The Metaphor: A Rhetorical Tool in Some Selected Speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Kwame Nkrumah

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Abstract

The metaphor, together with other rhetorical figures, was first identified and discussed over two thousand years ago in classical antiquity (Todorov, 1982) and has been effectively used by politicians and has thus become the subject of rhetorical studies in modern times.

It is a prominent tool in the political discourse of King and Nkrumah who have been considered as great speakers of their time. Taking a qualitative approach, the study examines the place of metaphor in the political discourse of these two speakers.

In particular, this paper is informed by the following questions: What role does metaphor play in the rhetoric of Martin Luther King Jr. and Kwame Nkrumah? Are there some major similarities and differences in their use of the metaphor in their political discourse? Is there a relationship between their backgrounds and their choice of metaphors?

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The paper is based on Lakoff's theory of metaphor (1980) which places metaphor at the centre of human cognition.

The results of the analysis indicated that, first, both speakers use metaphors to paint the debilitating conditions of their people. Secondly, while King employs a lot of non violent metaphors to demonstrate his nonviolent movement, Nkrumah uses a number of militant metaphors to emphasize his sense of urgency for Africa's decolonization. Thirdly, King uses religious metaphors to identify himself with his audience whilst Nkrumah uses a number of secular metaphors which reflect his socialist worldview.

This study therefore has implication for Lakoff's theory which underscores the metaphor as an underlying factor in human cognitive process. It further shows that metaphor, regardless of the sociocultural contexts in which they are used contributes to the effectiveness of political discourse.

Key words: Metaphor, Rhetoric, Cognition, Domains, Speeches

Introduction

Martin Luther King, Jr.

The metaphor, together with other rhetorical figures, was first identified and discussed over two thousand years ago in classical antiquity (Todorov, 1982). Since this period, rhetorical scholars have been concerned with how to employ the most effective ways to use rhetorical figures (schemes and tropes) for effective communication. The metaphor has become a quintessential tool not only in the area of language research but scientific discovery, design, mathematics and psychology and in computing (Fauconnier & Turner, 2008) and more importantly in rhetorical discourse. In this paper, I argue that the metaphor, an important tropic tool, is a dominant and prominent rhetorical tool in the political speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr and Kwame Nkrumah.

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There seems to be enough evidence the practice of rhetoric is not alien to Africa (Finnegan, 1970; Yankah, 1980, 1989). Though the establishment of the art (rhetoric) has been well planted in the western world, it had largely been based on Greek and Roman prescriptions (Bathes, 1970; Monfils, 1974) and for that much no such claim has been made about the African rhetorical tradition. King from the West and Nkrumah from Africa have been acclaimed as great public speakers. Interestingly, great public speakers are regarded as individuals who have mastered the language tools in the art of rhetoric, either through formal or informal means. Again I argue that metaphor, a rhetorical figure, is a prominent tool in the political speeches of King and Nkrumah.

For a meaningful identification and description of the problem, the following questions are pertinent:

1. What role does metaphor play in the rhetoric of King and Nkrumah?
2. Are there any similarities and differences between the two speakers in how they use metaphor as a rhetorical device?
3. Is there any relationship between the backgrounds of the two speakers and their use of the metaphor?

These questions are based on the hypothesis that:
a) That metaphors play a significant role in the persuasive strategies of King and Nkrumah.
b) That King and Nkrumah have some differences and similarities in their use of metaphor.
c) That their unique backgrounds influence their choice of metaphors

Focus of This Study

The research is not a study of the ideological content of the political speeches. Therefore, the content analysis will be limited to metaphors that have been employed in selected data.

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Again, in as much as the writer agrees that there are other important tropic and schematic figures which may contribute to the rhetoric process, this paper does not seek to examine any of such figures since the spotlight is on metaphor.

Lastly, this paper does not intend to take into consideration the responses of the immediate or remote audience of the selected speeches which forms the main data for the study. Though that could have been a useful response but that can be a focus of a different paper, for this paper intends to focus on the metaphor as a linguistic entity independent of the audience emotions and feelings.

We will begin the discussion by first trying to establish the metaphor as a rhetorical figure, tracing the theoretical development of the metaphor. There will be an exposition on the methodology for the work, after which we will analyze the use of metaphors by King and Nkrumah. The implications of the selection of these metaphors will be discussed and conclusions drawn.

