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University of Glasgow

The Use of Metaphors in Nelson Mandela's Autobiography and their Relation to his Social Roles

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Abstract

This dissertation presents a study of figurative language, metaphor in particular, in Nelson Mandela's autobiography *Long Walk to Freedom* (2013 [1994]). Nelson Mandela is undoubtedly a symbol of the struggle for justice, dignity and equality all around the world, but he is also famous for the way he handles language. The study focuses on metaphorical linguistic expressions broadly related to the conceptual domains of war/destruction, religion and nature/environment. The first hypothesis is that expressions which are related to the domain of war/destruction are encountered the most during the narration of the first years of his activity (early adulthood and especially when he went underground, created Umkhonto we Sizwe and joined the communist party) and decrease in frequency as he grows older (expressly during his imprisonment and then when he was released and became the president of South Africa). The second hypothesis is that the frequency of metaphorical expressions connected with the domains of religion and nature/environment remains stable during the narration of his lifetime. The third and final hypothesis is that the frequency of the use of such metaphorical expressions is influenced by the social roles that the leader adopted in each part of his life. His life was eventful and turbulent and the social roles he carried out were numerous.

In order to provide evidence for my hypotheses, I carried out a close reading of the autobiography in order to find all the relevant expressions and then proceeded to a qualitative and quantitative analysis. Based on Emmott's typology of 'split selves' in narrative, I analyzed Mandela's character, outlined the different social roles he adopted in his lifetime, and established the extent of the mapping between the metaphorical expressions and these social roles. Indeed, my first hypothesis, concerning the frequency of metaphors from the conceptual domain of war/destruction was verified; as for the data for metaphors related to religion and nature/environment, the results gave a more complex picture and can be explained by Mandela's experiences at specific times in his life. Finally, my third hypothesis was also broadly confirmed, as the frequency of metaphors can be seen to match to the examined social roles.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

[A] son who breaks from his family and tradition; a voice for liberty who is captured, isolated and imprisoned; a revolutionary who transcends conflict to become a peacemaker and unifier; and a rare human being who, on freeing himself of his demons, also became free to give his extraordinary leadership to his country and the world. (Clinton, in Mandela 2013 [1994])

These words are from President Bill Clinton in the introduction to Nelson Mandela's autobiography. However, this description is not enough to fully depict the grandeur and glory of the first black president of South Africa who devoted his life to fighting against injustice. Nevertheless, it more than adequately reveals to the reader that Mandela was a man who survived difficult situations and underwent a lot of changes in his lifetime. His charisma in leadership is beyond question, as too is his ability to communicate with the masses. This dissertation will focus on one text drawn from Mandela's extensive written and spoken output, his autobiography, *Long Walk to Freedom*.

1.1 Research questions

This research will examine the frequency of metaphorical expressions related to the conceptual domains of war/destruction, religion and nature/environment in Nelson Mandela's autobiography *Long Walk to Freedom* and it will seek to establish whether or not the frequency of metaphors is connected to the social roles he adopted during his lifetime.

When I chose the topic of this research, there had already been a significant amount of work on the African leader, as he is considered one of the most popular and charismatic politicians of the 20th century, the leader of the oppressed, and a substantial symbol against apartheid. There has been work carried out on him from every possible perspective, from politics and history to psychology and of course, linguistics. There are even articles commenting on his leadership style as far as the use of language is concerned, with particular reference to the use of metaphor. Nevertheless, my research differs from existing work as it combines more than one discipline, drawing on metaphor studies, corpus linguistics, and the notion of 'social roles', adopted from psychology, in the treatment of a single text, Mandela's autobiography.

The dissertation seeks to answer two questions. Firstly, does the frequency of the metaphorical expressions coming from the conceptual domains of war/destruction, religion

and nature/environment change throughout the narration of Mandela's autobiography? Secondly, is the frequency of metaphors used in the book connected to the social roles that the leader adopted in his lifetime? Thus, the first hypothesis is that expressions which are related to the domain of war/destruction are encountered more often in the narration of the first years of his activity (early adulthood and especially when he went underground, created Umkhonto we Sizwe and joined the communist party) and decrease in frequency as he grows older (expressly during his imprisonment and then when he was released and became the president of South Africa). A second hypothesis is that the frequency of metaphorical expressions connected with the domains of religion and nature/environment remains stable during the narration of his lifetime. The third and final hypothesis would be that I expect the frequency of use of such metaphorical expressions to be influenced by the social roles that the leader adopted in each part of his life.

1.2. Mandela's life

During his life and after his death in December 2013, countless books, articles, documentaries and even a movie have been created about the extraordinary life of probably the most famous African leader, Rolihlala, known in the public eye as Nelson Mandela. Many social, cultural and political commentators have worked and published material on his life and writings. In order to understand all these people's interest in him, the different aspects of his life and the social roles he adopted at different times, a short summary of the main points of his lifetime is given here. In this summary, emphasis is put on dates rather than themes in order to understand better the division of the book's chapters and, furthermore, how the analyzed social roles map onto the different parts of the leader's life.

Mandela was born in July 1918 in Transkei, South Africa. He attended a primary school near Qunu, where he received his English name (Nelson) from his teacher. At the age of twelve his father died, consequently he was entrusted to his father's cousin, the Thembu Regent Jongintaba Dalindyebo. In 1934, he started attending classes in Clarkebury Boarding Institute, three years later he moved to the Wesleyan College, and in 1939 he enrolled at the University College of Fort Hare, from which he was expelled three years later due to his participation in a student strike. He finally completed his BA in 1942 through the University of South Africa and in the same year he began informally attending the meetings of the African National Congress (ANC). During the following year, he enrolled at Wits University for an LL.B. In 1944, Mandela co-founded the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) for which he would later become national

secretary and president. In the same year, he married his first wife with whom he would have four children.

A pivotal moment in Mandela's life was in 1952, when the ANC's non-violent Defiance campaign began and he was arrested and sentenced to nine months of imprisonment, which was suspended for two years. In the same year, he was also elected as Transvaal president of the ANC (then the first deputy president) and later, he opened his own law firm with Oliver Tambo. In 1953, he devised the M-plan (a simple plan for organization, so that the ANC's volunteers would be able to keep in touch with people and mobilize them) that opened the way for the Congress' future underground operations. In 1955, he was consulted for the Freedom Charter which was launched at Kliptown, although he was not able to attend the launch. The following year, on the 5th of December, he was arrested with Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu and 153 others for treason. In 1958, he divorced from his first wife and married his second wife Winnie, with whom he had two more daughters. During 1960, the most important events were the Sharpeville Massacre, which was followed by the imposition of a state of emergency (seeing Mandela detained among thousands of others) and by the end of April the ANC was banned. What is more, 1961 was the year that he went underground and MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe) was formed. MK was the armed wing of the ANC. During 1962, Mandela left the country for military training as well as to find supporters for the ANC. After returning to South Africa in July, he was arrested again and this time he was sentenced to a five-year imprisonment for incitement, but also for leaving the country without a passport. On 27th of May 1963, he was sent to Robben Island, only to return later to Pretoria's local prison.

By the beginning of October 1963, he appeared for the first time in court on the so-called 'Rivonia Trial' and by the end of this year he pleaded not guilty. In June of the following year, he arrived again at Robben Island to stay there for eighteen years. In March 1982, Mandela was sent to Pollsmoor prison. In 1982, he rejected the South African president's offer of release if he renounced violence. The following years were troublesome for the African leader as he was admitted and discharged several times from hospital with various diseases.

In the new decade, Mandela's life changed radically. In 1990 the ANC's legality was reconsidered, he was finally released from prison and he was elected as ANC's Deputy President. Later on, he was awarded the Nobel Peace prize, he voted for the first time in his life, and he was elected as the first president of the democratic South Africa and then of the Republic of South Africa. His autobiography *Long Walk to Freedom*, which forms the

focus of this dissertation, was published in 1994. Subsequently, he established the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund, divorced his second wife to marry his third on his 80th birthday and finally, by the end of the 1990s, he stepped down from the presidency and established the Nelson Mandela Foundation. In the following years, Mandela established another foundation (the Mandela Rhodes Foundation), but he was diagnosed with cancer and announced that he would stay out of public life. A touching moment of his life was when he turned 90 and asked the people of future generations to continue fighting for social justice. After 2010, as his health was gradually declining, he chose to make only occasional appearances at world events and only to meet people of high social status. He also published two more books *Conversations with Myself* in 2010 and *Nelson Mandela by Himself: the Authorized Book of Quotations* in 2011. On the 5th of December 2013 the African leader died.¹

The social roles that Nelson Mandela adopted throughout his life will be grounded in this summary of his life. It will be used in the main part of the dissertation as follows: the book which forms the focus of this research, Mandela's autobiography, has eleven chapters; each of these eleven chapters will be mapped onto specific years of his life. The analysis of the frequency of metaphors will be based on this separation of chapters, years and pages of each chapter, as well as the final comparison of the numerical data collected in order to verify my hypotheses. The last part of the dissertation links the metaphors to the social roles that Mandela adopted. The final part needs not only the results of the corpus linguistics approach, but also the summary/timeline with the salient events of his whole lifetime, in order to obtain a more holistic approach to the topic and understand the reasons why he adopts each social role at that specific part of his life and why there may be a correspondence with the frequency of the metaphors found.

The parts of Nelson Mandela's autobiography *Long Walk to Freedom* (2013 [1994]), as separated by the leader himself, are linked to the years of his life as shown below:

Chapter one: 'A Country Childhood' (pp 3-56) 1918 to 1941

Chapter two: 'Johannesburg' (pp 59-85) 1941 to 1942

Chapter three: 'Birth of a Freedom Fighter' (pp 89-130) 1942 to 1952

Chapter four: 'The Struggle Is My Life' (pp 133-182) 1952 to 1956

¹ Details of Mandela's life are based on the timeline given by the Nelson Mandela Foundation (<http://www.nelsonmandela.org/content/page/timeline>) and Tames (1991).

Chapter five: ‘Treason’ (pp 185-248) 1956 to 1961

Chapter six: ‘The Black Pimpernel’ (pp 251-315) 1961 to 1962

Chapter seven: ‘Rivonia’ (pp 319-362) 1962 to 1964

Chapter eight: ‘Robben Island: The Dark Years’ (pp 365-430) 1964 to 1969

Chapter nine: ‘Robben Island: Beginning to Hope’ (pp 433-493) 1969 to 1982

Chapter ten: ‘Talking with the Enemy’ (pp 497-543) 1982 to 1990

Chapter eleven: ‘Freedom’ (pp 547-611) 1990 to 1994

1.3. Dissertation structure

Following this introductory chapter, chapter two is the literature review. General background on the theoretical context of the dissertation is given. Specifically, this includes metaphor as a figure of speech, cognitive linguistics and the connection of the field with ‘split selves’ theory and, finally, social roles are presented, analyzed and linked to the topic.

The third chapter sets out the methodology adopted. The three basic research methods being used are discussed. These are: close reading of the autobiography, the linguistic analysis that is related to the qualitative and quantitative research of the corpus, as well as the ‘split selves’ theory and the way the dissertation applies this theory.

The fourth chapter is on the social roles that Mandela adopted in his lifetime. First, the moments and the events that changed his life radically are given. Then, several of the social roles the leader adopted are cited, to end the chapter with the most basic social roles that are actually under the microscope in the present dissertation, as these are the roles whose correlation with the use of metaphorical expressions is examined.

The fifth chapter and the Appendix include all the metaphors belonging to the domains of war/destruction, religion and nature/environment which were found in the close reading of the book. There is also a short introduction to Mandela’s language and the way he used metaphors, as well as brief explanations for the inclusion of specific metaphorical expressions.

The sixth chapter of the dissertation presents the results of the research. After a quantitative overview and the discussion of frequencies, there is a qualitative analysis of

the metaphors found and their correspondence with the social roles Mandela adopted in his lifetime.

The seventh and final chapter of this dissertation is the conclusion. This includes a short summary of the main points of the analysis and explains the significance of the research. The dissertation ends with suggestions for further research which may follow from this work.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The following chapter includes the necessary theoretical background on the areas touched on by this research. Thus, relevant background information on metaphor, cognition, ‘split selves’ theory in narration and social roles, respectively, is given.

2.1. General background on metaphor and cognition

Metaphor, like simile, personification, onomatopoeia, oxymoron, paradox, idiom, hyperbole etc, is a part of figurative language, i.e. words or groups of words that usually alter the conventional meaning of the existing words by creating analogies and/or exaggerations and in this way give them a new dimension, either to be better understood or for the sake of rhetoric. Recently, Eubanks explicitly stated how important figurative language in writing is by saying ‘[i]f we want to think more carefully about who writers are, what writing is, and how writing affects our lives, we should pay attention to our figurative language and thought’ (2011: 13). This departure from the basic meaning of the words can be either deliberate or part of a more subconscious process.

Metaphor lies right at the heart of every language. On the one hand, Gibbs claims that metaphor does not require extraordinary effort to be understood or produced, as it is a natural outcome of the system of human cognition and, also, part of everyday communicative practices (2008: 3). On the other hand, still being part of cognition, metaphor can be deliberately produced and used overtly and intentionally by the speaker to produce a specific effect. In this case, it needs effort, charisma and techniques to be produced.

Metaphor has always been closely related to political speech as a kind of strategy, because by articulating his or her vision in a specific way, the speaker empowers it and trust upon it can be built more easily. Even from the time of ancient Greece and the later Roman Empire, there were philosophers and thinkers well aware of the fact that language is integral to politics (known as the art of rhetoric). Aristotle believed, as he wrote in *Rhetoric*, that metaphor is something exceptional because of the effect that it could have in specific types of speech or writing, depending always on the individual who uses it (Chilton, 2006: 63). Charteris-Black highlights the importance of the figure of speech in designing a unique and successful leadership style. To be more specific, he claims that ‘[m]etaphors communicate visions and values and create the impression of the leader’s self-legitimacy and the illegitimacy of his rivals [and this is why they tend to choose words

for their metaphorical expressions] that create semantic tensions between their original and novel contexts of use' (2007: 26, [editorial note D.F.]). Mandela had undoubtedly the charisma to influence people through his words and it has been shown that he was a leader who used stylistic features like metaphor as an instrument of persuasion. It has been argued that the style of his leadership changed over his lifetime, transforming him from a party political leader to a national leader and then symbolically, a leader of mankind (Charteris-Black, 2007:104). This is one of the reasons why it is interesting to find out whether or not this change can be seen in the use of metaphorical expressions in his autobiography.

