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Review

Canonical colonial approaches in Shakespeare’s *The Tempest*

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Colonialism is the single most powerful force shaping the world we dwell in. It is a policy of supremacy, which involves the subjugation of a superior country to another inferior country. Colonizing nations by and large are primary concerned with usurping the resources, labor, and markets of the colonial territory, and may, in the long run, impose socio-cultural, religious and linguistic structures on the indigenous population. Shakespeare’s *The Tempest* is one the most prevailing plays in literature that reveals the elements of the colonial life, mainly through the relationship between the colonist Prospero and the native Caliban. This paper aimed to investigate the colonist’s attitude and the way he contemptuously looks at the native and the native’s rebellion and revolution against such maltreatment resulting in hatred, scorn, loath, cunning and enmity due to the feeling of settler’s superiority over aborigine’s inferiority. The study also investigated the dimensional aspects of such phenomenon that surprisingly became much more significant in the contemporary analysis.

**Key words:** Colonialism, Prospero, Caliban, aboriginal, colonialist, settler.

**INTRODUCTION**

The word colonialism, according to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), comes from the Roman ‘Colonia’ which means ‘farm’ or ‘settlement’, and refers to the Romans who settled in other lands but still retained their citizenship. Accordingly, the OED describes it as, a settlement in a new country. Colonialism was not an identical process in different parts of the world but everywhere it locked the original inhabitants and the newcomers into the most complex and traumatic relationships in human history (Ania, 1998).

World history is full of examples of one society gradually expanding by incorporating adjacent territory and settling its people on newly conquered territory (Margaret Kohn, 2014). This phenomenon shapes the world we live in today. It is not a modern observable fact since the ancient Greeks commence settlement as did the Romans, the Moors, and the Ottomans, to name just a few of the most famous examples. Colonialism, then, is not limited to a specific era or place. Nevertheless, in the sixteenth century, colonialism changed decisively because of technological progress in navigation that began to control more isolated parts of the world. The British claimed the credit for a number of achievements in the colonies: economic growth, law and order, government free of corruption, free institutions, civil liberties, an end to tribal and communal warfare, the

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development of infrastructure, all of which attracted British and foreign investment (Johnson, Robert, 2003). The modern European colonial policy occurred when it became potential to move large numbers of people across the ocean and to maintain political sovereignty in spite of geographical dispersion. English became, for example, the primary language of the United States because the vast majority of the colonists spoke English (Darrell, 2010).

Accordingly, the colonialism, in its merits and disadvantages in addition to its consequences exceedingly occupied a very significant place in the world of literature, most notably, Shakespeare’s *The Tempest*. Throughout the play, Shakespeare was perceptibly attempting to deal with one of the most controversial and crucial issues during his era displaying his own stand and perspective towards such issue. The discovery of Columbus to America actually inspired Shakespeare’s creativity to write such a heroic work. His imagination, that has taken this into account the exploration of new geographical spaces and control of those lands by the explorers, is basically what we know presently about the empirical nature of colonialism and its dimension. In *The Tempest*, for example, Prospero powerfully controlled the land and its natives through the use of knowledge and power. Hence *The Tempest* has, to a great extent, provoked many critics, historians and other writers to classify it as the most notable earlier works portraying the fundamental aspects of colonialism.

**Prospero as Shakespeare’s settler**

Shakespeare’s *The Tempest* is a play about different issues during Shakespeare’s time. One of these issues is concerned with British colonialism which recently has become a matter of great debate, whether Colonialism is present in *The Tempest* and whether it incites the condemnation of this practice. Prospero is one of Shakespeare’s most powerful protagonists. Prospero’s character, his actions and reasoning, and the way he is dealing with the native cannot either provoke the condemnation or the conviction of colonialism. If Shakespeare attempts to denounce colonialism, he would present Prospero as being insulting, tyrant and aggressive to prove that such colonial practices are harshly uncivil and not acceptable. Caliban’s attempted rape of Miranda, for example, is a good example of how he acts according to impulse, without the control of civilization. Prospero, according to critics, is a character of a civilized man, rightly establishing and maintaining order on the island and in the small community of himself, Miranda, Ariel and Caliban. Shakespeare shows in *The Tempest* that Prospero is not the leader of the island because he set out to be so, but because he is the most competent one to do so being educated civilized and enlightened. Such values were highly represented through Prospero’s addressing to Caliban

