja*), dan zal de dag sneller aanbreken waarop al Gods kinderen, zwarte en blanke mensen, Joden en niet-Joden, Protestanten en Katholieken, de handen ineen kunnen slaan en samen kunnen meezingen met de woorden van de oude negrospiritual:

Eindelijk vrij! Eindelijk vrij!

Dank God allemachtig, we zijn eindelijk vrij! [*Applaus*]

Toespraak gegeven tijdens de Mars naar Washington in Washington, D.C. op 28 augustus 1963.

⁸⁴ In this part, King uses the expression “let freedom ring” from the song he quoted before and says that this should happen from different mountains and even molehills. He refers to many real mountains in different states. Sometimes, King uses a colloquial name for a mountain, such as “the Alleghenies” and “the Rockies”. This could not be maintained, as there are no Dutch colloquial names for these American mountains.

Endnotes

ⁱⁱ King citeert hier uit de gedichten “The Negro’s Complaint” van William Cowper, een aanklacht tegen de slavernij, en “False Greatness” van Isaac Watts.

ⁱⁱⁱ De *Freedom Ride*-beweging en de sit-inbeweging zijn twee voorbeelden van geweldloze protestbewegingen die werden opgericht door voorstanders van burgerrechten om segregatie en discriminatie tegen te gaan.

^{iv} King verwijst hier naar het boek *Love or Perish* van Smiley Blanton. In dit boek bearugmenteert de religieuze psychiater dat geestesziekten het gevolg zijn van het onvermogen van de patiënt om lief te hebben.

^v Lynchen is het illegaal uitvoeren van een executie door een groep mensen. Aan het einde van de burgeroorlog werden veel Afrikaans-Amerikaanse mensen op gewelddadige wijze vermoord, met name door middel van ophanging en verbranding, door aanhangers van de slavernij.

^{vi} Medgar Evers was een burgerrechtenactivist uit Mississippi die is vermoord.

^{vii} Emmett Till was een Afrikaans-Amerikaanse jongen die op zijn veertiende op gewelddadige wijze is vermoord omdat hij geflirt zou hebben met een blanke vrouw.

^{viii} Amos is een profeet uit het oude testament. King citeert hier en op andere plaatsen in zijn toespraken uit de Bijbel.

^x Hier citeert King uit een *negrospiritual*, een religieus lied van zwarte slaven.

^{ix} King citeert hier uit de Amerikaanse Onafhankelijkheidsverklaring.

^x Idem.

^{xi} “Interventie” en “nietigverklaring” zijn wettelijke termen die staten in Amerika gebruiken om te proberen federale beslissingen tegen te gaan of terug te keren.

^{xii} Hier citeert King een patriottisch lied over Amerika dat bekend staat onder de titels “America” en “My Country ‘Tis of Thee”. Dit lied werd in 1831 geschreven en is sindsdien een tijdje onofficieel als Amerikaans volkslied gebruikt, voordat “The Star-Spangled Banner” in 1931 het officiële volkslied werd.

Conclusion Translation Problems

In the previous chapters, I have analysed the problems that occur when Martin Luther King's speeches are translated into Dutch. In the chapter "Translating King's Rhetoric" I have focused on the translation problems that arise due to the rhetorical features of King's speeches. In the footnotes added to my translations, I have addressed other translation issues that did not fit this classification. This concluding chapter will answer the question "Which problems occur in the translation of King's speeches 'Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall' and 'I Have a Dream' into Dutch, which solutions are possible and which solutions are desirable?"

The source text features discussed in the chapter "Translating King's Rhetoric", intertextual references, repetition, metaphorical language, oppositions, humour and rhythm, can all be seen as problems in their own right because a translator will have to decide what to do with them. In my case, I wanted to maintain these rhetorical elements as much as possible because I wanted to create a translation in which the rhetorical strength of King's speeches is maintained. I could therefore not ignore these features as characteristics of the source text.

In the translation theories that I have discussed, many possible strategies to deal with these source text features were mentioned. Although the strategies that were mentioned were different depending on the stylistic feature which they discussed, most of these run along the lines of translating the stylistic feature with an equivalent stylistic feature, adapting the stylistic feature in some way, omitting the feature entirely or adding the stylistic feature where there is none in the source text, as a compensation strategy. To make a decision between different translation strategies, the translator must carefully consider what the function of these elements are in the source text, what elements are important to maintain in the target text considering the translation assignment and how this can best be done. In my case, I deemed it important to maintain the rhetorical strength

of the source text. Therefore, some of these strategies were not appropriate for the purpose of my translation; omitting the stylistic feature entirely, for instance, would often result in a toning down of the text's rhetorical strength.

I have translated intertextual references using four strategies: choosing an existing translation, creating a literal translation myself, creating a creative translation and adding endnotes. I have used two strategies for the translation of repetition: translating repetition with equivalent repetition and translating repetition with a modified form of repetition. The metaphorical language, among which are oppositions, I have translated with the use of two strategies: translating the metaphor with the same metaphor and translating the metaphor with a different metaphor. However, when the second strategy was used, I only made small alterations to the original metaphors. I have translated the humour in King's speeches by using the strategy of translating the source text joke with the same joke. The source text rhythm is translated with similar, but not exactly equivalent, target text rhythm when possible. Special attention was given to the passages where King uses parallelism, as it are these places that the rhythm is most obvious in King's speeches.

The footnotes added to the translation show that in addition to these rhetorical source texts elements, I was confronted with more problems. Many of these problems are also related to the rhetorical strength of the source text and the wish to reproduce this in the target text. The source texts are written in idiomatic English. In my translation, I wanted to create idiomatic sentences too, because I considered that this adds to the rhetorical strength of the text. Creating a target text that uses unidiomatic formulations could weaken the text's rhetorical power. I have used several solutions to this problem. Firstly, I have added pragmatic participles, because these are very common in Dutch texts and help to create idiomatic Dutch sentences. In addition, I have avoided the continuous, because this sounds outdated or translated in Dutch. Similarly, I have rephrased

many of the source text personifications, because too many personifications make a Dutch text sound too abstract. Lastly, whenever possible, I have translated idiomatic source text expressions with equivalent Dutch idiomatic expressions.

Another problem related to the rhetorical strength of the text, is the fact that Dutch translations of English texts often increase in size, as the Dutch language is less compact than the English language. In my translations, however, I did not want to create too long sentences and too long texts, because I considered that this too, could tone down the text's rhetorical strength. As a solution to this problem, I have used a compensation strategy, namely to translate some source text formulations with shorter target text formulations.

There were, however, also many problems that were not related to the fact that I was translating a rhetorical text. Some problems were related to the fact that I was translating a speech, like the translation of transcript elements and slips. I have decided to maintain both these elements because I wanted to show the target audience that they were reading a speech originally performed on stage. Other problems were the kind of problems that almost every translator comes across in almost every text, such as the problem that the connotations of words, terms and concepts often differ between the source and the target culture. The only solution to this problem is to carefully consider the connotative meanings of different options and then to choose the option that best fits the target text. An example is my translation of the word "nation" with a more neutral term "land" (literally, "country").

Comparing Dreams: Different Solutions to the Translation Problems of King's Rhetoric

King's "I Have a Dream" speech has often been translated to Dutch. It is therefore interesting to see how other translators deal with the problems that the rhetorical strategies in this speech pose. In this chapter, I will compare my translation of "I Have a Dream", using the question: "How did the Dutch translations of 'I Have a Dream' by Rudi de Graaf en Jacques Meerman deal with rhetorical strategies in this speech, how do these solutions differ from the ones in my translation and from each other and what explanations can be given for these different approaches?" However, before this question can be answered, first the background of these earlier translations must be analysed. Therefore, I will first answer the question: In which context were the Dutch translations of "I Have a Dream" by Rudi de Graaf en Jacques Meerman made and what information can be found about these translators?".