Metaphor and Rhetorical Figures

As indicated earlier on, the metaphor and other rhetorical figures were discovered since classic antiquity and there have been various challenges associated with the process of systemization (McQuarrie, 1996). According to McQuarrie (1996) modern efforts at systemization began with Jacobson and Halle (1956) and Burke (1950). In justifying the metaphor as a rhetorical figure, McQuarrie (1996) renders it perfectly:

> A rhetorical figure has traditionally been defined as an artful deviation (Corbett, 1990). More formally, a rhetorical figure occurs when an expression deviates from normal expectation, the expression is not rejected as nonsensical or faulty, the deviation occurs at the level of form rather than content, and the deviation conforms to a template that is invariant across a variety of content and contexts (McQuarrie & Mick, 1996). The exact nature of the deviation that constitutes a figure has been the subject of dispute (Cohen, 1982; Genette, 1982). For classical authors, a figure was an artful deviation from the normal or ordinary manner of expression (Corbett, 1990). However, it has been shown that metaphor and other figurative expressions are common in everyday speech (Todorov, 1982). Hence, we choose the term expectation to overcome the difficulties associated with defining figures as abnormalities.
>
> In terms of Speech Act theory, every communication encounter sets up expectations as it proceeds, and more general expectations that hold across encounters function as conventions or constraints (Grice, 1989). With respect to metaphor, for instance, listeners are

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> aware of conventions with respect to the use of words, one of
> which might be formulated as, words are generally used to convey
> one of the lead meanings given in their dictionary entry.
> According to Sperber and Wilson (1986), listeners know exactly
> what to do when a speaker violates a convention: they therefore
> search for a context that will make the statement intelligible.

Now that we have made an effort in showing the metaphor as a rhetorical figure we can try and define the metaphor and place it in a theoretical frame for the purpose of the study.

Definition of the Metaphor
The classical notion of the metaphor is very different from modern views associated with the concept. Aristotle (1991) sees the metaphor in two parts. That something is something else. He claims that metaphor has two main discursive locations the place where it has originated from and the place to which it has been transferred.

According to Aristotle, the two main parts of the metaphor work on each other by sharing some obvious feature. Max Black (1962) offers a different view on the metaphor. He refers to Aristotle's theory as a comparison theory in which there are pre-existing similarities between the two things being compared. According to Black, when we say "man is a wolf" we do not simply rub onto man the pre-existing characteristics of a wolf but rather get man newly involved in a system of commonplace or an "implicative complex" about wolf. For Black this metaphor: "man is a wolf" changes our notion about both man and wolf. This is a major departure from the classical notion of the metaphor.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) claim that our conceptual framework, in terms of the way human beings think and act, is metaphoric in nature. In other words, they place the human act of cognition in the centre. The result they present is that cognition is vitally dependent on metaphor, which they define as a mapping of conceptual structures from one domain onto another.

The essential thrust of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) work is the argument that metaphors are primarily a conceptual construction, and indeed are central to the development of thought. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), in metaphor interpretation we understand one kind of thing or experience in terms of something else of a different kind. For example, in the conceptual metaphor "love is a journey", we understand a love relationship in terms of a journey. In this metaphor, the structure of a journey is mapped unto the structure of a love or marriage relationship so that we can see some similarities between journey and a love relationship.

To Lakoff and Turner (1989), the metaphorical mapping is uni-directional: that is using a metaphor to map certain conceptual properties of a conceptual source domain unto a

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conceptual target domain thereby creating a new understanding of the target domain. Therefore the mapping takes place at the conceptual level.

Unidirectionality

Lakoff and Turner (1989) posit that metaphorical mapping goes in one direction. They indicate that unidirectional mapping is from SD (source domain) to TD (target domain) and not the reverse. They use the example of the conceptual metaphors LIFE IS A JOURNEY and make the claim that we organize our understanding of life in terms of a journey. According to them:

> We map unto the domain of life the inferential structure –
> underlying journey, but we do not map unto the domain of journey
> the inferential structure - underlying life.

To support their claim, Lakoff and Turner (1989) show some properties of life such as walking and sleeping cannot map unto journeys. They further point out the fact that we do not assume travellers would have only a single journey just as people can have a single life. They therefore conclude that the direction of metaphorical mapping is from source domain to a target domain.

