
RESEARCH ARTICLE

A Critical Cognitive Analysis of Metaphors in Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's Political Speeches

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ABSTRACT

This thesis analyzes the use of various types of metaphors in a self-built corpus of political speeches delivered by the first president of the Republic of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, on his fight for Independence for Ghana and the whole of Africa. It aims to uncover how Dr. Nkrumah used rhetoric as a weapon to achieve his political aims and ideologies. In order to identify the metaphorical expressions, I used the Metaphor Identification Procedure developed by scholars at the VU University Amsterdam (abbreviated as MIPVU), which is a systematic and transparent procedure for identifying linguistic metaphors. By adopting MIPVU, lexical units of the sentences were examined, and then the contextual meaning of the unit was established to determine the more basic meaning. If the contextual meaning is contrasted with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it, then the unit will be marked as a metaphor. A total sum of forty-three metaphorical expressions was identified in my self-built corpus. After the metaphors were identified, I followed the procedures of Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) to analyze the use of metaphors to reveal the underlying ideologies and rhetorical functions. It is found that Nkrumah frequently used the journey, war and religious metaphors to convey the intended message and achieve his political objectives. These metaphors can serve a series of functions, such as attracting attention to establish trust, providing an explanation through framing, expressing empathy, emotion or motivation, fulfilling aesthetic purpose as well as creating a political myth. More generally, metaphors as a powerful tool help make Nkrumah's political speeches more convincing.

KEYWORDS

Political speech; journey metaphors; war metaphors; religious metaphors; ideology; rhetorical function; Critical Metaphor Analysis; Nkrumah

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1. Introduction

1.1 Research background

Language is vital to the process of transforming political will into social action. In fact, it is an integral part of any political action, influencing, accompanying and controlling it (Schäffner 1997: 1). The more democratic societies become, the greater the power leaders have to convince potential followers that they and their policies can be heard. Politically, certain languages have gained prominence in the past few years due to military, economical, and cultural reasons. It is important to know that the more powerful languages become, the more they are prone to create agreements or trigger uproar. The degree to which languages of power overshadow and eventually suppress other languages is quite alarming. This comes with its own benefits. A rightful command of the language of a person's region and beyond can be an important factor in gaining access to influential positions in society. Political leaders who gain such power use it to persuade a large number of people to usher them into social action.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was such a leader, delivering a number of speeches that had a significant impact on nations, especially those on the African continent. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah (1909-1972) was a Ghanaian politician and revolutionist. He was the first prime minister and president of Ghana, having led the Gold Coast to Independence from Britain in 1957. He was considered one of the best leaders in Africa and was one of the main catalysts of the African independence revolution in the 1950s and 1960s, which may

be partly due to his political rhetoric that influenced world affairs in the 20th Century. In his political speeches, Nkrumah used a large number of rhetorical figures, among which metaphor is the most prominent strategic weapon that contributed to his powerful rhetoric (Nartey 2009, 2020a; Mensah 2014, 2019). This thesis seeks to dive into various types of metaphors in Kwame Nkrumah's discourse and the effects they have on Ghana and beyond.

1.2 Research questions

This thesis intends to address the following questions:

1. What are the major types of metaphors in Nkrumah's political speeches? How are these metaphors distributed?
2. What ideologies underly the use of metaphors in Nkrumah's political speeches?
3. What rhetorical functions can these metaphors achieve in Nkrumah's political speeches?

1.3 Organization of the thesis

This thesis comprises five chapters. Chapter one discusses the background and research questions of the study. Chapter two first defines metaphor, introduces the Metaphor Identification Procedure, and reviews previous studies on metaphor in political discourse and the rhetoric of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's political speeches before pointing out the research gaps. In Chapter three, I elaborated on the theoretical framework, first Critical Discourse Analysis and, subsequently, Critical Metaphor Analysis. Chapter four first presents the corpus used in the thesis and then carries out a critical study of the use of metaphors in Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's political speeches. Chapter Five is the concluding section, in which I summarize the major findings, discuss the significance of the present study, point out the limitations and put forward suggestions for future research.

1.4. Significance of the study

This thesis will contribute to Ghana/Africa's political history by enhancing our existing understanding of Nkrumah's rhetorical use of language to trigger a better understanding of the practice of Democracy in Ghana and beyond. It will also add up to previous findings and various perspectives on Nkrumah's socio-political thought and the effects of the persuasive language used throughout his political life. That notwithstanding, this thesis will be significant in political discourse analysis.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Defining metaphor

A metaphor is a rhetorical figure that makes a comparison between two things that are from "different classes of experience", which in turn creates a new understanding through the specific use of language (Burkholder & Henry 2009: 98). According to Aristotle (1991), metaphors have main discursive locations, namely, the place where it has originated from and the place to which it has been transferred. He further argues that the two main parts of the metaphor work on each other by sharing some obvious features. Black (1962) 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 preexisting characteristics of a wolf but rather get man newly involved in a system of commonplace or an "implicative complex" about the wolf. For Black, the metaphor "man is a wolf" changes our notion about both man and wolf. This is a major departure from the traditional rhetorical view of metaphor.

The use of metaphor has evolved throughout the years, and as a result, several types of metaphors have been identified, for instance, conceptual metaphors, implied metaphors, absolute metaphors, personification metaphors and conventional metaphors, just to mention a few. The most common metaphors of all time are conceptual metaphors. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), our conceptual framework, in terms of the way human beings think and act, is metaphorical in real life context. In other words, cognition is crucially dependent on metaphors. The vital thrust of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) work is the argument that metaphors, basically a conceptual construction, are pivotal to the development of human thought. They argue that in metaphor interpretation, we view a kind of statement or experience in terms of other things of a different caliber. In a typical example of the conceptual metaphor "love is a journey", we conceptualize love in terms of a journey. In other words, the structure of the journey is mapped onto the structure of a love relationship. Lakoff and Turner (2009) describe metaphorical mapping as unidirectional, using metaphors to map certain conceptual properties of a conceptual source domain onto a conceptual target domain to create a new meaning for the latter.

In terms of actual function, metaphor provides readers with a wider scope of understanding of the concept, object, or character under analysis. Moreover, metaphors can be used for embellishment purposes in that they can usually create an image that is aesthetically appealing or otherwise produces the effect that the writer finds desirable. For these reasons, metaphor has been extensively used in the Western world and beyond since Homer's *Iliad* (e.g., Zanker 2019).

2.2 The Metaphor Identification Procedure

When it comes to locating metaphors in their actual use, a group of researchers developed the method called Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP, Pragglejaz group 2007), which was subsequently redefined in diverse ways and applied to analyze data from the British National

Corpus. The upgraded procedure is called MIPVU, and the resulting annotated source is the VU Amsterdam Metaphor Corpus (VUAMC; Steen et al., 2010). This development comprises approximately 200,000 primary words taken from the BNC's Baby Corpus, and it is broken down into four genres: fiction, academic, news, as well as conversation. In MIPVU, lexical units whose meanings in the context are opposed to their primary meanings are categorized as metaphor-related words (MRWs). Added to the corpus or dictionary, annotators establish the primary and contextual meaning for each and every word. If the primary meaning of a word is:

- a) more concrete/precise; what it evokes is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell and taste; b) related to bodily action
- c) more precise (as opposed to vague); the word is marked as MRW.