Rudi de Graaf

Rudi de Graaf's translation of "I Have a Dream", entitled "Ik heb een droom" is part of the anthology *Schokkende Redovoeringen*, an anthology that includes famous speeches of different people throughout history. The anthology was published in 1990 after a project in which speeches were recited on stage by actors in Paradiso, a Dutch pop podium (Guépin "Voorwoord" 11). For this project, fourteen speeches were translated (ibidem). After the project, the anthology was made, which included the initial fourteen translations, but also new translations which were made especially for the anthology (ibidem). It is likely that the fourteen source texts that were translated for performance on stage were translated with a great focus upon performability and pronounceability. However, it is, sadly, not specified whether Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" was part of these initial fourteen.

The translation of “I Have a Dream” is included in the subsection entitled ‘De Amerikaanse Droom’. This section includes translations of other speeches by famous Americans, like Lincoln’s “Gettysburg Address” and Kennedy’s “Inaugural Address”. Every speech in this section is translated by Rudi de Graaf.

I have not been able to find relevant information about Rudi de Graaf as a translator. The online catalogue of the Dutch national library (Koninklijke Bibliotheek) does give some books of which Rudi de Graaf is the author or co-author. These are all self-help books. There are no books in the Dutch national library of which De Graaf is the translator. The limited bibliographical information that can be found about him says that he was born in 1957 and works as a coach, consultant and writer, whereas translator is not mentioned (“Rudi de Graaf”). It is therefore likely that De Graaf is not a translator by profession and that the translations made in *Schokkende Redovoeringen* were an exception.

Jacques Meerman

Jacques Meerman’s translation of “I Have a Dream”, also entitled “Ik heb een droom”, is part of the anthology *Toespraken die de wereld veranderden: Belangrijke keerpunten in de wereldgeschiedenis*. This anthology is a 2007 Dutch version of the English anthology *Speeches that changed the world* which was published by Quercus Publishing in 2005. The entire book is translated by Jacques Meerman. The anthology is ordered chronologically and includes speeches from Mozes to George W. Bush. An existing Dutch Bible translation, namely the *Statenvertaling Jongbloed-editie* is used for all speeches that come from the Bible. It is not clear whether Meerman has translated the rest of the speeches directly from their original source language or from the English anthology.

There are many entries in the catalogue of the Dutch national library (KB) that mention

Jacques Meerman as the translator. Meerman has translated many recipe books and other books on the subject of food, cooking and restaurants. He has also translated novels, which are mostly thrillers and young-adult novels; he has not translated literature in the strict sense of the word. The translation that probably comes closest to his translation of *Speeches that changed the world* and more specifically “I Have a Dream”, is his translation of *Words of Wisdom*, a book with philosophical citations and explanations of their meaning. This translation was published in 2012, which means it was published after the first issue of Meerman’s translation of *Shocking Speeches*. Meerman has made translations from English, Spanish, German, French, Swedish and Italian to Dutch for many different publishers. I have not found any bibliographical information about Meerman apart from the fact that he was born in 1943.⁸⁵

Intertextual references

When comparing my translation with the ones made by De Graaf and Meerman with respect to intertextual references, the first salient difference is that both De Graaf and Meerman do not use footnotes or endnotes to explain King’s references to their audience, whereas I do use this in some instances. De Graaf and Meerman do both include a foreword that introduces Martin Luther King and explains the context of the speech, but no attention is given to King’s use of intertextual references. Therefore, De Graaf and Meerman do not use the strategy of adding extratextual information as a solution to the problem of intertextual references.

De Graaf’s translation maintains King’s reference to Abraham Lincoln’s “Gettysburg Address”. This speech is translated by De Graaf in the same anthology and he uses the same formulation in “Gettysburg Address” as in “I Have a Dream”. He translates Lincoln’s words “Four score and seven years ago” with “Vier maal twintig en zeven jaar terug” (Graaf “Gettysburg” 563),

⁸⁵ This information is included after the name Jacques Meerman in the Dutch national library.

and King's "Fivescore years ago" with "Vijf maal twintig jaar geleden" (Graaf "Droom" 582). This suggests that De Graaf here uses the strategy of translating an intertextual reference with the use of an existing translation. This translation choice is defendable considering the fact that these translations will be read together, especially because they are featured in the same thematic subcategory, and this way the Dutch audience will be able to see the connection between the two speeches. However, it is noteworthy that whereas the translation of "score" is paralleled, the translation of "ago" is not: this is translated with "terug" in Lincoln's speech and with "geleden" in King's. This suggests that De Graaf did not pay attention to create parallel translations. It could therefore be that the parallel translation of "score" is a coincidence.

Meerman also translates "Gettysburg Address" in the anthology *Speeches that Changed the World* but does not use marked formulation that could be echoed in King's speech. Lincoln's words are translated with "Zevenentachtig jaar geleden" (Meerman "Gettysburg") and King's with "Honderd jaar geleden" (Meerman "Dream" 165) This seems to indicate that Meerman prefers idiomatic sentences over maintaining this reference, although it could also be that he did not recognise the connection. In any case, knowingly or unknowingly, Meerman uses the same strategy as I do, namely to omit this allusion.

With respect to King's Bible citations, no existing translations are used by Meerman. Consider for instance King's reference to Amos: "No, no, we are not satisfied and we will not be satisfied until *justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream*" (King "Dream" 84, emphasis mine). Meerman translates this with: "Nee, wij kunnen niet tevreden zijn en zullen niet tevreden zijn totdat *het recht ons overspoelt als een waterval en de gerechtigheid als een machtige rivier*" (Meerman "Droom" 167, emphasis mine). There is no Dutch Bible translation that uses the italicized formulation. The same goes for Meerman's translation of King's reference to Isaiah:

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. (King “Dream” 85-86)

This is translated with:

Ik heb een droom dat ooit alle dalen opstijgen en alle heuvels en bergen worden verlaagd, dat onbegaanbare gebieden vlak worden en dat kromme plaatsen recht zijn en de glorie van de Heer onthuld wordt en dat allen van vlees en bloed Hem samen zullen zien. (Meerman “Droom” 168)

These two passages illustrates that Meerman seems to give preference to idiomatic translations that still stay close to King’s formulations, than to translate King’s Bible citations with existing Bible translations. However, it is also possible that Meerman did not recognise these citations.

De Graaf uses an existing Bible translation only once, namely when translating King’s reference to Isaiah, which is mentioned above. De Graaf translates this with:

Ik heb een droom dat eens ‘Elk dal worde verhoogd en elke berg en heuvel geslecht, en het oneffene worde tot een vlakte en de rotsboden tot een valley. En de heerlijheid des Heren zal zich openbaren, en al het levende te zamen zal dit zien.’ (Meerman “Droom” 585)

This passage illustrates that De Graaf uses the strategy of translating this Bible citation with an existing Dutch Bible translation. De Graaf chooses a different Bible translation than I have, namely the translation of the *Dutch Bible Association* (NBG). This translation is written in outdated Dutch, which creates a sharp contrast between King’s language use in general and his Bible citations. This effect is increased because the quotation is placed between quotation marks and is not adapted to make it fit in the syntactical structure of the sentence. Perhaps this is done to make it clearer to the reader that someone else’s words are used, which would mean that De Graaf also uses the strategy of introducing textual features to indicate the presence of borrowed words. It is possible that De Graaf has considered that his target audience will be less familiar with Bible quotations than King’s audience and that he therefore felt the need to use this strategy to help the reader.

However, De Graaf only uses an existing Bible translation for this passage. In other

passages, like King's reference to Amos, which is also mentioned above, De Graaf makes his own translation: "Nee, nee, wij zijn niet tevreden, en wij zullen niet tevreden zijn totdat gerechtigheid als water naar beneden stroomt en rechtvaardigheid als een machtige stroom" (Graaf "Droom" 584). It is unclear why he does this. Perhaps he did not recognize this passage as a Bible citation.