Bi-directionality

The interactive theory has mainly been champion by Black (1979). According to him, the two domains in the metaphorical mapping, that is the source and the target or the vehicle and the tenor, are bi-directional in the way they interact with each other. According to Black:

> In the simplest formation, when we use metaphor we have two
> thoughts of different things active together and supported by a
> single word, or phrase whose meaning is a result of the interaction.

Black further elaborates on the interactive theory by indicating that the metaphor is like a filter. According to Gibbs (1994), Black explains the theory that, in a statement like "man is a wolf" Black refers to 'man' as the principal subject and 'wolf' as the subsidiary subject. Here, the purpose of understanding the metaphorical statement is not so much in understanding the dictionary meaning of 'wolf' but accepting a set of standard beliefs accepted to a community which he refers to as 'commonplace' so therefore a person who refers to someone as 'wolf' would be invoking 'the wolf system' which is common to the community. In referring to man as a 'wolf' he could be referred to be a scavenger, fierce, hungry and so on.

According to Black, these implied assertions need to be made to fit the principal (subject man). A hearer of the metaphor will be led by the 'wolf' system to construct a corresponding

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system of implications about the principal subject 'man' which will no longer be the literal use of 'man.' Black however continues to say that:

> These new implications will not be those comprised in the commonplace normally implied by literal uses of "man". The new implications must be determined by the pattern of implications associated with the literal uses of the word "wolf"

Blacks' interactive theory (1979) has ever since attracted a myriad of criticisms. Gibbs (1994) shows how the interactive theory does not show the criterion for deciding which attributes of the implicative complex of the vehicle domain (wolf) fits the implicative complex of the target domain (man). There has been another view of the interactive theory. This view holds that both the topic and vehicle in the metaphor result in a reciprocal change of meaning. Hausman (1989), a proponent of the latter view, hold that either of the key terms may function as the lens or filter of a metaphor. So according to the proponents of the interactive view, metaphorical mapping is bi-directional.

Conceptual Blending
There is also a third view of the problem of direction between the two domains in metaphorical mapping. This framework, proposed by Fauconnier and Turner (1994, 1998), claims that there is a selection from both attributes (topic and vehicle) unto a newly established intermediate domain which is known as 'blending', 'conceptual blending' or 'conceptual integration' (Grady, 1999). This framework has received a lot of attention from leading scholars of cognition (Mandelblit, Sweetser, 2000, 1997; Grady, 1999; Coulson, 1997; Hutchins, 2005; Nunez, 2005).

Differences

Since I do not intend to use blending framwork (BT) for the current study, I will simply highlight the differences and similarities of the conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) and blending theory (BT) frameworks as stated by Grady:

> both approaches treat metaphor as a conceptual rather than a purely linguistic phenomenon; both involve systematic projection of language, imagery and inferential structure between conceptual domains; both propose constraints on this projection; and so forth. However, there are also important differences between the approaches: CMT posits relationships between pairs of mental representations, while blending theory (BT) allows for more than two; CMT has defined metaphor as a strictly directional phenomenon, while BT has not; and, whereas CMT analyses are typically concerned with entrenched conceptual relationships (and

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the ways in which they may be elaborated), BT research often focuses on novel conceptualizations which may be short-lived.

Some of these differences outlined by Grady (1999) are also highlighted by Croft and Cruse (2004). It can be realized that though there are some remarkable differences between the two frameworks, they share some common grounds. Though the blending theory has received a lot of attention recently, I find Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) framework quite relevant for the purpose of the present study. We should also be reminded by the fact that blending theory is not in competition with conceptual metaphor theory but rather presupposes it (Croft and Cruse, 2004). In addition, according to Joseph Grady (1999) blending theory is only complementary to the efforts of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980).

CMT has received a barrage of criticisms in which scholars question some of the principles it postulates (see Gibbs, 1994; Cienki, 2005). While some of these are waiting for answers, they (criticisms) do not take away some of the more important features of CMT to facilitate in our understanding of some 'entrenched conceptual relationships' (Grady, 1999).

Methodology

With the sampling of the data, I selected speeches of King and Nkrumah from published books. A collection of speeches of King (1992) was used for the research. For Nkrumah, volumes of his speeches by Samuel Obeng (1997) were used for the study. In all, ten speeches were selected for the study - five each for King and Nkrumah respectively. They are as follows: "The Power of Nonviolence"(1958), "Speech Before the Youth March for Integrated Schools"(1959), "I Have a Dream" (1963), "Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech"(1964) "I See the Promised Land"(1968), "Ghana's Republic is Born" (1960), "At the United Nations"(1960), "Casablanca Conference" (1961), "The Kwame Nkrumah Institute" (1961) and "Peace and Progress: the Conference of Non-Aligned States" (1964). The speeches were speeches made by the King and Nkrumah within a ten year period: from 1958 to 1968. This decade was quite significant because it marked the climactic moments in their career as freedom fighters.