The history of a lexical unit is usually not considered, which can be addressed as one of the contractions that exist between MIP and MIPVU.

MIPVU gives a hierarchical protocol for fishing out metaphors in discourse in a correct, clear, and replicable way. It advocates the use of corpus-based dictionaries as tools to help identify both clear and borderline cases of three types of linguistic metaphor:

1. Indirect metaphor: the existence of differences between contextual and basic/primary senses that may be associated with comparison
2. Direct metaphor: when there exist no differences between contextual and primary senses despite a particular metaphorical reasoning
3. Implicit metaphor: Owing to a particular underlying cohesive link in the discourse referring to an identifiable metaphor.

2.3 Previous study on Metaphors in political discourse

Metaphors have been used one way or the other to write about a variety of discourse genres, including but not limited to economics (Morris, Sheldon, Ames, & Young 2007), health (Nerlich, Hamilton, & Row 2002), and politics (Charteris-Black 2006; Musolff 2016; Perez, Reuchamps, & Thibodeau 2019).

According to Mio (1997), researchers and political theorists have been interested in how metaphors are used as persuasive devices in that a lot of focus has been placed on the importance of communication in the political field. Research has evidently revealed that metaphors help politicians communicate more effectively. Lippmann ([1922] 1965) was one of the first writers to comment on the complexity of metaphors in communication and shed much light on the metaphor that revealed their importance to people and in politics. Additionally, several researchers have commented on the role metaphor plays in the political discourse (e.g., Taiwo 2010; Habwe 2010; Nartey 2019).

Meanwhile, Taiwo (2010) took the Nigerian political discourse under the basis of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) theory of cognitive linguistics and critical metaphor analysis to discuss the use of metaphor in the Nigerian political discourse. The scope of this study was centered on metaphor identification and the mappings of source domains to their target domains. In his research, he proclaims that conceptual metaphor such as POLITICS IS A GAME shapes us to a new perception of metaphor, in that orators' sole aim is not to present facts but to create persuasion in the minds of the audience. Taiwo (2010) elaborated on the kind of socio-political events that Nigeria experiences. He mentioned Opeibi's (2006) work, in which the author undertook negative political advertising and proclaimed that political leaders disengage in positive advertising and turn heavily on political persuasion to attack their opponents. Mensah (2012) debunks the idea of negative advertisement in the Ghanaian bus metaphor and demonstrates that conceptual metaphor could be positively manipulated for rhetorical ends.

2.4 Rhetorical study of Nkrumah's political speeches

Compared to other countries, Ghana's political scenery has been vibrant and full of activities. One such instance is the political movement of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, whose speeches and other forms of discourse have featured prominently from colonialism to the modern era. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah employed persuasive rhetoric to advance not only the independence of Ghana but that of Africa as a whole. His use of rhetoric was also aimed at holding onto it and for propagating his socialist ideology as well as pinning his group like the Boys' Brigade, which he christened 'Young Pioneers'. He provided rhetorical examples of free societies whose sustained hard work produced results in the end. This strategy was a call for the audience to emulate a desired end.

Simons (1970: 6) argues that an energized membership is the strength of any movement, and its 'esprit de corps' is essential to goal implementation. The numerous announcements and the rhetoric Nkrumah used adequately prepared the minds of the

masses, which was needed for such a major protest. By the end of December 1949, Nkrumah had set the nation, both the local people and the Colonial Government, ready to execute their plan of 'Positive Action.' His choice of language in a militant or moderate rhetoric manner may affect not only different responses from the masses but also attract particular audiences that are key to affecting a positive change. Agreeing with how Nkrumah mobilized and groomed his supporters to achieve his ultimate aim, Simons (1970) makes a clear distinction between the supporters of both kinds of rhetoric: be it militant and moderate, while the former are easily organized and energized, the latter is not easily energized. Thus, Nkrumah utilized the power of his rhetoric to convey his messages and attract full support from the masses.

Nartey (2019a) fills the research gap in the discourse of colonialism, repression and imperialism by elaborating on how political leaders employ metaphorical language to create a resistance against colonialism and imperialism. Combining critical metaphor analyses and membership categorization analysis, he analyses the speeches of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and demonstrates that the use of metaphor by Nkrumah can serve as a form of enemy fixation, vilification, defense and attack, etc., all in the name of freedom and justice to the people of Ghana and Africa. Nartey (2019b) uses the discourse-historical approach to critical discourse analysis, developed by Ruth Wodak, to analyze four discursive strategies that Nkrumah adopted to create and project his mythology. It is concluded that the discourse of Nkrumah, in which he emphasized the emancipation and unification of Africa, could be described as mythic or as a discourse exhorting Africa to show to the world that Africa could do better than the colonizers.

Nartey (2020a) examines the use of metaphors in Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's speeches against resistance within the theoretical framework of positive discourse analysis. It is found that Nkrumah creates a resistance movement based on three processes: the identification of the enemy of Africa, the establishment of the heroic leadership identity and the projection of Nkrumah as the "messiah" of Africa. This paper concludes that discourse can be used as a form of resistance to activate listeners into social action. In a similar vein, Nartey (2020b) uses critical discourse analysis again to explore how Nkrumah creates an ideology that Africa must unite or remain doomed forever. He selects twenty speeches on the unite or perish myth and reveals how it influences public consciousness and its underlying ideological meaning. It is revealed that Nkrumah uses metaphors to strategically serve two major functions, namely, resisting colonialism and unifying the government of all African countries. According to the study, metaphors play a crucial role in helping us understand how political speeches are supposed to serve a purpose and how they are usually conceptualized as well.

2.5 Critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) emerged from critical linguistics and critical semiotics in the early 1970s with a view to exploring the relationship between language, ideology and power. It is generally viewed as "a socio-politically conscious and oppositional way of investigating language, discourse and communication" (van Dijk 1995: 17). In CDA, thus, the concern is not to analyze or describe language and text for its own sake, but to look at how context triggers social action. According to van Dijk, CDA "deals with the discursively enacted or legitimated structures and strategies of dominance and resistance in social relationships" (van Dijk 1995: 18). As a result, CDA adopts a critical perspective when examining the functions of discourse in society, observing the ways in which discourse can be used to express, represent, legitimize or reproduce social processes, as well as forms of inequality.

Since its inception, CDA has been used to analyze text and/or discourse in various domains of language use. For example, it has been utilized to examine academic discourse (e.g., Zotsmann 2006; Mohammed 2006), advertising or media discourse (e.g., Wodak & Busch 2004;

Richardson 2007; Vahid 2012; Tahmasebi 2013; Iqbal, Danish, & Tahir 2014; Ramanathan & Hoon 2015), feminist discourse (e.g., Lazar 2005; McLoughlin 2017), familial/domestic discourse (e.g., Rogers 2002; Smythe 2006), colonial discourse (e.g., Sabido 2013, 2015 ;

Nartey 2019a, 2019b, 2020a, 2020b), legal discourse (e.g., Enein 1999; Edu-Buandoh & Ahialey 2012), political discourse (e.g., Flowerdew 1997a, 1997b; Black 2004; Bhatia 2009; Sarfo & Krampa 2013; Nartey 2019, 2020; Mensah 2019) and religious discourse (e.g., Eldin 2014; Hjelm 2014). These studies have revealed that institutional discourse both shapes and is shaped by various competing ideologies and power relations. As well they have demonstrated the often non-neutral and taken-for-grantedness of language use (and abuse).