Lakoff and Johnson were the first to relate human cognition and cognitive linguistics to metaphor analysis, since they agreed that the neural theory of language allows us to understand why language can be so powerful (1980). Furthermore, metaphors are part of utterances, as they are like analogies, when these utterances, as Sperber and Wilson note, can achieve relevance only by producing cognitive effects, either stronger or weaker (2008: 98). Moreover, it should be mentioned that in order to identify, recognize [or even produce] a metaphorical utterance, the context and the topic of discourse, the speaker's intention as well as other presuppositions should be taken into consideration (Stern, 2008: 270). Hence, the fact that the present dissertation is based on an autobiography written by a politician should be born in mind as he might have deployed specific metaphors to convey a particular ideological meaning.

As the dissertation is based wholly on metaphor, it is important to be clear what exactly it is. Most of the metaphorical expressions that have been found and taken into consideration in the text are the linguistic manifestations of conceptual metaphors, i.e. metaphors that arise when we understand one conceptual domain in terms of another one through a set of mappings or systematic correspondences and by means of a formula X is Y or X as Y (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). They often serve the purpose of clarifying concepts that are difficult to understand. The human body, health and illness, animals, plants, buildings and constructions, machines and tools, games and sport, money and economic transactions, business in general, cooking and food, heat and cold, light and darkness, movement and direction are the most common source domains, while emotion, desire, morality, thought, society/nation, politics, economy, human relationships, communication, time, life and death, religion, events and actions are common target domains. Source domains are typically concrete concepts whereas common target domains are abstract (Kövecses, 2010: 18-29). What is more, a common way of classifying conceptual metaphors is according to the functions they perform, as far as cognition is concerned. In this way, we come up with

three categories that may coincide in some cases; structural, ontological and orientational (personification can be considered a form of ontological metaphor) (Kövecses, 2010: 37-40). Finally, we should bear in mind that they can come from either human knowledge or images (image-schema metaphors).

From the fact that particular metaphors in language are reflections of metaphors in thought, it follows that '[m]etaphor analysis is a task for the linguist who wishes to describe and explain the structure and function of language' (Steen, 1999: 59). So, if we understand the way cognition works, we may gain some insights into why people behave the way they do, because we all have multiple cognitive strategies available to us and we always choose one based on our personal needs, motives or goals (Hogg and Vaughan, 2002: 41-45).

2.2. Mandela, his narration and 'split selves' theory

In the dissertation, Emmott's 'split selves' theory was taken into consideration firstly to form the topic and then it was partially applied, as I am looking at whether or not the different 'selves' of Mandela are clear in his biography through the analysis of the frequencies of metaphors coming from the conceptual domains of war/destruction, religion and nature/environment. In other words, the 'split selves' that I am examining are the social roles that the leader adopted in his lifetime, as well as whether or not there is a connection with the present narrator of the autobiography.

Emmott combines narrative and cognitive linguistic theory by introducing the idea of 'split selves' in fiction and in medical 'life stories'. She finds different types of 'split selves' and in some cases even sub-categories. The first is the complex, multi-faceted self with sub-categories related to the nature of the mind (emotion and intellect), the dualism between body and mind as well as social roles or imaginary selves. Moreover, she comments on the changing self for characters in narration that are constantly updated. A 'split self', though, can be due to the act of narration and in this way, Emmott analyzes narrative juxtaposition and '[t]he double/multiple selves of the first-person narrator' (2002: 170). She also examines and reviews the idea of 'split selves' combined with the notion of identity in narrative analysis (2002: 153-181).

Cobley defines narrative as the 'moment from a start point to an end point, with digressions, which involves the showing or the telling of story events [or in other words] [n]arrative is a re-presentation of events and, chiefly, re-presents space and time' (2001: 236-237, [editorial note D.F.]). The research in this dissertation is based on a non-fiction thematic category of narrative, as the corpus for analysis is Mandela's autobiography.

Olney argues that in autobiographies there is a tension between critical interpretation and remembrance and this type of writing can be considered as a metaphor mediating between a present and a past self or even between an internal and an external self (1972: 33). The narrator of the book is the leader himself, thus, we are dealing with a first person narration of the events. Moreover, Emmott suggests that '[f]irst person narration intertwines different voices of an individual since most first person narration involves a narrative self (self1) looking back in time at events involving an earlier version of the self (self2)' (2002: 171). As far as this dissertation is concerned, 'self 1' is Mandela the writer-narrator, while included with (self 2) are multiple earlier versions of himself and the social roles that he adopted. 'Self 2' in first person narration can consist of multiple past selves, just like the social roles, because as I try to demonstrate, all the past selves and social roles have the ability to affect up to a point the current self and narrator and dimensions of his story. Finally, it should be noted that the metaphors used by the leader, in some cases, may convey priorities that are retrospective and not a result of a subconscious procedure. That is a problem of narration in autobiographies. It is not, however, a problem here.. If my initial hypothesis on the frequencies of the expressions of the selected conceptual domains is verified, this will constitute evidence in support of the narrator being influenced by his past selves (self 2). On the contrary, if my hypothesis is not verified, it is possible that it may result from the fact that a number of metaphors that Mandela used were deployed to convey a specific ideological meaning or priorities ex post facto.

2.3. Social roles

All the world's a stage

And all the men and women merely players:

They have their exits, and their entrances;

And one man in his time plays many parts...²

This famous quote, taken from Shakespeare's pastoral comedy *As You Like It*, captures and summarizes at the same time the whole idea of social roles, as well as conveying their importance in people's lives. To begin with, the question of the nature of a social role should be answered. Most people do not behave in a random way in everyday situations, but they follow a particular set of patterns in order to meet specific expectations. Edelman expresses the same idea by writing that

² <http://shakespeare.mit.edu/asyoulikeit/asyoulikeit.2.7.html>

‘[c]ommon political situations and organizational settings permit officials, administrators, economists, clinical psychologists, social workers and other “policymakers” to remain in their positions of authority only so long as they hold to the norms that are taken for granted within the organization that employs them’ (1977).

A clear definition of what a social role is was given by Hogg and Vaughan who note that it is all about patterns of behaviors that have the ability to distinguish between different activities in a group, but at the same time they interrelate to one another (2002: 51), when at the same time someone’s social identity is the self-concept that usually derives from membership of these social groups (2002: 122) and personal identity is self definition as far as idiosyncratic personal traits and relationships are concerned (2002: 122). In this way, roles are directly related to the behavior that individuals are expected to adopt when they occupy a social position or status. Social roles, though, are not reinforced only by the community, but also by the individual him or herself for various different reasons. However, according to Goffman, sometimes the impression of a specific kind that the individual gives, which is rooted in the traditions of a particular role, is neither conscious nor unconscious (1959: 6). What is more, stability is a characteristic that they share with the usage of roles in the theater; actors/people change, nevertheless the role remains relatively the same. These behaviors-roles that people adopt so that they ‘fit’ in a social role are called social norms and they can be considered as a part of the socialization process. Norms may be regarded as rules, not written ones, but defined by society in general. This set of rules is actually the accepted standards of someone’s behavior in the community.

It can be argued that language has both social and psychological consequences for people and this is examined by the science of social psychology with a further specialization in language, which indeed studies language in both social and psychological contexts. So, nowadays, it is commonly accepted that language is being used by speakers in order to achieve their interpersonal goals or perform different kind of tasks that demand communications to be accomplished. This is possible because it is a flexible system and most of the times its meanings are locally determined. What is more,

‘Fishman (1970) stresses that language is not merely a carrier of content, whether latent or manifest [because] [l]anguage itself is a content, a referent for loyalties and animosities, an indicator of social statuses and personal relationships, a marker of situations and topics as well as the societal goals

and the large-scale value-laden arenas of interaction that typify every speech community' (quoted in Giles and Powesland 1975: 9, [editorial note D.F.]).

Both speech and written discourse can be seen as reflections of a person's social status, social roles and social identity. With that in mind, the hypotheses were formed, that the frequency of the metaphorical expressions from domains that influence people's lives (specifically war/destruction, religion and nature/environment) would map on to the social roles that Nelson Mandela adopted in his lifetime.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The complex issues involved in this research require a number of different methodological approaches as set out below.

3.1. Close reading of the autobiography

Metaphor is a rather complicated figure of speech to examine as it depends on numerous factors, both agentive (such as the agent's language, cultural or educational background, age, experience of the field etc) and contextual (including the textual, situational and cultural context). As Charteris-Black notes, '[o]ne of the major problems for corpus investigations of metaphor is the reliable identification of metaphors in the first place' (2004: 35). For this reason the research takes as a starting point a close reading of Mandela's autobiography *Long Walk to Freedom*. This allows for the identification of all metaphorical expressions in the book, and their categorization into groups of expressions that are related to the conceptual domains of war/destruction, religion and nature/environment.

The research in the dissertation will be based on nine of the eleven chapters of the book, specifically chapters three to eleven. This is because the research interest here is in how metaphors from the conceptual domains of war/destruction, religion and nature/environment are connected with Mandela's social roles. In his early years, detailed in chapters one and two, Mandela was not involved in any kind of war and sometimes decisions about him were made by relatives and care takers.

In addition, it should be noted that for the data collection only those parts that are narrative will be used. For this reason, four pages of the seventh chapter will be excluded from the results, as they were extracts from the speeches Mandela gave in his defense during the Rivonia Trial.

3.2. Identifying metaphors

Due to the difficulties in identifying metaphor mentioned above, an objective way of finding them should be adopted and used. Indeed, in 2007, the Metaphor Identification Procedure (or MIP) was developed by ten metaphor researchers, known as the Pragglejaz Group. This procedure focuses on the identification and the linguistic analysis of lexical units being used metaphorically in discourse.

1. Read the entire text/discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
2. Determine the lexical units in the text/discourse.
3. A. For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, i.e. how it applies to an entity, relation or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take account what comes before and after the lexical unit. B. for each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other concepts than the one in the given text. For our purposes, basic meaning tends to be: i) more concrete; what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell and taste ii) related to bodily action iii) more precise (as opposed to vague) iv) historically older. Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit. C. if the lexical unit has a more current/contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.
4. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical. (Steen et al, 2010: 5-6)

Following the MIP procedure, metaphors in the main text of the research, Mandela's autobiography, were identified. It was the best way in order to avoid any mistakes that would make the results unreliable. Nevertheless there still may be some limitations in the final findings. These limitations result mainly from cultural variation in metaphor. Kövecses distinguishes two kinds of cultural variation which are a) cross-cultural (intercultural variation) and b) within the same culture (intracultural variation) (2010: 215). The possible problem in the dissertation will lie with the first type of cultural variation in metaphor, as there are two basic factors to take into consideration, or two 'obstacles' to overcome. The first is that the African leader wrote his autobiography in English, but he was not a native speaker himself. Nelson Mandela was a native speaker of Xhosa, one of the official languages of South Africa. He learnt English at school and he studied in English, but thinking of the broader regional cultural context and the differences in the natural and physical environment of Africa, the use of language in general and metaphors in particular may differ. The second factor that may affect this research is that I am not a native speaker myself. As a starting point, MIP was not just useful, it was vital, and secondly, as far as the vocabulary is concerned, the use of dictionaries in some cases was

necessary. Therefore, the electronic version of the OED³ was used to provide me with the definitions of the words I was unsure about in order to make clear later whether their use was metaphorical or not. However, unfortunately, there will be always the risk of misidentification due to cultural differences.

Another issue to be taken into consideration is the concept of dead metaphor. A dead metaphor is a metaphor that has lost its original force, as well as its imagery, and its metaphorical meaning goes unnoticed by most speakers because of its frequent use. According to the degree of that loss and its usage, a metaphor can also be characterized as conventional, dormant/inactive and historical. Kövecses notes that ‘what is deeply entrenched, hardly noticed, and thus effortlessly used is more active in our thought’ (2010: xi) and he concludes that metaphorical expressions characterized as dead are actually alive in the important sense that they govern our thought (2010: xi). As a result, the assertion that metaphors characterized as dead still carry trace of the original source domain can be defended. What is more, Lakoff (1987) argues that the definition of dead metaphor is theory-dependent and consequently problems arise. He approaches differently the life and death of metaphors, and suggests avoiding the use of the traditional term ‘dead metaphor’. As expected, there are scholars who disagree with his point of view, such as Pawelec (2006) who writes that Lakoff’s beliefs lead to uncomfortable consequences because he is forced to redefine the literal in a way that is empirically untenable. The conventionality or death of a metaphor is still considered controversial and highly subjective. Indeed, Bowdle and Gentner in their hypothesis on ‘the career of metaphor’ (2005) show that a metaphor can be characterized as dead only when speakers process it as categorization and not as a comparison, based on the way they understand the metaphorical mappings between the source and the target domain. Bearing in mind all of these issues, there is a possibility that some of the metaphorical expressions used in this research and included in the appendices may be characterized as dead by some language users. Finally, in the corpus (i.e. Mandela’s autobiography) many different types of metaphors can be found; about Mandela, about his situation, as well as everyday expressions that do not have to do with the leader’s worldview but are a result of his experiences. For the research and its findings, all these types of metaphors were taken into consideration in order to have a fuller understanding of his writing and perhaps an insight into his thoughts.

3.3. A corpus linguistic approach to Mandela’s autobiography

³ The OED was chosen mainly because it enabled me to identify and consider the historical senses of the words.

Corpus linguistics allows for a combined qualitative and quantitative approach to the data, which in turns enables the presentation of a wider picture of Mandela's use of metaphor. '[C]orpus linguistics lends itself to quantitative analysis: that is, using corpora and search tools, we can count things, identify frequencies and distributions, and so we can propose, in principle, reliable and generalisable statements about how language works' (Anderson and Corbett, 2009: 22). The objective of the quantitative research here is to develop my theory and verify my hypothesis that metaphors related to the conceptual domain of war/destruction are used more to relate to the first part of Mandela's life, and they decrease in frequency and importance later on, while metaphorical expressions that are connected with the conceptual domains of religion and nature/environment remain stable throughout the narration of his autobiography. In the case of this dissertation, the process of measuring the frequencies, which will provide the vital numerical data for the conclusions, will be among the different chapters of the book, i.e. the different parts of the African leader's life. Tables and quantitative analysis will be performed using Microsoft Excel.

The quantitative research will be followed by qualitative analysis of the metaphorical expressions and the context in which they are found. Qualitative research is used, in general, to explore an issue further, to understand it and then give a fuller answer to the question set. By the use of it in my dissertation, I will examine, analyze and, in chapter six, interpret the observations. By doing so, based on the frequencies, vocabulary or the general meaning of the metaphorical expressions (as well as, in some cases, the context in which it is found) it will become feasible to link the metaphors used by Mandela with the social roles he adopted during his lifetime.