The Coding of Metaphors

With the method for the coding of the metaphors in the speeches, the procedure used was the Pragglejas group (2007) method for the coding of metaphorically used lexical units in a given text.

1. Read the entire-discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
2. Determine the lexical units in the text-discourse.
3. (a) For each lexical units in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation or attribute in the situation evoked by the

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text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.

(b) For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be

- More concrete; what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell and taste.
- Related to bodily action.
-More precise (as opposed to vague)
- Historically older.

Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.

(c) If the lexical unit has a more basic current-contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.

4. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical.

Analysis

To achieve a validity of the research as prescribed by the Pragglejas group (2007), a research assistant was trained in using the MIP to identify the metaphors in the selected speeches. This was an effort "to achieve inter-coder reliability in the identification of conceptual metaphors which may underlie the metaphoric expressions being analyzed" (Cienki, 2005) in the selected speeches for the study.

It was agreed that single words should be considered as single lexical units unless there were compound words in any of the sentences analyzed whose meaning were derived by the putting together of the two words in the compound.

The two analysts (research assistant and I) spent three days in coding the metaphorical units. On the fourth day, we discussed the analyzed speeches and reached a very good agreement on the metaphorical units. With King's speeches there were 152 metaphorical units out of 425 sentences. For Nkrumah's speeches, there was a total of 431sentences and 141 metaphorical units. Therefore, we totally agreed on 293 metaphorical units in the ten selected speeches. Cohen's Kappa was computed at .72.

Analysis of Data and Discussion

At this point, it is important to ask the research questions: what role does metaphor play in the rhetoric of King and Nkrumah?

The Role of Metaphor in the Rhetoric of King

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To respond to the first question, metaphors are used by King first to paint the debilitating conditions of the black people in America as a result of segregation. The bleak conditions of the blackman are seen through discrimination, poverty, battery and many others which highlight the atrocities of the blackman in the American society. Some of these metaphors are captured in the following statements:

(a) the Negro is still crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination…'

(b) I am mindful that debilitating and grinding poverty afflicts my people and chains them to the lowest rung of the economic ladder

(c) Some of you have come from where your quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality.

In (a) some concepts of the domain 'cripple' which is the source is been mapped unto two target domains 'segregation' and 'discrimination'. Thus, segregation and discrimination receive the properties of destruction, being disabled, pain, discomfort etc. Therefore in this metaphor, the target domains become associated with these unpleasant conditions. This metaphor is seen as complex because the two target domains have their own 'secondary' domains (manacles and chains) which further give meaning to the main source domain.

In (b), the source domain 'poverty' through the verb 'afflicts' evokes the concepts of suffering, disease, calamity and so on unto the target domain.

In (c), there are two source domains: battered and staggered. The first is 'battered' brings to the fore concepts like 'damaged', 'beat up' and 'violent treatment.' The second source domain seems a sequel to the first source domain. Concepts like 'to walk in an uncontrolled way', 'continue in great difficulty' and to 'be shocked and surprised.' Thus after the black people are beaten severely through their search for freedom, they begin to 'stagger' on in their walk.

The concepts from the two source domains are mapped effectively unto the two target domains respectfully, namely: 'persecution' and police brutality.' These conceptual associations are quite uni-directional (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) and therefore they evoke a certain feelings among listeners towards black people who are the reference of the target domain 'people'.

Secondly, King employs metaphors to express hope for the black people on the American continent and beyond. The feeling is hope is captured in many metaphorical concepts in the data. Below are some illustrations:

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(d) And then we will be able to move from the bleak and desolate midnight of man's inhumanity to man to the bright and glittering daybreak of freedom and justice.

(e) 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.

The expression of hope is vividly captured by King in some conceptual metaphors. In example (d), the source domain 'bright and glittering day break' brings out concepts like 'happiness', 'new era', 'new opportunities'. These are mapped unto the target 'freedom and justice.' 'Freedom and justice', the target domain in example (e) now receives conceptual associations such as 'satisfaction', 'quenching of one's thirst', 'rest' and so on. These positive target domains expressing hope for the future of the black people earlier on, in their individual context, contrasted with bleak situations: daybreak with midnight; oasis with sweltering heat.