In the last decade, the discourse of prominent politicians, especially presidential rhetoric, has also gained attention in CDA research. In his monograph on politics and metaphor, for instance, Charteris-Black (2011) examined the rhetoric of as many as nine politicians, including

Winston Churchill, Martin Luther King, Enoch Powell, Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher, Bill Clinton, Tony Blair, George Bush and Barack Obama. Studies on United States presidential rhetoric have also been prevalent (see Campbell & Jamieson 1990; Snyder &

Higgins 1990; Lim 2002). While some of these studies employed CDA as the sole approach/framework, others have integrated CDA with other frameworks, such as contrastive analysis (Schroter & Storjohann 2015) and conversation analysis (e.g., Korobov 2001).

2.6. Critical Metaphor Analysis

Since metaphor shapes thought, its use in political discourse, speeches in particular, is strategic and systematic as it is intended to serve particular ideological purposes such as illusion, myth creation and resistance. It accounts for why some metaphors are chosen in specific contents and contexts. Pragmatically, metaphors perform a persuasive function by influencing people's judgment and opinions. Cognitively, metaphor triggers a shift in the conceptual system. By integrating cognitive semantics, pragmatics, as well as corpus linguistics and cognitive semantics, CMA emphasizes the role of speaker/writer intention in the creation, diffusion, and elaboration of metaphors. It has three main stages of analysis:

A) Metaphor identification: This process is characterized by processes such as personification, de-personification, and reification. As a result, words that are considered metaphorical actually appear in unexpected contexts when performing such functions as referring to an inanimate object with an animate word (and vice versa) and making reference to abstract expressions.

- a) Metaphor interpretation: According to Charteris-Black, this is the process by which we establish a link between metaphors and the cognitive and pragmatic factors that determine them (2004: 37).
- b) Metaphor explanation: The final stage of CMA is to identify the social agency and social role of metaphor in order to establish the relevance of metaphor to persuasion.

Charteris-Black (2004) argues that metaphors, because of their affective value, are one of the most powerful resources for achieving the discourse goals of political speeches since they are capable of making a wide range of possible scenarios (or mythologies) in order to achieve the discourse goals. In Bhatia's view, metaphor is a powerful tool for the construction of new and different realities since they are capable of enacting a subjective conceptualization of reality that appears more credible when it invokes emotions, concepts and underlying ideologies (2008: 201). It is thus evident that a framework such as the CMA provides an explanation of how metaphors are used by politicians in order to communicate their worldviews and influence the masses to support their ideologies. That is, CMA can help to explain the 'fundamental differences in ideological outlook' of sociopolitical actors and 'identify which metaphors are chosen and to explain why these metaphors are chosen by illustrating how they create political myths' (Charteris-Black 2005: 28).

This thesis employs CMA to reveal the power of Nkrumah's language use and how he used his language to formulate ideologies and create a series of myths in the minds of his audience. The adoption of CMA is crucial to the thesis in the sense that the choice of Nkrumah's language use greatly contributed to his political success since it formed a basis on which he was able to persuade his supporters. A subsequent section elaborates on the ideologies underlying Nkrumah's teachings to help shape the thoughts of his audience, thereby triggering a change in

Ghana's independence from the British. A typical feature of Nkrumah's discourse is that it is agenda-driven as he is creating a series of ideologies and myths he believes can be used as a guide to moving forward toward the liberation of Ghana and the entire continent of Africa. Thus, CMA can provide an appropriate framework for analyzing Nkrumah's choice of metaphors to represent himself, his (perceived) enemies and the people of Africa - all of this contributing to the achievement of Independence - in the course of his speeches.

2.7. Research Gap

Many views have been raised on the use of metaphors in Ghanaian political discourse, but very few of these researchers have highlighted the underlying ideologies and functions of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's use of language in the tentacles of their research (cf. Nartey 2019a, 2019b, 2020a, 2020b). I find the role in which language use plays very crucial to the success of political messages and the degree to which it can win the hearts of the masses. That notwithstanding, it is acknowledged that Nkrumah's use of language played an indefatigable role in the minds of his audience and, as a result, influenced their decision making.

3. Methodology

3.1 Data and Methodology

This thesis analyses a selection of political speeches delivered by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah on colonialism and emancipation. I selected twenty-eight samples of his speeches research from various sources, including Nkrumah's own publications (1957, 1962, 1963, 1965, 1968, 1969, 1970a, 1970b, 1973a, 1973b, 1992) as well as recorded audio and video versions found on YouTube.

When it comes to the identification of metaphors, I adopted the linguistic metaphor identification procedure (MIPVU) proposed by Gerard Steen (2010). Altogether I identified 43 occurrences of metaphors, among which 25 are war metaphors (58.14%), 12 journey metaphors (27.91%) and 6 religious metaphors (13.95%) in my self-built corpus (see Table 1 for details). In the subsequent

analysis, a pragmatic interpretation was given to all metaphors identified by focusing on how Nkrumah used war, journey and religious metaphors as powerful weapons to achieve his political aims.

Table 3. 2. Major types of metaphors in Nkrumah's political speeches

Types of Metaphor	Examples	Frequency	Percentage
war metaphor	Armed struggle, bows of imperialism, offensive abuse, persecute ruthless war, silver platter, gird our loins strongly, battlements of the enemy, smash them	25	58.14%
	Into pieces, liberating sword, monsters, a war in which there will be no truce, exploitation beyond safe limits, seize back rights, waging a relentless war, warned dominion, lay down their lives, armed struggle, defeat, forces, resistance, throw off, boldly assert. Enemy of Africa, grim fight, clench our teeth grimly		
journey metaphors	Last but one step, road to freedom, press forward, process, the strands of history, chain of colonialism, yet, preparing to retreat, carry forward, arrive at triumphant conclusion, continue length and breadth	12	27.91%
religious metaphors	Shinning trophy, precious reward, beacon of light, inspiration, shining light, God-given right.	6	13.95%

4. Findings: Metaphor and Ideology in Nkrumah's Political Speeches

4.1 Critical analysis of the main types of metaphor in Nkrumah's political speeches

Nkrumah utilized various types of metaphors to convince his audience to follow his ideology of African emancipation. In my self-built corpus, he predominantly used 25 war metaphors to present his argument in a way acceptable and appealing to the masses.