With respect to the translation of King's song citations, both translators focus on maintaining the content of the speech. They do not use rhyme or other methods to create a translation in which the fact that this is a song is maintained. At the end of his speech, King refers to the patriotic song "My Country 'Tis of Thee":

My country, 'tis of thee (*Yes*), sweet land of liberty,
of thee I sing,
Land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrim's pride (*Yes*),
From every mountainside, let freedom ring! (King "Dream" 86)

Meerman translates this with:

Mijn land, ik zing van jou, heerlijk land van vrijheid. Land waar mijn voorouders stierven,
land dat de trots van de Pelgrims was, laat vrijheid jubelen van elke bergtop! (Meerman
"Droom" 168)

De Graaf translates this with:

Mijn land van jou,
Zoet land van vrijheid
van jou zing ik
Land waar mijn vaderen stierven
land van des pelgrims trots,
laat ieder heuveltop
de vrijheid bazuinen

These passages illustrate that the translators focus upon the translation of the content of this song.

The strategy of re-creating the allusion by creatively constructing a passage that reproduces its effects is not used by these translators. Therefore, their approach is different from mine. The translators probably did not consider the fact that this was a song important for their translation and

instead focused solely on the content.

Repetition

Most of the source text repetition is translated with equivalent repetition by De Graaf and Meerman. This is similar to what I have done. For instance, the repetition of the phrase “I have a dream that one day” is maintained in all three translations. I translate this consistently with “Ik heb een droom dat op een dag”, De Graaf translates this consistently with “Ik heb een droom dat eens” (Graaf “Droom” 85) and Meerman translates this consistently with “Ik heb een droom dat ooit” (Meerman “Droom” 167-68). Although all three translators have chosen a different option for the translation of the words “one day”, the effect of repetition is the same.

There are some instances where Meerman omits the source text repetition. An example is Meerman’s translation of “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*” (King “Dream” 83, emphasis mine). Meerman translates this with “want veel blanke broeders zijn gaan beseffen dat hun *lotbestemming* met *de onze* verbonden is, en hun aanwezigheid vandaag bewijst dat. En ze zijn ook gaan beseffen dat hun *vrijheid* onlosmakelijk verbonden is met *de onze*” (Meerman “Droom” 166). Here, the repetition of the words “destiny” and “freedom” are translated with variation by using “*de onze*” as a way to refer back to these nouns. The reason may be that Meerman considers this a more idiomatic formulation and that creating an idiomatic sentence is given preference over the use of repetition.

In my translation as well as the one by De Graaf, this repetition is translated with equivalent repetition. De Graaf translates this with “want velen van onze blanke broeders, zoals bewezen wordt door hun aanwezigheid hier vandaag, zijn zich gaan realiseren dat hun *bestemming* is verbonden met

onze *bestemming* en dat hun *vrijheid* ontontwarbaar is verbonden met onze *vrijheid*” (Graaf “Droom” 584, emphasis mine). Here, the repetition of the words “destiny” and “freedom” are equalled with the repetition of the words “bestemming” and “vrijheid”. This is similar to what I have done, although I have used the words “lot” and “vrijheid” as translations for “destiny” and “freedom”: “want er zijn veel blanke broeders die, zoals ook blijkt uit hun aanwezigheid vandaag, zijn gaan inzien dat hun *lot* verbonden is aan ons *lot*. En zij zijn gaan inzien dat hun *vrijheid* onlosmakelijk is verbonden met onze *vrijheid*.”

Another example of repetition that is translated with variation by Meerman, is his translation of the following passage:

This is the *faith* that I 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 [etcetera] (King “Dream” 86, emphasis mine)

In this passage, King repeats the word “faith” several times. In his translation, Meerman translates “faith” with “vertrouwen” once and with “geloof” the rest of the time:

Met dat *vertrouwen* ga ik naar het Zuiden terug. Met dat *geloof* zullen we uit de wanhoopsberg de steen van hoop kunnen houwen. Met dat *geloof* zullen we de snerpende dissonanten van ons land kunnen omvormen tot een fraaie symfonie over broederschap. Met dat *geloof* kunnen we samen werken [etcetera] (Meerman “Droom” 168, emphasis mine)

In my translation as well as De Graaf’s, the repetition of “faith” is maintained. De Graaf consistently translates this with “geloof” (Graaf “Droom” 585), and I consistently translate this with “vertrouwen”. My motive for translating repetition with equivalent repetition was that I wanted to maintain the rhetorical strength of the text. It could be that De Graaf had similar considerations. However, it is also possible that the repetitive translations come forth out of a more literal translation of the source text.

There are some interesting differences between the translations of the passage in which King repeats “we can never be satisfied”. The passage is as follows:

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 fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodgings 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 as long as* a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. (King “Dream” 84, emphasis mine).

In this passage, King often repeats the phrase, “we can *never* be satisfied”, but he alternates this with the phrase “we *cannot* be satisfied”. In other words, although King uses repetition, he also uses small variation in this passage. In Meerman’s translation, the repetition is remained, but the variation is omitted:

We kunnen nooit tevreden zijn zolang de neger het slachtoffer is van gruwelijke, onuitspreekbare politieke wrecheden. We kunnen nooit tevreden zijn zolang ons lichaam, zwaar van vermoeidheid na onze lange reis, niet wordt toegelaten tot de motels aan de snelwegen en de hotels in de steden. Wij kunnen nooit tevreden zijn zolang een neger in Mississippi niet mag stemmen en een neger in New York denkt dat niets de moeite waard is om naar de stembus te gaan (sic). (Meerman “Droom” 165-67, emphasis mine)

In this translation, only the phrase “We kunnen nooit tevreden zijn” is used. Consequently, this passage is slightly more repetitive than the original one and it could therefore be said that Meerman uses the strategy of translating source text variation with target text repetition. It is unclear why he does this. Perhaps he uses this as compensation for other instances where his text is slightly less repetitive than the source text. The translation by De Graaf and my own translation show that the alternation between “never” and “not” can be maintained in the Dutch translation. De Graaf’s translation is as follows:

Wij kunnen nooit tevreden zijn zolang de neger het slachtoffer blijft van onbeschrijflijke gruweldaden van politie-wrecheden. Wij kunnen nooit tevreden zijn zolang onze lichamen, zwaar van moeheid van het reizen, geen herberg kunnen krijgen in de motels langs de snelwegen en de hotels van de steden. Wij kunnen niet tevreden zijn zolang de basismobiliteit van een neger die van een kleine ghetto naar een grotere is. Wij kunnen nooit tevreden zijn zolang

een neger in Mississippi niet kan stemmen en een neger in New York meent dat hij niets heeft om voor te stemmen. (Graaf “Droom” 584, emphasis mine)

This translation alternates between “wij kunnen *nooit* tevreden zijn” and “we kunnen *niet* tevreden zijn”. The same is done in my translation. This illustrates that whereas De Graaf and I use the strategy of translating source text repetition with equivalent source text repetition and have also translated variation with equivalent variation, Meerman has used the strategy of translating source text variation with source text repetition. This may be as a way to compensate for other instances where the repetition is omitted.

Metaphorical language and oppositions

In the translations of Meerman and De Graaf, most metaphors are translated with the same metaphors. This is also the dominant strategy in my translation. Consider for example, the following metaphor by King: “One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity” (King “Dream” 81). De Graaf translates this with “Een honderdtal jaren later leeft de neger op een eenzaam eiland van armoede temidden van een onmetelijke oceaan van materiële welvaart” (Graaf “Droom” 582). Meerman translates this with: “Honderd jaar later leeft de neger op een eenzaam eiland van armoede in een reusachtige oceaan van materiële voorspoed” (Meerman “Droom” 165). Similarly, I translate this with “Meer dan een eeuw later leeft de neger op een eenzaam eiland van armoede midden in een uitgestrekte oceaan van materiële welvaart”. Although the formulations are slightly different, all three translations have maintained the metaphor about an island in the ocean. Another example is the translation of “Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred” (King “Dream” 83). De Graaf translates this with “Laten wij niet proberen onze dorst naar vrijheid te lessen door te drinken uit de beker van verbittering en haat” (Graaf “Droom” 583). Meerman

translates this with “Laten wij onze dorst naar vrijheid niet proberen te lessen uit een beker van verbittering en haat” (Meerman “Droom” 166). I translate this with: “Laten we onze dorst naar vrijheid niet proberen te lessen door te drinken uit de beker van verbittering en haat.” Again, although the formulations vary slightly among each other, all three translations maintain the source text metaphor.