…*I pitied thee, Took pains to make thee speak, taught thee each hour One thing or other: when thou didst not, savage, Know thine own meaning, but wouldst gabble like A thing most brutish, I endow’d thy purposes With words that made them known. (1.ii.17)*

In this passage, Prospero displays how beneficial and valuable his presence on the island for Caliban is. It shows the attitude and the supremacy of the colonist over the natives. However, the readers seemingly could look at Prospero from entirely different prospective as ruthless, cruel, bushy, usurping other’s rights, selfish and egoistical. The colonist considers the native not only as slaves but aggressively also as laborers, domestic servants, followers, travelers and the colonial masters as administrators, soldiers, merchants, settlers, travelers, writers, domestic staff, missionaries, teachers and scientists (Ania, 1998). Prospero views Caliban as lesser being than himself. He firmly believes that Caliban’s existence is circumscribed to serve and worship Prospero’s order and not to show any annoyance or grumbling of his mission. Besides, Caliban should be grateful to Prospero for educating him and lifting him out of the savagery.

**Shakespeare’s aboriginal: Caliban and Ariel in *The Tempest***

British colonialist views of the American natives or Irish as being lazy, uncivilized, and impulsive and thieves - “that a brutal side of colonialism is that ‘natives’ were considered inferior, scarcely human – closer to animals than to civilized people – their presence was ignored, treated as a minor inconvenience, walled off from view or physical intrusion, or made the subject of genocidal projects (Fiona and Lionel, 2011). One could obviously see in *The Tempest* that at first Prospero builds up tender bond with Caliban as Caliban addresses him

"when thou first came to the island, thou strok’st me and made much of me, wouldst give me water with berries in it and teach me how to name the bigger light, and how the less that burn by day and night. And then I loved thee” (act I, scene ii, line 335).

Then this relationship Changes after Caliban comes to his impulsivity reproduce;

"I have used thee, filth that you art, with humane care and lodged thee in mine own cell, till thou didst seek to violate the honor of my only child” (Act 1, scene 1, line 348).
In this, we see Caliban not as being a victim, but as being someone who determined his own fate unlike those being colonized by the British at Shakespeare's time. While his physical nature is described as deformed, as the text suggests that he is both lecherous and treacherous, he is eloquent in his protests against the mistreatment brutality of Prospero and others, having some of the most poetic passages in the play especially once when he describes the island. Caliban soon realizes that Prospero views him as a second class-citizen fit only to serve and that by giving up his control of the island in return for education.

Consequently, the native powerfully demonstrates different ways of resistance and rejection against the colonist's aggressive mistreatment and condescension. Ariel and Caliban can be regarded as the "the substantial objects" of the colonizer, and the opposing thoughts of such objects towards their boss reflect the contradictory conduct in which the nature of the mankind reacting to modern civilization. Both undoubtedly individuals were used negatively by their master, however each provoke a dissimilar practice of behavior which is based on their instinct nature as well as their distinct circumstances. Some natives find that the best way for getting independence and freedom is only through the policy of non-violence resistance. In other word, the diplomatic ways are more effective and instrumental than the use of violence and struggle.

Therefore, Ariel skillfully displays this peaceful theory. No doubt that Ariel has excessive desire to be free and independent from the oppression and humiliation of Prospero. But he finds that he can achieve such independence and freedom through his diplomatic performance and attitude. This tactful ways for accomplishing such freedom are represented through his unconditional willingness to serve Prospero and be under his command on the condition that after some years Prospero should grant him independence. Through his first occurrence, Ariel seemingly forms his distinguished personality as an obedient, a submissive and flexible subject. His speech and the way he addresses Prospero is very identical to that of a slave who renders himself entirely to his master without any questioning:

"All hail, great master! Grave sir, hail! I come / To answer thy best pleasure; be't to fly, / To swim, to dive into the fire, to ride / On the curled clouds. To thy strong bidding task / Ariel and all his quality."--(I, ii, 189-93)