4.2.1 War metaphors

Nkrumah used war metaphors to prepare the mind of the masses for social action. Thus, by doing so, he created strong images of war in their minds and propagated the belief that self-independence can only be achieved by the achievements of the masses

It is for this reason that he chose to take a stance in which he recognized the true efforts and importance of the masses towards achieving a national goal in order to facilitate a sense of togetherness towards one motive. In his book entitled 'Conscience and Revolutionary Warfare', Nkrumah affirms his stance on the need to involve the masses in national battlefields by way of raising their morale and agitating them to support his ideology of African independence and unity. Consider:

- (1) *"The true welfare of a people does not admit of compromise. If we compromise on the true interest of our people, the people must one day judge us, for it is with their efforts and their sacrifice, with their forbearance and their denial, that Independence is won."* (Consciencism, p. 103)

In the above extract of Nkrumah's speech, he uses the qualifier 'true' in order to modify the welfare of the masses, which symbolizes his prior knowledge regarding the welfare and well-being of the people, and therefore, he aims to prepare the minds of the masses for civil protest. In a wider context, as he exposes to the masses that their interest is at heart, he also reveals that the colonial government does not have the interest of the people at heart. He goes on to say that the people have the right to judge them (he, Nkrumah and the other political leaders) if they compromise their welfare, for it is for their efforts and sacrifices that independence is won. He attempts to acknowledge the works of the masses to reveal that all their efforts are recognized,

and their efforts are what will make them win Independence. He ascertains that independence cannot be won by the leaders alone; it takes the efforts and forbearance of the people to attain it. By so doing, Nkrumah uses sacrifice, forbearance, efforts and denial to usher and prepare the masses into war against colonialism and imperialism, for these words arouse in them a spirit of duty to gird their loins to fight against colonialism. Consequently, Nkrumah urges them to concentrate on their own efforts to combat the daring enemy of Africans in the excerpt below;

- (2) *"Either we concentrate our forces for a decisive armed struggle to achieve our objectives, or we will each fall one by one to the bows of imperialism and its present stage of open and desperate offenses."*
(*Handbook of Revolutionary Welfare, p. 41*)

In (2), Nkrumah further pushes the need for pulling human resources to attain the major mission of Africa. His use of conditional clauses such as 'either' reveals that the only condition that self-governance may be obtained is by pulling their resources together. Consequently, their forces will be greater than those of the colonisers. A further interpretation could be that without the concentration and pulling of resources that come from the local people, the notion of nationhood cannot be achieved without the efforts and resources that originate from them. He refers to the forces of the colonialists with 'bows', which is probably a stronger weapon as compared to what exists for the local people. The adjective 'bow', which describes the forces of the 'imperialist', is capable of piercing them and tearing them and their agenda into pieces if they do not pull their strengths together.

Nkrumah also used war metaphors to create a stance of the battlefield in the minds of his audience. This led the people to view the ideology of African unity as a battle that should be fought militantly and aggressively through civil protests. Take another instance of the use of the war metaphor:

- (3) *"I know of no case where self-government has been handed to a colonial and oppressed people on a silver platter. The dynamic has had to come from the people themselves. It is a standing joke of Africa that when the British start arresting, independence is just around the corner."* (*Africa Must Unite, p.18*)

In (3) above, the phrase 'silver platter' was used by Nkrumah to describe how independence and African unity are usually won, with the negative notion 'no stance' meaning that in no circumstance in world history has self-independence been won by a simple request from a colonized country nor by the heartfelt will of its colonizers. He continues by saying that it is won by the will power of the people; through requests, forbearance, efforts, protests, etc. Hence, in (4) below, he urges the masses to gird their loins strongly against the imperialists:

- (4) *"You will agree with me that our task is only just beginning. We have a duty to gird our loins strongly, to order our lives austerely and to clench our teeth grimly in order to enter the battlements of the enemy and smash them to pieces. This, we must do at all cost with African nationalism as the liberating sword."* (*The Convention Peoples' Party 12th Anniversary, 1961*)

Nkrumah here uses pronouns such as 'you', 'we', 'our', etc., to serve as a syntactic tool to increase the morale and to evoke in them a patriotic feeling to devote their resources to fight for the national interest. He asserts that colonialism is a threat to its victims, and therefore, he finds the need to instil in the people the notion of independence as a sense of duty. This sense of duty is that of war and destruction since he instructs the people to 'clench their teeth grimly'. Grim is fierce, savage, or cruel. Accordingly, he describes colonialism and the colonialists as the 'enemy' that the people are obliged to smash their heads to pieces with all their strength and strategies. According to Lazar and Lazar (2004: 227), the use of 'enemy' is pivotal to defining, establishing and maintaining a moral order, "for the enemy is the one who violates our values". Thus, Nkrumah constructs the colonialists as villainous in that they must enter into a battlefield which will combat their forces. In accordance with Bartia (2008), "the use of enemy is capable of determining a missile target". Therefore, the use of enemies in conjunction with smashing, battlements, and the liberating sword can be used to depict colonialism as diabolic in order to justify the pursuit of war against it. As a result, the biggest enemy to the Gold Coast and Africa would evacuate the territories of African, and it would be fully liberated with a liberating sword of victory in war. Moreover, Nkrumah portrays himself as a hero and a leader who will usher Africa into independence through the use of war metaphors. The manner of his utterance reveals his militant mind against colonialism and how he plans to emphatically and systematically strategize the demolition of any traces of colonialism in Africa:

- (5) *"... for my part, I must say that as long as I live, and as long as any little vestige of colonialism and imperialism remains in AFRICA, I shall persecute a ruthless war on these monsters, a war in which there will be no truce. Colonialism and imperialism have no honor, no shame, no morals and conscience"* (*Cassablanca Conference, 1961*)

By using the pronoun 'I', Nkrumah elevates himself as the body of all good and a gallant leader who is capable of leading the African continent into total Liberation. It is also noteworthy that his use of the personal pronoun "I" depicts courage and bravery that is beyond fear and intimidation, which he uses to proclaim his commitment to fighting a ruthless war against colonialism. The seriousness of his utterance, coupled with modal verbs such as "shall", is a symbol of aggressive resistance against the enemy of the African continent. Nkrumah's bravery serves a hyperbolic function, especially with the use of the conditional clause 'as long as I live'. Nkrumah is, therefore, willing and capable of offering his own life on the battlefield against the colonialists with a liberating sword, with the prior agenda being the emancipation, unity and revolution of the African continent. This notwithstanding, Nkrumah intensifies his tone by referring to the colonialists as monsters, which means the colonialists are evil and frightening; their ways are strange and detrimental to their victims. Hence, the war he plans to execute against the enemy is that which knows no limitations (truce) but that which is persistent until Liberation is attained. Subsequently, the whole idea of Nkrumah's utterance in this extract is to portray himself as the 'messiah' of the African continent who will usher then into Independence and the Revolution of African States. Nkrumah's personification of colonialism as having no shame or conscience reveals how it is evil and detrimental to Africa's wellbeing.

In order to insist on his stance of argument that the colonialists are evil and to maintain his political physique as the hero, Nkrumah makes use of War metaphors to form a strong sense of resistance, a resistance that extends beyond Ghana to the ends of Africa. He also exposes the wickedness of exploitation by the colonialists and opts for an African economic revolution. Consider:

- (6) *Neo colonialism has created a situation whereby the masses are exploited beyond the safe limits of exploitation. The ensuing massive explosion of pentp discontent can be nothing but violent. The masses seize back their right to political action and make maximum use of it. (Handbook of revolutionary warfare, p.8)*

In (6), Nkrumah refers to Neo colonialism as an 'exploit', which is the action or fact of treating someone unfairly in order to benefit from their hard work. He insists that colonialism has exploited the masses to a level which is no longer safe and healthy to live or accept. His description of colonialism as exploitation reveals how villainous colonialists are to the economy and, therefore, the need to be eliminated and pave the way for his ideology of the African revolution. As a form of resistance, he warns that the attainment of Independence is going to be violent and that their rights must be ceased by the villains. This will enable them to utilize their resources in the most efficient and effective manner possible, without being exploited, for exploitation is the highest form of theft.