De Graaf’s translations are usually more ‘literal’ translations, whereas Meerman and I take more freedom to create idiomatic Dutch sentences. Consider for example De Graaf’s translation of “It [The Emancipation Proclamation] came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity” (King “Dream” 81) with “Hij kwam als een vreugdevolle zonsopgang om de lange nacht van gevangenschap te beëindigen” (Graaf “Droom” 582). Meerman has translated this sentence with: “Hij kwam als een majestitelijke zonsopgang na een lange nacht van gevangenschap” (Meerman “Droom” 165) and I have translated this with “Zij kwam als een vreugdevolle dageraad na een lange nacht van gevangenschap.” De Graaf’s translation of “to end the long night” with “om de lange nacht te beëindigen” can be seen as a more literal translation than “na een lange nacht”. My motivation for translating less literally, is that I considered that many sentences would otherwise sound marked or translated and because I was also considering the rhythm. It is likely that Meerman had similar considerations. De Graaf’s rather literal translation of metaphors seems to reflects his translation strategy in general. The more literal or the more free translations, however, do not change the metaphor itself.

Lastly, Meerman also uses the strategy of omitting the source text metaphor once, namely in his translation of the following passage:

We cannot walk alone. And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead. We cannot turn back. (King “Dream” 83-84).

In this passage, King uses the metaphor of walking to describe the struggle for freedom and equality. He argues that they cannot fight that struggle alone and that they must always fight to gain more rights and never accept that some of the rights gained will be taken away from them, because this would be like turning back. Meerman translates this with:

We hoeven de strijd niet alleen te voeren. En terwijl wij die voeren, moeten wij plechtig beloven om altijd door zullen gaan (sic). Teruggaan is onmogelijk. (Meerman "Droom" 166)

Here, Meerman omits the metaphor of walking and instead, uses a translation that renders the meaning of this metaphor overt. It is unclear why Meerman does this, although it is possible that he considered this a more idiomatic translation. The translation by De Graaf and my own translation maintain the metaphor. De Graaf translates King's metaphor with:

We kunnen de weg niet alleen gaan. En wanneer wij op weg gaan, moeten wij de eed doen dat wij voorop zullen marcheren. Wij kunnen niet terugkeren. (Graaf "Droom" 584)

I translate this with:

We kunnen deze weg niet alleen bewandelen. En terwijl we deze weg bewandelen, moeten we beloven dat we altijd vooruit zullen lopen. We kunnen niet omkeren.

Humour

With respect to humour, I have not found clear differences in use of translation strategies. In "I Have a Dream", King only uses more subtle humour and not explicit jokes, which are only made in "Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall".

Rhythm

In the translations by Meerman and De Graaf, the rhythm does not seem to be maintained. De Graaf translates rather literally, which often results in a somewhat wordy Dutch target text. This

breaks the rhythmic flow. Consider for example his translation of the passage in which King repeats “one hundred years later”:

Maar een honderdtal jaren moeten wij het tragische feit onder ogen zien dat de neger nog steeds niet vrij is. Een honderdtal jaren later is het leven van de neger nog steeds jammerlijk verlamd door de boeien van segregatie en de ketenen van discriminatie. Een honderdtal jaren later leeft de neger op een eenzaam eiland van armoede temidden van een onmetelijke oceaan van materiële welvaart. Een honderdtal jaren later kwijnt de neger nog steeds in de hoeken van de Amerikaanse samenleving en wordt hij er zich bewust van een banneling te zijn in zijn eigen land. (De Graaf “Droom” 582)

In this passage, the wordy translations like “moeten we het tragische feit onder ogen zien”, “is het leven van de neger nog steeds jammerlijk verlamd” en “wordt hij er zich bewust van een banneling te zijn in zijn eigen land”, interrupt the rhythmic flow of the text.

In Meerman’s translation, this passage is translated as follows:

Maar de neger is honderd jaar later nog steeds niet vrij. Honderd jaar later wordt het leven van een neger nog steeds bemoeilijkt door de kluisters van de rassenscheiding en de ketenen van discriminatie. Honderd jaar later leeft de neger op een eenzaam eiland van armoede in een reusachtige oceaan van materiële voorspoed. Honderd jaar later kwijnt de neger nog steeds weg in de uithoeken van de Amerikaanse samenleving en is hij een balling in eigen land. (Meerman “Droom” 165)

Meerman’s translation is less wordy. However, because of the relocation of ‘one hundred years later’ in the first sentence of this passage, the parallelism is less clear and the rhythmic repetition starts later. In addition, “**honderd jaar later**” does not seem to result in a cadence.

Explanations

The above analyses shows that there are many differences between my translation, the one made by De Graaf and the one made Meerman. It is difficult to explain these differences in approaches. Meerman seems to favour idiomatic translations over maintaining the rhetorical elements of King’s speech. This is not to say that he must have been ignorant of the fact that these are source text features. However, it seems that if he was aware of them, he has chosen to focus on different aspects, like creating a Dutch idiomatic text. This would be understandable considering the other

translations he made; in recipe books and thrillers, it is generally considered more important to create a target text that reads well than to focus on maintaining the author's style.

De Graaf's choices are even more difficult to explain because there is very little known about him. If it is true that he is not a translator by profession, than some of the apparent inconsistencies, like the fact that he chooses to use a Bible translation for King's citation of one Bible passage but a more literal translation for other passages, could be explained by inexperience. However, this is merely speculation.

It must be noted that this translation comparison was not made to pass judgment on these translators or to decide which translation is better. By analysing which translation strategies De Graaf and Meerman use to deal with the rhetorical elements of King's "I Have a Dream", I wanted to look at possible and desirable solutions to these translation problems from a different perspective. Above all, this translation comparison illustrates that there are many different ways to translate King's "I Have a Dream" and to deal with the rhetorical elements in this speech.

Conclusion

The aim of the present thesis was to assess the translations problems that arise when King's political speeches are translated into Dutch and to analyse which solutions are theoretically possible as well as which solutions are in practice desirable. The research question of this thesis was therefore formulated as follows: "Which problems arise in the translation of Martin Luther King's speeches into Dutch, which solutions are possible and which solutions are desirable?" I have focused on two of King's political speeches, "Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall" and "I Have a Dream". In this thesis, I looked at the problems and their solutions from a theoretical perspective as well as from a practical perspective based on self-made translations. Lastly, I analysed the problems and solutions from the perspective of two other translators by comparing their translations of "I Have a Dream" to mine and to each other. Throughout this thesis, special attention was given to the rhetorical strategies in King's speeches and the problems that these strategies pose for a translator. I have done this because I wanted to maintain the rhetorical strength of the source text and because these elements caused the most problems in the translation process. In this chapter, I will summarize my findings to answer the research question.

Martin Luther King was a Baptist minister and leader of the civil rights movement who wrote and recited political speeches in a segregated America, where blacks and whites were legally and practically treated as unequal to white people. In his speeches, he addressed these issues and argued for change through love and nonviolent protest and against hate, violence, separation and gradualism. Through his speeches, King wished to change the attitudes of his listeners as well as influence their behaviour. Consequently, he used rhetorical strategies to make his texts more persuasive.

In "Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall" and "I Have a Dream", the dominant

rhetorical strategies that King uses are intertextual references, repetition, metaphors, oppositions, humour and rhythm. For a translator, these rhetorical elements are all problems in their own right, because the translator will have to decide what to do with them.

By using intertextual references, King can speak in different voices and thereby address a varied audience. In theory, there are many different strategies to deal with intertextual references in the source text. A translator can use an existing translation of the source referred to, make a literal translation, add in-text or extratextual information to help the reader, introduce textual features that indicate that another source is cited, use a target text allusion instead of the source text allusion, rephrase the allusion to make the meaning overt, creatively construct a passage that reproduces the effects of the source text reference or omit the allusion.