On the other hand, other natives have a totally different prospective in their resistance against the colonist. They found out that the most effective and instrumental ways for gaining freedom and independence is through struggle and violence against the oppression of the colonizer. This is the theory used by Caliban in his resisting against Prospero. Caliban shows his resentment and resistance through struggle as it is the most authoritative way for getting liberation. When the man-monster, brutalized by long continued torture, he revolts against Prospero by saying:

"This island's is mine, by Sycorax my mother, which thou takest from me", Caliban, thereby, takes the advantage of the language to abuse and curse his master:

"As wicked dew as e'er my mother brushed / With raven's feather from unwholesome fen / Drop on you both! A south-west blow on ye / And blister you all o'er"!--(I, ii, 321-24)

Caliban's apparent hatred for Prospero is evident in much of his speech, which overwhelmingly indicates the unhealthy atmosphere in their relationship. Hence, the whole case of the aboriginal against aggressive civilization is highly presented and entirely employed in the play. Ariel's self-effacing willingness to serve Prospero strongly contradicted with Caliban's attitude of scornful rebelliousness.

Unlike Ariel, Caliban has no guarantee of liberty that would rationalize the attitude of reverence. His revolutionary reaction is a response to his mood that he is being unjustly used and dominated. Remarkably, Ariel's language is entirely different of Caliban's. Each employs his style according to his dimension and stand. Whereas Caliban converses almost utterly by means of offensive curses and grumble, Ariel communicates through poetic words and song. Whereas Ariel's language is prearranged and stylistic which skillfully betrays a mind at ease with his environment, a mind in which creativity and wit have sufficient room to develop, Caliban's language is the product of a mind surely in a state of wide-ranging discomfort and ill ease. According to some writers, the most effective and powerful way for getting independence is through struggle, protest and resistance. Since the natives are miserably marginalized, the peaceful way of resistance would be futile and purposeless.

Accordingly, Caliban's notable struggle and resistance against his master is clearly more effective and successful than Ariel's. Besides, the reader could possibly perceive in Caliban's character good qualities and noble values such as honor, self-respect, pride and dignity. On contrary, the signs of treachery, misery, cowardice and hypocrisy are the demonstration of Ariel's character.

The ideology of colonialism and colonist/native relations

During the 16th century, the European people were highly paying attention to the efforts of English and other European settlers colonizing those remote lands around the globe. Colonialism led to crucial conflict as
consequence of its dangerous effects (Norrie MacQueen, 2007). The Tempest examined the problematical and complicated relationship between the settlers and the native. Prospero’s approach on the island is similar to the attitude of the colonizer who goes through the colonies. The colonizer thinks that it is his right to do whatever he desires in the occupied land and not even to admit the native’s presence. Therefore, he believes that he can make use of the land’s recourses and its people through the use of power since there is no resistance against him from the aboriginal. The settled People, thereby, have no other choice but to obey them and to hand over their land to them. The natives are aggressively usurped mentally and physically through the destructive power of the colonizer. They then realize that they are no longer the owners of their properties and lands, and painfully become as servant to the will and desire of their masters.

Besides, the colonizing country intentionally looks for usurp resources and takes advantages of the native’s land control for its own interest. This is obvious in European colonial record mostly in Africa, India etc. Prospero succeeded in employing the inhabitants and the sources of the island all the way through using both intellectual mind and powerful magic. He made use of his power only to serve his interest and to gain more and more profit from the prosperous island. The land and its people were considered to be as real human resources and natural resources respectively for The Colonist. Thus, the exploiting of the native’s resources is one of the top motives behind the occupation and invasion of other’s lands.

Furthermore, among the procedures of settlers after occupying the land is the process of brain-wash aiming to destroy the native’s culture, customs, and belief and replace them with the colonizer’s language, culture and belief. The language of the colonizer is the most and the foremost representative of the settler’s culture, thought and opinion. Such brain wash styles reflect and alter the identity of the colonized people and played a very crucial role to colonialism to be successful. Therefore, the settler could easily infuse his thought and, opinions on others. Throughout the history of colonialism, the language of the colonizer is forcibly imposed on the colonized people and those colonized were obliged to ignore their mother tongue and use the language of the colonizer. The native thus miserably is forced to internalize and adopt himself a new identity through the reinforcement of stereotypes by the colonizer, which is easily understandable if one thinks that the colonized finds him/herself in a circumstance they have never experienced before, after having been obliged to abandon all what constitutes his/her "world".