- (7) *We in Ghana are waging a relentless war against colonialism, and we shall not rest until every inch of African soil is free and Independent. We must drum it again and again into the ears of those who refuse to listen that Africa is not an extension of Europe and never will be. The colonialists must be warned to keep their hands-off in Africa. Africa is wide awake and will no longer tolerate or submit to any form of domination whatsoever. Today in the entire continent of Africa, from Algiers to Cape Town, from Lobito to Lusaka, Africa's freedom Fighters are up in arms and will lay down their lives rather than their arms in the struggle for total Liquidation of colonialism. Protracted constitutionalism devices designed to defeat the attainment of freedom and independence will no longer be tolerated. (Speech of Heads of State of Government of Non-aligned countries, Belgrade, 1-6 September 1961).*

In (7), Nkrumah uses 'we' to refer to himself and other freedom fighters in Ghana, including the leaders and the masses. His use of the verb 'wage' in the continuous tense (waging) refers to a progressive agenda, an agenda which has not been completed but taking a step-by-step approach to reach a desired destination, a war which will not stop until every part of Africa is liberated. The purpose of this statement is, therefore, to encourage his fellow freedom fighters on the rest of the continent to remain persistent and consistent in their efforts to drive away the colonizers. He uses a repetitive clause, 'again and again,' to insist and force their agenda into the hearing of those who pretend not to hear since the Colonialists intend to make Africa an extension of Europe.

Nkrumah asserts that Africa will 'never' be an extension to any European country. Nkrumah's tone serves the purpose of intensification as he perpetuates to convince his fellow freedom fighters to warn the colonialists to keep their hands-off in Africa. He uses the modal verb 'must' to again form resistance and to expose the civilization of Africa because 'their eyes are wide opened' and they will no longer be deceived by the enemy. Nkrumah also makes reference to certain parts of Africa that are willing to lay down their lives as he lays down his life to attain Independence. Accordingly, Ghana and himself would not be alone in their vision for Africa but would have counterparts who have the same vision for the continent. He again forms a basis of resistance by saying that any constitutional reform set to defeat their agenda will not be tolerated.

4.2.2 Journey metaphors

As Charteris-Black (2004) points out, journey metaphors make it possible for social actors to re-conceptualize their objectives as the destination of travellers and to attach a certain level of travail to these objectives. A journey metaphor implies a set of strategic plans and efforts. Nkrumah used journey metaphors to elevate himself as a guide and his ideologies as a map to lead the African continent into liberation. He uses 12 journey metaphors to expose the political and economic exploitation of the colonialists. He used these metaphors also to reveal the travel of a nation from the ancient days till today and the past glory that the ancient times enjoyed while there existed no traces of colonialism. For instance:

(8) *"The charter of African unity must be regarded as the last but one step on the road to a Continental Union. The exploiters of Africa have grasped its implications. They realize that we are out to make ourselves masters in our own house and to drive out relentlessly from the length and breadth of our Continent those forces which batten upon us and keep us in the political and economic subjection."* (Ratification of the African Union Charter: speech to Ghanaian Parliamentarians, 1963)

In (8), Nkrumah uses metaphorical expressions (e.g., "one step", "road", and "press forward") to reveal the travel of a nation through a sceptical map or plan to arrive safely to a destination (in order words, objectives). Nkrumah refers to this journey as a first step because he believes the attainment of Independence is a gradual process, a process which was started long ago from the ancient days and has made certain progress. Nkrumah and his fellow freedom fighters in (9) below had to press forward wherever it was strongest to create a certain end to the imperialist's chain.

(9) *"Fellow freedom fighters and Friends: the colonial struggle has to press forward wherever it was strongest to create a break in the international imperialist's chain. Thus, this breaking of the imperialist chain at certain weak links has undermined the whole of the colonial system in Africa [...]."* (Nationalists Conference of African Freedom Fighters, 1962)

In his speech, Nkrumah uses the copular verb 'is' in its past form in order to clarify that the journey towards their goal began not at the present moment when the speech was delivered but rather from a certain time in the past. He also uses the term 'imperialist chain' in order to illustrate how colonialism originated in the past and has evolved into the present. It can also be interpreted as a certain reoccurring pattern the colonialism has followed till the present day. As a result, Nkrumah also finds the need to continue the chain which his ancestors followed to combat colonialism.

Nkrumah, in the extract below, turns to Mahatma Gandhi's approach of peaceful approach to attain independence. Through the use of the journey metaphor, he acknowledges the good things the colonial masters have taught them and tries to propagate a peaceful ending with them.

(10) *"The strands of history have brought our two countries together. We have provided much material benefit to the British people, and they, in turn, have taught us many good things. We want to continue to learn from them the best they can give us, and we hope that they will find in us qualities worthy of emulation. In our daily lives, we may lack those material comforts regarded as essential by the standards of the modern world because so much of our wealth is still locked up in our land; but we have the gifts of laughter and joy, a love of music, a lack of malice, an absence of the desire for vengeance for our wrongs, all things of intrinsic worth in a world sick of injustice, revenge, fear and want."*

The general view of Nkrumah's strategy to combat colonialism is that of violence. However, from the above extract, he tries to propagate peace between the two countries and end colonialism without terror, as he seemed to have claimed from the above points he raised. Mahatma Gandhi, a man who successfully led India's struggle for independence, employed this principle of nonviolence throughout India's struggle for independence. Nkrumah declared a Positive Action (1949), which is a civil protest for self-independence in a non-violent manner. As soon as the British government learned about Nkrumah's action, they fabricated propaganda in order to discredit the notion of positive action and portray Nkrumah as being violent. The term 'Positive Action' (1943) was an invocation of Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence. It, therefore, became the underlying principle during the Fifth Pan-African Congress, which was held in Manchester in 1945, and Nkrumah had personally been inspired by Gandhi. Thus, Nkrumah buttresses his point of the nonviolent passage of power in (10) above, which he expects the British rulers to comply with.

(11) *In the process of obtaining economic unity, there is bound to be much hard bargaining between the various States. Integration of different aspects of economic policy will proceed at different rates, and there may be disappointing delays and compromises to be worked out. But given the will to succeed, difficulties can be solved.*

In his last statement, he demonstrates what the British lack and what they have. The British are hungry for power, so they rebel against countries; their hearts are full of vengeance even when they are economically wealthy. Therefore, they lack internal and external peace because as they rebel, others also rebel against them, and by so doing, it is perceived that their peace is destroyed (Isaiah 59: 7-8). As pointed out in (11),

Nkrumah describes the attainment of economic power as a 'process' which needs to be bargained in a hard way. Thus, the bargaining of rights and economic freedom is something that does not have to be compromised by both parties. Due to this, Nkrumah in (10) expects the British to find in them good qualities since they have lived in the same territory for a very long time, and they must also acknowledge those traits.