In my own translations of “Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall” and “I Have a Dream”, I considered a combination of these strategies the desirable solution. I have used existing translations when these were available and I considered them useful, for instance in the case of King’s Bible citations. When there was no useful existing translation, I have either made a literal translation, when I considered this sufficient, or creatively constructed a passage that reproduced the effects of the source text citation, such as my the translations of King’s references to poems and songs. I have one time omitted the allusion, because I considered that the reference could only be maintained by creating a very marked formulation in the target text, which would weaken the text’s rhetorical strength. In addition, I have sometimes used end-notes as a form of extratextual information to explain that King refers to a specific source, in order for my readers, who have a different background and therefore different knowledge than the source text readers, to understand that King refers to these sources.

In their translations of “I Have a Dream”, De Graaf and Meerman have used different solutions. Most intertextual references seem to be ignored, and translated more literally, without

special attention to the fact that these are intertextual references. Meerman has not used the strategy of translating the reference with an existing translation. De Graaf has done this, but not consistently; for instance, one Bible passage is translated with the use of an existing Bible translation, but others are not. In addition, De Graaf and Meerman have not used the strategy of creatively constructing a passage that reproduces its effects; King's reference to a song in "I Have a Dream" is translated by both translators with a focus on maintaining only the content of the song.

By using repetition, King can lay emphasis on certain points, strengthen the emotional tone, and evoke the biblical context of his speeches. Theoretically, there are five possible solutions to the problem of repetition in a source text. Source text repetition can be translated with equivalent target text repetition, with variation, and with a modified form of target text repetition. In addition, the translator can ignore repetition as a characteristic of the source text or decide to translate source text variation with target text repetition as a compensation strategy.

I have predominantly translated source text repetition with equivalent target text repetition in both "Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall" and "I Have a Dream". Only when this created a target text that sounded more monotonous or strange, have I translated source text repetition with a modified form of repetition.

De Graaf and Meerman have also predominantly used the strategy of translating source text repetition with equivalent repetition in their translations of "I Have a Dream". However, there were some differences in the solutions that Meerman used. He has sometimes translated source text repetition with target text variation and one time, he translated source text variation with target text repetition. I have not found instances where the translators used the strategy of translating source text repetition with a modified form of repetition.

King uses metaphors, among which are oppositions, to paint images that appeal to his listener's feelings. When dealing with source text metaphors, the translator theoretically has four

options. He or she can translate the source text metaphor with the same or with a different metaphor, omit the source text metaphor or add a new metaphor to the target text.

In my translations of “Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall” and “I Have a Dream”, I have used only two of these strategies. In most cases, I have translated the source text metaphor with the same metaphor. Only when the differences between the English and the Dutch language forced me to make alterations to the source text metaphor, have I used the strategy of translating the metaphor with a different metaphor.

In their translations of “I Have a Dream”, De Graaf and Meerman have also translated most of the source text metaphors with the same metaphors. There are, however, also notable differences in the solutions which are used by them. De Graaf tends to translate the metaphors more literally than De Graaf and I do. In addition, Meerman uses the strategy of omitting a source text metaphor, which is not employed by De Graaf or me.

King uses humour to ridicule the ideas of his opponents. There are, in theory, five strategies that a translator can use as solutions to the problem of humour in the source text. He or she can translate the source text joke with the same joke, with a different joke of the same or of a different type, omit the source text joke or add a joke to the source text as a compensation strategy.

In my translation of “Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall”, I have translated King’s explicit jokes with the same jokes. In “I Have a Dream”, King only uses more subtle humour, for instance in the form of metaphors, to which these strategies are not applicable. As De Graaf and Meerman have only translated “I Have a Dream” and not “Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall”, I could not analyse the difference in translation strategies for this specific category.

By using rhythm, King creates a cadence in his speeches, which makes them pleasant to listen to. Rhythm can theoretically be translated in four ways: the rhythm can be translated with equivalent rhythm or with a different scheme that can fulfil a similar function in the target text, the

rhythm can be left out of the target text or rhythm can be added to parts of the target text as a compensation strategy. In my translation, I have translated the rhythm with similar, but not equivalent, rhythm in the target text, focussing specifically on the passages where King uses parallelism because this is where the rhythm is most obvious in the source text. In their translations, Meerman and De Graaf do not seem to have paid attention the rhythm of the source text.

In short, the rhetorical strategies, intertextual references, repetition, metaphors, oppositions, humour and rhythm can all cause problems for the translator. The solution to these problems is to decide upon one or more translation strategies. Although Meerman, De Graaf and I have sometimes chosen the same translation strategy, there are significant differences in this respect. It is difficult to explain these differences; trying to explain the choices of a translator – when these are not explicated in a foreword or otherwise explained – soon turns into speculation. In my translation I have focussed on maintaining the rhetorical source text elements and have therefore very rarely omitted one of these features; I have done this only once. Moreover, all my translations choices were made with special attention to the effect such a choice would have on the rhetorical strength of the text. It is very likely that De Graaf and Meerman have focused on other aspects in their translation.

In addition, apart from the rhetorical strategies, my translation analysis has shown other translation problems that arise when King's speeches are translated into Dutch. Some of these relate to the rhetorical strength of the source text and my wish to maintain this in a Dutch translation. In the act of translation, there is often the problem that a target text sounds marked or translated while the source text is idiomatic. In my translation, I wanted to use idiomatic sentences, because I considered this to add to the rhetorical strength of the text. I have used several solutions to this problem, such as inserting pragmatic participles, avoiding the continuous, rephrasing many of the source text personifications and translating idiomatic expressions with equivalent Dutch idiomatic expressions.

Another problem that occurs when translating King's speeches into Dutch, which is also related to the rhetorical strength of the source texts, is that the Dutch language is less compact than the English language and that consequently, Dutch translations of English texts often increase in size. However, I did not want to create a longer target text with longer sentences, because I considered that this too, could tone down the text's rhetorical strength. As a solution to this problem, I have often used shorter formulations in the target text to compensate for longer formulations at other places.

There were also problems that were unrelated to the rhetorical strength of the source text. Some of these problems had to do with the fact that the source text is a speech, like the question of what to do with the translation of transcript elements and mistakes. My solution was to maintain these elements because they illustrate that the text was originally a speech performed on stage. Lastly, King's speeches also posed more general problems that almost every translator is faced with when translating a text, like the fact that words, terms and concepts often have different connotative meanings in the source and the target culture. I have solved this problem by carefully considering the connotations of different translations and then choosing the option that best fits the target text.

In short, many problems arise when King's speeches are translated into Dutch and many different solutions are possible. It depends upon the aim of the target text and the translation assignment which problems arise and which solutions are considered desirable. In this thesis, I wanted to focus upon maintaining the rhetorical strength of the text. It therefore logically followed that many of the translation problems I faced and the solutions I choose were related to maintaining the rhetorical source text elements and creating a persuasive, rhetorical target text. Therefore, the findings of this thesis enhance our understanding of the translation of rhetorical texts with the purpose of maintaining its rhetorical strength.

However, this also means that there are several limitations to this thesis that have to be

acknowledged. By focusing on predetermined rhetorical strategies, less attention was given to other translation problems. This problem was partly solved by adding footnotes to the translations that focussed on other translation problems, but still only a limited amount of attention was given to these problems. Furthermore, this thesis has focussed on a translation for reading, not for performance on stage. Thereby, problems related to performability were not addressed, although the discussion about rhythm does relate to this issue. Lastly, this thesis has only focused on “I Have a Dream” and “Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall”. It is likely that in other speeches by King and other rhetorical speeches by other people, different translation problems are prominent. Therefore, further research could be taken in these areas.

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Picture used on the title page

The Picture used on the title page is made for this thesis by Liane Gaasendam, 14 July 2013.