The colonized then has no option other than emulate the colonizer as a sole model in front of him. So the colonized loses his former identity but he is also not supported in building a new one. Thus, he lives in a complete oblivion. All at once, he is casted out from his history, memory and citizenship.

Nonetheless, through colonialism identity is not totally lost, but set in the unknown ground temporally placed between prior and after the colonizers came. In the Tempest, Caliban is forcibly devoid of his identity and his own style of life. Prospero deliberately demolishes Caliban’s identity and replaces it by his own and original identity. So the colonialism doesn’t mean merely conquering the territories and resource but most importantly demolishing the native’s identity by replacing the colonizer’s one. Hence, the Tempest was considered to be as Shakespeare’s most overtly controversial and ingenious work. Today the colonialism comes in a new model of economic and cultural domination, and a remarkable number of the discussions about colonialism that took place a hundred years ago are pertinent today.

Conclusion

Shakespeare’s The Tempest, draws the most crucial lines of the colonialism and sheds its light substantially through the relationship between the settler and the native highlighting the contempt, loathing, constant fighting, disrespect, dispute, hatred, etc against each other. The Tempest is considered to be among the most universal and leading plays as it reveals extremely critical issues, including the colonial issues that dominantly shape the new world and play a very influential part in every field of our life especially after the 16th century and discovering new lands around the globe in which most of the countries in almost all over the world were occupied by some of the European Nations most notably England. Hence, the characters of Prospero and Caliban are constantly repeated themselves in the 19th century and 20th century representing the genius and the greatness of Shakespeare and his powerful potential in understanding the aspects and the nature of human being as a whole. Based on that, the study concluded that the substantial relationship between the colonist and the natives and attempted to attach such relation with the colonial aspects occurred dominantly in the 19 and 20th century. Besides, the Shakespeare’s theory in The tempest implies the relationship between Western political theory and the idea of colonialism as it was as the turning point in the future of European countries in general and British Empire in particular. Above all, The Tempest indicates that Shakespeare’s writing is the creative power, the responses to us and the sympathetic emotion which has a just and lively image of human nature.

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Conflict of Interests

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REFERENCES


Review

Metaphors in political discourse: A review of selected studies

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The use of metaphors in political discourse is a linguistic strategy that has been used all over the world. Studies on metaphor have therefore been done in various parts of the world. This paper reviewed studies on metaphor in political discourse to assess the role metaphor played in political discourse. It aimed to contribute to the field of metaphor in political discourse by reviewing studies done in this field. The study aimed to show that a metaphor as a linguistic tool could be manipulated both for pragmatic and strategic reasons. The review showed that metaphors were used to help the voting public to make sense of different political issues and therefore to express their general attitudes towards politics. Further, they helped to make citizens identify with and understand their beliefs and goals for their country. The mapping principle of source and target domains was further used by the politicians to fulfill their persuasive and rhetorical goals in political discourse. Apart from being used as a face-saving strategy, the review showed that metaphors also revealed speakers’ ideological positions.

Key words: Politics, political discourse, cognitive linguistics, conceptual metaphor.

INTRODUCTION

Studies on political discourse have been based on the view that metaphors play a central role in public discourse, particularly political discourse. These studies have argued that metaphors have significant rhetorical and persuasive use in political discourse. Beard (2000) claimed that by knowing how to use metaphorical language in an influential way, a politician could either gain or keep power. This study therefore reviewed seven studies on metaphor in political discourse both in and outside Kenya to assess the role metaphor played in political discourse.