That notwithstanding, Nkrumah used the JOURNEY metaphors to highlight the progress of their journey into liberation, though the process is steady but not stagnant. He elaborates on the irreversibility of the African Effort by suggesting that a journey, once started, must be completed at all costs.

(12) *"Yet we are not prepared to retreat from the struggle one inch. On the contrary, we are firmer than ever in our determination to carry it forward to a triumphant conclusion, whatever the cost. For we are resolved that this continent shall not continue half free, half-slave [...]."* (Nationalist Conference of African Freedom Fighters, 1962)

Nkrumah here debunks the prediction that Africa will give up on their will to attain self independence. He makes use of contrasting journey metaphors, 'retreat and carry forward' and a strong sense of resistance 'whatever the cost'. This implies that come what may and whatever sacrifice needs to be made, they are ready to risk it. Consequently, the notion of independence must be pursued to a victorious end, and there is no turning back. The only way is to forge ahead because there exists no reverse gear for their ultimate notion. Owing to this, Nkrumah debunks the common-sense assertion that 'rest can be taken during a journey'. He affirms his point that Africa shall not be a half-free, half slave. This intensifies his determination and zeal to combat colonialism at all costs.

4.2.3 Religious metaphors

Throughout the course of the independence struggle, Nkrumah seized the chance to create a stance of argument that was religiously common to the local people and the Colonial Government. By adopting religious metaphors, he refers to light as a symbol of victory and a guide to following a certain path. We see through visual light, and this helps us to interpret the world around us. Without light, there would only be darkness. Nkrumah arouses the religious consciences of his audience, especially the British, by portraying the attainment of independence as light and colonialism as darkness. A total amount of 6 metaphorical phrases were identified.

(13) *Freedom is not a commodity which is 'given' to the enslaved upon demand. It is a precious reward, the shining trophy of struggle.*
(Consciencism, p. 13)

Nkrumah (13) describes freedom as 'a commodity', which means as far as it can be gained, it can also be lost at any time. As precious as this commodity is, it is given to the enslaved upon demand, and there has not been in any history that colonial freedom is given to people on a silver platter. It is only upon demand and vehement resistance that liberation is attained. Thus, liberation is a reward of struggle and a shining trophy, a trophy which will serve as a guide for generations to follow, a reward that will not lose its glory with the passage of time but will serve as an example for the rest of the world to follow.

(14) *"[...] the independent states that have emerged first have acted as a beacon of light for the others".* (Nationalists Conference of African Freedom Fighters, 1962)

In (14), he further explains that those countries that had previously attained independence have served as a form of inspiration and guide to follow. Since lights are also used to illuminate paths in a very physical sense, Nkrumah uses a 'beam of light' to describe the footsteps of independent states. This beam of light can be referred to as lights on a runaway or lightening in a tunnel to show a safe route to follow. Light also serves as a reflection of knowledge and truth. Thus, the shining trophy will expose them to a large beam of knowledge which will reveal the truth about the colonialists and their deeds.

Thus, Nkrumah portrays that if Ghana attained independence, it would motivate the rest of the African continent to follow the examples that he has set because his achievement will serve as a shining light that will guide the footsteps of others to follow. Nkrumah elevates light as a symbol of hope, truth, divinity and wisdom.

(15) *"Our aim is to make this country a worthy place for all its citizens, a country that will be a shining light throughout the whole continent of Africa, giving inspiration far beyond its frontiers."*

When Nkrumah uses the word "our", he is referring to himself and the founding members of the Conventions People's Party (CPP). By including himself portrays a visionary leader who keeps his word and ideological promises because "the survival and the effectiveness of any movement are dependent on adherence to its programs, loyalty to its leadership, a collective willingness and capacity to work" (Simons 1970: 53). Henceforth, Nkrumah is now presenting himself as a capable and powerful leader who is able to go to great lengths to deliver on his plans and promises, thereby triggering a self-reflection in his audience about the concepts he has been promoting. He makes use of the "shining light" to portray freedom against colonialism. If self-independence was acquired, Ghana would set an example for the rest of the continent to follow. As a consequence of decolonization, the light of Ghana, which was nevertheless doomed or turned off, shall overcome all its obstacles and shine bright again. It implies that any country being colonized loses its identity and light. That means that colonialism steals the original identity of countries and subsequently covers or automatically turns off the shining light and beauty of countries. Colonialism nevertheless changes the beauty of countries by changing their lifestyles and traditions peculiar to that country which makes it unique. Because no one lights a lamp and hides it in the clay jar or puts it under a bed, instead, they put it on a stand so that those who come in can see it. Therefore, by attaining independence, darkness falls off, and the light of the Gold Coast will shine automatically for nations to see and consider it worthy of emulation. On the other hand, shining light also means the beauty of traditions, culture, norms, values, systems, etc., of nations. To Simon, "the product of any movement is its ideology" (1970: 4). Thus, Nkrumah's use of language does not only address Ghanaian freedom but also sets an example for the rest of the countries in the continent and beyond to follow. He, therefore, prompts his audience to remember his ideologies. Since light shines more brightly in the darkness, colonialism may, in return, bring out the best in them through learning, useful adaptations and careful negotiations.

(16) *"Mr. Speaker, we have frequent examples to show that there comes a time in the history of all colonial peoples when they must, because of their will to throw off the hampering shackles of colonialism, boldly assert their God-given right to be free of a foreign ruler. Today, we are here to claim this right to our independence" (Motion of Destiny, 1953)*

The above extract is a typical instance where Nkrumah used metaphor to convey his message. He uses "a shackle" to portray how colonialism really is and how they "the colonized" feel in their own motherland. As argued, culture is the critical element of a people's history. Nkrumah felt the need to eradicate colonialism because it basically means a loss of identity and, for that matter, a loss of people's culture. In the Bible, it is written, "it is for freedom that Christ has set us free. Stand firm then and do not let yourselves be burdened again by the yoke of slavery" (Galatians 5:1). Hence, Nkrumah feels really agitated to set him and the rest of the continent free from colonialism, because freedom is basically a God-given right which everybody must enjoy. The Bible affirms us to stand firm against any form of slavery because it is like a yoke that over burdens its victims.

Nkrumah, by addressing freedom as a 'God-given right', is prompting his British audience to choose a premise of argumentation that his British audience already holds (Perelman 1982). Since Christianity was introduced in Ghana by the British, the basis of Nkrumah's argument that freedom is a God-given right is to rhetorically arouse their religious conscience and peacefully grant Independence to them. During the colonial era, the whole colony and the Gold Coast shared relatively the same culture, however different their perspectives (Quartey 2007). Against this background, though the people of Gold Coast and the British share the same religion, their beliefs contrast because, while the former opts for freedom, the latter ceases it. Nkrumah here is trying to rhetorically draw them to reason in accordance with the Holy Bible, which they all believe in. Nkrumah's usage of travel of a nation "today" reveals how his ancestors started the journey from the past, and Nkrumah at present is continuing the journey for Liberation.