Thirdly, King uses metaphors to draw attention to his fellow black people about the need to pursue the fight for desegregation nonviolently. This view is presented in metaphors like:

(f) Let us not satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred.

(g) With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood.

The above metaphors, (f) and (g) draw attention to the need for black people to be nonviolent. There is the direct mapping of the concepts of 'unity', 'understanding' and 'cohesion' from the source domain of 'symphony' unto brotherhood, the target domain. For King, this is the basic principle his fellow blacks should be guided by.

The Role of Metaphor in the Rhetoric of Nkrumah

- Nkrumah on the other hand, uses metaphor to show the anger and the energy which is needed to fight colonialism.
-
   (h) The devastation which they have wrought in Africa is without parallel anywhere in the history of the world, but now Africans have arrived on the scene. We have arrested their progress and are determined to give battle with the forces at our command until we have achieved the total liberation of the African continent.

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(i) Now that the blazing fire of African nationalism sweeps everything before it in our continent… Let us determine more than ever before to crush colonialism and imperialism from the face of our beautiful Africa.

In (h), the use of 'arrest' may suggest concepts like authority, force which are imputed on 'Africans'. Africans are also presented as the police ready to enforce law and order in the face of disorder and confusion in society. In (i) 'crush colonialism' may evoke break, deform, ruin. The concepts derived from 'crush' present the Africans as a stronger entity as against 'colonialism' and 'imperialism' which are presented as weak and powerless. In examples (h) and (i), Nkrumah presents Africans in these metaphors as carrying power and enormous strength which can be employed to overcome the colonialist on the African continent.

The second question tries to find out whether there are similarities and differences between the King and Nkrumah in how they use metaphor as a rhetorical device?

Similarities and differences in the Use of Metaphors by King and Nkrumah

King and Nkrumah have some similarities in terms of their use of images. Both Nkrumah and King see their people as being in "chains" and therefore their choices of metaphor clearly illustrates this image. According to King:

(j) The Negro is still crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination.

(k) …her sons languished in the chains of slavery and humiliation.

The two speakers see their people being in chains as a source of deprivation. For King, "segregation" and "discrimination" are sources of deprivation and therefore he sees these two related conditions as equal to be in "chains". The source domain "chains" is also employed by Nkrumah; however, he sees it as "slavery" and "humiliation". For the two speakers, the conceptual domain "chains" is used in a similar way in the two metaphors. Each source domain however has a different target domain. Therefore the use of a similar conceptual domain by the two speakers may give credence to Lakoff and Johnson's claim about the universality of certain metaphors irrespective of the cultural backgrounds of different speakers.

However, there seems to be a number of differences in the use of metaphors by the King and Nkrumah. The first difference is that King presents a number of metaphors in parallel

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structures but Nkrumah presents metaphors in simple, straight forward language. Examples from King and Nkrumah are presented respectively:

(l) With this faith we will be able to transform
   the jangling discords of our nation into
   a beautiful symphony of brotherhood

(m)I see a beam of hope shooting across our continent, for the things which will be taught in this institute will strengthen African youth and manhood…

In his use of parallelism, King always employs a contrast in the idea expressed in the first line with the second on. It is important to note that the second idea always expresses the good he expects to see as against the evil that is the case at the moment he speaks. In this case, the use of the parallelism in the presenting metaphorical statements leaves the audience with the positive utterance. The arrangement of these parallel structures likens his metaphorical parallel structures with poetry.

A second difference between the two speakers is that King chooses non violent words whilst Nkrumah uses words which are violent and militant in creating his metaphors. Below are two examples:

(n) Let us not satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred.

(o) Now that the blazing fire of African nationalism sweeps everything before it in our continent… Let us determine more than ever before to crush colonialism and imperialism from the face of our beautiful Africa.

The choice of such non-violent metaphors as in (n) highlights King's general philosophy towards desegregation in the United States of America. This non-violent philosophy of King was derived from Mahatma Ghandhi (Lewis, 1970). The second example (o) is one of Nkrumah's militant metaphors. These militant metaphors may reveal the sense of urgency Nkrumah wants to inject in the minds of fellow Africans about the fight against colonialism.