I adopt Antconc (Anthony, 2011) for this research. Antconc is a freely available corpus analysis program that can help me further analyze my data and verify, by cross-checking, what I have already found at the close reading stage. Additionally, Antconc gives the user the option of concordancing, i.e. viewing words or phrases in their immediate context, which is helpful for the qualitative approach of the research. My source data is a text-only version of Nelson Mandela's autobiography, *Long Walk to Freedom*. Concordances combined with file views will be used for double checking of the data and for a more developed qualitative approach.

3.4. 'Split selves' theory as the basis for defining Mandela's roles

In her 2002 article, Emmott developed the typology of 'split selves' in narrative. While she examined fictional texts and non-fiction medical life stories, parts of her typology can also be applied to autobiography (e.g. Neary (2009) for an analysis of Gandhi's 'split selves').

Nelson Mandela was a person who adopted many different social roles during his lifetime. There are many discussions both before and after his death about the impressive changes he went through and how cleverly he managed to adapt to the needs of each new situation. In this way, drawing on some of his biographies and articles that have been written about him, the social roles he embraced will be defined and explored, in order to investigate the possibility that there is a correlation between social roles and the types of metaphor used in the autobiography. Therefore, after the analysis of the metaphorical expressions, Nelson Mandela's 'split selves' will be established based on Emmott's theory. The last part of the dissertation will constitute a linking of Mandela's different social roles to the frequency of the metaphors from the conceptual domains of war/destruction, religion and nature/environment in the autobiography, with a view to establishing whether the use and frequency of these specific expressions is directly related to the social roles he adopted.

Chapter 4: Mandela's social roles

4.1. Introduction to the social roles of the African leader

Nelson Mandela was without any doubt a man with an extraordinary life and career. Many people have tried to describe, write about or even depict his life, his personality, his truth, his goals and achievements both before and after his death, both before and after his imprisonment, and both before and after he became a symbol of a liberation struggle and a representative of human rights. The task is demanding and more than difficult for many and various reasons. The reason that is most closely related to the present dissertation is that the African leader changed during his lifetime. He lived a long life and his journey from youth to maturity was adventurous with experiences that have the power to change radically one's life. These experiences and his aim of creating a new democratic state of South Africa, which values and treats all its citizens in the same way, were the reason for his transformation and his adoption of multiple social roles and identities.

There are statements in the literature that show the complexity of his character describing a few of the experiences he had and connecting them to the roles he adopted. In Mandela's book *Conversations with Myself*, the current president of the USA, Barack Obama, wrote in the foreword about him that

'[a] prisoner became a free man; a liberation's figure became a passionate voice for reconciliation; a party leader became a president who advanced democracy and development [...] we see him as a scholar and politician; as a family man and friend; as a visionary and pragmatic leader' (2010: xi-xii).

In this way, he portrayed part of the leader's life and roles and at the same time gave the chance to Verne Harris, the project leader of Mandela's Centre of Memory and Dialogue, to claim in the introduction to the same book how troublesome it can be to understand him by saying 'He is "the leader", "the president", "the public representative", "the icon". Only glimpses of the person behind the persona have shone through. The questions remain: Who is he, really? What does he really think?' (2010: xvi). In a clearer way, Boehmer in her book *Nelson Mandela: A Very Short Introduction* sheds some more light on the man's charm, as she noted about him and his social roles that

'[a]cross his life Mandela has filled a rich range of roles: diligent student, city-slicker, dashing guerrilla, the world's longest suffering political prisoner, the millennial savior figure, and so on. He has proved to be a versatile, even

postmodern, shape shifter who at each stage of his career, or his shape shifting, succeeded in projecting an omnibus appeal' (2008: 5).

4.2. Important facts and events in Mandela's life

Before starting to analyze the social roles which Mandela adopted, the facts and experiences that changed him the most will be examined and discussed. A person's character at an early stage of his or her life is affected by background (family, friends and the place he or she grew up) and from the education received. Nelson Mandela was a Xhosa who was born to the royal family of Thembu at the village of Mvezo, which is part of Cape Province, in South Africa. As far as his education is concerned, it was based on a western style as he went to a Methodist school where he began to learn English while he was a young student, and finally he decided to study law at Fort Hare University and at the University of Witwatersrand.

The first major turning point in his character and his beliefs was when he started studying and become influenced by Marxism, a fact that resulted in him secretly joining the South African Communist Party (SACP) and later even being part of its Central Committee. His participation in the Communist Party is something that is not found in his autobiography and is something that both the leader himself and the ANC denied many times; nevertheless many articles and historians corroborate it and relate some of his actions to it.⁴ Mandela's decision to go underground and co-found the militant organization Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) in 1961 is another event that formed him and his personality for two basic reasons. The first reason is that he 'broke' his commitment to non-violent protests and he continued with other types of actions (given the possibility of a guerrilla war), while the second is that through MK he led a sabotage campaign against South Africa's apartheid government that resulted in his arrest, his conviction and the lifetime imprisonment to which he was sentenced in the Rivonia Trial.

Undoubtedly, the most significant event in Mandela's life, triggering a change in social roles, was the years of his imprisonment resulting from the Rivonia Trial. He served twenty-seven years of his life in prison. According to Anthony Sampson's authorized biography of the African leader, '[t]he prison years are often portrayed as a long hiatus in the midst of Mandela's political career; but I see them as the key to his development, transforming the headstrong activist into the reflective and self disciplined world

⁴ For example, see the discussion about it at <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/08/opinion/sunday/keller-nelson-mandela-communist.html>

statesman' (2011: xviii). The transformation was obvious, but it was a gradual procedure that was due to a large number of incidents, some minor, some less so. Incidents during his imprisonment include his removal to three different prisons (from Robben Island to Pollsmoor Prison and then to Victor Verster Prison), the completion of an LLB from the University of London, confinement, the strikes he organized and participated in in order to improve prisoners' everyday conditions, the death of his mother, the meetings and discussions he had with powerful visitors, and his tuberculosis.

On 27th of April 1994, Nelson Mandela managed to win the elections with the ANC and become South Africa's first black president. The preparations and the struggle before the election along with the power and the fame given to him after it are, moreover, regarded as proof that these events changed him.

Last but not least, the transforming power of time and age should not be underestimated, as well as friendships and relations established later in life, such as marriage and parenthood. People mature and understand the world better as they grow older and they find or make clear their life's goals and they fight in the best possible way to succeed in them. Nelson Mandela, apart from being one of the most admired political figures of the twentieth century, was, also, someone who changed his ways and methods of reaching his targets; he was: a friend, a father, a husband to three different women, and a common man undergoing the same changes and with the same rights as every other human on the planet.

4.3. Mandela's social roles

The social roles that Nelson Mandela adopted during his lifetime were many; as such, in the present dissertation only five of them will be analyzed and discussed. These are the roles of the activist, communist, prisoner, pacifist/reconciler and (candidate) president of South Africa. Here, I give a brief explanation of roles he adopted, and why the specific roles were chosen for further analysis and the final analysis of these roles.

To begin with, he was part of a family. He was the son of a local chief, who was also a councilor to the monarch, a brother to two sisters and descendant of the ruler of the Thembu people. As far as the family he created is concerned, he had a divided and rather complex family which spanned four generations, as he was the husband of three wives, a father, a grandfather and a great-grandfather. Mandela, as many people have noted,⁵ was a

⁵ i.e. <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/dec/06/nelson-mandela-not-family-man-winnie> and <http://www.ndtv.com/article/world/public-triumph-private-tragedy-nelson-mandela-s-family-heartache-455179>

man who sacrificed domesticity in his struggle for freedom, whilst expecting his family members to do the same. Although it can be and has been argued that he was not a great man as far as his family life is concerned, his family knew that the price he had to pay to contribute to his country's evolution was huge, and they made it clear in their first public statement after his death by even characterizing him as "a caring family leader who made time for all",⁶ when Mandela himself wished he had had more time for his family.

What is more, Madiba was a friend and he made special companions and confidants during his long walk to freedom. It was not only relatives like the son of his guardian, Justice, or people he met while he was studying, like Oliver Tambo, who stayed by his side until the end, but also popular, powerful contemporaries whose appreciation and respect he won, such as the former President of the USA Bill Clinton and the Prime Minister of Cuba Fidel Castro and even celebrities from the entertainment sector like Bono, Naomi Campbell and Charlize Theron. Many of these friends, well known or not, contributed to his fights in their own ways and honored him before and after his death. Indeed, he was a very charismatic man and as the journalist Allister Sparks stated in Harding's article "No one was too small to be of real interest to him".⁷

Furthermore, after studying law, he put his knowledge into practice and being and thinking like a lawyer was a role that he adopted and made use of during his whole adulthood. Nevertheless, Mandela was not just a common legal adviser or representative of people in the courts. In 1952, he and his friend Oliver Tambo opened the first black law firm in South Africa. With his knowledge and expertise, he served the African people on a double basis; firstly by providing proper legal defense and secondly by fighting for the creation of a democratic state. Justin Hansford relates the leader to the ideal of a lawyer statesman, introduced by Kronman, the Dean of Yale Law School; this meaning a lawyer who does not only honor the legal craft, but, moreover, is a great statesman by displaying the qualities of "extraordinary devotion" to the public good, and "wisdom in deliberating about it".⁸

Another social identity that distinguished him is the role of the teacher that he chose to carry out throughout his life. Mandela sometimes unofficially taught African history or the history of the ANC to his fellow prisoners, new members of the organization, or whoever was interested in learning. He always had a good relationship with people younger than

⁶ <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/nelson-mandela-dead-heartbroken-family-2902072>

⁷ <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-20734941>

⁸ <http://criticallegalthinking.com/2013/12/06/nelson-mandela-lawyers-ideal/>

him and he liked being among them. The African leader always tried to promote education in his country and one of his most famous statements is his belief that ‘education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world’, and this influence of education on human beings is also expressed by another statement of his, that ‘[n]o one is born hating another person because of the color of his skin, or his background, or his religion, [rather] [p]eople must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate, they can be taught to love.’⁹ It is evident that he thought as he expressed that the power of education is not only related to the development of specific skills, but it can be a strong contribution to reconciliation and therefore nation building.

Throughout almost his whole adulthood, Nelson Mandela was a leader. He was characterized as a leader among leaders as he managed to gain respect and trust worldwide as well as across the whole political spectrum. In the *Guardian* editorial immediately after his death, the multiple sides and accomplishments of his leadership were presented, accompanied by the comment that his leadership was a kind of mystery, even nowadays, as there were times when it was more moral than practical.¹⁰ Even before becoming the leader of the ANC or the first black president of South Africa, he was leading and taking decisions in his companionships at university, in his work environment, in the organizations and the prisons in which he served in as well. He was the co-founder (together with Tambo and Sisulu) of the ANC’s Youth League at the early age of twenty-six, and later served as a national secretary for this organization. A turning point in his life was after 1960, when Mandela led the campaign to launch an underground struggle and as a result MK was created. Later on, he was consequently accused of treason and was imprisoned. Furthermore, while he was in jail he had a unique way of leading and advising his fellow comrades in order to achieve better conditions of imprisonment. After his release he managed to lead the ANC in successful negotiations with the government and after a few years to win the country’s first multiracial elections.

Considering the time he was imprisoned as the turning point in his life and career and the moment when his character changed the most, the major social roles that Nelson Mandela adopted right before, during and after his imprisonment (until 1994, when the autobiography was published) will be discussed in this dissertation. As a result, the roles chosen are those of (i) the activist and (ii) the communist, both roles before the Rivonia

⁹ <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/answer-sheet/wp/2013/12/05/nelson-mandelas-famous-quote-on-education/>

¹⁰ <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/dec/05/nelson-mandela-a-leader-above-all-others>

trial, (iii) the role of the prisoner, (iv) the role of the pacifist/reconciler and (v) that of the candidate for the presidency and then first black president of South Africa.

4.3.1. Mandela as an activist

According to the most relevant definition given in the OED, an activist is '[a] person engaged in or advocating vigorous political activity [or] an active campaigner. Frequently [it is accompanied by] ... an adjective or noun phrase designating the sphere of activity, as political activist, social activist, animal rights activist etc'.¹¹ Nelson Mandela was mainly a political activist who fought against apartheid and when he achieved his goal, he fought against injustice and for human rights in general. Here, he will be considered an activist from the traditional point of view, meaning that I will take into consideration that he acted as an activist when he formed MK, and went underground and abandoned his nonviolent ways of reaching his goals. Smith, in his biography of Mandela, described how difficult it was for the leader to persuade the leadership of the ANC and the Congress Alliance to go to war (2010: 206), how he was inspired by the way Che Guevara and Fidel Castro managed to turn 'a handful [of] guerrilla insurgents into a triumphant revolutionary force of thousands' (2010: 207) and how, step by step, he went underground, his actions in and out of the state of South Africa and his actual fighting for his beliefs, before the trial and his long term imprisonment. The African leader did not regret his actions, as during the Rivonia trial and before he was sentenced to life-imprisonment, he tried to support his actions by giving arguments for why he and his party departed radically from their beliefs and turned into an armed resistance movement, by saying that

'[i]t would be wrong and unrealistic for African leaders to continue preaching peace and nonviolence at a time when the government met our peaceful demands with force. It was only when all else had failed, when all channels of peaceful protest had been barred to us, that the decision was made to embark on violent forms of political struggle'.¹²

4.3.2. Mandela as a communist

The next social role to be examined is the one of the communist. A communist is a person who supports or is engaged with the theory and the ideas of communism, when communism is delineated as a system of social organization where private ownership is abolished, all property is entrusted to the community or/and the organization of labor itself.

¹¹ <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/273137?redirectedFrom=activist#eid>

¹² <http://www.history.com/topics/nelson-mandela>

The doctrine is usually based on the theories of Marx, seeking a classless society by overthrowing any form of capitalism and targeting the social ownership of all means of production.¹³ Mandela had friends and colleagues who were communists and he became interested in the theory of Marxism. On the grounds that he was influenced by these ideas and that he adopted them, the rumor that he joined the communist party started spreading. Likewise, Ellis notes that in reality, the first part of the congress alliance that supported the launch of an armed struggle against apartheid was the South African Communist Party and later on, Mandela, affected by their decisions, established MK and became its first commander (2011: 657). There were also preconceptions that even the ANC was communist dominated and Mandela, pleased by the fact - as a supposed communist - did not do anything to reverse the situation. Moreover, it has been written¹⁴ (and this was one of the main reasons for his association with communism) that Mandela was very close and uncommonly faithful as a statesman to Fidel Castro and Muammar Gaddafi because, as the leader claimed, both of them helped the ANC when the majority of the Western World (and in particular the USA) labeled him as a terrorist.¹⁵ All in all, empirical data will be taken into account that the leader acted as a communist, but not a fanatical one, whether he was or was not officially a member of the party.