4.3 Rhetorical functions of metaphors in Nkrumah's political speeches

Political language plays a critical role in establishing persuasion on the part of political leaders; hence the thoughts of the persuaded audience are shaped by the power of rhetoric. Nkrumah's use of language had a series of effects on his audience; these effects, in return, enabled him to achieve his political objectives. These effects are as follows:

4.3.1 Attracting attention to establish trust

Aristotle advised orators to connect with audiences initially by attracting their attention, as this is a prerequisite for other persuasive modes. Nkrumah established trust with the masses and, as a result, gained massive support for his ideologies. On the verge of attaining attention and trust, he organized and believed in face-to-face interactions and met the masses at rallies and political campaigns. Kanu mentions that he is human and not a god, clearly revealing how Nkrumah was down to earth and tried to communicate in an effective way to help solve their doubt about self-Liberation. Nkrumah knew that he could only win his

political argumentations if he had the support of the masses. Nkrumah developed a common aphorism for his party that goes like this; "Seek ye the political kingdom, and all other things shall be added unto you" (Maraia 1972: 201)

Making reference to the Bible when the Bible said to seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these other things will be added unto thee (Mathew 6:33). Nkrumah's aphorism was a direct verse from the Bible, which he skeptically framed to suit his political take over. His choice of words really got me thinking; is Nkrumah god, or did he at that time compare himself to God and his political party (CPP) as the kingdom of God? A big no. Kwame Nkrumah was never a god; he was an astute politician, an indefatigable leader, and an able statesman; above all, he was human; he was a man with a dream, a man with a vision for Africa, a great man. Nkrumah was simply an exemplary leader who used the present situation at the time to simply persuade the masses to achieve his political ambitions. Since the colony had heavily turned to Christianity, Nkrumah, by quoting directly from the Holy Bible, invoked the religious affinity in the hearts and minds of his counterparts, followers and the colonial government.

4.3.2 Providing an explanation through framing

Nkrumah was due in framing issues so that they become intelligible to the extent that is favorable to an argumenta basis. A typical example is the case when Nkrumah prepared and ushered the masses into his policy of 'Independence'. Nkrumah made an indefatigable effort to drive the masses to support his notion of independence and also for the British to grant them their freedom. From the beginning to the end of the colonial era, he kept on explaining to the colonial government and the people of Gold Coast.

In a typical explanatory speech at a symposium held by the English-speaking union in central Hall, West –minister, London May 1960, Nkrumah elaborated on the African motives:

"What are the aspirations of Africans? Above all, they desire to regain their Independence and to live in peace. They desire to use their own freedom to raise the standard of living of their People. They desire to use their Freedom to create a union of African States on the continent, and thus neutralize the evil effects of the artificial boundaries imposed by the imperial powers and promote the unity of Action in all fields. These are Africa's ideas." Again, in his famous book 'Consciencism (1957)' he wrote:

"Independence of the people; it is won by the people for the people. That independence of the people is admitted by every enlightened theory of sovereignty. That it is won by the people is to be seen in the successes of mass movements everywhere. That it is won for the people follow is their ownership of sovereignty. The people have not mastered their independence until it has been given a national and social content and purpose that will generate their wellbeing and uplift". (Conscienceism, p.106)

When Nkrumah kept on proposing for the majority of African representatives in the colonial government and subsequently independence, and the colonial government refused, Nkrumah introduced the idea of Positive Action (1950). Nkrumah explained to the masses that positive action is "the adoption of all legitimate and constitutional means by which we can cripple the forces of imperialism in this country" (Nkrumah, 1957:112). After the 1948 riots, which shook the economy, Nkrumah, by way of following the steps of Mohamed Ghandi, introduced 'Positive Action', which was a peaceful alternative to the 1948 riots. In order to clear the minds and develop a better understanding of the masses on civil protest, he endeavored to give an in-depth explanation to the masses. He furtherly explained that the weapons of positive action

consist of legitimate political agitation, newspapers and educational campaigns, "the constitutional application of strikes, boycotts and non-co-operation based on the principles of absolute non-violence" as used by Gandhi in India (Ibid: 112). Speaking to the crowd, he said: "We want self-government so that we can govern ourselves in our own country. We have the natural legitimate, and inalienable right to decide for ourselves the sort of government we want, and we cannot be forced against our own will to accept or perpetuate anything that will be detrimental to the true interest of the people in this country and their chiefs' (Timothy: 91).

Nkrumah explained to his audience the need for self-governance and the inalienable nature of self-rule freedom; therefore, it is highly unacceptable that the British cease power unwillingly in the colony; therefore, the need for Independence.

4.3.3 Expressing empathy, emotion or motivation

Nkrumah, in his mission, also constantly expressed his grief, especially on the Ghanaian economy and how the British commanded cheap labor, Nkrumah (1957) wrote:

"The imperialist powers need the raw materials and cheap labor of the colonies for their own capitalist industries. Through their system of monopolist control, they eliminated native competition and used the colonies as dumping grounds for their surplus mass-produced goods. In attempting to legitimize their presence, they claim to be improving the welfare of the native population". (Ibid: 18)

Nkrumah, in this speech, exposes the evil trading system of the British, eliminating local competition and therefore gaining a pure monopoly in the Colony. He laments the fact that the goods in the market are merely the surplus of their production, which could actually be the dumped goods of the Europeans. If the supplies from the Europeans are dumped goods, it is perceived as inferior and cannot be sold in Africa. Then Nkrumah went ahead to refute their lies about improving the welfare of the colony. Nkrumah, by making these assertions, is prompting his audience on how the British wickedly treat the local people, which the people probably did not know. He, therefore, exposes them to the truth, motivates them and prepares them to get ready for total Liberation. In another context, after the 1948 riots, Nkrumah bitterly prepared the hearts of the masses for another civil protest in 1950 called the 'Positive Action' against colonialism. In the 15th December Editorial of the Accra Evening News, he cried out:

"Shall the blood of our beloved brethren who were shot at the Christiansburg Crossroads on February last year be shed in vain? These are the questions that confront us today in our present struggle to free this nation from the grip of colonial misrule and misgovernment" (Timothy, 1963, p. 86)

He uses the collective memory of his audience to again bitterly prepare and convince them to participate in the civil protest as argued by Parry-Giles and Parry-Giles (2000) that, unlike individual memory, which is often only present in thought or confined to documents reserved for private consumption, collective memory is public; it is publicly of collective memory that establishes its political/ rhetoric power.

4.3.4 Fulfilling aesthetic purpose

There are certain utterances Nkrumah made that I find very catch and aesthetically framed to convince his audience. In a speech delivered to African heads of state, he said: *"For my part, I must say that as long as I live, and as long as any little vestige of colonialism and imperialism remains in Africa, I shall prosecute a ruthless war on these monsters, a war in which there shall be no truce. Colonialism and imperialism have no honor, no shame, no morals, and conscience". (Casablanca Conference, 1961)*

And in his book *Consciencism* (1964), he emphasized, "Neo-colonialism is a latter-day harpy, a monster which entices its victims with sweet music." Speaking to government functionaries at an event in honor of President Josip Tito of Yugoslavia, he asserted that "[w]e see the hydra-headed neo-colonialism slowly but clearly emerging, but that ugly head should be crushed". These aesthetic extracts clearly demonstrate how

Nkrumah used expressions like "evil", "enemy", "monster", "hydra-headed", and "harpy" to describe the brutal nature of colonialism and imperialism. He presents the colonialists and their acts, 'colonialism', as villainous, which means that anything associated with colonialism is evil and must be crushed until no trace of it is found within the borders of Africa.