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LITERATURE REVIEW

Proponents of cognitive linguistics such as Lakoff et al. (1980; 1978; 1982) proposed that conceiving or thinking is a matter of manipulating unconscious mental imagery so as to let concretely pictured physical objects and situations stand in for the more abstract objects and situations we are endeavoring to understand. Lakoff et al. (1980; 1978; 1982) held and still hold that a metaphor is a conceptual matter, a matter of thinking of one thing in terms of another. To them, the conceptual metaphor or cross-domain map was a pervasive culture-wide disposition to conceive one fixed sort of thing in terms of another fixed sort of thing. The review therefore identified a word or a phrase as a metaphor if a word or phrase could be understood beyond the literal meaning in the context, the literal meaning stemmed from an area of sensoric or cultural experience (source area), the source area was transferred to a second, often abstract area (target area).

Wei (2001) took a strong position on the importance and pervasiveness of metaphors used in election rhetoric to express thoughts and influence ideas in Taiwan. She obtained data for the study from newspaper and website coverage of Taiwanese elections of 1997. The researcher used all these sources to interpret the interactions among voters, readers and campaigners. Using a cognitively and culturally based analytic work as proposed by Lakoff (1980, 1996) and Quinn (1991), she explored the specific socio-cultural conditions that provided grounds for the new and productive metaphors. The study argued that on the one hand, recent social events and specific cultural contexts gave rise to certain benign metaphors to describe the unique socio-cultural situations of Taiwanese politics. The study provided socio-cultural analysis of specific political metaphors, showing also that the pragmatic functions of metaphors were more than just heuristic or cognitive devices. They were also adopted for strategic reasons.

Wei (2001) further argued that Taiwanese political discussions were inherently and inevitably metaphorical. Wei (2001) analyzed metaphorical expressions used in the news coverage of Taiwanese political discourse and found that sets of metaphors, such as “marriage,” “show business,” “war,” “weather” and “financial transaction” were used to stress various aspects of Taiwanese elections. Wei (2001) further noted that the 1996 presidential and vice-presidential candidates used “war,” “revenge” and “a journey of spiritual awakening” to promote their visibility and propagate political ideals and political ideologies. Tactics and strategies were further incorporated into these metaphors. Among the linguistic strategies used were the use of familiar terms and conventional images to command votes and excite interest.

The study further noted that metaphors could be used to highlight certain aspects of political discourse practice and hide others. They could also help the voting public to make sense of different political issues and to express their general attitudes towards politics. Metaphors thus served both pragmatic and strategic functions in political discourse.

The cognitive approach proposed by Lakoff et al. (1980; 1978; 1982) and used by Wei (2001) has enabled linguists to study both the universal and the culture-specific character of conceptual metaphors. Though conceptual metaphors are based on our basic human experience, we all grow up in different cultural environments. Our unique cultural backgrounds influence our perception of the world and influence our use of metaphors. Wei’s (2001) study therefore provides a strong ground for the role of socio-cultural situations in the formulation and use of metaphors.

A number of scholars have also established that metaphors structure our understanding of political, social and economic issues. The conceptual metaphor “POLITICS IS WAR” for instance, structures the way we think about politics as a battle to be won. We would view politics differently if the metaphor were, for instance “POLITICS IS LOVE.” It is therefore not strange that Wei (2001) established just as much in her study. Other studies have identified “business” and “war” as the most frequent source domains for politics.

Unlike Wei (2001) who analyzed metaphorical expressions used in the news coverage of Taiwanese political discourse, Vestermark (2007) carried out a study of the metaphorical personification of America in political discourse. She based her analysis on the Cognitive - Semantic Approach originated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Her study looked specifically at the personification of America in the first inaugural addresses by Ronald Reagan (1981), George H.W. Bush (1989), Bill Clinton (1993) and George, W. Bush (2001). She focused on how they used metaphors, how the metaphors could be interpreted and what messages they sent to the receivers. Her method of analysis was therefore to locate the conceptual metaphors mentioned and analyze how a non-human entity (America) was specified as being a human entity and also to account for the probable intention of the speaker.

Vestermark (2007) analyzed the conceptual metaphors THE WORLD AS A COMMUNITY, NATION AS A PERSON AND NATION ACTING AS HUMAN. In her findings, she argued that the conceptual metaphors used in political discourse in the inaugurals were highly intentional, but not always as easy to detect. She discovered that America is conceptualized as human. She drew a conclusion that the four presidents used metaphors to personify the nation to make Americans to identify with and understand their beliefs and goals for America.