4.3.3. Mandela as a prisoner

It is a well known fact that Nelson Mandela was one of the most prominent dissidents imprisoned for his beliefs, a political prisoner who suffered behind bars for 27 years. His government denied that he was a political prisoner due to ANC's heavily against apartheid policies and the creation of MK, imprisoning him for treason and insisting that he was held under the common criminal law act. From the first time he set foot on Robben Island and heard the phrase 'This is an Island, here you will die' until his release many external and internal events occurred and they were capable of changing his country and of course him. The time (because time was the most important factor) he spent there altered him and gradually turned him into the man who became the first black president of South Africa. From his book *Conversations with Myself* many issues and problems, which he faced in prison and made him reconsider some of his views and tactics, become clear. These tactics included isolation, inhuman every-day imprisonment conditions, humiliations, the racist ruling system of the prison, the fact that they were not treated as political prisoners but

¹³ <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/37325>

¹⁴ http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/africa/in-life-nelson-mandela-often-irritated-us/2013/12/10/2b7b6368-6192-11e3-bf45-61f69f54fc5f_story.html

¹⁵ <http://www.dorrierunderwood.com/stylesheets/PDFs/Nelson%20Mandela%20on%20Leadership.pdf>

instead as common criminals, and how much he missed his beloved family (2010: 131-157). His friends believe that ‘his experiences [in prison] steeled his self-control and made him, more than ever, a man who buried his emotions deep, who spoke in the collective “we” of liberation rhetoric’¹⁶. Finally, even his methods of fighting changed, as he cleverly adapted to the new conditions and started valuing negotiations in order to achieve his goals.

4.3.4. Mandela as a pacifist and reconciler

The African leader was without any doubt a pacifist, a great reconciler. While other leaders in his shoes would have chosen to kill and fight the people who oppressed his nation, he preferred peaceful negotiations attempting in each case to find a solution that would not harm or offend anyone. This may partially derive from the fact that Mandela was a great admirer of Gandhi and he identified and compared himself with the Indian leader to a degree that became clear in the article he wrote about Gandhi for ‘Time’ magazine, where he noted that

‘Both Gandhi and I suffered colonial oppression, and both of us mobilized our respective peoples against governments that violated our freedoms. The Gandhian influence dominated freedom struggles on the African continent right up to the 1960s because of the power it generated and the unity it forged among the apparently powerless. Non violence was the official stance of all major African coalitions, and the South African ANC remained implacably opposed to violence for most of its existence’.¹⁷

Moreover, in the foreword of the United Nation’s book *Peacemaking and Peacekeeping for the New Century* that he wrote in 1998, Mandela repeatedly highlighted the importance of peace and freedom in the world by further stating that in order to change the world and make it an ideal place for people to live ‘[t]he four elements that will be need to be knit together in fashioning that new universal reality are the issues of democracy, peace, prosperity and interdependence’ (1998: vii). Throughout his life, Nelson Mandela did not only manage to change himself but also his family, his friends, his enemies and he changed his whole country as Landsberg has said, in the way that after South Africa achieved its own democratic settlement, it ‘has gone from being an international pariah to a democratizer peacemaker’ (2000: 109).

¹⁶ http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/06/world/africa/nelson-mandela_obit.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0

¹⁷ <http://sites.asiasociety.org/asia21summit/wp-content/uploads/2011/02/3.-Mandela-Nelson-The-Sacred-Warrior.pdf>

4.3.5. Mandela as a (candidate) president of South Africa

The final social role that will be examined and related to the use of metaphors in Mandela's autobiography is that of the presidential candidate and later president of South Africa. Richard Stengel, an American author, journalist and editor, famous for his collaboration with Mandela on the African leader's autobiography, wrote about Mandela's eight lessons of leadership, the basic rules he learnt and applied after being released from prison and that led to his success. These lessons were that

‘Courage is not absence of fear – it’s inspiring others to move beyond it [...,]
Lead from the front – but don’t leave your base behind [...,] Lead from the
back – and let others believe they are in front [...,] Know your enemy – and
learn about his favourite sport [...,] Keep your friends close – and your rivals
even closer [...,] Appearances matter – and remember to smile [...,] Nothing
is black or white [and] Quitting is leading too’.¹⁸

All these rules reveal aspects of his personality and his character during a specific period of time (mainly after his imprisonment and beyond); they uncover the methods and means he employed to achieve his goals. In other words Mandela was a great leader because he had all the qualities that characterize one; his visions, his quiet dignity and humble sense of humor as well as his sense of forgiveness and reconciliation created the legend of the first black president of South Africa.

4.4. Summary of Mandela's roles and their connection with the 'split selves' theory

The discussion of Mandela's social role in this chapter now leads the dissertation into the fifth chapter and the metaphors that have been used in the autobiography. First, a general background was provided, followed by the salient events that affected the leader's life. Moreover, the social roles that he adopted throughout his life were analyzed. However, the analysis was centered on the roles of activist, communist, prisoner, pacifist/reconciler and leader. These roles are the sub-selves of self 2 that is assumed to affect the narration of self 1 (see section 2.2.) and they are the roles that will be mapped onto the frequencies of the metaphors identified in chapter five in order to verify the hypotheses. The research can be considered as an extension of Stanzel's concept of mediacy in narrative if we think of the distinctions between experiencing and narrating self that he made (1984). However, it is Emmott's theory that is more specific and helps me verify my hypothesis. She defines

¹⁸ <http://www.dorrierunderwood.com/stylesheets/PDFs/Nelson%20Mandela%20on%20Leadership.pdf>

'split selves' as 'cases of a character or real life individual being divided and/or duplicated in any way' (2002: 154) and this is what I want to demonstrate; Mandela as the narrator (self 1) is affected to a high point (divided) by his past selves (self 2) and this may explain why the frequency of metaphors related to the specific conceptual domains changes over the course of the narration.

Chapter 5: Metaphors in *Long Walk to Freedom*

5.1. Mandela and the use of metaphors

‘Metaphor is a very effective means through which potential leaders can communicate with the “voice within” because it creates evocative representations of the speaker and their policies by arousing emotions and forms part of the process by which an audience reconstructs the causal relationships of an argument’ (Charteris-Black, 2005: 10-11). In addition, it ‘makes a significant contribution of vision and values and it is a key characteristic in the design of leadership’ (Charteris-Black, 2005: 90). Through these quotations, the high importance of the use of metaphorical expressions in a politician’s speech or text addressing specific groups is easily understood.

Nelson Mandela was one of those talented politicians who knew that words do matter and that the right choice and use of them makes the difference.¹⁹ His style and language were always well suited to the occasion: this was one of his underlying strategies to achieve his goals. Metaphor was one of the linguistic features that he tended to use a lot in his speeches, as he knew the potential effect that it would have and usually did have on the subconscious of his audience (Charteris-Black, 2007: 90-98). With this as a starting point, in addition to short references on the metaphor use in his autobiography, three domains of conceptual metaphors used in *Long Walk to Freedom* have been chosen for further analysis. These three domains were examined in a broad way in order to capture, as fully as possible, the way the leader handled language and whether or not his experiences and his different thinking throughout his life are depicted in the metaphorical language he used in narrating his autobiography at a later point in his life. The reason for selecting these domains will be explained below.

The first and most important conceptual domain to be examined is that of war/destruction. It is not only the fact that Nelson Mandela lived in South Africa during a period of many conflicts, or that he joined his people in an armed struggle against the apartheid government (indeed, he was the leader of the struggle in many cases), but war, like all forms of extreme violence, has the ability to change someone’s way of living, thinking and behaving or in other words, the ability to affect someone’s personality. The African leader is known and remembered as a pacifist; nevertheless, because of his activism the first years

¹⁹ The articles by Motsa ‘Long Walk to Freedom and the Mutating Face of the Epic’ (2009), Martin ‘Grace: The Logogenesis of Freedom’ (2009) and Chapman ‘Mandela, Africanism and modernity: A consideration of long walk to freedom’ (2011) are just samples of literature discussing the charisma of the African leader in communication and referring to linguistic techniques that he employs in the writing of his autobiography.

of his adulthood before his imprisonment are controversial, compared to those after the period he spent on Robben Island. This constitutes the basic reason why it is interesting to examine the frequency of the war/destruction metaphors he used when retrospectively describing all the years of his life.

The second conceptual domain which I have focused on here is that of religion. Mandela was not a messiah, as he acknowledged in his autobiography; nonetheless many people confronted and respected him as one. Considering that each person's religious beliefs can affect their ways of thinking and acting, identifying and then discussing the frequency and the nature of religious metaphors that appear in the book was considered likely to offer an interesting perspective on Mandela and his language.

'Successful politicians are those who can develop their arguments with evidence taken from beliefs about the world around them' according to Charteris-Black (2005: 10). South Africa is a country with plenty of traditions and wildlife and Nelson Mandela, who was described as a country boy, partially maintained the lifestyle and the images he had as a child throughout his life. In accordance with this, the third conceptual domain of metaphors investigated here are metaphors of nature/environment.

Deignan states that a 'factor affecting metaphor choice is genre, specifically the topic and purpose of a text' (2008: 288). Bearing that in mind, as the text is an autobiography addressed to the public in general, the relationship between the metaphors used, coming from three domains that can actually affect a person's life and choices, and the social roles that the leader adopted, is an attractive topic for research.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the metaphors from the conceptual domains of war/destruction, religion and nature/environment, which are presented in the following three sub-sections, are most of the time listed according to the order in which they appear in the text (with the exception of the metaphorical expression 'freedom fighter*' ²⁰ which can be found at the end of the lists of war/destruction metaphors, as it is widely used in every chapter of the autobiography).

5.2. Metaphors from the conceptual domain of war/destruction²¹

²⁰ The asterisk in the expression 'freedom fighter*' marks a wildcard character, indicating the possible plural 's' (representing the plural form of this noun phrase) at the end of the second word, as in the text it is found both as 'freedom fighter' and 'freedom fighters', but it is counted as the same metaphorical expression and is therefore not repeated in the lists.

²¹ A list of metaphorical expressions from the domain of war/destruction can be found in the Appendix, part a.

Metaphors from the conceptual domain of war/destruction are commonly used metaphors. They were therefore expected to appear with high frequencies in Mandela's autobiography and that is one of the reasons they were chosen to be examined in the research. What is different in my research is that I have not just included traditionally used metaphoric expressions or words coming from the domain of war or destruction, but instead, I chose to include all the words or expressions that may be part of the art of war, its process and, sometimes, its results. In the metaphors identified here, many source domains will appear; nevertheless they all constitute a part or can bring to mind different aspects of war or destruction. Thus, under the heading of war/destruction, concepts such as death, conflict, struggle, violence and force and even pressure were included in order to capture as broad a picture as possible, of the idea of war and its actions that undoubtedly affected the leader's life. As an example, a reference to the metaphorical expressions 'Spartan area', 'the riots poisoned the views', 'apartheid barriers' 'dominated by the trial (life)' and 'rob each man of his dignity' would be beneficial for a better understanding of this point of view. In the first case, by characterizing an area as Spartan, Mandela makes a reference to ancient Sparta, which is famous for its great warriors who were known for their bravery and self-denial and for its frugal but austere lifestyle in general. His choice can be explained by the fact that Orlando, the place he described as a Spartan area, was rigorously simple, yet 'Spartan' shows both his knowledge of history and tendency to adopt vocabulary related to war. As far as the second expression is concerned, poisoning is a violent action and it has been used many times in the past as a weapon (consider chemical warfare and the practices being followed in both World Wars). Moreover, thinking of the definition of a barrier, i.e. a structure that prevents further movement or access, it becomes obvious that a barrier prevents or restricts someone's freedom and therefore it may also be considered to be related to the broad concept of hostility. Likewise, as stated in the OED, to dominate is '[t]o bear rule over, control, sway; to have a commanding influence on; to master'²² and the aim of the majority of wars is unquestionably dominance over something, someone or somewhere. Last but not least, 'rob' may not seem a verb related to the concept of war/destruction but, apart from being an act of force, it is an act actually met more often during wars, and stolen dignity is a common violation of Human Rights.

Charteris-Black (2004: 69) proposes a conceptual metaphor that he believes all politicians make use of in order to stress and emphasize their personal sacrifice and struggle in aiming to achieve their social goals. That conceptual metaphor is POLITICS IS CONFLICT. His theory

²² <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/56694>

can be applied to Mandela's autobiography and was taken into consideration here because the African leader, even before he became the president of South Africa, was always the guide of a group of people. Charteris-Black classifies conflict metaphors into three groups; metaphors of defense, attack, as well as struggle and in the autobiography all of them are traced and their frequency depends both on the situation and the specific period of his life they are employed to describe.

To continue, it would be remiss not to mention the special treatment of two verbs and their derivatives that are directly connected to the practice of war in a literal sense, but that also have common metaphorical uses. These are the verbs *fight* and *struggle*. The OED clarifies that the definitions for these two verbs are as follows: to *fight* is '[t]o contend in battle or single combat'²³ and to *struggle* is '[t]o contend (*with* an adversary) in a close grapple as in wrestling; also, in wider use, to make violent bodily movements in order to resist force or free oneself from constraint; to exert one's physical strength in persistent striving against an opposing force'.²⁴ I counted the use of *fight* as metaphorical only when it was used against something abstract because Mandela and his colleagues also fought for their beliefs against tangible enemies, even sometimes armed. On the other hand, *struggle* and its derivatives were included in the lists with only a few exceptions, where the leader was referring to boxing matches. Both the verb and the noun are used with their metaphorical sense in all cases, as their use is not related to physical interaction. Furthermore, it should be added that the frequency of *struggle* is very high and it is noticeable not only by using Antconc's Word lists, where it is ranked in a very high position for a non-function word, but also by simply reading the autobiography. Mandela was indeed dedicated to his struggle against apartheid and this can be seen even in the lexis that he employed in his autobiography.

Finally, a comment is necessary on a metaphorical phrase used by Nelson Mandela in all the chapters of his autobiography which is likewise related to the conceptual domain of war/destruction. This special metaphorical phrase is 'freedom fighter(s)'. The first interesting fact about this is that the frequencies of its use vary in the different chapters of the book as indicated in the Figure 2 in the next chapter. The most intriguing aspect of the phrase is the controversy which arises from it. By the commonly accepted definition, the phrase is not metaphorical because it describes the person/persons who are fighting for a goal, usually political, in Mandela's case overthrowing apartheid that would result in

²³ <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/70038?rskey=tEU7yi&result=2&isAdvanced=false#eid>

²⁴ <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/191911?rskey=uocSLM&result=2&isAdvanced=false#eid>

freedom. It is metaphorical only in instances where the person *fights* with words, legal measures etc, but this is not the case here. On the other hand, I would suggest that the phrase is metaphorical and the word that is used metaphorically in it is not fighter(s), but freedom. Although, presently the word is being used to express any kind of flexibility or license to do as each individual wants, freedom is literally ‘[t]he state or fact of being free from servitude, constraint, inhibition, etc.; liberty’.²⁵ Black people in South Africa were not imprisoned or enslaved like those in the USA, however they did lack many rights and privileges that white citizens had.