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Appendices

Source Text: Address at the Freedom Rally in Cobo Hall

My good friend, the Reverend C.L. Franklin, and all of the officers and members of the Detroit Council of Human Rights, distinguished platform guests, ladies and gentlemen: I cannot begin to say to you this afternoon how thrilled I am, and I cannot begin to tell you the deep joy that comes to my heart as I participate with you in what I consider the largest and greatest demonstration for freedom ever held in the United States. [Applause] And I can assure you that what has been done here today will serve as a source of inspiration for all freedom-loving people of this nation. [Audience:] (All right) [Applause]

I think there is something else that must be said because it is a magnificent demonstration of discipline. With all of the thousands and hundreds of thousands of people engaged in this demonstration today, there has not been one reported incident of violence. [Applause] I think this is a magnificent demonstration of our commitment to nonviolence in this struggle for freedom all over the United States, and I want to commend the leadership of this community for making this great event possible and making such a great event possible through such disciplined channels. [Applause]

Almost one hundred and one years ago, on September the twenty-second, 1862, to be exact, a great and noble American, Abraham Lincoln, signed an executive order, which was to take effect on January the first, 1863. This executive order was called the Emancipation Proclamation and it served to free the Negro from the bondage of physical slavery. But one hundred years later, the Negro in the United States of America still isn't free. [Applause]

But now more than ever before, America is forced to grapple with this problem, for the shape of the world today does not afford us the luxury of an anemic democracy. And the price that this nation must pay for the continued oppression and exploitation of the Negro or any other minority group is the price of its own destruction. For the hour is late, and the clock of destiny is ticking out, and we must act now before it is too late. (Yeah) [Applause]

The events of Birmingham, Alabama, and the more than sixty communities that have started protest movements since Birmingham, are indicative of the fact that the Negro is now determined to be free. (Yeah) [Applause] For Birmingham tells us something in glaring terms. It says first that the Negro is no longer willing to accept racial segregation in any of its dimensions. [Applause] For we have come to see that segregation is not only sociologically untenable, it is not only politically unsound, it is morally wrong and sinful. Segregation is a cancer in the body politic, which must be removed before our democratic health can be realized. (Yeah) [Applause] Segregation is wrong because it is nothing but a new form of slavery covered up with certain niceties of complexity. [Applause] Segregation is wrong because it is a system of adultery perpetuated by an illicit intercourse between injustice and immorality. [Applause] And in Birmingham, Alabama, and all over the South and all over the nation, we are simply saying that we will no longer sell our birthright of freedom for a mess of segregated pottage. (All right) [Applause] In a real sense, we are through with segregation now, henceforth and forevermore. [Sustained applause]

Now Birmingham and the freedom struggle tell us something else. (Talk) They reveal to us that the Negro has a new sense of dignity and a new sense of self-respect. (Yes) For years (*That's right, Come a long way*) [Applause] – I think we will all agree that probably the most damaging effect of segregation has been what it has done to the soul of the segregated as well as the segregator. [Applause] It has given the segregator a false sense of superiority and it has left the segregated with a false sense of inferiority. (All right) [Applause] And so because of the legacy of slavery and segregation, many Negroes lost faith in themselves and many felt that they were inferior.

But then something happened to the Negro. Circumstances made it possible and necessary

for him to travel more: the coming of the automobile, the upheavals of two world wars, the Great Depression. And so his rural, plantation background gradually gave way to urban, industrial life. And even his economic life was rising through the growth of industry, the influence of organized labor, expanded educational opportunities. And even his cultural life was rising through the steady decline of crippling illiteracy. And all of these forces conjoined to cause the Negro to take a new look at himself. Negro masses [*Applause*], Negro masses all over began to reevaluate themselves, and the Negro came to feel that he was somebody. His religion revealed to him [*Laughter, applause*], his religion revealed to him that God loves all of His children and that all man are made in His image, and that figuratively speaking, every man from a bass black to a treble white is significant on God's keyboard. [*Applause*]

So, the Negro can now unconsciously cry out with the eloquent poet:

Fleecy locks and black complexion
Cannot forfeit nature's claim.
Skin may differ, but affection
Dwells in black and white the same.
Were I so tall as to reach the pole
Or to grasp at the ocean at a span,
It must be measured by my soul
The mind is the standard of the man. [*Applause*]

But these events that are taking place in our nation tell us something else. They tell us that the Negro and his allies in the white community now recognize the urgency of the moment. I know we have heard a lot of cries saying "Slow up" and "Cool off." [*Laughter*] We still hear these cries. They are telling us over and over again that you're pushing things too fast, and so they're saying, "Cool off." Well, the only answer that we can give to that is that we've cooled off all too long, and there is the danger, [*Applause*] there's always the danger if you cool off too much that you will end up in a deep freeze. [*Applause*] "Well," they're saying, "you need to put on brakes." The only answer that we can give to that is that the motor's now cranked up and we're moving up the highway of freedom toward the city of equality [*Applause*] and we can't afford to stop because our nation has a date with destiny. We must keep moving.

Then there is another cry. They say, "Why don't you do it in a gradual manner?" Well, gradualism is little more than escapism and do-nothingism, which ends up in stand-stillism. [*Applause*] We know that our brothers and sisters in Africa and Asia are moving with jetlike speed toward the goal of political independence. And in some communities we are still moving at horse-and-buggy pace toward the gaining of a hamburger and a cup of coffee at a lunch counter. [*Applause*]

And so we must say: Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to transform this pending national elegy into a creative psalm of brotherhood. Now is the time to lift our nation [*Applause*], now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of racial justice. Now is the time to get rid of segregation and discrimination. Now is the time. (*Now, now*) [*Applause*]

And so this social revolution taking place can be summarized in three little words. They are not big words. One does not need an extensive vocabulary to understand them. They are the words "all," "here," and "now." We want *all* of our rights, we want them *here*, and we want them *now*. This is the meaning. [*Applause*] [Recording interrupted]

Now the other thing that we must see about this struggle is that by and large it has been a nonviolent struggle. Let nobody make you feel that those who are engaged or who are engaging in the demonstrations in communities all across the South are resorting to violence; these are few in

number. For we've come to see the power of nonviolence. We've come to see that this method is not a weak method, for it's the strong man who can stand up amid opposition, who can stand up amid violence being inflicted upon him and not retaliate with violence. (*Yea!*) [Applause]

You see, this method has a way of disarming the opponent. It exposes his moral defenses. It weakens his morale, and at the same time works on his conscience, and he just doesn't know what to do. If he doesn't beat you, wonderful. If he beats you, you develop the quiet courage of accepting blows without retaliating. If he doesn't put you in jail, wonderful. Nobody with any sense likes to go to jail. But if he puts you in jail, you go in that jail and transform it from a dungeon of shame to a haven of freedom and human dignity. [Applause] And even if he tries to kill you (*He can't kill you*), you develop the inner conviction that there are some things so dear, some things so precious, some things so eternally true, that they are worth dying for. (*Yes*) [Applause] And I submit to you that if a man has not discovered something that he will die for, he isn't fit to live. [Applause]

This method has wrought wonders. As a result of the nonviolent Freedom Ride movement, segregation in public transportation has almost passed away absolutely in the South. As a result of the sit-in movement at lunch counters, more than 285 cities have now integrated their lunch counters in the South. I say to you, there is power in this method. [Applause]

And I think following this approach will also help us to go into the new age that is emerging with the right attitude. For nonviolence not only calls upon its adherents to avoid external physical violence, but it calls upon them to avoid internal violence of spirit. It calls on them to engage in that something called love. And I know it is difficult sometimes. When I say "love" at this point, I'm not talking about an affectionate emotion. (*All right*) It's nonsense to urge people, oppressed people, to love their oppressors in an affectionate sense. I'm talking about something much deeper. I'm talking about a sort of understanding, creative, redemptive goodwill for all men. [Applause]

We are coming to see now, the psychiatrists are saying to us, that many of the strange things that happen in the subconscious, many of the inner conflicts, are rooted in hate. And so they are saying, "Love or perish." But Jesus told us this long time ago, and I can still hear that voice crying through the vista of time, saying, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you." And there is still a voice saying to every potential Peter, "Put up your sword." History is replete with the bleached bones of nations; history is cluttered with the wreckage of communities that failed to follow his command. And isn't it marvelous to have a method of struggle where it is possible to stand up against an unjust system, fight it with all of your might, never accept it, and yet not stoop to violence and hatred in the process? This is what we have. [Applause]

Now there is a magnificent new militancy within the Negro community all across this nation. And I welcome this as a marvelous development. The Negro of America is saying he's determined to be free and he is militant enough to stand up. But this new militancy must not lead us to the position of distrusting every white person who lives in the United States. There are some white people in this country who are as determined to see the Negro free as we are to be free. [Applause] This new militancy must be kept within understanding boundaries.