Even though she argued that the use of conceptual
metaphors in the addresses was intentional, in many cases linguistic metaphors represent sub-conscious choices on the part of the speaker, based partly on the conceptual structures shared by members of their community. Vestermark (2007) study however, clearly demonstrated that features of conceptual sources could be manipulated for positive rather than negative rhetorical ends.

Taiwo (2010) studied metaphors in Nigerian political discourse. His study blended the methods of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with that of Cognitive Linguistics originated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) to discuss metaphorical expressions found in the data. Taiwo (2010) mainly focused on the identification of the metaphors and how the discourses conceptually mapped the source and target domains in their metaphorical expressions. Guided by Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) Theory of Conceptual Metaphor, he identified three target domains as sources of conceptual metaphors in his data: the nation, politicians and politics. In his work, he stated that the NATION was conceptualized as a FAMILY and as a PERSON. He also identified the conceptual mappings of POLITICS AS BATTLE and POLITICS AS A JOURNEY. There was also the conceptual mapping of the POLITICIAN AS A BUILDER.

Taiwo (2010) further argued that metaphors help to shape the structure of political categorization and argumentation. Such a conceptual metaphor as POLITICS IS A GAME, for instance, shapes our perception about politics. He further stated that the mapping principle of targets and domains was used by Nigerian politicians to fulfill their persuasive and rhetoric goals in political discourse. This could however be used either negatively, or positively. The politicians’ ultimate goal is not primarily to present facts, but to be persuasive.

Taiwo mentioned Opeibi (2006) who carried out a study of negative political advertising and observed that many of the political office aspirants abandoned positive, issue-focused advertisement and engaged in rhetorical strategies of direct attacks on their opponents. Attacks of political opponents confirmed that politicians projected positive self-presentation and negative-other presentation. Mensah (2012), examining the bus metaphor in Ghanaian political speeches, however demonstrated that features of conceptual sources could be manipulated for positive rhetorical ends by politicians. Using the ‘Yutong’ bus metaphor, he demonstrated that politicians in Ghana and elsewhere could employ metaphors to discuss serious political issues without resorting to insults of their political opponents.

In his study, Taiwo (2010) indicated the kinds of socio-political-experiences that Nigeria had been going through and that political discourse in Nigeria had centered on those issues. This resonated well with Wei’s (2001) argument that recent social events gave rise to certain benign metaphors to describe the unique socio-cultural situation of Taiwanese politics.

While Wei (2001) argued that recent social events and specific cultural contexts gave rise to certain benign metaphors to describe the unique socio-cultural situation of Taiwanese politics, Sharifi et al. (2012) explored how the body parts played roles in Persian political texts as metaphorical expressions. The study was carried out on Persian newspapers published in Iran. The accumulated data were derived randomly from Persian political sections of newspapers from 2008 to 2011. Using the cognitive view of metaphors, they investigated the different parts of the human body which were borrowed to conceptualize abstract concepts in Persian political texts.

To establish the different parts of the human body which were borrowed to conceptualize some abstract concepts in Persian political texts and discussions, the study took as primary the analysis of the use of metaphorical body parts first. They analyzed 160 numbers from 6 different types of different newspapers and derived metaphors from human body parts. They were then translated into English. The frequency of each body part was illuminated. At the end, a frequency table was illustrated based on the accumulated data.

The findings revealed that there were fifteen body members by which political metaphors were conceptualized and reflected in Persian political discourse. The results further revealed that among the human body parts which were conceptualized in Persian political texts, the head was the most frequent one.

However, Yu (2008) investigated conceptual metaphors and their interaction between body and culture and stated that while body was a potentially universal source for emerging conceptual metaphors, culture functioned as a filter for selecting them. In other words, metaphors were generated from body experience but formed by culture realization and so were culture-specific. He asserted that the face was the body part by which the Chinese and English made a lot of conceptual metaphors because the face is the most distinctive part of the body by which we identify people.

Use of body parts to conceptualize abstract concepts confirmed another tenet of the Conceptual Metaphor theory: the concept of the experiential basis. In this concept, conceptual metaphors are due to people’s experiences in the world and experiences are body-based. Metaphors such as “LIFE IS A JOURNEY” and “POLITICS IS SPORTS” demonstrate clearly the concept of the experiential basis of metaphors. The concept is a confirmation that metaphors are not arbitrary or innate.