5.3. Metaphors from the conceptual domain of religion²⁶

Nelson Mandela was characterized as a man of faith. His faith might have shifted during his early lifetime (his father was a local chief and priest of the Thembu tribe, many members of his family belonged to the Jehovah’s Witnesses, but he went to a Methodist school, which mainly defined his religious identity), nevertheless, most of the time, and in view of the fact that Methodism is a belief closely related to and possibly stemming from Protestantism, Mandela is thought to have been a Christian. Furthermore, religious supporters of the leader assume that his religious beliefs were obvious not only from his actions, but also from the way he used to talk and particularly from his speeches. Indeed, even in his autobiography there are a large number of metaphors that are related to the conceptual domain of religion. Outlining the metaphors that have been identified and chosen, every metaphorical expression that can be part of worship or anything considered as divine or spiritual will be included in this research.

By reviewing the metaphorical expressions found in the text, it is notable how often Mandela used the word *spirit* and its derivatives in order to describe various situations and events. The OED defines *spirit* as ‘[t]he animating or vital principle in man (and animals); that which gives life to the physical organism, in contrast to its purely material elements; the breath of life’²⁷ and from the citations given, it is explicit that the word was used in texts with strictly religious content, such as the books of Genesis and Exodus, the Bible, in Milton’s ‘Paradise Lost’ etc. The African leader, however, used the word in its metaphorical sense, mainly to describe either someone’s mood (like in ‘high spirits’, ‘lifted my spirits’, ‘crush our spirits’) or to describe an essential or activating principle (such as ‘the spirit of the Defiance Campaign’) or, moreover, tendencies and prevailing tones (such

²⁵ <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/74395?rskey=yyHXtA&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid>

²⁶ A list of metaphors from the conceptual domain of religion can be found in the Appendix, part b.

²⁷ <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/186867?rskey=Z6dR7i&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid>

as ‘in a spirit of constructive compromise’). Nevertheless, it was not counted for the research and it was not included in the appendix as because of its extensive and repetitive usage, its metaphorical meaning has become familiar and as a result it was considered a dead metaphor.

Concluding the analysis of the metaphors that come from the conceptual domain of religion, Mandela’s spirituality, faith and deep knowledge of his denomination can to a certain extent be understood by the metaphorical expressions he used in his autobiography. In the interest of reporting something as atrocious, harmful or immoral, he employed words having to do with the devil (see ‘diabolical in its detail’, ‘bedevil the law society’ and ‘the work of the devil’). Furthermore, his quite frequent references to morals in his expressions are merely rooted in the church’s preaching. Finally, it is worth mentioning the metaphorical use of the ‘fig leaf’. Apart from the interest that it adds to the narration, making it more attractive to the public, it is a well-placed comparison between the embarrassment of capitulation and the nudity of Adam and Eve.

5.4. Metaphors from the conceptual domain of nature/environment²⁸

Mandela had a close relation with nature mostly due to the fact that he was raised in the countryside of South Africa and all of the experiences he had at the earliest stage of his life were harmoniously connected with ‘Mother Nature’. He maintained a respect for it throughout his whole life and a statement taken from the World Parks Congress in 2003 – ‘a sustainable future for humankind depends on a caring partnership with nature as much as anything else’²⁹ – shows how deeply he cared until the end and justifies the characterization given to him as one the strongest needles of the compass of nature activists.

The metaphors that were identified in this research belong to the broader domain of nature, the natural environment as a whole, and include expressions from the kingdom of animals or plants, landscapes, temperature, weather or natural phenomena, the four elements, the Earth and the atmosphere. It should be mentioned, though, that the dead metaphor of ‘branch’ as a subdivision of organizations (usually here for the ANC) was quite frequent, but it was not taken into consideration for the findings of the research.

²⁸ A list of metaphorical expressions from the domain of nature/environment can be found in the Appendix, part c.

²⁹ http://www.mandela.gov.za/mandela_speeches/2003/030908_worldparks.htm

As far as the quality of the metaphors used is concerned, the majority of them are quite commonly used metaphorical expressions. Further reasoning will be given only for the expressions concerning fire and war (such as ‘opened fire’) and those relating to journeys, but also in Mandela’s case those related to nature/environment (like ‘followed the path’). Although ‘fire’ is frequently used to describe shootings and it can be even considered as a dead metaphor as well, the OED defines it as ‘[t]he natural agency or active principle operative in combustion; popularly conceived as a substance visible in the form of flame or of ruddy glow or incandescence’³⁰, and in all cases it is potentially replaceable with other words that may give the same meaning in a literal sense. Finally, through the metaphors that are linked to lexis related to paths, walks etc, Mandela’s strong view that life is a journey is presented. Lakoff first discussed the possibility that areas of experience can be metaphorically structured based on image schemas and one of these is journey and its parts, and this is the source of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY (Taylor 1989: 134). The journey motif can also be considered as a metaphor identifying with the continuity of the struggle. All in all, in the case of Mandela’s autobiography, even the title of the book *Long Walk to Freedom* explicitly demonstrates this view that the leader had about life. The inclusion of some journey metaphors under the heading of nature/environment may seem odd, but in many cases the words that the metaphors are consisted of are directly connected to nature/environment. So, metaphorical expressions that are related to that particular conceptual metaphor of journey and at the same time can be part of a landscape or nature/environment in general, and not manmade objects, are included in the research, to depict both Mandela’s connection with nature and his view about life.

Last but not least, it is worth mentioning the overlap between the conceptual domain of nature/environment and that of religion. These expressions may entail a religious sense, but they were counted only once, for the domain of nature/environment, based on the lexis Mandela used to form the expressions. The best examples to prove the statement are two expressions the leader used that originate from the Bible. These are ‘removed the scales from my eyes’ and ‘we would push the rock up the hill, only to have it tumble down again’. Both of these expressions use metaphorical lexis from the domain of nature/environment, but they are also a part of religious beliefs. The first one is a reference to Saul’s conversion into the apostle Paul and the fact that he managed to find the truth with the help of God: it reminds the reader that Mandela was a Christian believer. The

³⁰ <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/70512?rskey=tDjWTu&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid>

latter hails from another religion, dodekatheism (ancient Greek religious practice), and it is a reference to the punishment imposed on king Sisyphus by Zeus. It could be claimed that this is proof of the leader's persistence and knowledge of history but also a verification of the Christian perspective in his actions (the dialogue and the process of reconciliation would continue to be pursued in any case).

5.5. Summary

In this chapter, the metaphorical expressions from the domains of war/destruction, religion and nature/environment in Mandela's autobiography have been presented. The conceptual domains that have been chosen for the research are broad, therefore it was explained which type of metaphors were included. Moreover, further explanations for specific expressions have been given. Finally, a correlation between the expressions from the domains of religion and nature/environment was noted and discussed. These findings are analyzed in the next chapter, where there is a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches to the text.

Chapter 6: Analysis of the findings of the research

In this chapter, the results of the quantitative corpus approach are presented in five figures, each followed by a discussion of whether – and if so how – the average number of war/destruction, religion and nature/environment metaphors per page in Mandela’s autobiography can be linked to his self 2 i.e. all his past selves, the social roles of activist, communist, prisoner, pacifist/reconciler and (candidate) president he adopted in his lifetime.

For a better understanding of the figures and the following discussions, see the division of chapters in the autobiography and summary of the leader’s life in section 1.2.

6.1 War/destruction metaphors

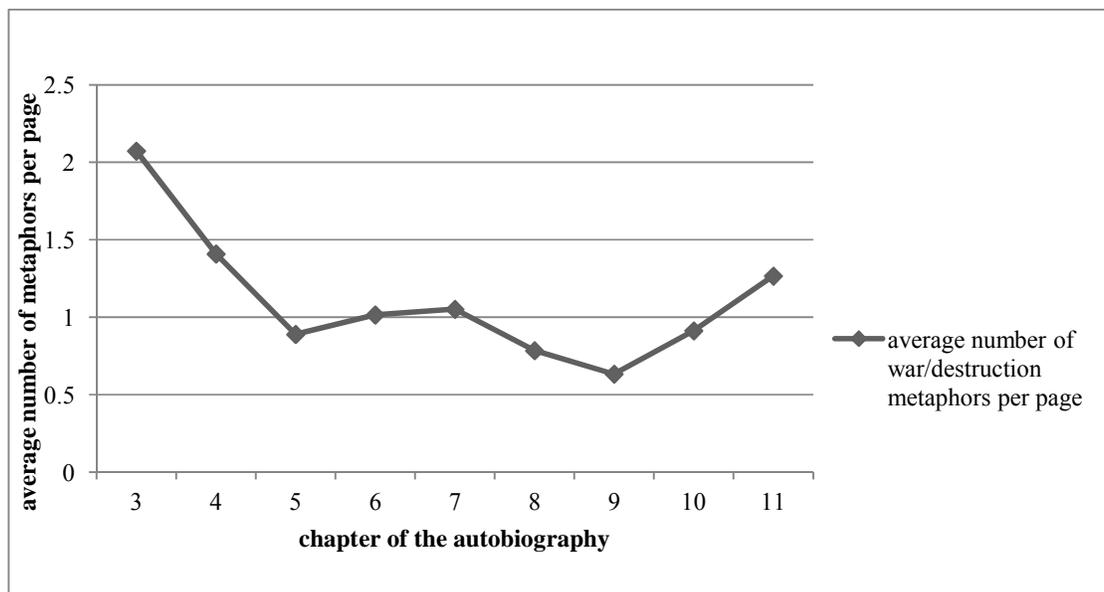


Figure 1: Frequency of war/destruction metaphors per page in Mandela's autobiography

Figure 1 presents the average number of metaphorical expressions related to the conceptual domain of war/destruction that Mandela used per page in each chapter in turn. By observing this figure, we see that, indeed, the first hypothesis is verified. The ratio of such metaphors per page in the third chapter is much higher than that in the eleventh and last one. In general, the graph line shows a downward trend with an intense decline from the third to the fourth chapter, while there is a slight rise in the frequency of the employed war/destruction metaphors in the tenth and eleventh chapters, in comparison to the ninth chapter. The graph’s peak is at the third chapter, and its valley is in the ninth chapter. It can

be argued that the frequency of war/destruction metaphors that the leader used in each chapter was actually affected by the social roles he adopted during his lifetime as follows.

The first two roles that were selected and set out were those before his imprisonment which was the major turning point in his life. These roles are that of the activist and of the communist. They correspond to the first four chapters of the autobiography and the years between 1942 and 1962. Thus, logically it makes perfect sense that the frequencies of metaphorical expressions coming from the conceptual domain of war/destruction are quite high. However, it might have been expected that the number of war/destruction metaphors per page should have been even higher in the sixth chapter, when Mandela went underground after the formation of MK. The fact that the number of metaphors per page is high but not as high as in the third chapter may be evidence of the leader's mellowing as the years were passing by and may confirm his statement that the armed struggle would not have been his choice if he had been able to manage to change the situation in a peaceful way.

The fact that the roles of activist and communist affected Mandela's narration can be further shown from the nature of the war/destruction metaphors he employed in the chapters. It is made clear that he was imprisoned before he was actually sent to prison and this was due to the 'violated laws' and deprivation of the rights he and his people faced. That gave him the reason or the excuse to 'shield himself', and 'get armed with the idea' to 'fight the system'. In other words, the leader knew that he was not 'bound to obey' all these 'apartheid barriers' that served the interests of the white government and decided to 'fight fire with fire'.

Chapter seven appears to work as a transitional stage; it represents the couple of years of the famous Rivonia Trial, 1962 to 1964. The number of war/destruction metaphors used per page is slightly higher than those of the previous chapter. This frequency can be explained mainly by the trial as an event itself. Mandela was a lawyer and even though he was still considered an activist and a communist, he could not act like that, because it would decrease his chances of obtaining his desired outcome. As such, he continued his fight, which was transformed, by keeping a low profile. Furthermore, a considerable number of the war/destruction metaphors in the chapter are directly related to the procedure of the trial and show not only that the narrator was affected by his past self, but also by the whole procedure of the trial (see 'verbal battle' and 'disarmed the prosecution').

The next social role to be analyzed is that of the prisoner. The chapters of the autobiography corresponding to this particular social role are chapters eight to ten, which describe the years of his life between 1964 and 1990. In these chapters, the graph that represents the war/destruction metaphors employed by the author per page continues declining until the tenth chapter where there is a noticeable increase. The decrease in the number of war/destruction metaphors per page is logical, given that at this point of his life Mandela was not fighting in the same way he did previously; this is due to him being imprisoned on an island, as well as the fact that his everyday enemies/opponents and the nature of his struggles had changed. Moreover, it could be considered that the low frequencies of war/destruction metaphors are a sign of his turning into a pacifist and reconciler. Finally, the rise in frequency in the tenth chapter reveals the beginning of another, different struggle, that of being released under his own terms and subsequently being able to run for president of South Africa.

While the frequencies fluctuate, the types of war/destruction metaphors do not diverge much from those used to describe the previous years of his life. Nevertheless, reference should be made to the metaphorical expression ‘a different fight’ that clearly shows his understanding of the situation and, if we extrapolate the thought, his gradual transformation into a leader who was against any kind of violence. Last but not least, there are war/destruction and violence metaphors that are connected with mood, emotions and psychology, for instance ‘rob dignity’ and ‘break spirits’ which can be considered as another way of demonstrating how prison can influence all aspects of life.

In chapter eleven, the frequency of war/destruction metaphors increases more acutely: indeed, it is the second highest frequency shown in Figure 1. The social roles Mandela adopted at that point, represented in that chapter, are those of the pacifist/reconciler and (candidate) president. The rise of the graph line may be misleading as it may lead one to the conclusion that the frequency of the expressions is not connected with the social roles mentioned above. However, this is not the case. When Mandela was released he had to fight once more but for different purposes. His first fight involved having to convince a large number of his followers that violence was not the way to achieve their goals. His most important fight, though, was running for the presidency as the leader of the ANC.

Certainly, there is not a dramatic change in the kind of war/destruction metaphorical expressions that are used in this final chapter. Yet, there are two metaphorical expressions that are significant enough to be highlighted. These are the expressions ‘binding the wounds’ and ‘recovering from the profound hurt’. Their context, unlike their frequency, is

not directly related to the roles of the pacifist/reconciler or the (candidate) president, but it may reveal Mandela's psychology, and how it was affected by the prison. His inner world needed recovery just like his country, and he was the right man to remedy it as South Africa's next leader.