And then another thing I can understand. We've been pushed around so long; we've been the victims of lynching mobs so long; we've been the victims of economic injustice so long – still the last hired and the first fired all of this nation. And I know the temptation. I can understand from a psychological point of view why some caught up in the clutches of the injustices surrounding them almost respond with bitterness and come to the conclusion that the problem can't be solved within, and they talk about getting away from it in terms of racial separation. But even though I can understand it psychologically, I must say to you this afternoon that this isn't the way. Black supremacy is as dangerous as white supremacy. [Applause] And oh, I hope you will allow me to say to you this afternoon that God is not interested merely in the freedom of black men and brown men

and yellow men. God is interested in the freedom of the whole human race. [Applause] And I believe that with this philosophy and this determined struggle we will be able to go on in the days ahead and transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood.

As I move toward my conclusion, you're asking, I'm sure, "What can we do here in Detroit to help in the struggle in the South?" Well, there are several things that you can do. One of them you've done already, and I hope you will do it in even greater dimensions before we leave this meeting. [Recording interrupted]

Now the second thing that you can do to help us down in Alabama and Mississippi and all over the South is to work with determination to get rid of any segregation and discrimination in Detroit, [Applause] realizing that injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. And we've got to come to see that the problem of racial injustice is a national problem. No community in this country can boast of clean hands in the area of brotherhood. Now in the North it's different in that it doesn't have the legal sanction that it has in the South. But it has its subtle and hidden forms and it exists in three areas: in the area of employment discrimination, in the area of housing discrimination, and in the area of de facto segregation in the public schools. And we must come to see that de facto segregation in the North is just as injurious of the, as the actual segregation in the South. [Applause] And so if you want to help us in Alabama and Mississippi and over the South, do all that you can to get rid of the problem here.

And then we also need your support in order to get the civil rights bill that the president is offering passed. And that's a reality, let's not fool ourselves: This bill isn't going to get through if we don't put some work in it and some determined pressure. And this is why I've said that in order to get this bill through, we've got to arouse the conscience of the nation, and we ought to march to Washington more than a hundred thousand in order say [Applause], in order to say that we are determined, and in order to engage in a nonviolent protest to keep this issue before the conscience of the nation. And if we will do this we will be able to bring that new day of freedom into being. If we will do this we will be able to make the American dream a reality.

And I do not want to give you the impression that it's going to be easy. There can be no great social gain without individual pain. And before the victory for brotherhood is won, some will have to get scarred up a bit. Before the victory is won, some more will be thrown into jail. Before the victory is won, some, like Medgar Evers, may have to face physical death. But if physical death is the price that some must pay to free their children and their white brothers from an eternal psychological death, then nothing can be more redemptive. Before the victory is won, some will be misunderstood and called bad names, but we must go on with a determination and with a faith that this problem can be solved. (Yeah) [Applause]

And so I go back to the South not in despair. I go back to the South not with a feeling that we are caught in a dark dungeon that will never lead to a way out. I go back believing that the new day is coming. And so this afternoon, I have a dream. (*Go ahead*) It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

I have a dream that one day, right down in Georgia and Mississippi and Alabama, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to live together as brothers.

I have a dream this afternoon (*I have a dream*) that one day, [Applause] one day little white children and little Negro children will be able to join hands as brothers and sisters.

I have a dream this afternoon that one day, [Applause] one day men will no longer burn down houses and the church of God simply because people want to be free.

I have a dream this afternoon (*I have a dream*) that there will be a day that will no longer face the atrocities that Emmett Till had to face or Medgar Evers had to face, but that all men can live with dignity.

I have a dream this afternoon (*Yeah*) that my four little children, that my four little children will not come up in the same young days that I came up within, but they will be judged on the basis of the content of their character, and not the color of their skin. [*Applause*]

I have a dream this afternoon that one day right here in Detroit, Negroes will be able to buy a house or rent a house anywhere that their money will carry them and they will be able to get a job. [*Applause*] (*That's right*)

Yes, I have a dream this afternoon that one day in this land the words of Amos will become real and justice will roll down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream.

I have a dream this evening that one day we will recognize the words of Jefferson that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." I have a dream this afternoon. [*Applause*]

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. [*Applause*]

I have a dream this afternoon that the brotherhood of man will become a reality in this day.

And with this faith I will go out and carve a tunnel of hope through the mountaintop of despair. With this faith, I will go out with you and transform dark yesterdays into bright tomorrows. With this faith, we will be able to achieve this new 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 with the Negroes in the spiritual of old:

Free at last! Free at last!

Thank God Almighty, we are free at last! [*Applause*]

Delivered in Detroit, Michigan, 23 June 1963

Source Text: I Have a Dream

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]

Fivescore 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.

But one hundred years later, the Negro is still not free. [Audience:] (*My Lord*) 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 (*My Lord*) [Applause], 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 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, 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." [Sustained applause]

But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. (*My Lord*) [Laughter] (*Sure enough*) We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. 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. [Applause]

We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of now. This is no time (*My Lord*) to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. [Applause] Now is the time 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 [Applause] 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. Nineteen sixty-three is not an end, but a beginning. 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. [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 or 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*) [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. Again and again, we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force. 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. [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. We can never be satisfied [Applause] as long as our bodies, heavy with 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. 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] 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. (Yes) [Applause] No, no, we are not satisfied and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream. [Applause]

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. Some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution (Yes) 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. Go back to Mississippi (Yes), go back to Alabama (Yes), 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. (Yes) Let us not wallow in the valley of despair.

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

I have a dream that one day (Yes) 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." (Yes) [Applause]

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 (*Well*), sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream (*Well*) [Applause] 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. (*My Lord*) I have a dream today. [Applause]

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" (Yes), one day 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]

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

This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the South with. (Yes) With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. (Yes) With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nations into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. (*Talk about it*) With this faith (*My Lord*) 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. [*Applause*] This will be the day [*Applause continues*], this will be the day when all of God's children (*Yes*) will be able to sing with new meaning:

My country, 'tis of thee (*Yes*), sweet land of liberty,
of thee I sing,
Land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrim's pride (*Yes*),
From every mountainside, let freedom ring!

And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true. And so let freedom ring (*Yes*) 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. (*Yes, That's right*)

Let freedom ring from the snowcapped Rockies of Colorado. (*Well*)

Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California. (*Yes*)

But not only that: Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia. (*Yes*)

Let freedom ring from the Lookout Mountain of Tennessee. (*Yes*)

Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi. (*Yes*)

From every mountainside, let freedom ring. [*Applause*]

And when this happens [*Applause continues*], when we allow freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city (*Yes*), 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 the words of the old Negro spiritual:

Free at last! (*Yes*) Free at last!

Thank God Almighty, we are free at last! [*Applause*]

Delivered at the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, Washington, D.C., 28 August 1963

Dutch Bible Translations

De Nieuwe Bijbel- vertaling	Groot Nieuws Bijbel	Herziene Staten- vertaling	NBG- vertaling	Staten- vertaling (Jongbloed- editie)	Wilibrord- vertaling 1995	Staten- vertaling editie 1977	Lutherse vertaling 1648	Staten- vertaling 1637
En ik zeg jullie: heb je vijanden lief en bid voor wie jullie vervolgen	Maar ik zeg u: heb uw vijanden lief en bid voor wie u vervolgen	.Maar Ik zeg u: Heb uw vijanden lief; zegen hen die u vervloeken; doe goed aan hen die u haten; en bid voor hen die u beledigen en u vervolgen;	Maar Ik zeg u: Hebt uw vijanden lief en bidt voor wie u vervolgen	Maar Ik zeg u: Het uw vijanden lief; zegent ze, bidt voor wie je vervloeken; doet wel dengenen, die u haten; en bidt voor degenen die u geweld doen, en die u vervolgen	Maar Ik zeg jullie: heb je vijanden lief en bidt voor wie je vervloeken; doet wel dengenen, die u haten; en bidt voor degenen die u geweld doen, en die u vervolgen.	Maar Ik zeg u: Hebt uw vijanden lief; zegent ze, die u vervloeken; doet wel aan hen, die u haten; en bidt voor hen, die u geweld doen, en die u vervolgen.	Maer Ick segge u: Hebt lief uwe vyanden; segent die u vloecken; zegent' se die u doet wel den genen, die u haten; biddet voor gene, die u leet aen-doen ende vervolgen;	Maer ick segge u, Hebt uwe vyanden lief, segent'se die u vervloecken, doet wel den genen die u haten; bidden voor de genen die u gewelt doen, ende die u vervolgen

Table 3: Dutch Translations of Matthew 5:44

In King's speech: “But Jesus told us (...) ‘Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you’” (King “Freedom Rally” 67).