Habwe (2010) analyzed speech animation in Kenya. The study used the Gricean inferential model to discuss the pragmatic role of dialogic structures in Kenyan political harangues. In the revised model, the cooperative principle is expanded to include more than the traditional four maxims of manner, relevance, quality and quantity (Grice, 1977) by incorporating the politeness maxim as
one of the constitutive maxims rather than having it operate as a parasitic maxim.

Data for the research were video-recorded in the two main towns of Nairobi (capital of Kenya) and Mombasa, where Kiswahili was mostly spoken owing to the cultural and linguistic diversity of their inhabitants. He stated that Kenya was a Kiswahili speaking country with a political system replete with class, tribal, party, religious, cultural and even racist interests. The political system was therefore endemic to a lot of conflict and show of power that usually played out during rally harangues. Political speech making was therefore a time to calculate, strategize, influence, coerce, promise or even revise and declare party or even government positions.

Habwe (2010) in his study of the role of dialogue in Kenyan political speeches, defined dialogue as discourse activity in which two or more participants took turns. He mentioned that Njogu (1994) argued that the alternating turns could be realized in the present, past or future, making dialogue a highly fluid discourse structure with a retrogressive or progressive trait. Most texts then had the potential feature of dialogic interaction and structure. Habwe’s (2010) study was however concerned with a dialogue interaction that was physically present and realized as so, redefining the speaker as animator and audience at the same time and vice versa. His findings revealed that the audience could set the topic of the day in dialogue by rejecting what the speaker wanted to discuss and re-directing the topic to what they desired:

Speaker: sisi ni namba ngapi? (What position are we?)
Audience: ungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalungalu (flour! flour! flour!)

In this case, the speaker had to address the issues raised by the audience. Failure to do so would lead to the audience being restless. Citing a speech in his study, the study revealed that a dialogic strategy could be used by a politician to gauge his popularity. In this case, he initiated a dialogue and when the audience replied in the affirmative and support, that became a confirmation of his popularity. This was important in political discourse whose purpose was to persuade the electorate to view issues from the speaker’s point of view. When the audience supported a speaker’s position, the speaker had managed to project a positive self-presentation. To further popularize a position, agenda, party or political figure, a speaker could initiate what Haugerud and Njogu (1991) called stage-managed drama. In such kinds of drama, the politician planted his ‘supporters’ among the audience to keep cheering the speaker every time he initiated a dialogue. This however could sometimes work against the speaker. Habwe (2010) further revealed that a dialogue could be initiated via rhetorical questions. In this case, the speaker posed a rhetorical question and the response was given by the audience. In that way, the speaker observed the politeness maxim for not uttering a face-threatening act by himself. He would take cover under the rhetoric question.

The study concluded that Kenyan political rallies were replete with dialogic structures, which rather than being just normative, served certain pragmatic functions: to retain audience interest, to generate support, act as a politeness strategy and also to monitor the effect of their message to the audience. The dramatic strategy, though of great benefit to the speaker, most times put the speaker at the mercy of the audience who could cheer or jeer him. The Gricean model provided an understanding of this kind of talk where what was to be said was only implied, leaving the audience with varied interpretations. In discourse, this implication constituted an implicit metaphor.

The politeness maxim in Habwe (2010) was further seen in Clarrisa (2012) who studied the function of Kiswahili metaphorical speech under three approaches: the metaphor as a face-saving strategy, the metaphor as a decorative device and the power of ambiguity. These three were stated as hypotheses: the politeness hypothesis, the stylistic hypothesis and the cognitive hypothesis. She addressed the question if and how one could reconcile the sometimes apparently contradictory functions of metaphor by posing the question: was the metaphor a (revealing) conceptual mechanism or a (disgusting) poetic device? Lastly, she dealt with the poetic domains which draw on the poetic metaphor’s essential characteristic: ambiguity. On the face-saving hypothesis, Clarrisa (2012) said:

...we can refer to Rose Marie Beck, who has analyzed the use of kanga, a wrap with a printed message, as a means of communication, where the intention to pass on an often problematical message is key. She gives the example of a divorced girl whose behavior was considered immoral and promiscuous (Beck 2001a). Thus, she received a kanga from her grandmother with a printed message “Mtungi umevundika” which literally means “the pot is broken”, referring to her lost virginity – according to Beck a harsh form of criticism conveyed through the face protecting metaphor. In terms of Brown and Levinson’s politeness theory (1987), the use of the kanga described by Beck can be considered as an off-record or indirect politeness strategy, since it removes the speaker from the possibility of imposing, while still voicing the concern.