Generally, the choice of these non-violent and militant metaphors of King and Nkrumah fits into Lakoff's framework. Since human beings think and act metaphorically, then it will be of essence for persuasive speakers to consistently employ metaphors that projects their interests when communicating with their audience.

The Backgrounds of King and Nkrumah and their Choice of Metaphors

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Lastly, the background of a speaker may affect the choices he makes in language and in this case the metaphor. Perhaps, King's background as a pastor may possibly have influenced him in his choice of metaphors. On the other hand, Nkrumah's background as an African and a socialist is not dominant in his choice of metaphors. Some examples of King's religious metaphors are directly borrowed from the Christian Bible:

> (p)…and we would not be satisfied until *justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.*

This parallel structure is captured from Amos 5: 24. King show his religious conception of the world with numerous references to times of the day, particularly, 'day' and 'night' on one side, whilst 'darkness' and 'light' falls on the other side.

> now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice.

This is to show a contrast between good and bad. 2 Corinthians 6: 14-15 explains King's association of good and bad with light and darkness. The apostle Paul, writes:

> Do not try to work together as equals with unbelievers, for it cannot be done. How can right and wrong be partners? How can light and darkness live together? How can Christ and the devil agree?

The 'day' and 'brightness' refer to goodness and the 'night' and 'darkness' represent evil or bad. The idea of time is a dominant factor in religious imageries especially in the Bible. King's use of religious metaphors is probably as a result of the belief of some Black Americans' need for a divine intervention to the challenges of racial discrimination. Secondly, since King is a preacher, the use of biblical metaphors, no doubt, is not outside his professional practice as a Baptist Minister. It is therefore appropriate within the domain of his operation as a religious figure and as a politician.

On the other hand, though Nkrumah is a socialist, there were no traces of metaphors that highlight his socialist worldview. Though a socialist, he employs a religious metaphor with reference to the Jacob and Esau's story of birth right in the Bible - Genesis 25: 27 – 34:

> Your Majesty, Excellencies, let us unite, for in unity lies strength, and as I see it, African states must unite or sell themselves out to imperialist and colonialist exploiters for a mess of pottage, or disintegrate individually.

This metaphor highlights the exploitative tendencies of the imperialists and colonialists (Jacob). In a subtle means, Nkrumah reminds his colleagues of a situation in the painful Old

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Testament account of Esau and Jacob. In this story, Esau out of hunger promises and exchanges his birth right with his younger brother for bread and soup and pays a heavy price for this. With this religious undertone Nkrumah warns his colleagues' African heads, not to behave like Esau in dealing with the colonialist, in this case Jacob. In fact, the choice of these religious images may not be surprising at all since Nkrumah was initially a Catholic and later preached in Presbyterian Churches in Philadelphia and New York City during his student days in the United States of America (Nkrumah, 1957).

It must however be noted with caution that a persuasive speaker may not necessary use certain metaphors because they may have a direct connection with his own background. This is because the selection of metaphors in a persuasive discourse may partly be influenced by factors such as the background of his audience and possibly the time and situation which the message is to address.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have discussed and traced the metaphor and its mapping from the Conceptual Metaphor theory to Blend theory. I have discussed the relevance of Lakoff's framework as the background to the use of metaphors in the rhetoric of King and Nkrumah.

The paper has shown that the metaphor is a significant tool in the rhetoric of King and Nkrumah and that their use of the metaphor demonstrates how features of conceptual source domains are mapped unto target domains in order to achieve persuasion. Also, there was an attempt to show some major differences and similarities in the use of metaphors by King and Nkrumah. The differences in their use of metaphors highlight their different purpose: for King, the fight for desegregation should be peaceful while for Nkrumah, the fight against colonialism should be urgent with all the necessary force.

Therefore the use of metaphor in these different positions may lend support to Lakoff's framework. Lastly, the paper shows how the speakers' backgrounds may or may not have influenced their choice of metaphors. However, other factors such as the audience and time of the message may contribute to the choice of metaphors in a given speech. The paper therefore has the following implications:

(a) that metaphors (can) play a major role in message creation for a political audience and that it enhances the content of the political message.
(b) That it supports Lakoff & Johnson's position on the universality of conventional metaphors that metaphors regardless of the sociocultural contexts in which they are used contribute to the effectiveness of political discourse.
(c) that since metaphor influence human cognition, speakers should develop metaphors which highlight the content of their political messages.
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