In King James Version: But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you

In my translation: “Maar Jezus vertelde ons (...) ‘Heb uw vijanden lief, zegen hen die u vervloeken en bid voor hen die u beledigen’”

De Nieuwe Bijbel- vertaling	Groot Nieuws Bijbel	Herziene Staten- vertaling	NBG- vertaling	Staten- vertaling (Jongbloed- editie)	Wilibrord- vertaling 1995	Staten- vertaling editie 1977	Lutherse vertaling 1648	Staten- vertaling 1637
Daarop zei Jezus tegen hem: ‘Steek je zwaard terug op zijn plaats (...)’	Maar Jezus zei: ‘Steek je zwaard weer bij je (...)’	Toen zei Jezus tegen hem: ‘Doe uw zwaard terug op zijn plaats (...)’	Toen zeide Jezus tot hem: ‘Breng uw zwaard weder op zijn plaats (...)’	Toen zeide Jezus tot hem: ‘Keer uw zwaard weder in zijn plaats (...)’	Toen zei Jezus tegen hem: ‘Steek je zwaard weer op zijn plaats (...)’	Toen zeide Jezus tot hem: ‘Keer uw zwaard weer in zijn plaats (...)’	Doe sprack Iesus tot hem: ‘Steeckt uw’ sweert in sijne plaetse (...)’	Doe seyde Iesus tot hem, Keert uw’ sweerdt weder in sijne plaetse (...)’

Table 4: Dutch translations of Matthew 26:52

In King’s speech: “And there is still a voice saying to every potential Peter, ‘Put up your sword’”

In King James Version: “Then said Jesus unto him, Put up again thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword”

In my translation: “En er is nog steeds een stem die tegen elke potentiele Peter zegt, ‘Doe uw zwaard terug op zijn plaats.’”

De Nieuwe Bijbel- vertaling	Groot Nieuws Bijbel	Herziene Staten- vertaling	NBG- vertaling	Staten- vertaling (Jongbloed- editie)	Wilibrord- vertaling 1995	Staten- vertaling editie 1977	Lutherse vertaling 1648	Statenvertalin g 1637
Laat liever het recht stromen als water, en de gerechtigheid als een altijd voortvloeiende beek.	Zorg liever dat het recht zijn loop heeft en dat gerechtigheid een bedding vindt als een nooit opdrogende beek.	Laat het recht stromen als water, de gerechtigheid als een altijd stromende beek.	Maar laat het recht als water golven, en gerechtigheid als een sterke beek.	Maar laat het oordeel zich daarhenen wenden als de wateren, en de gerechtigheid als een sterke beek.	Nee, het recht moet stromen gerechtigheid als een nooit opdrogende beek.	Maar laat het oordeel zich als water, de daarheen wenden als de wateren, en de gerechtigheid als een sterke beek.	Maer het recht sal geopenbaert worden, als daer henen water; ende de gerechtigheydt, als een stercke stroom.	Maer laat het oordeel sich wentelen als de wateren: ende de gerechticheyt als eene stercke beke.

Table 5. Dutch Translations of Amos 5:24

In King's Speech: “Yes, I have a dream this afternoon that one day in this land the words of Amos will become real and justice will roll down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream” (King “Freedom Rally” 72) and “No, no, we are not satisfied and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream” (King “Dream” 84).

In King James Version: “But let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream”

In my translation: “Ja, ik heb deze middag een droom dat op een dag in dit land de woorden van Amos werkelijkheid zullen worden en dat het recht zal stromen als water en de gerechtigheid als een altijd stromende beek” en “Nee, nee, we zijn niet tevreden en we zullen niet tevreden zijn totdat het recht stroomt als water en de gerechtigheid als een altijd stromende beek”

De Nieuwe Bijbel- vertaling	Groot Nieuws Bijbel	Herziene Staten- vertaling	NBG- vertaling	Staten- vertaling (Jongbloed- editie)	Wilibrord- vertaling 1995	Staten- vertaling editie 1977	Lutherse vertaling 1648	Staten- vertaling 1637
Laat elke vallei verhoogd worden en elke berg en heuvel verlaagd, laat ruig land vlak worden en rotsige hellingen rustige dalen. De luister van de heer zal zich openbaren voor het oog van al wat leeft (...)	Hoog dalen op, graaf bergen en heuvels af, trek bochten recht, maak wat oneffen is vlak. Dan zal de heer verschijnen in al zijn majesteit, heel de mensheid zal getuige zijn (...)	Alle dalen zullen verhoogd worden, alle bergen en heuvels zullen verlaagd worden wat krom is, zal recht worden; wat rotsachtig is, zal tot een vlakte worden. Heren zal zich openbaren, en al van de HEERE zal geopenbaard worden, en alle vlees tezamen	Elke dal worde verhoogd en elke berg en heuvel geslecht, en het oneffene verlaagd worden wat krom is, zal recht worden; wat rotsachtig is, zal tot een vlakte worden. Heren zal zich openbaren, en al van de HEERE zal geopenbaard worden, en alle vlees tezamen	Alle dalen zullen verhoogd worden, en alle bergen en heuvels zullen vernederd worden; en wat rotsboden tot een vallei. En de heerlijkheid des heerlijkheden tezamen zal dit zien (...)	Elke dal moet worden opgehoogd, en elke berg en heuvel moet heuvel moet worden afgegraven; krom is, dat zal rech, en wat moeten vlak dat zal tot een vallei gemaakt worden. En de heerlijkheid des heerlijkheden de HEER zal geopenbaard	Alle dalen zullen verhoogd worden, en alle bergen en heuvels zullen vernederd worden; en wat krom is, dat zal rech, en wat moeten vlak dat zal tot een vallei gemaakt worden. En de heerlijkheid des heerlijkheden de HEER zal geopenbaard	Alle dalen sullen verhoogt worden, ende alle bergen ende heuvelen sullen vernedert worden: ende wat ongelijk is, dat sal effen; ende wat hobbelachtigh is, dat sal geslecht worden. Want de heerlijckheyt des HEEREN	Alle dalen sullen verhoocht worden, ende alle bergen ende alle bergen ende heuvelen sullen vernedert worden: ende wat crom is, dat sal recht, ende wat hobbelachtich is, dat sal tot een valeye gemaect worden. Ende de Heerlickheyt

		zal het zien (...)		worden; en alle vlees te gelijk zal het zien (...)	en alle mensen zullen haar zien (...)	worden; en alle vlees tegelijk zal zien (...)	sal geopenbaert worden; ende alle vleesch te gelijck sal sien (...)	des HEEREN sal geopenbaert worden: ende alle vleesch te gelijck sal sien (...)
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Table 6: Dutch translations of Isaiah 40:4-5

In King's speech: “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” (King “Freedom Rally” 72; King “Dream” 85-86).

In King James Version: Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain: And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

In my translation: “Ik heb een droom dat op een dag, alle dalen verhoogd zullen worden, alle bergen en heuvels verlaagd zullen worden, wat krom is, recht zal worden en wat rotsachtig is, tot een vlakte zal worden en de heerlijkheid van de Heere geopenbaard zal worden en alle vlees tezamen het zal zien.”