On political poetry, she asserted that political poetry with critical and provocative messages drew its force from ambiguity. The poetic capacity was grounded in its essential ambiguity. The poetic metaphor had multiple references precisely because it was not part of a common store of idioms. She demonstrated that metaphorical expressions fitted religious and philosophical poetry and that Kiswahili religious poetry was full of metaphors. On erotic poetry, she cited a poem ‘Utendi Wa Mwana Mnga’ attributed to Fumo Liyongo where the women’s body
parts were likened to fruits and other objects found in nature. Fumo Liyongo explained matters in such a way that if they were read in public, no one felt embarrassed, but generally speaking, the matters were not spoken about in public. Thus, he concealed them, making them powerful. There was a sense of speaking while denying the act of speaking. Clarissa’s (2012) study is a reminder of the kanga and their printed messages. The messages therein are proverbial (and metaphorical) in nature and conceal a lot of information. They are a powerful means of communication that are worthy of a study.

Concealed information is powerful as Clarissa (2012) demonstrated. Michira (2014) carried out a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of the 2013 Kenyan Presidential Campaign Discourse. He applied critical and descriptive methods of CDA to analyze and unpack linguistic persuasive strategies, concealed meanings and ideologies in the presidential campaign discourses in Kenya leading to the 4 March, 2013 General Elections. Primary data (speeches, party manifestoes and campaign video clips) as well as secondary data (newspapers and on-line services) were used to analyze the rhetorical devices and strategies used by the main contenders for the presidency.

The author argued and demonstrated that language was a powerful tool that politicians seeking political power used both to communicate their policies and ideological positions and to create certain perceptions in order to influence and manipulate the voters with a view to gaining advantage over their opponents.

The study analyzed the discourse at the levels of vocabulary/diction, grammar, semantics and pragmatic strategies including implicatures. He analyzed the party and alliance names, contrastive pairs, the young versus the old guard, the digital versus the analogue, Us versus Them, the metaphorical nominalizations “Hustler”, Euphemistic Implicatures (Prayer Rallies), rhetorical strategies (riddles, metaphors, allegories, proverbs, Biblical allusions) among others.

On metaphors, he looked at the football commentary metaphors used by two presidential contenders as a rhetoric strategy. He concluded that various rhetorical and semiotic techniques communicated concealed messages. He further concluded that such coded communication techniques could have been used to avoid contravening the provisions of the constitution and the attendant legal challenges. Michira (2014) rightly pointed out what political leaders practice when he stated:

The speakers presented a “national” image (rather than the real “ethnic”) identity, disguising party ideologies.

Conclusion

The studies reviewed earlier have shown that a metaphor is a cognitive device and pervades political discourse. In the studies, metaphors were used to propagate political ideals and political ideologies. The studies have also revealed that political discourse has been studied using both Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). Using CMT, source domains in the studies were mapped onto the target domains where target domains acted as sources of conceptual metaphors. The mapping principle of source and target domains was used to fulfill persuasive and rhetorical goals in political discourse. Features of conceptual sources could however be manipulated for positive rather than negative rhetorical ends. The use of body parts to generate metaphors as used in Persian political texts emphasized the idea that metaphors are generated from body experience but formed by cultural realization. The studies further revealed that metaphors could be used as a face-saving strategy and could conceal vital information. Further, the studies were a convincing proof that scholarly research on metaphors in political discourse was a strong basis for critical analysis of discourse produced by politicians. However, the study of metaphor needs a combination of theories. No one theory is suffice for metaphor study.

Conflict of Interest

The author has not declared any conflict of interests.

REFERENCES


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