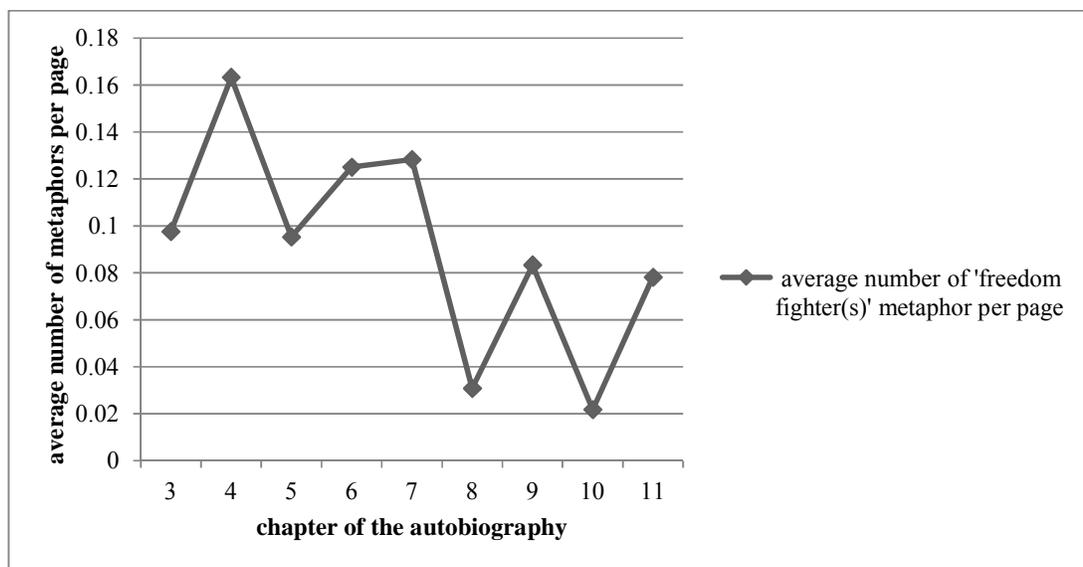


Figure 2: Frequency of 'freedom fighter(s)' metaphor per page in Mandela's autobiography

'Freedom fighter(s)' is a distinctive metaphor as has been explained (see section 5.2.) and this is why it is given its own figure. However, from the graph line we cannot reach many conclusions and no easy correlation can be drawn with Mandela's social roles. Of course, the number of metaphorical expressions per page is much bigger in the period before his imprisonment, but there are also two slight peaks at chapters nine and eleven. As far as its valley at chapter ten is concerned, an explanation might be that the leader knew he was close to his release (as he was negotiating for it) and he has managed to achieve many of his goals with further possibilities of achieving many more. Thus, he might have believed or hoped that no more fighting was needed and dialogue would provide a solution to all of his people's problems.

6.2. Religion metaphors

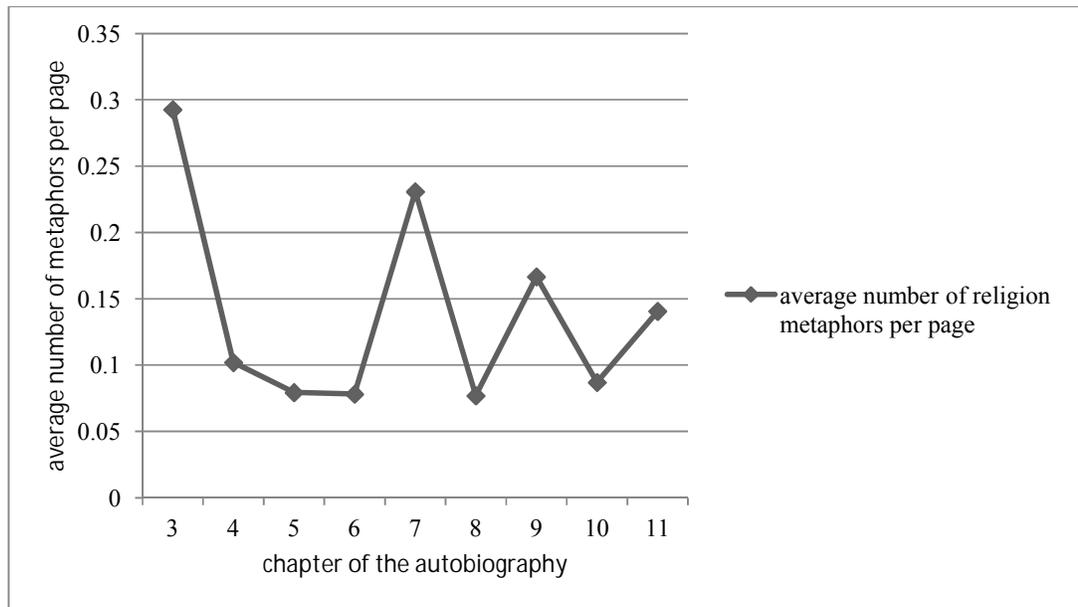


Figure 3: Frequency of religion metaphors per page in Mandela's autobiography

Figure 3 represents the frequencies of the metaphors from the conceptual domain of religion. The graph line shows a steady decrease from the third until the sixth chapter; an impressive increase at chapter seven; a decline at chapter eight, where the frequency is close to that of chapter five; a small growth at chapter nine; a decrease for the tenth chapter and an a slight increase by the last chapter. The highest frequency of religion metaphors per page is in the third chapter of the autobiography, where 0.29 metaphors per page are employed, (and the second highest is at chapter seven with an average of 0.23), while the lowest is at chapter eight, where Mandela used only 0.08 such metaphors per page. The original hypothesis was that the frequency of this type of metaphor would not change over the course of the narration: however, it does and the changes can be partially related to the leader's social roles.

In the first years of his life, before he was imprisoned, when he acted mostly as an activist and he was said to be a communist as well, there are the most dramatic changes in the graph line. Its peak at the third chapter can be explained by the fact that Mandela was still young, so he was probably more influenced by his educational background, the Methodist school he attended, and his family and care takers who were all quite religious. Furthermore, the dip at the sixth chapter, perfectly matches the period in which he went underground and supported an armed struggle: needless to say that guerilla warfare is not something the Methodist church would readily accept.

The next peak of the graph line is at chapter seven, which covers the Rivonia Trial. Although none of the examined social roles is very apparent during the trial, the high number of religion metaphors here compared to the rest of the chapters should be noted. I believe that there is a dual explanation for the marked high frequency. On the one hand, it is commonly accepted that when people – whether religious or not – are afraid, they turn to God for his help, and Mandela was even afraid for his life at this point. It is natural therefore that many metaphors are connected with the domain of religion. That would be a subconscious action: on the other hand, another interpretation of the results is much more conscious and closer to Mandela's profile, that of the skillful lawyer and highly adaptable person. Most of the times words, and subsequently metaphors, that originate from the domain of religion carry a strong influential tension, especially to every-day people (as the majority of the leader's followers at that point were ordinary native South-Africans). Therefore, it can be treated as a rhetorical device with remnants in this chapter of the book.

The lowest point of the graph that we see in chapter eight could be an indicator of how difficult Mandela's imprisonment was, especially during these first years. Then, the ratio of metaphors per page does not change much, with the exception of a slight increase in the ninth chapter. The line corresponds to the fact that he was a believer throughout his whole lifetime, he did not lose his faith as a prisoner and he kept it as a pacifist/reconciler and as a (candidate) president.

Even though there is not much to say about the religion metaphors used and their connection with the social roles that Mandela adopted, there are a few interesting metaphorical expressions which do appear to correspond to the leader's self at that point of narration. In the third chapter of the book, when he could already be considered an activist, he characterized Sisulu's house in Orlando as 'a Mecca for activists', both showing his knowledge of other religions but most of all, giving a sacred form to the struggle. Then, in the fifth chapter, there is a reference to the 'Armageddon between good and evil'. The allusion here to Armageddon, in the book of Revelation, is to the place where the final battle before the end of the world will take place. Mandela employed the expression with a sense of irony, exaggerating the religious dogma that his first wife adhered to and its associated beliefs. While narrating the time that he went underground and was hiding, he described one of the places he stayed as 'more of a sanctuary'. The phrase reveals once again the importance of the struggle. In chapter seven, he presented himself and his colleagues as 'martyrs' ready to die for their cause, a metaphor with strong connotations, and a highly effective rhetorical device. Last but not least, in the tenth chapter, there is a

simile comparing Jesus and the merchants with the army that responded to non violence with force. Having already become a pacifist, the African leader stressed how he and his colleagues chose to ‘fight’, without the loss of human life and by respecting it in every possible way: nonetheless sometimes they did not have another option, and they used violence without however turning into terrorists.

6.3 Nature/environment metaphors

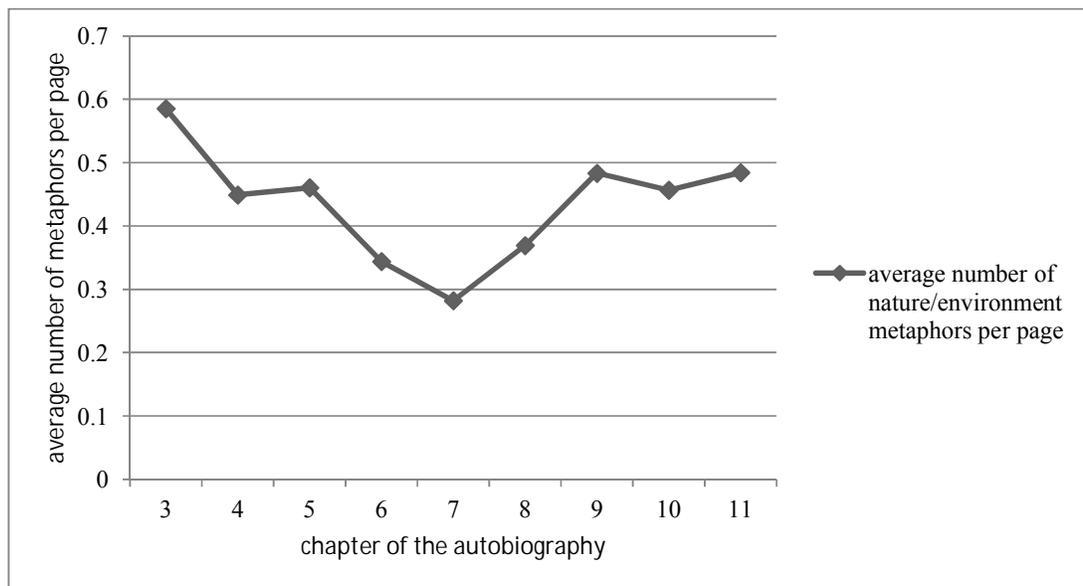


Figure 4: Frequency of nature/environment metaphors per page in Mandela's autobiography

Figure 4 presents the frequency of metaphors from the conceptual domain of nature/environment that Mandela used per page of his autobiography. At the beginning, from chapter three until chapter seven there is a steady decrease in frequency, then a steady growth until the ninth chapter, a minor decline in chapter ten and an increase in chapter eleven. The peak of the graph line is at the third chapter, its second highest point at the ninth chapter, and its lowest point is in chapter seven. The initial hypothesis was that the number of nature/environment metaphors over the course of the narration would remain stable. This could be supported by Figure 4, as the variance is quite low, with the points on the graph line always remaining between 0.28 and 0.59 nature/environment metaphors per page. Their frequency per page is closely related to the events of that point in his life; thus it is also related, to a certain extent, to the social roles the leader adopted.

To start with, the dip in the seventh chapter and the second lowest in the sixth chapter of the autobiography are not random anomalies, but rather is most likely to be the most

important as it mirrors Mandela's situation at that point of his life. He was an activist, possibly a communist, accused as a terrorist who went underground and was hiding to achieve his goals as a result. After that, (as described in chapter seven) he was captured and was led to the famous Rivonia Trial. His contact with nature or the physical environment was therefore not very easy, to the extent that it can be assumed that the low frequency is the subconscious outcome of his past actions. On the other hand, the peak at the third chapter may be due to his youth and the fact that these were the first years that he spent in the city, away from his home and in an urban rather than rural environment.

As a prisoner, Mandela served most of his sentence on Robben Island. He was imprisoned and working in a location surrounded by the natural environment and that could be considered the reason why the number of metaphorical expressions coming from the conceptual domain of nature/environment starts rising again. As far as the decline in the tenth chapter is concerned, it was the time when he was no longer on Robben Island but instead was transferred to Pollsmoor prison in Cape Town in 1982 and then to Victor Verster prison in Paarl in 1988, until his release in February 1990. His contact with nature once again was minimized and this is shown in the behavior of the graph line.

Finally, the slight growth in the frequency of nature/environment metaphors in the eleventh and last chapter of the book is arguably because of his release and his reintegration into the world. Apparently, Mandela never stopped being the country boy he was, even when he ran for the presidency of South Africa he did not forget his roots, and this is arguably why in the narration about his (candidate) president self a fair number of nature/environment metaphors were employed.

To conclude, an intriguing yet appealing aspect of the nature/environment metaphors in the autobiography is not so much their frequency but the fact that they come from and are inspired by images found in South Africa and Africa in general with which Mandela will have been familiar. The fauna and flora, the weather conditions, as well as the landscapes drawn on in the metaphors are all connected to the leader's birthplace (see 'storming the stage', 'coasted along', 'blow the horn', 'waves of indignation', 'seismic psychological shift', 'a great plum for him', 'herded back to our cells', 'a prey for people', 'young lions' etc).