4.3.5 Creating the political myth

Critical discourse analysis continues to be influenced by the notion of mythmaking in media and political discourses. Besides explicating the persuasive force and the influence of discourse mythologies, previous studies have also explored the types of myths and the ideological role of myths in motivating a course of social action as a result of their philosophical role (e.g., Charteris-Black 2005; Kelsey 2013; Nartey 2019a). For Nkrumah, myth creation is what he used to create a mental picture that defined trust and

mass support. A political myth is 'an ideologically marked narrative which purports to give a true account of a set of past, present or predicted political occasions, accepted as valid by a certain social group' (Flood 2002: 144). As an attempt to relate the past struggles of his ancestors to the present state of the masses, Nkrumah presents African liberation as a potential outcome. In this thesis, I follow Tudor's (1972) view in relation to the notion that 'myths have explanatory power and offer a practical perspective'.

The most common political myths discussed by prominent researchers in the field include but are not limited to Unite or Perish, United We Stand, the Blitz Spirit, the American Dream, the Conspiratorial Enemy, the Noble Revolutionary and the Heroic myth of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, etc. (cf. Gastil 1992; Kelsey 2014; Nartey 2019b). I have taken the opportunity to reflect on common extracts in speeches about the various myths

Nkrumah created in the minds of his audience. Consider:

(i) The Heroic Myth

"[...], you will agree with me that our task is only just beginning. We have a duty to gird our loins strongly, to order our lives austerely and to clench our teeth grimly in order to enter the battlements of the enemy and smash them to pieces. This, we must do at all cost with African nationalism as the liberating sword". (The Convention People's Party 12th Anniversary, 1961).

(ii) The Unite or Perish myth

In a speech at a conference of independent African states, Accra, 15th April 1958, he said: *“today we are one. If in the past the Sahara divided us, now it unites us and an injury to one is an injury to all”* (Axioms of Nkrumah, 1969: 8)

(iii) United, we stand myth

In his speech called Motion of ‘I speak of freedom’ in Heinemann, London, he said: *“Divided we are weak: united, Africa could become one of the greatest forces for good in the world”*.

In (i) above, Nkrumah uses “we” to uplift himself and his party leaders as heroes preparing the masses for social action and Nkrumah as the messiah of Ghana and Africans. In (ii), Nkrumah creates the myth of absolute unity by saying that ‘an injury to one is an injury to all. This, in a sense, means that if one of any African country is under colonialism, it affects other countries that have already gained Independence, thus the need to opt for total emancipation from colonialism and emancipation in the continent. In (iii), he affirms his mythical point of unity by the weakening aspect of division and how strong Africans can be in the face of the world.

5. Conclusions

5.1 Summary of major findings

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was a visionary leader who used rhetoric as a powerful weapon to achieve his political objectives. The extracts in this thesis demonstrate how Nkrumah used war metaphors such as sacrifice, forbearance, armed struggle, gird our loins, liberating sword, etc., to describe colonialism as the villain who needs to be executed. By so doing, he portrays colonialism as an evil deed and prepares the minds of his audience for social action. He used war metaphors to portray a sense of duty and patriotism in that he persuaded the masses to support his ideological notion of independence, African unity and revolution.

Through the use of journey metaphors, he reminds his audience of the struggle their ancestors had in the past, which has continued until the present day when he is presenting his argument for total liberation from the colonial government. He elevates himself as the ‘messiah’ who is capable of leading the whole African continent into total emancipation. As a result, his ideologies served as a guide/map which would usher the continent into Independence safely. He made use of phrases such as ‘strand of history’, ‘yet’, ‘press forward’, ‘one step’, process, etc., to show a typical journey which started at a point in time and is progressing at a certain pace and that which will end in the glory of liberation.

Furthermore, Nkrumah makes use of religious metaphors by using ‘shining light’ as a reflection of redemption of the Gold Coast in the midst of other African states, portraying that by attaining independence, Gold Coast will be like a shining star which others will find worthy of emulation. The Gold Coast will therefore be starting point of total African Liberation. Again, in order to arouse the religious conscience of the colonial masters, he uses religious metaphors to carefully choose a stance of argumentation to arouse the religious conscience of the colonial government by referring to Independence as a ‘God-given right’.

Alongside the journey of Africans from Colonialism to emancipation, Nkrumah proposed a series of ideologies to win his motion for Independence by pulling support from the masses. He developed these ideologies to create a mental representation of hope against the survival of Colonialism and to project a vision of African Liberation and Unity. Prominent amongst these ideologies were African Total Liberation, African Unity and African Revolution.

In a nut shell, I agree with Nkrumah for demonizing colonialism and perpetuating a ruthless war against it; something that deprives others of their God-given rights is indeed cruelty beyond measure and a total disgrace to those who practice it and its victims as well. If there comes a next world, I hope that ‘colonialism’ will not be in our dictionaries.

5.2. Limitations of the present study

Firstly, the size of the corpus is limited. Nkrumah delivered over a thousand political speeches. If the sample size is big enough, the predominant types of metaphors identified might be slightly different from those identified in this thesis. Secondly, due to limited space, it is impossible to analyze all the occurrences of metaphors in my selfbuilt corpus, which in turn may affect the generalizability of my research findings.

Last but not least, I came up with five major rhetorical functions of Nkrumah’s metaphor use. There can be other rhetorical functions that I have failed to mention.

5.3 Suggestions for future research

In order to meet the demands of fundamental principles of analyzing rhetoric by political leaders, I suggest researchers pay critical attention to the size of the research corpus. This will pave the way for a more concrete analysis of political discourse. I also suggest that future researchers carry out a comparative study between Nkrumah and other orators, such as the US presidents, to identify cross-cultural differences in the use of metaphor. Furthermore, I suggest researchers give an in-depth focus on Nkrumah’s policy

of the 'African personality', which he formulated to preserve the culture of the Gold Coast as a way of creating an African identity. This will not only reveal but also educate the younger generations on how cultural identity is essential to achieving total Liberation.

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Appendix

Title of speech	Source of speech	Page number or link
Motion of destiny	YouTube	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iY3ZRdW1CyQ
I speak of freedom	of Axioms Kwame Nkrumah	p.5
Neo- colonialism	of Axioms Kwame Nkrumah	p.28
Consciencism	of Axioms Kwame Nkrumah	p.103
African personality	of Axioms Kwame Nkrumah	p.4
Handbook of revolutionary warfare	Axioms of Kwame Nkrumah	p. 41, 91
Towards colonial freedom	Axioms of Kwame Nkrumah	p. 42

Africa must unite	of Axioms Kwame Nkrumah	p. xv, 8, 9, 50
Women in politics	of Axioms Kwame Nkrumah	p. 131
Dark days in Ghana	of Axioms Kwame Nkrumah	P.3
Kwame Nkrumah most memorable speeches	YouTube	https://youtu.be/2BVTDOHN9hA
The African genius	Handbook of the 30th Anniversary Celebration of the Institute of African Studies and School of Performing Arts	pp. 12-21