6.4. Comparison of the frequencies of metaphors from the three domains

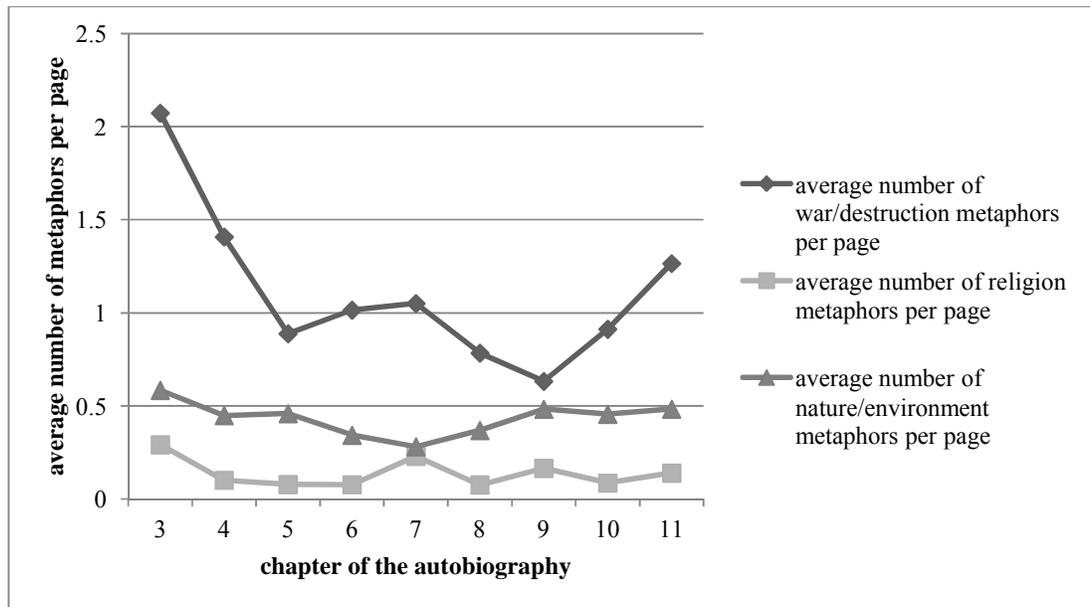


Figure 5: Comparison of average number of war/destruction, religion and nature/environment metaphors per page in Mandela's autobiography

The fifth and final figure is a comparison of the frequencies of the metaphorical expressions from the domains of war/destruction, religion and nature/environment that Mandela used per page in his autobiography. By observing the graph, it becomes evident that the most significant fluctuation is in the frequency of war/destruction metaphors, which is in general much higher than nature/environment or religious metaphors in the first part of his life, until the Rivonia trial and before he was imprisoned. During his imprisonment (chapters eight, nine and ten), the graph line of nature/environment metaphors is pretty close to that of war/destruction metaphors and this can be taken as another sign that Mandela as a prisoner changed, abandoned the policies of his past and became the pacifist and reconciler that most people admire. However, there is an interesting rise of war/destruction metaphors over nature/environment metaphors in chapter eleven which can be considered an indication that another fight had begun for the African leader, a quite different one, in which different fighting methods would be applied (the frequency of war/destruction metaphors is almost a half of that in the third chapter). Furthermore, the frequency of religion and nature/environment metaphors does not change as much during the narration. It is noticeable that the frequency of metaphorical expressions per page is much greater in the first chapters looked at here (chapters three, four and five) of his autobiography, than the eleventh chapter, so, it can be assumed that in his candidacy and presidency the South African leader preferred to adopt a more literal and rational language. Last but not least, it is worth mentioning that the average number of

war/destruction metaphors per page in total, from all the examined chapters of the autobiography, is much higher than those of religion and nature/environment (these numbers are respectively 1.09, 0.13 and 0.43 metaphors per page), showing once more how much Mandela's life, and in this case his narration, was affected by fighting for his beliefs.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1. Summary

This dissertation has examined the metaphorical expressions in Mandela's autobiography *Long Walk to Freedom* and their correlation with the social roles that the leader adopted in his lifetime. Specifically, the metaphorical expressions analyzed are those from the conceptual domains of war/destruction, religion and nature/environment, interpreted broadly, as all three domains were important parts of the leader's life and it could be contended that they even defined him. As far as the social roles are concerned, I was interested in the roles of the activist, communist, prisoner, pacifist/reconciler and that of Mandela as the (candidate) president of South Africa.

An initial summary of Mandela's life was followed by a division of his book into chapters, but, also, in pages and chronologically and a justification was given for which parts of the book would be used for the research. The literature review set out the general background on metaphor, cognitive linguistics, the 'split selves' theory and the social roles that informed the research. A discussion of the methodology of the research followed. Moreover, the main events responsible for the leader's changes or multiple selves/social roles were reviewed, accompanied by Mandela's main social roles with brief analysis and the roles examined in the dissertation. The fifth chapter and accompanying appendix set out all of the metaphorical expressions from the conceptual domains of war/destruction, religion and nature/environment used in the book, with a note of points to be taken into consideration. It is noted that metaphorical expressions coming from the domain of war/destruction are much more frequent than those from the domains of religion or nature/environment.

7.2. Conclusions

In this dissertation there were two hypotheses to be verified deriving from the first research question, which focused on the frequency of metaphorical expressions from the domains of war/destruction, religion and nature/environment in Mandela's autobiography. The first hypothesis was that the frequency of war/destruction metaphors decreases over the course of the first person narration of the leader's lifetime; while the second was that the frequency of religious and nature/environment metaphors remains stable. The answer of these two hypotheses provides feedback for the third hypothesis and the second research

question, which concerns whether or not the frequency of these specific metaphors that Mandela used is related to the social roles he adopted in his lifetime.

The results of the quantitative research, presented in chapter six, suggest the following conclusions. The first hypothesis was validated, whereas the results for the second hypothesis were much more complex. What is more, as far as the third hypothesis is concerned, the use of metaphors in each chapter of the autobiography is indeed affected by the social roles that Mandela had adopted at that point in his past: this is clearest in the case of war/destruction metaphors. For the religious and nature/environment metaphors, it is also evident that the choice of expressions was affected by his past self. However, there may be some limitations in this case. It is not only the social roles an individual adopts that affect his behavior, but also the situations and events that take place in his life. These two factors can act both together and separately in changing someone's behavior. Thus, the assumption is that in the case of religious and nature/environment metaphors their choice was influenced by both social roles and the different events/situations of which the leader was a part. Finally, it was shown that indeed 'split selves' theory can be applied to autobiographical texts with an apparent difference between self 1 and self 2, even in cases just like the present one, where self 2 is actually composed of multiple other selves, namely all the social roles that Mandela adopted in his lifetime.

To conclude, referring back to Charteris-Black's statement on the importance of reliable identification of metaphors for corpus analysis (see section 3.1.), a few further notes are in order here. The manual process of identifying metaphors is really vital, although not without its own problems, hence the need for the Metaphor Identification Procedure (see section 3.2.). Nevertheless, for a fuller quantitative and qualitative analysis of a text, it is beneficial to combine the manual approach with corpus linguistic methods. Corpus analysis programs, such as Antconc used here, help the researcher to verify results. They help the researcher to check quickly the context in which the metaphor is found, through concordances and views of the file, as well as giving new perspectives, both qualitatively and quantitatively, for example through word lists and concordance plots. As a result, the research is broader, the findings more accurate and the final conclusions safer.

7.3. Recommendations

The corpus that has been used for this research was composed of a single text, Mandela's *Long Walk to Freedom*, which is an autobiographical text. For further future research, it would be interesting to examine if there are any differences in the frequencies of metaphors coming from the same conceptual domains among his autobiography and texts

he was writing in the earlier years of his life, such as his speeches. The difference would be in the narration and narrator, as there would not be a self 2 to influence the narrator (self 1 would be the self 2 of the current research). Finally, another intriguing investigation (which would be complementary to the previous suggestion) would be a comparison of the same metaphorical expressions between his autobiography and the key biographies. This research would enlighten us with a more holistic approach about who Mandela was in terms of his social roles, how he perceived himself and if this image was the same as what others thought of him. In addition, it would further reveal how he used speech and everyday or political discourse in different situations to achieve his goals and present himself.

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Appendix: Lists of the metaphorical expressions in chapters 3-11 of Mandela's autobiography

a. Metaphors from the conceptual domain of war/destruction

Chapter 3

1. Fight the system
2. Castigated worship of the west
3. Liberation struggle
4. People's struggles
5. Barrier to liberation
6. Multiracial form of struggle
7. African nationalism was our battle cry
8. Direction of the struggle
9. The struggle of the Indian people
10. The freedom struggle
11. Devotion to the struggle
12. Another event forced me
13. Circumscribe freedom
14. The liberation struggle
15. The freedom struggle
16. Oppose the measures
17. Spartan area
18. The struggle (was all-consuming)
19. Propel the organization
20. Taking over the movement
21. Tearing up signs
22. Capturing the microphone
23. Soundly defeated
24. Involved in the struggle
25. Our struggle
26. The sacrifices I had made
27. Join forces
28. I felt an acute conflict
29. The meeting broke up in disorder

30. Opposed the revived National Party
31. History progresses through struggle
32. National struggle
33. Born of fighting against formidable odds
34. They fought the election
35. Suffered for the struggle
36. Harsh ideology
37. Rallying cry (document)
38. Help the struggle
39. Rival theories
40. Robbed the Coloreds of their representation
41. Remove the individual from the struggle
42. New chapter in the struggle
43. A step would be fatal
44. Radical and revolutionary path
45. Steal the thunder
46. I opposed the May Day Strike
47. Tighten the screws of repression
48. To allow past differences to thwart a united front against the government
49. People in the struggle
50. Sufficient threat that compelled us to join hands
51. Freedom struggle
52. A well planned battle (fighting against formidable odds)
53. Defy the color bar
54. Long standing opposition was breaking down
55. Liberation struggle
56. Observation of their own sacrifices
57. I found myself handicapped
58. Revolutionary jumps
59. Control our own destiny
60. Attacked the rights
61. Laws stripping people from their rights
62. Inextricably bound together (Indians Colored and Africans)
63. Staunch African Nationalism
64. Violence of his words

65. Full use of its machinery to quell any disturbances (the government)
66. Conquer
67. Break selected laws
68. Shielded himself
69. Violated laws
70. Impediment (the government)
71. Proceeded to attack us with some scorn used by the nationalists
72. Under attack from a breakaway ANC group
73. Violate (a banning order)
74. He had destroyed the image
75. Peaceful course of actions
76. The riots poisoned the views
77. The campaign could topple the government
78. To be brought down (the government)
79. Capture the headlined
80. The campaign freed me
81. It liberated me (the campaign)
82. Freedom fighter* (x 4)

Chapter 4

1. Changing of the guard (at the ANC)
2. Imprisons one's spirit
3. Set up organizational machinery
4. Committed to the struggle
5. Work in the struggle
6. Defy the government
7. The government's iron fist
8. Analyze the struggle
9. Fought and won cases
10. A mass struggle
11. An armed struggle
12. Demolish an opponent's argument
13. An armed struggle
14. Besieged with clients

15. Commitment in the struggle
16. The government was under pressure
17. The ANC to combat it
18. Violence was the only weapon
19. Liberation struggle
20. The center of the struggle
21. Political struggle
22. Destroy apartheid
23. Political struggle
24. Fighting the system
25. Connected with the struggle
26. The nature of the struggle
27. Our resistance collapsed
28. Sophiatown died
29. Combat it (the slogan)
30. Freedom struggle
31. Political fight
32. Drew them into the struggle
33. Liberation struggle
34. Freedom struggle
35. Offspring of the struggle
36. Come into the struggle
37. Liberation struggle
38. Soldiered on (the churches)
39. Liberation struggle
40. The State marched over us
41. Bantu education was a poison
42. My people who were struggling
43. Freedom struggle
44. Liberation struggle
45. Explosive mood
46. Armed with an idea
47. Join the struggle
48. Liberation struggle
49. Caught the imagination

50. Chained to my legal and political work
51. Fight fire with fire
52. Defies politics
53. Were in conflict (interests)
54. Take up the fight
55. Encroaching darkness
56. Verbally attacked
57. Involvement in the struggle
58. Take up the fight
59. His attack
60. Something that was not the struggle
61. The performance greatly suffered
62. Freedom fighter* (x 8)

Chapter 5

1. Bound together
2. Commitment to the struggle
3. Bound us to one another
4. Waged a battle for the minds and hearts of the children
5. My devotion to the struggle
6. The necessity of the struggle
7. Children were wounded by our separation
8. She had some conflict in her small heart which she did not know how to resolve
9. Violator of laws (the state)
10. Give up my life in the struggle
11. Married to the struggle
12. Devastating cross-examinations
13. Mandela and Tambo firm was falling apart
14. Dominated by the trial (life)
15. Strength for the struggles
16. I was struggling for my rights
17. The enemy had exploited our surrender
18. The organization should be a haven, not a prison
19. An active part in the struggles
20. She had been shielded

21. With ties to the ruling party
22. A leader of the struggle
23. The advancement of the struggle
24. Crush our spirits
25. Freedom struggle
26. Displayed their combativeness
27. Conflicts of interest
28. Legal battle
29. Had been defeated (the vote)
30. Violated the principles
31. Suppress feelings
32. Barred non-whites
33. The front lines of the struggle
34. The struggle had entered a new phase
35. Lord's machinations
36. Burst of confidence
37. We had been parrying the enemy's attacks
38. Shattering event
39. Liberation struggle
40. Battered (the ANC)
41. Ungloved fist
42. Clamping down (the Nationalists)
43. They were pressed into cells
44. Apartheid barriers
45. Nonviolent struggle
46. Nonviolent struggle
47. The lawyers were not released
48. The state was arming itself
49. Violated my banning orders
50. Sword of justice
51. Freedom fighter* (x 6)

Chapter 6

1. Militant forms of the struggle
2. His subjects were more downtrodden

3. Passive form of struggle
4. During the struggle
5. Nonviolent struggle
6. Nonviolent struggle
7. He had defeated my proposal
8. Fight a pride of angry lions
9. Armed struggle
10. The attacks of the wild beast cannot be averted with only bare hands
11. Armed struggle
12. Streams of the struggle
13. Methods of struggle
14. Armed struggle
15. Inviolable principle
16. Self-defeating (an excuse)
17. Reconciled to our new course
18. The state would slaughter the whole liberation movement
19. The struggle is my life
20. An acknowledgement of our struggle
21. Stem the violence of the state
22. Burst forth (a member of the South African Indian congress)
23. As the leader of that struggle
24. Our struggle was a moral one
25. The Spear of the Nation
26. Fight the government
27. The struggle for freedom
28. Take the struggle to the heart of white power
29. Our freedom struggle
30. The struggle would ... take me outside
31. Wolfie eventually surrendered to my regimen
32. Violating the promise
33. Burden of oppression
34. Fought colonialism
35. The armed struggle
36. It had fought colonialism

37. A setback for the struggle as a whole
38. The freedom struggle
39. For peaceful struggle
40. Spearhead the successful drive
41. Armed with evidence
42. Violent struggles
43. Unleash political and economic forces
44. Had begun their struggle
45. Had started the struggle
46. Struck by the great power
47. Trappings of British style
48. My mind ricocheted
49. Support the struggle
50. About our struggle
51. Armed struggle
52. Hard line colleagues
53. Armed struggle
54. Escape serves a double purpose
55. Freedom struggle
56. Publicity blow against the enemy
57. Freedom fighter* (x 8)

Chapter 7

1. Prison robs you
2. Prison's attempts to rob one of these qualities
3. Forge a unity
4. A symbol of ... struggle
5. Psychological boost to the struggle
6. Iron fist
7. Fight against the prison's attempts
8. Legislation designed to 'break the back'
9. Political struggle
10. Devotion to the struggle
11. Steve exploded

12. Take up the struggle
13. Verbal battle
14. Used in the struggle (knowledge)
15. Ash heap of history
16. Lead the struggle
17. Military wing of our struggle
18. We were all struggling
19. Hit me in a weak spot
20. Our house has been raided
21. Blow to the government
22. Pressure had been applied
23. Gallows humor
24. Continuation of the struggle
25. Roped into the trial
26. Fight poor conditions
27. Hurt our case
28. The struggle in South Africa
29. Freedom struggle
30. Cross swords
31. Disarmed the prosecution
32. They advanced the struggle
33. Pressed for a national convention
34. The struggle for freedom
35. Grievances cannot be suppressed
36. Had struggled violently
37. Freedom fighter* (x 5)

Chapter 8

1. Shelter a nascent guerrilla force
2. Betrayed no emotion
3. We regarded the struggle
4. A microcosm of the struggle
5. Staunch opponent of Bantu education
6. Was so oppressive (the atmosphere)
7. Iron fisted outpost

8. End of the struggle
9. Different fight had begun
10. The struggles we waged
11. Conscience forced him
12. Break spirit
13. Destroy one's resolve
14. Exploit every weakness
15. Apartheid struggle
16. The sharpest minds in the struggle
17. Compares the struggle
18. I was now on the sidelines
19. I was in a different and smaller arena (prison)
20. Raw material of the struggle
21. Rob each man of his dignity
22. Rob me of my dignity
23. Anti-apartheid struggle
24. Our struggle was indivisible
25. Combat them (the allegations)
26. Explode (Mandela)
27. Fought injustice
28. I have served the struggle
29. In the vortex of the struggle
30. Fight on different terms
31. Violating regulations
32. Fortifying our organization
33. The struggle would be either short or easy
34. The struggle against imperialism
35. Armed struggles
36. Iron fisted discipline
37. Extension of our struggle
38. Armed struggle
39. Milestone in the struggle
40. An organization in exile
41. Our rivals in the struggle
42. Decisions not binding

43. Dominate the high organ
44. Liberation struggle
45. Fought injustice
46. Fight fire with fire
47. Commitment to the struggle
48. Involved to the struggle
49. Freedom fighter* (x 2)

Chapter 9

1. Symbolized our struggle
2. In the struggle (Robben Island was known as the university)
3. Burst into laughter
4. Have his hands tied
5. Liberation struggle
6. Burdensome (life)
7. Violate my own principle
8. Violate my self-control
9. I considered that a defeat (losing self-control)
10. Cross that barrier
11. The Indian struggle
12. Commitment to the struggle
13. Serve the struggle
14. Tension is the enemy of serenity
15. Served the struggle
16. The idea of the struggle
17. Liberation struggle
18. Nature of the struggle
19. Brought them to the struggle
20. White assistance in the struggle
21. Well-known in the struggle
22. Liberation struggle
23. He had escalated the battle against freedom
24. The struggle was indivisible
25. Commitment to the struggle
26. Struggling to cut your nails

27. Liberation struggles
28. Compare our struggles
29. Newspapers were still barred
30. Resurgence of the struggle
31. Liberation struggle
32. I would be to the struggle
33. Betrayal of the collectivity of the organization
34. Freedom fighter* (x 5)

Chapter 10

1. Rob it of some of its symbolic importance
2. The locus of the struggle
3. A sustaining myth in the struggle
4. The struggle was intensifying
5. Blown up out of proportions
6. Broke free
7. Combating our struggle
8. Armed struggle
9. Military struggle
10. Armed struggle
11. Anti-apartheid struggle
12. Armed struggle
13. Martin Luther King struggled
14. Armed struggle
15. The struggle could best be pushed
16. Armed struggle
17. Armed struggle
18. Confronted with the actual prospect
19. Victims of so much propaganda
20. Armed struggle
21. Armed struggle
22. Armed struggle
23. Armed struggle
24. The form of the struggle
25. Racial reconciliation

26. Trampled (the rights of the minorities)
27. Armed struggle
28. Armed struggle
29. Enemies of the struggle
30. Armed struggle
31. Liberation struggle
32. Stealing the thunder
33. He completely disarmed me
34. Our struggle as parallel
35. My struggle was a revolutionary one
36. As a struggle between brothers
37. A vindication of our long struggle
38. Armed struggle
39. Conflict between my blood and my brain
40. Struggled against apartheid
41. Fighting against the government
42. Freedom fighter* (x 1)

Chapter 11

1. Spirit of the struggle
2. Armed struggle
3. Intensify the struggle
4. Boundless sea of people
5. It would burst (the stadium)
6. Armed struggle
7. Armed struggle
8. Embraced in our struggle
9. No place in the struggle
10. Led the organization in exile
11. Anti apartheid forces
12. Armed struggle
13. Forge an independent relationship
14. Armed struggle
15. Armed struggle
16. Oppose to majority rule

17. Armed struggle
18. Weapon (TV)
19. Unaware of the struggle
20. Knowledge of the struggle
21. The struggle was now at the negotiating table
22. Combat the western stereotype
23. Anti-apartheid struggle
24. I followed the struggle
25. Our country was bleeding to death
26. Armed struggle
27. Armed struggle
28. Armed struggle
29. Armed struggle
30. Moribund operation
31. Armed struggle
32. Quelling violence
33. Armed struggle
34. Armed struggle
35. Liberation struggle
36. Verbal attacks
37. Betrayal (of the democracy)
38. Free political climate
39. Armed struggle
40. Attack the ANC
41. The struggle is not over
42. A theater of struggle
43. My voice betrayed my anger
44. Attack the ANC
45. Form of struggle
46. Armed struggle
47. The struggle for liberation
48. Was defeated (the referendum)
49. Freedom struggle
50. The government was hit by two scandals
51. Your life is the struggle

52. A blow to me
53. Armed struggle
54. Armed struggle
55. Armed struggle
56. Armed struggle
57. Arrest the inevitable
58. Pressing the government
59. Binding the wounds
60. System of racial domination
61. Died in the struggle
62. Fought in the struggle
63. The policy of apartheid created a deep and lasting wound
64. Recovering from the profound hurt
65. Armed struggle
66. Conquers the fear
67. Liberation struggle
68. The chains on all my people were the chains on me
69. Comrades in the struggle
70. We took up the struggle
71. Locked behind the bars of prejudice and narrow-mindedness
72. Robbed of their humanity
73. Commitment to the struggle
74. Cast off one's chains
75. Fighting the government
76. Fight against a system
77. Freedom fighter* (x 5)

b. Metaphors from the conceptual domain of religion

Chapter 3

1. No epiphany
2. No revelation
3. Devote myself
4. A Mecca for activists
5. Worship of the West

6. The spirit of the African nationalism
7. Bound heart and soul
8. Diabolical in its detail (the system)
9. Moral quandary
10. Sullied by a breach of faith
11. Cardinal sin
12. The stigma

Chapter 4

1. Enshrine equality (the law)
2. Immorality of apartheid
3. Immoral regime
4. Higher moral
5. Morally superior tone

Chapter 5

1. Pandemonium broke out
2. Armageddon between good and evil
3. Soul of moderation
4. Moral idea
5. I preached moderation

Chapter 6

1. My next address was more of a sanctuary
2. I would be visiting my own genesis
3. A society that dishonored those virtues
4. ANC's moral opposition
5. Morally bound

Chapter 7

1. As poor as a church mouse
2. Pandemonium in the court
3. Mortal danger
4. Lost faith in the ideals
5. Good-faith attempts
6. Under oath
7. Moral duty
8. Moral stance
9. Serve the cause better in death as martyrs

Chapter 8

1. We looked like pale ghosts
2. Studying under the auspices of the University of London was a mixed blessing
3. Haunting questions
4. The ANC → church
5. Bedevil the Law society

Chapter 9

1. Mortal souls would be in peril
2. Benefit of worship
3. Inner demons
4. Genesis of the organization
5. Haunt its creators
6. Proselytize
7. Preached unity
8. A fig leaf to hide their capitulation
9. Wondrous moment
10. Ghost house

Chapter 10

1. Haunting line

2. Simile of Jesus and the merchants with the army that responded to non violence with force
3. Ghostly outline
4. The work of devil (communism)

Chapter 11

1. Brave souls
2. I was not a messiah
3. Haunt me
4. Anathema to the ANC
5. Demonized them
6. Bedevil us
7. Their hero should become a martyr
8. Evils of racism
9. Live like a monk

c. Metaphors from the conceptual domain of nature/environment

Chapter 3

1. Change was in the air
2. Dr Xuma became heated
3. Ethnic differences were melting away
4. Lighting a fire under the leadership of the ANC
5. An air of superciliousness
6. Fount of ideas
7. Storming the stage
8. Cool and reasoned leadership
9. Coasted along
10. Stream of African nationalism
11. He heatedly confronted me
12. Historic path
13. We would mellow with age
14. Revolutionary path

15. Hotheaded
16. Dived to the ground
17. Exhilaration that springs from
18. The coolies out of the country
19. Coolies being the Afrikaners
20. Searchlight illuminating the dark night (dialectical materialism)
21. Erode ethnic differences
22. Grassroots African supporters
23. Brought me down to Earth
24. Eradicate (grievances)

Chapter 4

1. Air of humility
2. High-flown language
3. Opened fire
4. Heat of the moment
5. I was received warmly
6. I was often in hot water with the Executive
7. Burning with a cold fire
8. Hotheaded
9. Walter's visit caused a storm
10. Flow of people
11. Fight fire with fire
12. Hotheaded
13. Received him warmly
14. Take root
15. Shadow of reality
16. Heated political fight
17. Cool, logical style
18. Fire a succession of questions
19. The right path
20. Blow the horn
21. Remain in touch with his own roots
22. The raid cast a shadow

Chapter 5

1. Playing with fire
2. Waves of indignation
3. Sprang to his feet and bellowed
4. Case-load had mounted
5. Cooled down (things)
6. No common ground
7. Inflammatory speeches
8. Changed the atmosphere
9. Path he takes
10. Solidify Afrikaner power
11. Had cooled (polemics)
12. Stormed out of the car
13. Let her bloom in her own right
14. Form her own identity in my shadow
15. Hailed its birth
16. Heated polemics
17. Breeding grounds for rebellion
18. ANC branches sprang up
19. Heated discussions
20. Protest erupted
21. Winds of change
22. Opened fire
23. Shots had been fired
24. Capital started to flow out of the country
25. Rooted in my pockets (hands)
26. He had erupted at me
27. Stormed into the house
28. The spectators' gallery erupted in cheers
29. Removed the scales from my eyes

Chapter 6

1. Shook my hand warmly
2. Seismic psychological shift
3. Shadowy life

4. A great plum for him
5. The white celebration of Republic Day was drowned out
6. Streams of the struggle
7. Embarking on a new and more dangerous path
8. Warmly greeted me
9. A path of organized violence
10. Dovetailed with my own instincts
11. A buoyant atmosphere
12. Idyllic bubble
13. They were sitting on the top of a volcano
14. Rooting out what they was as the greatest threat
15. Stone silent
16. The fire of battle
17. The tentacles of South African security forces
18. The air of one's home always smells sweet
19. Stories were planted
20. Stream of people
21. The prison grapevine
22. Bred moral decay (prison)

Chapter 7

1. Acts of sabotage mounted
2. The docks were swarming with armed police
3. The prison grapevine
4. Given the climate of the times
5. Greeted each other warmly
6. Armed policemen and several police dogs sprang from the vehicle
7. Lived in the shadow of the gallows
8. Which had splashed it (indictment)
9. Herded back to our cells
10. He stormed back
11. New life was blossoming

Chapter 8

1. Planting explosives
2. We were a collection of rare caged animals
3. Somber (the atmosphere)
4. The atmosphere was so oppressive
5. Stern atmosphere
6. Mount an appeal
7. hotheaded
8. Time moved glacially
9. Stream of visitors
10. A letter was like the summer rain that could make even the desert bloom
11. Branches of one's family tree
12. He studied me coldly
13. If we were oxen
14. Rivulets of sweat
15. Our eyes streamed
16. Fight fire with fire
17. A prey for people
18. Heat of the argument
19. Vortex of the struggle
20. We had felt a certain thawing
21. Harsh atmosphere
22. Uprooted (our structures)
23. Milestone in the struggle
24. The right path

Chapter 9

1. We would push the rock up the hill, only to have it tumble down again
2. Followed the path
3. Dry sense of humor
4. Sunny disposition
5. Greeted me warmly
6. Steady influx of captured MK soldiers
7. Cold-blooded
8. The colony of penguins → flat footed soldiers
9. Sketching out the path

10. Source of deep sorrow
11. Lighten the atmosphere
12. Stormed out of his office
13. The atmosphere was tense
14. The trial grows cold
15. Leak a written statement
16. Adrenaline was flowing
17. Source of inspiration
18. Fired with the spirit
19. Erupting (the spirit)
20. Ground (the ranks)
21. Young lions (for people)
22. Garden → his life
23. Source of comfort
24. Melted away
25. Suffocating atmosphere
26. The tide was turning our way
27. Rekindles our hopes
28. Sink into the shadows
29. Chosen a different path

Chapter 10

1. The tip of the iceberg
2. To be uprooted
3. We had made waves
4. Security plant by the authorities
5. Nuclear power plant
6. Powerful grassroots political movements
7. Blossomed into a powerful organization
8. The path to a solution
9. an olive branch (visit)
10. flock (for people)
11. the seed of negotiations had been sown
12. acclimatized me
13. Leaked to the press

14. Shadowy secretariat
15. International pressure mounted
16. Said sheepishly
17. Stealing the thunder
18. Breezy (the meeting)
19. I said coldly
20. Leaked out (news)
21. Cease-fire

Chapter 11

1. Herd of metallic beasts
2. Take a different path
3. Embraced him warmly
4. People streaming
5. Sea of people
6. Sounded like a massive hailstorm
7. Fired me anew
8. A climate conducive
9. Keeping the job warm for you
10. Mountain of telegrams
11. Cool things down
12. Middle ground
13. The situation on the ground
14. He was a thorn
15. Opened fire
16. Each side had discovered that the other did not have horns
17. Milestone in the history of our country
18. The aura of the armed struggle
19. Let the flame go out
20. He was just as warm and thoughtful
21. Oliver's address that created a storm
22. Out of touch with the grass roots
23. Shadowy death squads
24. Lion's share
25. Free political climate

26. His roots were deep and true
27. Gold in his warmth
28. The tide of events
29. Went off the air
30. Climbing a hill
31. Many more hills to climb

